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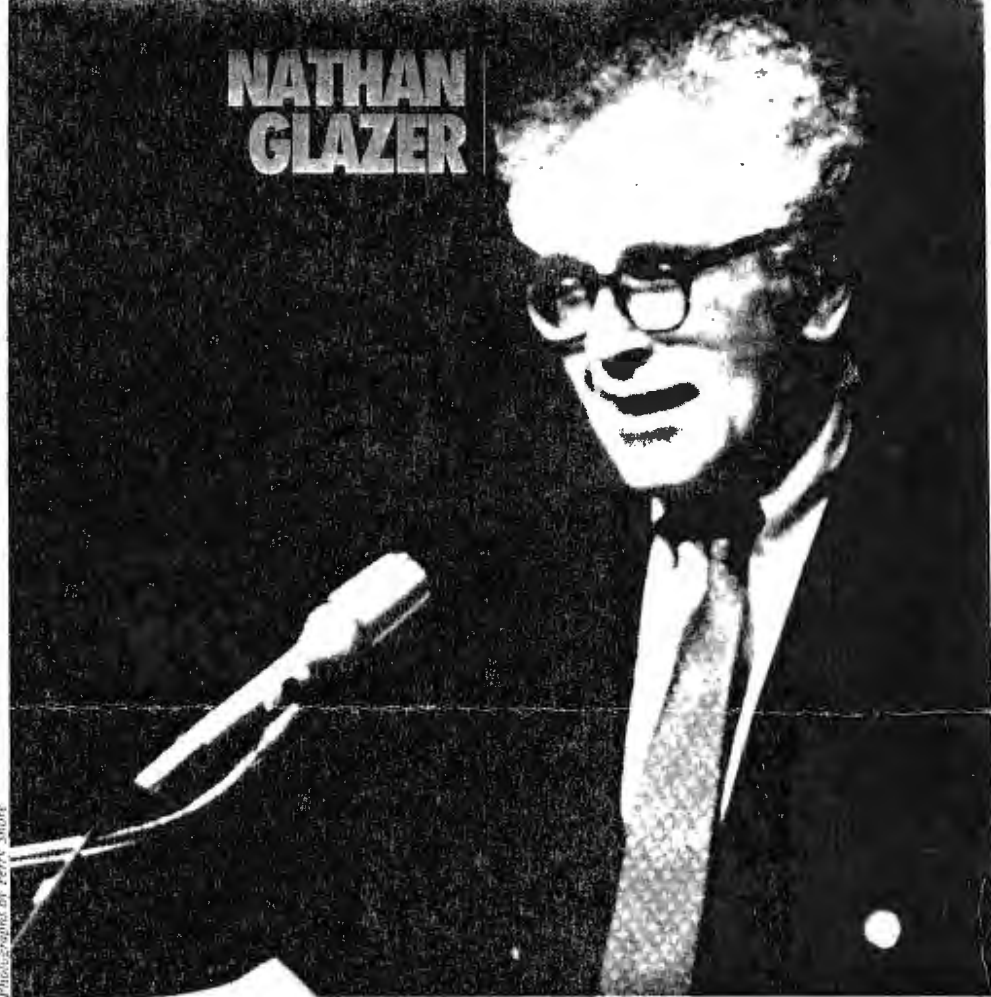
conflict with theirs—and conflict most importantly right now with those of American blacks and Hispanics. Such conflicts can force people together, briefly, but they are unlikely to revive heroic memories.

I think of contemporary Jewish neo-conservatism as an effort to embrace this interest group status and then, since it is after all a considerable comedown from the Congregation of Israel, to recoup some pride by insisting on a fierce defense of our interests. But not all that much pride can be recouped, it seems to me, since this is mostly a defense of our interests against people who are weaker than we are, and since it is a defense of our interests in the narrowest sense—incomes, professions, careers.

Well, interests sometimes have to be defended, and sometimes fiercely. But if we defend only our interests and not our values, if we lose the sense of ourselves as a historic community, a community of shared values, then we have lost too much. Of course, we should protect the positions we have won in the secular world, but if that plural pronoun *we* is to continue to refer to a people, and not just to a collection of persons, we have to protect something else as well.

Interests are entirely future oriented; values are rooted in a collective past. But without a commitment to that past, the orientation to the future won't work: There won't be a future for *us*. Individuals will drift away, precisely because, or insofar as, their interests are recognized and accommodated in the larger political community; the very success of the interest group is also the ground for its dissolution. But a community of values can sustain itself for a very long time, if only because values are never more than partially realized and always in need of defense. For this reason, we would do well to make social justice one of the tests, not only of our liberalism, but also of our Jewishness.

I don't mean to say that we can survive as Jews by committing ourselves to justice; there are other necessary commitments. But we can, I think, give ourselves a reason to survive.



The question of whether or not American Jews are in fact deserting liberalism is much debated. But the question I want here to consider is whether they *should* be deserting it.

The word "should" raises a problem, of course, because it is not at all clear on what basis one "should" select a political position. Political scientists assume that people take political positions on the basis of their interests—but it is not easy for people to decide just what their interests are, and which interests are more important than others. And political scientists also notice that some people are more "other-regarding" than "self-regarding"—selfless, so to speak—and vote for what they think is the public interest.

Traditionally, Jews have been seen as a leading example of an apparently other-regarding group. They tend, as we know, to vote for Democrats even when they have the income and, one would suppose, the interests, of Republicans. Indeed, one concern of those who worry about Jews deserting liberalism is that liberalism seems to them more public-interested than con-

servatism, and the alleged turn of the Jews from the one to the other therefore seems to them to involve an abandonment of the public interest.

But it may be a mistake to suppose that the traditional commitment of Jews to liberalism is really about the public interest. Whether or not Jews *should* act on the basis of their self-interest, however it is defined, and whether or not this self-interest diverges from "the public interest," it is certainly true that for generations Jews have believed (and with good reason) that liberalism was more to their own interest than conservatism.

It is that proposition, that association, that has recently been placed in doubt. As more and more Jewish conservatives appear and begin to make political arguments, what was once assumed as a matter of course has come to be a subject of intense debate.

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Liberalism/conservatism

Is liberalism in the Jewish interest?

Before we can answer the question we have to disassemble the odd amalgam of causes and commitments that together compose American liberalism in its current version. Liberalism is not all of a piece, and it is not surprising that Jews should be taking different positions on its different elements.

There are, it seems to me, five quite different strands that together compose American liberalism. The first strand, the basic element of the old New Deal liberalism, has to do with the rights of working people, with the obligations of the state to the worker and to the unfortunates of capitalist society. Do you think organized labor has too much power? Do you favor the Wagner Act? Do you think the government has a responsibility to support the unemployed? To provide for the poor? Are you, in other words, for more power and security for the working classes, and in particular for organized labor, or are you for the rights and interests of capital and the employer? These were the questions that, for a half-century or more, offered a way of differentiating liberals from conservatives in the United States.

Jews had no great problem with this dimension of liberalism 50 years ago, and they don't have much problem with it today. Fifty years ago, many of them were workers and socialists. In accepting the liberal perspective, they defended not only their interests but also their ideology. And, while very few Jews are workers these days, they still don't have too much trouble with this dimension of liberalism. It is no longer an issue that arouses much passion among them, but they are willing, more or less, to "go along."

The problem here is that you don't get much liberal credit any more by being for the organized working classes. Organized labor isn't much of a force in the country today, embracing, as it does, only some 20 percent of all workers. Today, organized labor is considered just another "special interest." If being its advocate is the only expression of your liberalism, you are not going to be very popular in today's Democratic party. Labor

simply is not the touchstone of liberalism it once was.

Moreover, this element of the traditional liberal amalgam has now become rather more complicated than it once was. When we talk today about the interests of organized workers, we are not necessarily also talking about the interests of America's poorest and worst off, of the lower classes. In the New Deal period, social security, unemployment insurance and welfare seemed all of a piece: protection of the workers against the costs of free-market capitalism. Today, workers accept social security and unemployment insurance as their due. But they are rather more doubtful about welfare and food stamps and all the other means-test programs, even though, when times are hard, they may have to make use of them. Social policy for the poor has become a differentiated strand of today's liberalism, by no means identical with the rights of organized workers. Indeed, organized workers are as suspicious of means-tested benefits, and of what such programs might do to their own income taxes and property, as any member of the "propertied" classes (an odd term, for today it includes unionized workers too).

But even if workers have trouble with this second strand of liberalism, most Jews don't. Jews have for a long time been accustomed to taking a rather liberal position on assistance to workers and to welfare mothers, to social classes in which they themselves are dramatically underrepresented. The split on the left side of the economic axis of liberalism, the split, that is, between the interests of the working classes and the interests of the lower classes (with a very heavy black component), doesn't much bother Jews. They are willing to be liberal, as that term has come to be understood, with regard to both.

Foreign policy is the third strand in the liberal mix, and this has come to bother Jews a good deal more. Forty-five years ago, it was very clear what it meant to be liberal with regard to foreign policy: resistance to Fascism. Plainly, Jews had no trouble with that. After the war, liberalism meant creating a world safe for democracy by

supporting the United Nations, providing aid both to our democratic allies abroad and to the emergent Third World, which we hoped would become democratic in its turn. This liberalism was no friend of the Soviet Union, but neither did it take the fierce, unreasoning position toward "atheistic Communism" that Bible Belt America or working-class America did: It wanted to treat with it, to soften it, to wean it from its antagonism towards freedom.

This strand of liberalism frayed badly during the Vietnam War. The present liberal trend in foreign policy diverges in many ways from the original liberal position of Roosevelt or Truman or Kennedy. "Isolationism" used to be a bad word for liberals, but now it describes much of the liberal perspective on foreign policy: Liberals are cool to an arms buildup, and to the maintenance of American troops in Western Europe or in Japan or in South Korea; they are reluctant to counter Communist influence in the developing world.

Foreign policy now divides the Democratic party. Organized labor is fiercely opposed to the foreign policy of the party's left wing. It claims to be in the direct line of Senators Humphrey and Jackson, who combined support of (and from) the labor movement with an activist, anti-Communist foreign policy. And Jews are equally divided. Are they with the old "liberal" foreign policy or with the new "liberal" foreign policy, with Senator Metzenbaum or with Max Kampelman? They are torn.

And insofar as they are interested in the fate of Israel, as the overwhelming majority of Jews are, they are even more painfully torn. The Democratic party tends to be resistant to the buildup of arms—but these arms, or some of them, may help Israel. Significant segments of the party are sympathetic to the Third World—a world that is almost entirely hostile to Israel. And so on. Organized labor remains the strongest supporter of Israel in the old Democratic coalition—but it is also the most conservative part of the old Democratic coalition on most other issues. Where do Jews stand in this division?

As the example of *The New Repub-*

lic shows, the shift in the content of a liberal foreign policy has been the most potent force pushing Jews to the right.

I come now to a fourth strand in the traditional liberal mix: the civil rights strand. Here again we find a source of strain for Jews. Civil rights used to be an issue on which Jews were most wholeheartedly liberal, most closely allied to blacks. But as the civil rights movement adopted quotas as a way of improving the condition of blacks, Jewish organizations dropped out—and joined the opposition. On a recent television program, we had Morris Abram, an old Jewish southern liberal, once closely allied with the black civil rights movement, later president of the American Jewish Committee, then president of Brandeis University, debating Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP on the quota issue.

Quotas are, of course, not only a Jewish-black issue. Not only Jews, but many other people—including some blacks—oppose quotas, and not only blacks, but many other people—including some Jews—support them. Yet this issue has contributed to a great divide between Jews and blacks, once such intimate allies, and it is today another element of the liberal mix that makes Jews doubtful about where they stand on liberalism.

Finally, we come to the fifth and last strand of liberalism—the oldest, and the only element that links our late-20th-century liberalism to that of the 19th century. This is the concern for civil liberties, the classic First Amendment rights: freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of worship.

One would think there would be no problem for Jews over this strand of liberalism. Jews defend these rights. But even with regard to this most basic element of liberalism some problems have developed.

Over the last 20 years, our interpretation of these liberties has been greatly expanded. Students are now free to engage in political action on campuses, various forms of obstruction now have the protection that is given to political speech, the Communist is no longer hunted out of the schools and universities, the socialist

need not fear loyalty investigations, eccentrics of all types have a greater freedom in public than they ever had before.

Jews, undoubtedly the greatest supporters of the American Civil Liberties Union, applaud all this. They applaud the fact that civil liberties now extend to groups that before hid in shame and did not dare to claim them, such as homosexuals. According to the current understanding, homosexuals should be free to defend their sexual preference, they should be free from discrimination in seeking apartments and jobs. And though the Jews may not be quite as ardent in defending the freedom to advocate homosexuality as they are in defending the freedom to advocate a political position, not many problems are raised by the new and broadened definition of what we mean by civil liberties.

But it also turns out that pornographic movies, books and magazines have the protection granted under freedom of press and speech. The level of discomfort among Jews, the most respectable of family people, rises, though one must admit that Jews are to be found both in the supply of these services and in the protection of the constitutional rights of those who provide them. In our discomfort with the practical consequences of our abstract convictions and commitments, we search for new ways to approach the problems we face. On occasion, for example, we find that our extension of one logically plausible right bumps into an equally compelling and equally logical right. If, for example, pornography debases women, might our desire to protect the rights of women, to protect their self-respect, be reason for limiting the “right” to traffic in pornography? So it is that today we witness ingenious legal arguments suggesting that pornography may encourage sadistic assaults on women, and on that ground may and should be controlled.

The point here is that we are increasingly forced into strange gymnastics in order to reconcile our commitment to civil rights with our sense of what makes a good society. As part of our expanded definition of

civil liberties, for example, we now include every group's right to respect and to protection. So when family living is introduced as a subject in schools—partly because we are horrified by the rate of teenage pregnancy—homosexual advocates and other civil libertarians tell us that we are giving an unfair advantage to the “traditional” family. How about the homosexual family? How about—less controversially—the female-headed family created by out-of-wedlock births? And if we respond that such female-headed families are not as good as families that have two parents and produce children in marriage, we're told that we are encouraging disdain and worse for precisely the kind of family that is common among blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Perplexing questions—and Jews begin to wonder, quite properly to my mind, whether the further extension of civil liberties and rights that has created such problems should be supported. They discover that some of their traditional allies—their own sons and daughters, of course, in the ACLU—are militantly protecting these rights; and people whom they used to think of as their enemies—Catholic hierarchs, Bible Belt spokespeople—are voicing the doubts they themselves are feeling.

Religion also comes into the picture, for part of First Amendment rights and liberties is the freedom of worship—and the separation of church and state. Once again, Jews find they are in a peculiar position. Jews oppose prayer in the schools, for such prayers will undoubtedly be Christian—and even if Jews are granted the right to introduce their own prayers, they prefer not to enter into the competition. They want a secular society—but one in which they are free to maintain their own community, its institutions, its values, its religion.

Jews support sex education in the schools. Their children may not need it (not many Jews become pregnant while teenagers), but others do and it is, after all, a good, liberal position. Now come the born-again Christians, the Bible Belters, the Catholic hierarchy and they tell us that American values are in danger, that

individualism run rampant threatens the family and the community, and that we must allow back into our schools and into our public life practices that support traditional morality. Here we are, Jews, a religious group, supporting the most radical divorce of state and church and mounting the strongest possible opposition to the introduction of moral values in the schools. (I leave aside for this discussion the question of whether this would have any effect on human behavior. My concern here is only with the *right* to assert that the whole family is better than the broken family, legitimate birth better than illegitimate, family support better than family irresponsibility, etc.)

The problem all this raises for Jews is that despite their long fight for a strictly secular public realm, they share the growing concern for moral values in our society. But how can they accept the return of such values—religious-based values—into the public realm when that would undoubtedly mean, in this Christian nation, values understood and presented with a very Christian tinge?

So, five different strands of liberalism. The first two don't much bother Jews, who will continue to support the rights of organized labor and social policies to help the poorest and most depressed. The third, fourth and fifth—the foreign policy strand, the civil rights strand, the civil liberties strand—all have problematic aspects, and Jews cannot help asking themselves where they stand on these problems.

It is hard to know where Jewish interests lie on such issues, and it is hard to know where the public interest lies. But one thing has become clear: The liberal vision, in the form it has taken in the 1980s, raises very many questions for Jews. They may be able to compromise on the conflict over quotas—after all, Jews are for the most part well-off and can tolerate some unfair competition, if it is intended to raise a depressed group. But the other two issues are more difficult. Jews make various efforts to partition policies in foreign affairs and in civil liberties. Perhaps, some suggest, it is acceptable to build up

conventional arms, but not good to build nuclear arms. Perhaps we should support only democracies—Israel is safe—but not dictatorships threatened by Communism—about El Salvador we have reservations. But one's domestic allies on these matters may not be willing to partition the issues in the same ways.

So, too, with regard to civil liberties and the crisis over the moral tone of American society. Some will disagree that there is any crisis at all—but many of us, when we consider the state of public safety, or the teenage pregnancy rate, or the problem of running effective schools, believe there is, indeed, a crisis. Jews can, in diverse ways, seek to protect themselves from the symptoms of this crisis. Many can move to the suburbs, send their children to private schools, control their children's reading and viewing habits. But much of the rest of the country does not have these alternatives available. What attitude will we take when poor whites who are also worried about the very same things set up "Christian" schools? Do we attack them for racism, demand that their tax-exempt status be revoked, withdraw in horror if President Reagan or Secretary Bennett supports educational vouchers so that poorer Americans may have as much of a chance to control their environment as Jews have? There are some contradictions here, as we all learned when we saw that those who most strongly supported busing made sure their own children would not be involved.

Where does all this leave the traditional connection between Jews and liberalism? In my view, not all the strands of today's liberalism are equally "good for the Jews." Indeed, they may not be very good for the country either. True, Jews can "afford" liberalism: On the whole, they are well-off enough to support union rights, programs for the poor, civil rights and expanded civil liberties. They can manage to escape from the negative consequences of these policies. And when it comes to foreign policy, they are often willing to gamble that all American administrations in the end will support Israel, permitting us to hope for a combination of continued support to Israel and reduced military spending.

But these seem to me increasingly strained resolutions of a growing conflict between the Jewish interest, whether that interest is primarily self-regarding or other-regarding, and the traditional liberal perspective that for so long has dominated Jewish political thinking in this country.

In trying to work through to a new and more comfortable and integrated perspective, the most serious problem that confronts the Jews is finding out who their new allies are and—even more difficult—in learning to live with them. Our prospective allies are not people with whom we have, before now, had much contact. We view them with suspicion, sometimes even with hostility. And that, plainly, inhibits our behavior.

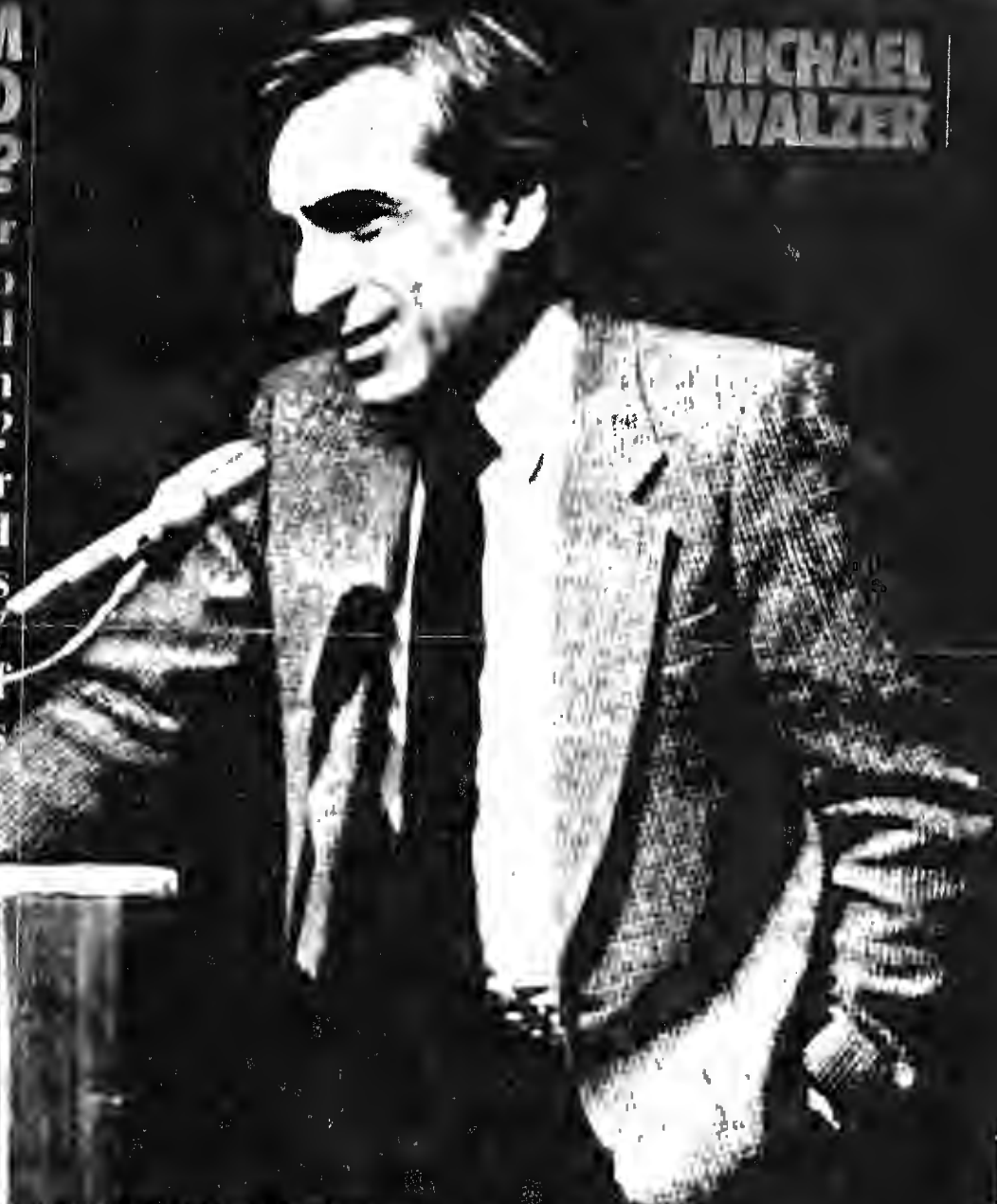
I am not suggesting or predicting a radical break with liberalism. I am instead describing a strain, a strain that will surely lead more and more Jews to give up one package of policies—not all of which they are against—for another package—not all of which they are for. And I am proposing that when they do, they are acting neither against the Jewish interest nor against the public interest. ★

In subsequent issues, we expect to publish the proceedings of the other three MOMENT/92nd Street Y symposia on Jews and liberalism. We acknowledge, with gratitude, the sponsorship—and thoughtful courtesy—of the 92nd Street Y.

IS LIBERALISM (STILL) GOOD FOR THE JEWS?

MICHAEL
WALZER

Is our
commitment to
the liberal
political tradition
still warranted?
In the first of four
symposia hosted
by New York City's
92nd Street Y
in celebration of
MOMENT'S
10th anniversary,
two of America's
leading
intellectuals
argue the issues



How should we choose a political position? The answer to that question depends very much on who we are and how we understand ourselves. And that, for me, is a matter of history and culture, not only of politics narrowly defined. So I want to talk about the historical connections between Jews and liberalism.

Liberal politics is characterized by two commitments: first, to individual freedom, civil liberty, a pluralist society; and second, to social justice, the welfare state and the idea of mutuality that, however attenuated, underlies the welfare state. The relevant liberalism is that of the New Deal and the Great Society, not of Adam Smith or Herbert Spencer or contemporary libertarianism.

How do Jews relate to these two

commitments? Most of us have supported both, and for a long time. But our connection to the two is not the same.

Historically, the religious culture of the Jews is no more a liberal culture than is that of the Catholics, say, or the Moslems. Within the tradition, there was always room for disagreement—as between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, for example, or, centuries later, between the followers and the critics of Maimonides. But the room was limited. Serious dissent from the central doctrines of the tradition, theological or philosophical heresy, even individual waywardness, were not typically tolerated. The excommunication of Spinoza suggests the limits of toleration, though that

occurred in a difficult time. In general, the integrated and autonomous communities of medieval and early modern Jewry were closed communities, their orthodoxy rigid in conception and enforcement.

The communities derived what coercive powers they possessed from autocratic regimes, feudal or absolutist, and they reproduced internally many of the features of autocratic repression. Still, this was a pre-modern autocracy and never very efficient—nor did the autocrats yield all that much power to their Jewish sub-

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jects. Hence the persistence of messianic ferment and the appearance and reappearance of personal, pietistic, even ecstatic religiosity: Dissent was never entirely absent from the traditional Jewish communities.

But liberalism as we know it today is, among the Jews, a product of emancipation—or, more precisely, of emancipation-in-exile, which did not so much free the Jewish communities as free individual Jews from the Jewish communities and Orthodoxy those communities enforced. And then the emancipated Jews discovered that they could only remain free in a state where emancipation was general; they could only make their way in a society where careers were open to talents, discrimination was barred, private life and personal choice were protected.

Which means that Jews could only remain free and make their way in a liberal state and a liberal society. Otherwise, the Jew was emancipated from Orthodoxy only to be victimized by anti-Semitism, which must often have seemed to be the orthodoxy of the gentiles. Jews were liberal, then, from self-interest.

But to say that is not to denigrate the emancipated Jew's commitment. Self-interest is a powerful root from which all sorts of idealism can grow.

Emancipation-in-exile means that Jewish life is organized on voluntaristic principles. Jewish identity is a choice; our synagogues and centers, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, congresses and federations are all voluntary organizations. Liberalism permits these organizations to exist, even to flourish (if they can) and, since the liberal state does not demand a total commitment, it overlooks whatever dilution of political allegiance Jewish life in exile involves. And so it is not only for the sake of individual advancement but also for the sake of collective survival, in the only form in which survival is possible after emancipation, that we need a liberal regime. We want to make our way not only as individuals but also as a group. The central ideologies of contemporary liberalism—meritocracy, which opens careers to individuals, and pluralism, which permits groups to organize

freely—are therefore in a significant sense Jewish ideologies.

Of course, assimilated Jews can adopt any political positions they please, short, I suppose, of Christian fundamentalism. They can join in the current leftist search for a republican community or they can endorse a tough right-wing nationalism. These two, and many others, are available to Jews in disguise. But Jews with a sense of the experience of exile, of the precariousness of every exilic settlement, don't have such an extensive range of choices. Radical communitarianism is probably not good for the Jews, since it might not be all that tolerant of the Jewish counter-community; nor is right-wing nationalism, whose intolerance we have every reason to remember. Both press us more than we want to be pressed toward assimilation. Jews who want to be Jews, however they understand that peculiar state of being, must cleave to the civil liberties and the liberal and pluralist politics that now make it possible for them to be Jews.

All this is not to deny that liberalism has often been a strategy for individual assimilation—even, in a largely liberal society, an obvious strategy. But at least it is a strategy that leaves options open and that accommodates other Jews who have other ends in mind, including collective survival and affirmation. There are many ways to assimilate—but only liberalism permits, under modern conditions, that uneasy balance that so many of us want to sustain: between engagement in the larger world and commitment to our own community.

And if we need a liberal regime, then we must be prepared to defend the stability of such regimes. Jews have indeed been prominent in revolutionary movements, most often in illiberal and autocratic states, but given an established liberalism, the great mass of Jews, very sensibly, will support it. For reasons having to do with social justice, theirs will often be a critical support—aimed, however, at enhancing rather than undermining liberal politics. I read recently in a history of the Jews in Weimar Germany that in 1928 a book was

published in Munich called *Jewry as a Conservative Element*. The author argued, rightly, that German Jews were overwhelmingly committed to conserving the Weimar Republic. Almost all of them voted either for the centrist Democratic Party or for the Social Democrats. It was a doomed, but not an unintelligent politics. Nor has anything that has happened since, for all that has happened since, made it into an unintelligent politics. Liberal emancipation, liberal universalism: this is the particularism of the Jews, or at least of the Jews-in-exile. But this particularism has another aspect, to which I now turn.

With regard to social justice, I have to tell a different story, for the Jewish commitment to justice is organically connected to Jewish religious culture and to the experience of exile *before* as well as after emancipation. The connection goes all the way back to our first exile, to our bondage in Egypt, and to the legal and moral code that comes out of that experience. We are reminded of it at every Passover seder, and we should not underestimate the importance of that celebration. Nowadays I am inclined to think that Eugene Victor Debs's famous line—"As long as one man is in prison, I am not free"—is an exaggerated and rather pompous claim. Still, I grew up believing (and surely many of you did, too) that so long as there were slaves in Egypt, any Egypt, we were among them. That is a seder argument, but it has its everyday uses.

The prophetic books reaffirm the values of the Exodus story: Indeed, no other body of literature is so likely to press people who take it seriously towards an identification with the poor and oppressed, and towards a suspicion not so much of wealth or power as of the moral complacency and arrogance that commonly accompany them. And that suspicion also has its everyday uses.

The Bible is a radical book, but radicalism of that sort, a literary sort, can always be repressed through interpretation, overwhelmed by erudition, constrained by legal enactment. There is another and more practical feature of our experience that underpins our commitment to the

welfarist side of liberalism: the internal life, the social and moral character of the diaspora communities.

Throughout the history of our exile, we have been a people set apart—therefore a people bound together. A special kind of solidarity was forced upon us. Sometimes, of course, it was resisted; sometimes it was evaded; still, it marked our life together over a long period of time. And it can't be the case that this experience of living together in tightly knit, relatively autonomous communities in hostile or uncertain environments for almost 2,000 years has left no impress on our culture.

I can't try to tell the story of these communities here. It is a rich and varied story that belies the claim that the Jews have no political history (only a "spiritual" history) from the years of Bar Kochba to the years of Ben-Gurion. I only want to stress the extent to which the exile communities were, because they had to be, little welfare states whose members, for all their quarrels, were deeply committed to one another. The range of communal provision was very wide (though different in different times and places). It included systems for distribution of food and clothing, care for orphans and widows, dowries, hostels for travelers, ransom for captives (a major claim on communal funds over many centuries), public physicians and midwives, and perhaps above all, schools. In the 1430s, a synod of Spanish rabbis proposed the creation of something close to a full-scale compulsory public school system. And it tells us something about the meaning of justice to those rabbis that their proposal involved the transfer of funds from rich to poor school districts—an issue about which we continue to argue today. It is also worth pointing out, in this age when participation is so much discussed, that the number of people serving the community as officials and agents of distribution was very large, a significant proportion of the members, if only because the communities were very small. We might think of those old communities as participatory welfare states (they thought of themselves, of course, in a wholly different vocabulary).

Much of this could be duplicated from the histories of non-Jewish communities, with the possible exception of the extraordinary stress on education. But there is a greater intensity of commitment in the Jewish diaspora, sustained under more difficult conditions over a longer period of time. Even wealthy Jews, because of persecution and the fear of persecution, were caught up in a kind of general insecurity that we think of today as the lot only of the poor. And as a result of all this, there developed a deep understanding, widely shared, that a certain proportion of one's income, one's time and energy too, belonged to the community as a whole, as a condition of everyone's survival and well-being and also as a matter of justice. I say *widely shared*, not shared by everyone: Once again, this understanding was often resisted and evaded; to escape its consequences may well have been one motive for conversion. Nevertheless it is a visible presence in our history.

To some extent, the exilic view of justice has itself survived, outlasted emancipation and even transferred to the secular communities in which we now live. There is obviously nothing necessary about this transfer; some Jews continue to concern themselves only with their fellow Jews, as if they still live in the ghetto and have nothing to do with the secular world. But we have to assume the transfer if we want to explain the fact that American Jews today give away a significantly greater proportion of their wealth than other Americans do—not only to Jewish causes, but to other philanthropies as well (libraries and universities, for example). They also contribute rather more than their fellow citizens to political parties and movements. That is in some cases seen as protection money, I suppose, especially for those Jews who still sense that the diaspora is a precarious place or a series of precarious places; the buying of protection is an old diaspora practice. But political giving in contemporary Western democracies is also a kind of secular *tzedakah*, an expression of commitment and responsibility. The Jewish readiness to support the welfare state, to pay for it and to participate in it, expresses the

same values, transferred from our own to the larger community.

But we should not talk only of transfer here, for the liberal welfare state permits us to join in secular welfarism while still maintaining our own communal welfare system. Hospitals, orphanages, old age homes, family services, schools: the range of Jewish provision is wide and impressive, and it is supported not only with private but also with public funds, often on a matching basis. The radically enclosed communities that once provided the basis for this sort of thing have vanished, but the commitment has survived, binding us simultaneously to the larger political community and to the Jewish people.

The readiness to give away one's money is today an expression of Jewish identification. That is often said with a certain contempt, but I don't think it is contemptible. And we have to add, again, that we give time and energy, too. There is a participatory richness in Jewish life, even today, that has a clear political carry-over. One has only to read the names of the student leaders of the current protests over South African investments, on one campus after another, to see that these contemporary Jewish communities, "thin" as their culture sometimes is, continue to produce, in disproportionate numbers, young men and women committed to social justice.

Writing in the 1950s, Hayyim Greenberg warned that we American Jews were "in grave danger of becoming merely an ethnic group in the conventional sense of the term . . . no more the Congregation of Israel, but only a group with a long and heroic history, with memories which, when cultivated, can arouse much justified pride (thus still not quite a mere banal minority) but without the consciousness of a specific drama and tension in its life." Many would go further today and argue that the historic memories, since they are only rarely cultivated, are themselves fading, and that we are indeed becoming a banal minority, that the Jews are one more interest group, different from the others only in the obvious sense that our interests sometimes



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Nisan—5746, Vol. 5 #15

Palm Beach

April 18-24, 1986

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News Analysis

Terrorism: Washington's Changing Mood

By Wolf Blitzer

WASHINGTON—The focus of attention last week in Israel was understandably the latest government crisis and the future of the national unity coalition. But that hardly caused a ripple in Washington where senior U.S. officials were groping with the latest wave of international terrorism aimed against the United States and what to do about it.

See Editorial
... page 14

This was vividly underscored at President Ronald Reagan's nationally televised White House news conference on April 9. There was not one question about the politics of Israel. Indeed, that crisis was virtually invisible in Washington. It was buried on inside pages in major U.S. dailies. It was largely ignored on the television and radio news programs.

The main subject that came up at the news conference, of course, was Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi's support for international terrorism and his suspected involvement in the recent TWA airliner and Berlin disco bombings. Reporter after reporter tried to get

Reagan to say exactly what the U.S. planned next in the mounting confrontation with Libya.

The rhetoric had already reached a new level. After the Rome and Vienna airport bombings a few months ago, the President described Qaddafi as "flaky." Now, he called him "the mad dog of the Middle East."

Still, Reagan was deliberately vague and cautious in his comments. "We're going to defend ourselves and we're certainly going to take action in the face of specific terrorist threats," Reagan said. But he declined to say what exactly the U.S. had in mind.

Military Planning

Earlier in the day, on the other hand, senior U.S. officials continued to warn of yet more direct military action against Libya. U.S. ships and fighter planes were still poised off the Libyan coast in the Mediterranean.

Contingency plans had clearly been drawn for bombing selected military targets in Libya. And as the evidence mounted that Libya, at a minimum, was directly involved in the Berlin bombing, it began to seem increasingly likely that America's get-tough rhetoric

Please turn to LIBYA, Page 5



Naval planes left the U.S.S. carrier Coral Sea to bomb points in Libya.

(See Stories, Page 10)

Chronology of Libyan Attack

April 9

the decision to attack Libyan targets was agreed to during a meeting in the White House of the National Security Council.

April 12-13

strategy and planning meetings were held during which targets in Tripoli and Benghazi were identified. Great Britain agreed to allow U.S. planes based there to leave for Libya. France refused overflight permission.

18 F-111s based in England took off for Libya at 4:00 p.m. (EST), and were joined by 15 A-6s and A-7s from the U.S.S. Coral Sea.

April 14

the 15 A-6s and A-7s, followed by the 18 F-111s reached Libya at 7 p.m. (EST) and began bombing runs that lasts 25 minutes. It was 2 a.m. in Libya.

April 15

two Libyan-launched rockets were fired at a U.S. Loran transmission station near southern Sicily, but missed. Belgium officials told the press they had been asked by Libya to work out a truce with the U.S.

INSIDE

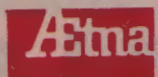
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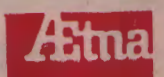
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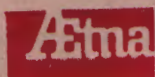
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NATIONAL NEWS BRIEFS

Modai Fall Prompts Aid Questions

In view of the Cabinet crisis in Israel, following the demand by Premier Shimon Peres that Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai resign, *The Wall Street Journal* called last week for the suspen-



sion of all U.S. aid to Israel "until it is known whether Israel is going to have any economic policies worth supporting." The newspaper said, in an editorial, "That probably won't be the case if Mr. Peres wins."

The editorial said that on the basis of Modai's austerity program, "that began to beat back triple-digit inflation and set the state for a possible supply-side revolution," the U.S. came up with new aid in the fiscal year ended March 31 and the year just begun.

The editorial said that by firing Modai, Peres could trigger the fall of the government, canceling the rotation agreement with the Likud and bringing on a new general election. "He's caught by the Likud at a time of bitter internal divisions, so it might result in his return to power with a mandate of his own," the newspaper said, referring to Peres.

Concluding, the editorial stated: "Under what has come to be called the 'Baker plan,' it now is U.S. policy to direct help only to those countries willing to adopt the right policies for helping themselves. What Israel needs to be told by the Reagan administration is that America won't pay to socialize the country's economy."

International News Briefs

In Turnabout, Kreisky Raps Waldheim



Former Chancellor Bruno Kreisky did a sharp about face last week when he accused presidential candidate Kurt Waldheim of dishonesty in dealing with charges that he has a Nazi past.

Kreisky, who is Jewish and a Socialist, had strongly defended Waldheim

only two weeks ago against charges by the World Jewish Congress that he was implicated in atrocities while a Wehrmacht officer in the Balkans during World War II. In fact, he rapped the WJC for meddling in the Austrian elections.

But at a rally here for Socialist Presidential candidate Kurt Steyrer, Kreisky charged that Waldheim has been less than truthful in his own defense. "Truth in politics consists not only of telling the truth but also of not withholding important parts of it," Kreisky said.

He said Waldheim's defense has consisted of admitting things about his past piece-by-piece, only after facts were discovered by the press. He said he told Waldheim this in a telephone conversation.

"An old friendship has broken," Kreisky said, referring to his long-standing personal relations with Waldheim who served as United Nations Secretary General from 1972-81, including the years when Kreisky was Chancellor of Austria.

Despite the charges against him, Waldheim, the candidate of the conservative Peoples Party in next month's presidential elections, appears to be the front-runner.

Blue Cross/Shield Covers Tourists in Israel

Blue Cross-Blue Shield, the American health insurance corporation, has signed an agreement with the Herzliya Medical Center to cover the costs of hospitalization and treatment of American olim or American tourists who need medical attention while in Israel. The agreement is reportedly the first of

its kind with a foreign hospital since Blue Cross-Blue Shield signed an agreement with the American Hospital in Paris during World War II.

The agreement presently covers only subscribers from the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut areas but other regions are expected to be included later. The Herzliya Medical Center, founded three years ago, is staffed by 150 physicians who conduct their private practice at the center.

Based on wire service reports

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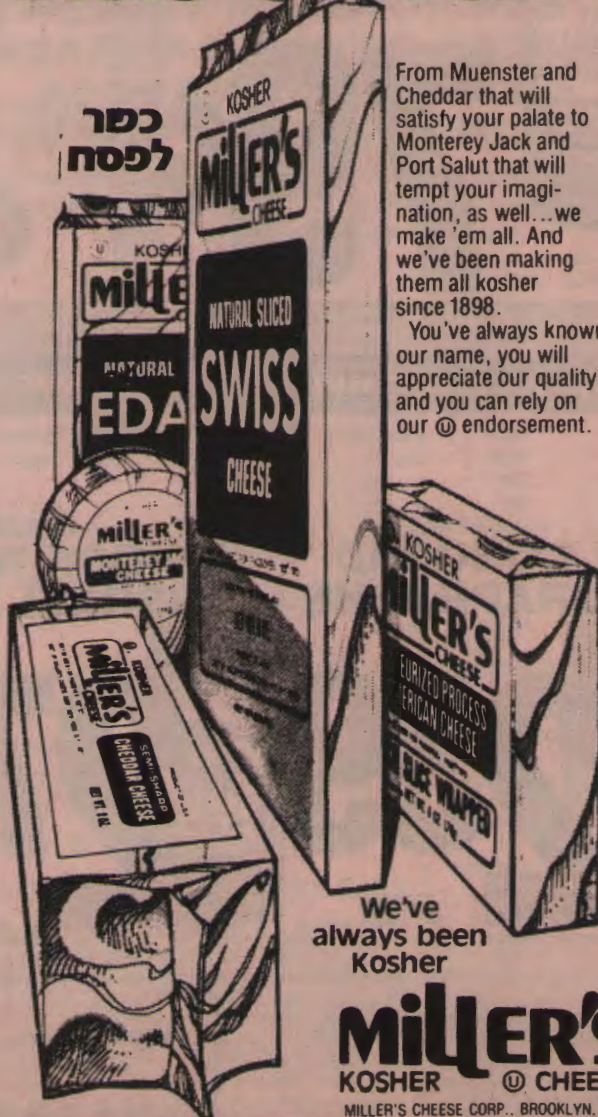
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LIBYA, continued from Page 1

ic was going to be followed by action.

The President said that U.S. intelligence has "considerable evidence" of Qaddafi's role in plotting terror against America. Reagan refused to release specifics, warning that America's intelligence sources might be compromised if such information were known. But he declared that there was "no question" that Qaddafi had sinned us out for attack."

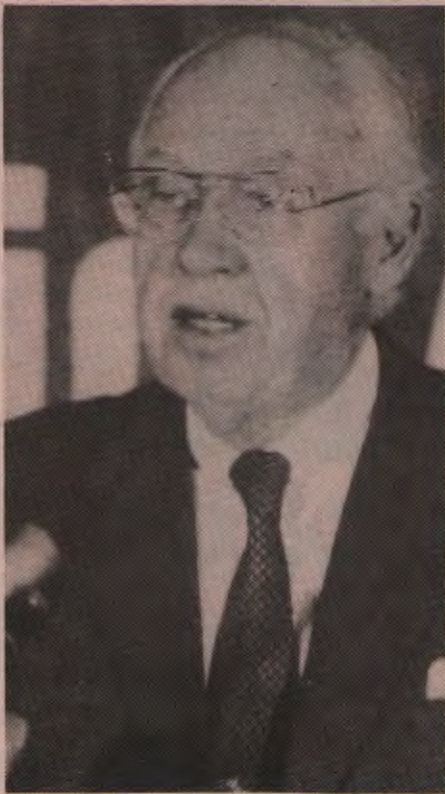
Pointedly, the President also firmly restated the Administration's long-standing policy of military retaliation once the actual people responsible for the terrorist action are found.

These words have been uttered before and nothing much followed. But this time, there was a growing sense in Washington that the Reagan administration was truly fed up and was indeed prepared to take direct 'Israeli-style' military action. The American public and Congress appeared ready to go along with such a policy.

Asked about Syria's role in all of this terrorism, Reagan replied: "We'll go wherever the finger points. So far, the leads have not gone in that direction in some of the more recent events."

CIA Chief

Reagan's news conference followed several other major pronouncements on the subject of fighting terrorism by other senior Administration policy-makers. One of the more important was by William Casey, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, who makes only rare public appearances.



CIA Director William Casey

of State George Shultz noting that this strategic cooperation has become "a formal institutional process." And this "institutionalization has included and features enhanced cooperation in our intelligence exchanges with Mossad," the Israeli intelligence service. This was particularly true, he said, in the area of counterterrorism.

Terrorism Strengthens
U.S.-Israel Ties

Israel's two top diplomats in the United States also addressed the AIPAC gathering. Ambassador to the U.S. Meir Rosenne, in an emotional speech, recalled Israel's own painful history, including such events as the 1972 Munich Olympic slaughter and the attempted assassination of a diplomatic colleague in London a decade later. Rosenne was referring to Ambassador Shlomo Argov, "a man of great humanity and a diplomat of unequalled talent and skill who in the 1960s and 1970s served Israel in this city of Washington with distinction, devotion and pride." His voice choking with emotion, Rosenne noted that Argov is now "paralyzed, doomed to spend the rest of his life in a wheelchair in Jerusalem. We who meet here, at an AIPAC conference, have a solemn moral obligation to remember the fate of Shlomo Argov and all the other victims, to let that memory and those images spur us on to determined and vigorous efforts to battle terrorism to the end."

He argued that "an evermore aggressive Soviet involvement," coupled with "a growing danger from radical and violent groups" operating in the region, was part of a plan to try to tilt the Middle East strategic balance "against the West."

The Soviet "global network," he continued, is very active in the region. "It is anchored in Libya and Syria which are gaining influence and control in Lebanon and Sudan, to further squeeze Israel and the moderate Arab states of the Middle East. These bridgeheads are very real and are not static. They have a purpose: they are located near strategic choke points in the world sea lanes, or in areas of high tension and potential conflict. They are being used to spread subversion and terror and spawn new bridgeheads in neighboring countries."

Syria, Libya and Iran, he said, have discovered that they have "in terrorism a new low cost, low risk method of attacking democratic governments... Terrorism is today an integral part of the foreign policy of the defense apparatus of these states."

Casey noted that the U.S. and Israel have "a shared vital interest in arresting this pattern of Soviet and radical expansionism." He said that in the last few years, "the United States has strengthened and invigorated its strategic partnership with Israel." He referred to recent remarks by Secretary

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Yitzhak
Modai

Israel's government ends week of crisis

Musical Chairs, Israeli Style

JERUSALEM — Israel's Cabinet approved an exchange of portfolios Sunday night that preserves the Labor-Likud unity coalition government and the prestige of Premier Shimon Peres. The session lasted only two minutes.

The week-long crisis which threatened to bring down the 19-month-old government was resolved by having Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai switch jobs with Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, effective Wednesday when the Knesset is expected to approve the exchange.

Modai and Nissim are both Likud Liberals and each admits freely that he has neither experience nor expertise in the other's job. But the unlikely Cabinet shuffle was the only way to satisfy Peres who announced last week that he intended to fire Modai. Had he done so, Likud would have had no choice but to leave the government. Peres, for his part, would not back away from his insistence that Modai leave the Treasury.

Sunday was the deadline. The Cabinet, which usually convenes in the morning, postponed its session until late evening to allow the Likud leadership to hammer out a face-saving compromise. An earlier formula which would have had Modai switch portfolios with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was rejected by Peres because Modai would have returned to the treasury when Shamir becomes Prime Minister after the rotation of power next October 13.

The rotation of power, only six months away, spurred Likud to pressure Modai and Nissim to accept the exchange which neither of them likes. Nissim, by his own testimony never in his "wildest dreams" expected to take over responsibility for Israel's shaky economy.

He was prevailed upon to accept it by two young Likud MKs, Ehud Olmert and Dan Maridor, who argued the case for preserving the coalition. Modai, too, was reluctant to give up the Treasury where he achieved considerable success. His economic austerity program is credited with reducing the

rate of inflation to single digits for the first time in years.

But Peres wanted him out because of remarks published in newspaper interviews last week which the premier said were deliberate attacks on government policy by Modai.

Modai had said last week that he would resign from the Cabinet "if the Premier wants it." He told a packed press conference he made his decision "for the good of the nation" after Peres told the Labor Party convention opening last week that he would dismiss Modai.

By offering to step down voluntarily, Modai would have enabled Likud to avoid a crisis that could dissolve the unity coalition government six months before the rotation of power.

If Peres would have fired Modai he would be in violation of the coalition agreement and Likud would find it difficult to preserve the coalition and retain credibility. The agreement expressly forbids the premier of one party to fire a minister of the other. Although Modai's Likud colleagues responded to his announcement with an outpouring of support, observers believe the Likud leadership was privately relieved by Modai's decision not to fight Peres.

It thwarted what many believe was Peres' intention to precipitate the downfall of the unity government so that Labor could try to form a narrow governing coalition with several of the smaller parties or, failing that, call for early elections.

Although Modai may have frustrated Peres' assumed wishes to dissolve the coalition, he also may have irked Housing Minister and Deputy Premier David Levy, who has posed the strongest challenge in Likud to Shamir's leadership.

Levy, it is believed by many, would be glad to see the government collapse. He could then press his challenge to Shamir not only for leadership of Herut, Likud's largest constituent, but for the top spot on the Likud list in new elections which would make him premier in the event of a Likud victory. □

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Rome Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff

The Pope Goes to Synagogue

ROME—Pope John Paul II visited the main synagogue here Sunday, the first Pontiff in history to enter a Jewish house of worship. He spoke for 20 minutes in words exceptionally warm and rich with meaning, addressed obviously not only to Rome's 2,000-year-old Jewish community, the oldest in the Western diaspora, but to Jews and Christians all over the world.

But above all, it was the scene itself which spoke with memorable eloquence. There was no precedent to the visual impact of the white-robed Pope and the similarly white-robed Chief Rabbi of Rome, Elio Toaff, seated side-by-side at a white draped table, in perfect equality; the Papal entourage seated behind the Pope; the rabbinical entourage behind the rabbi.

John Paul referred to the Jewish people as "our dearly beloved brothers and, in a certain way, it could be said that you are our older brothers." He addressed himself to the centuries of persecution by the Church suffered by Jews and the long process of reconciliation, begun with Vatican Council in 1965 and its famous declaration, *Nostra Aetate* (Our Times), which repudiated Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus.

"Once again, through myself, the Church, in the words of the well known declaration *Nostra Aetate*, deplores the hatred, persecutions and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews at any time and by anyone," the Pope declared. "I repeat, by anyone," he added which, to all present was seen as a reference to the Church itself.

The Pope listened with eyes closed as Giacomina Saban, president of the Rome Jewish community, speaking in tight, measured and precise tones, reviewed the vicissitudes, humiliations and sufferings of Roman Jewry in the long centuries of Papal rule.

Saban was the first to address the hushed throng in the synagogue. He stressed the centrality of Israel to the Jewish people, a broad hint of the disappointment felt by the Vatican's refusal to date to extend diplomatic recognition to the Jewish State.

The Pope made no direct reference to this. But his general statements implied his awareness that the issue will have to be faced in the future. "It is not, of course, because the differences between us have not been overcome that I have come among you. We know well that this is not so," he said.

"Perhaps there still remain between us difficulties of the practical order waiting to be overcome on the level of fraternal relations. These are the results of mutual misunderstanding, and also of different positions and attitudes not easily settled, in complex and important matters."

That last phrase, according to Vatican experts, was the Pope's way of replying that the issue of recognition of Israel is still unsolved and needs to be solved.

The Pope also used several key phrases which seemed to be a direct reply to Jewish objections to concepts recently expressed in Papal homilies. Speaking of love and justice, he said "Christians have learned this desire of the Lord from the Torah, which you venerate, and from Jesus, who took to its extreme consequences the love demanded by the Torah."

That statement too was seen as an emphasis on the post-ecumenical Catholic teaching that Christianity was a continuation of Judaism, not a new religion of love as set up against an obsolete religion of mere law. The Pope also repeated the concept that "The Jews are beloved of God who has called them with an irrevocable calling." □

Based on wire service reports

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New York Rabbi Indicted on Charlatanry

By Stewart Ain

NEW YORK—Rockland County residents were still shaking their heads in disbelief this week after learning that a Monsey Orthodox rabbi, indicted in Brooklyn for allegedly posing as a doctor to treat patients with infertility problems, had returned home and allegedly resumed his "practice."

One of his Brooklyn patients was allegedly so mutilated by the man that his sexual functions have been impaired.

Rockland County District Attorney Kenneth Gribetz said the man, Hirsh Travis, 59, a Hasidic Jew, was arrested on April 4 after allegedly treating a "volunteer patient." The "patient" had been personally recruited by Gribetz to nab Travis after two separate attempts to trip Travis up using employees of the DA's office as "patients" failed.

Gribetz said he first became aware of Travis and his alleged wrongdoing in late 1983 when rabbis in Monsey came to him with complaints they had received from his patients.

Gribetz said he learned that Travis, in addition to having an office in his Monsey home, also operated the Fertility Foundation at 1357 55th St., in the Borough Park section of Brooklyn. Gribetz said he immediately notified both New York City police and Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman's office that allegations had been made against Travis.

But for the next two years there were no further complaints against Travis, and Gribetz said the rabbis in the community were unable to convince any of their congregants to cooperate with him in an investigation. Gribetz said they expressed great embarrassment about their infertility and the prospect of having to publicly discuss the treatment Travis prescribed.

On March 18, Gribetz said a "public-minded" Monsey man he had personally approached for assistance met Travis in his office for a medical consultation. The undercover "patient" was wired and his conversation with Travis was recorded. Before the "patient's" next appointment on April 4, however, Travis was arrested on a 23-count indictment in Brooklyn charging him with assault, scheming to defraud, unauthorized practice of medicine, reckless endangerment, sexual abuse, petit larceny and criminally possessing hypodermic needles and syringes.

In his ad in the Brooklyn Yellow Pages, Travis claimed his Brooklyn clinic offered medical services for the treatment of sexual dysfunction and infertility. The indictment covers a period stretching back to last Nov. 1 and includes a charge that he treated a 21-year-old man on Dec. 1 for a low sperm count. It alleges that he injected the man with improper prescription drugs. As a result, the man developed a condition that required surgery and has left him sexually impaired.

Travis was arraigned and released in \$25,000 bail on the Brooklyn charges which could send him to prison for up to 15 years.

Authorities said they understood that at one time in his life, Travis may have served as a congregational rabbi in Lynn, Mass. They said he has several diplomas on his walls, none of which claimed he was a medical doctor. One was from a yeshiva in Tulsa, Okla., and another was a 1963 doctorate from the Boston Rabbinical Assembly, an institution Gribetz said he was having difficulty locating.

Although his ad in the Yellow Pages did not list him as a rabbi, his name in

the Brooklyn White Pages did list him as a rabbi, authorities pointed out. And it was said that Travis authored a book entitled *The Jewish Marriage*.

Based on the medical records seized Gribetz said it would appear that Travis began his "medical" practice in an office in his one-family home in 1978. He said the records indicate that he treated "several hundred patients" and that most of the patients received psychological counseling.

Gribetz said it is possible that Travis began his practice simply providing psychological counseling — perfectly legitimate for a rabbi — and that he eventually just "went over the line." He said that view is supported by a statement made by Travis' wife at the time of his arrest. As her husband was being led away by detectives, she allegedly told him: "You know you were going overboard—past what you were allowed to do."

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Soviet and European Reactions to Libyan Attack

By Wolf Blitzer

WASHINGTON—The United States has strongly defended its decision to bomb military targets in Libya even as it braces for some negative political fallout from its more cautious West European allies and for a new round of Libyan-sponsored terrorism.

U.S. officials also sought to play down the long-term significance of the Soviet Union's speedy decision Tuesday to cancel a planned meeting next month between Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz. "There will be other meetings," an American official said.

But the Americans conceded that prospects for an early summit meeting between Soviet General-Secretary

Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan were now more remote. Moscow has sharply condemned the U.S. air strikes against Libya, a close friend of the Kremlin.

Shultz said the Soviet Embassy in Washington had been informed of the operation while it was underway. Other U.S. officials said the Reagan administration had also made available to the Soviets the nature of the evidence implicating Libya for several planned terrorist actions.

State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said that the action taken against Libya was "in no way directed against the Soviet Union. The action that we have taken was clear—a justified action against terrorism."

Israel's Leaders Respond to U.S. Attack on Libya

JERUSALEM—Israel's leaders hailed America's punitive air raids on Libya as an act of self defense against international terrorism but stressed repeatedly Tuesday that Israel was in no way involved and had no advance knowledge of U.S. plans.

Premier Shimon Peres, questioned by reporters while visiting Nazareth, said he does not know yet what results the American action might have but "I know the reasons for it. Libya was undoubtedly behind the bombing of American soldiers at the discotheque in (West) Berlin and it doesn't surprise me that the United States takes steps in its own self defense," Peres said.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told reporters after an appearance at the Hebrew University that the U.S. action in Libya was "a determined and daring action against a country which took the lead in the encouragement, finance and support of international terrorism."

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said on an Israel Radio interview that the American action was an act of defense of the U.S. and the free world against international terrorism.

"It is clear to everybody that terrorism can succeed only when it has the support of countries like Libya, Syria and others, and if we want to put an end to terrorism, we have to punish these countries and to convince them

to change their way of action in this regard," the Likud leader said.

But except for Britain, Israel was alone among America's allies to express unqualified support for the U.S. air strike. It was deplored even by the moderate Arab states, including Egypt, which has long considered Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi a foe.

Peres said he "reserved judgment" when asked if he thought the U.S. action went far enough toward eliminating terrorist acts such as the discotheque bombing, the bombing of a TWA airliner over Greece and the machine gun and grenade attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports last December, all of which the Reagan administration claims were masterminded by Qaddafi.

With respect to Israel, he said "We were not invited (to participate in the air strike) and we played no role in it." He warned, however, that Libyan and Palestinian terrorism would not solve anything. "The Palestinians are not our enemies and Israel is interested in solving the Palestinian problem through negotiations," he said.

Rabin, too, stressed that the strike at Libya "was an American action. Israel was not involved and was not notified about it." But, he added, "It is an attempt to deal with the sources of terrorism, not only with those who carry it." Based on wire service reports □

President Ronald Reagan and other senior U.S. officials justified the U.S. action by disclosing that the U.S. had "conclusive" evidence that Libya had been responsible for the April 5 bombing of a West Berlin nightclub and that Libya was also planning many other similar terrorist attacks against American targets.

Reagan, in a nationally-televised address Monday evening, referred to intercepted messages between Tripoli and the Libyan "People's Bureau" in East Berlin both before and after the bombing. "We have solid evidence about other attacks Qaddafi has planned against the United States installations and diplomats and even American tourists," Reagan said, arguing that the air strikes were done in legitimate self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter.

In the past, Israel has always justified its own preemptive and retaliatory air strikes against Palestinian terrorist targets in Lebanon and elsewhere in the same manner.

The Israeli Embassy in Washington issued a statement strongly endorsing the U.S. action against Libya. UN Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, appearing on several American television news programs, also warmly welcomed the U.S. decision as a major blow to international terrorism.

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations also praised the U.S. action against Libya. In a statement, Chairman Kenneth Bialkin criticized both France and Italy for refusing to cooperate with the United States.

"Today," Reagan said in his address, "we have done what he had to do. If necessary, we shall do it again. It gives me no pleasure to say that, and I wish it were otherwise."

Speaking Tuesday before a business group in Washington, the President again warned Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi to stop plotting terrorism around the world. He said that U.S. air

and naval pilots "spoke to the outlaw Libyan regime in the only language that Col. Qaddafi seems to understand."

He cautioned that this might be only the beginning of the struggle. The U.S., he said, "won but a single engagement in the long battle against terrorism. We will not end that struggle until the free and decent people of this planet unite to eradicate the scourge of terror from the modern world."

He continued: "Yesterday, we demonstrated that doing nothing is not America's policy. It is not America's way. America's policy has been and remains to use only force as a last resort. We would prefer not to have to repeat the events of last night. What is required is for Libya to end its pursuit of terror for political goals. The choice is theirs. Yet, let us not underestimate the reach of Qaddafi's terror."

The President said the U.S. does not underestimate "the brutality of this evil man, but Col. Qaddafi ought not to underestimate either the capability or legitimate anger of a free people."

At the State Department, spokesman Kalb conceded that some Libyan civilians may have been killed and injured during the air strikes. "We regret if there was any damage or injury to civilians," he said. "Maximum possible effort was made to avoid collateral damage to civilian targets. If, indeed, there was any such damage, it was unintentional; it was accidental."

Senior Pentagon officials have strongly justified their decision to use British-based F-111 fighter bombers in the air strike against Libya.

They said that the F-111's were more suited to the pin-point bombing operation than the carrier-based A-6 and A-7 attack fighters which were much closer to the Libyan targets. A combination of F-111's and the carrier-based planes was used in the mission. □

(Special to PBJW)

U.S. Attack Debated at U.N.

UNITED NATIONS—The United States and Libya traded rhetorical blows in the Security Council here yesterday when Libyan Ambassador Rajab Azarouk castigated what he termed "the barbaric, savage raid by the United States," while U.S. chief delegate Vernon Walters said "murderous violence" by Libya's leader Muammar Qaddafi had forced the U.S. to strike what he termed "terrorist sites" in Libya.

Prior to the opening of debate at 12:30 p.m. yesterday, Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar issued a statement which appeared to condemn both Libya and the U.S.

Perez de Cuellar said that he "deplores the sponsorship by member states of terrorist activities which are contrary to the U.N. charter and involve the killing of innocent civilians. . . (and) deplores last night's military action by one member state against another, and further utilization of armed force reported this morning." (Perez de Cuellar was making reference to the Libyan attack on the U.S. radar station on Lampedusa.) He regrets that "the means provided in the (U.N.) charter for resolving conflicts . . . has not been exhausted."

Asked about the Secretary General's statement this morning, Walters said he thought it was significant "that (Perez de Cuellar) condemned terrorism before he condemned the U.S." A high UN official told *Jewish World* the Secretary General's statement was the strongest criticism of a superpower by a secretary general he could remember in many years, but a number of Arab delegations were said to feel the criticism of the U.S. by the secretary general was meek and *pro forma*.

In the debate Azarouk thanked France for not allowing the U.S. to use

its air space for the attack on Libya, while condemning Britain for allowing the use of its airfields for the attack. Stating that the U.S. had violated article II of the UN Charter, which forbids the use of force by one state against another, Azarouk asked rhetorically, "Will we listen once again today to empty pointless speeches? Will such speeches condemn the destruction of schools and houses and the damage to foreign missions?" Nothing that President Reagan had also invoked Article 51 of the Charter regarding self-defense, Azarouk asserted, "These barbaric savageries by the United States were not in self-defense. Would that article be voiced to justify a Libyan raid against Texas?"

In reply Walters said that the targets that the United States struck were "part of Libya's military infrastructure" and were used to carry out "Libya's harsh policy of international terrorism, including ongoing attacks against U.S. citizens and installations."

Recalling that last month Qaddafi had said, "We must fight the Americans on 100 fronts," Walters claimed that the U.S. had "direct, precise and irrefutable evidence" not only of Libyan involvement in the Berlin nightclub bombing, but also of foiled Libyan plans to carry out bombings against American targets in Istanbul, Paris, Beirut and Vienna. Walters asked, "Whose dog do they think we are to think they can kill Americans with impunity?"

The debate was to resume late this afternoon and expected to continue today as Arab countries and their third world allies attempt to come up with an anti-U.S. resolution that can gain maximum support in the Security Council despite a certain U.S. veto. □

Based on wire service reports



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Document Further Implicates Waldheim

By Walter Ruby

UNITED NATIONS — The pressure to provide the necessary evidence to determine whether Kurt Waldheim was guilty of war crimes appeared to fall increasingly on Yugoslavia after it became clear last week that the UN file on Waldheim was only a cursory summation of the evidence in Yugoslav government files in Belgrade.

According to Yugoslav press reports, the Yugoslav State War Crimes Commission had condemned Waldheim, the UN Secretary General, as being guilty of "murder," and demanding his extradition as a war criminal. It remains a mystery as to why Yugoslavia did not make its charges public in 1971 when Waldheim emerged as a

candidate for the leading UN post, or why it has declined to go public with a full explanation of the charges during the past several weeks.

Emerging from the UN Archives in midtown Manhattan, Israel's UN Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu told reporters, "From an initial look at the content of the files, it cannot be said that the matter can be laid to rest. There is clear indication of a need for further comprehensive investigation." Netanyahu said he was immediately forwarding a photocopy of the Waldheim file to Jerusalem.

While refusing to divulge the contents of the file, both Netanyahu and Austrian Ambassador to the UN Karl



Kurt Waldheim campaigning last week.

AP/Wide World Photo

Fischer, who, like his Israeli counterpart was granted permission to see the documents by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, confirmed that the UN file on Waldheim was a three-page summation of evidence gathered by the now-defunct UN War Crimes Commission in 1947-48. All of the other 40,000 files compiled by the

UN War Crimes Commission and stored in the UN Archives are of the same standardized three-page form as that of Waldheim.

Netanyahu told the *Jewish World*, "If there were grounds to believe that criminal charges could be brought,

Please turn to WALDHEIM, Page 23.

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A Portrait of Israel's Leading Feminist

By Ruth Mason

Proponents of women's rights in Israel are taking a new approach to what they call "the most burning issue" facing Israeli women today. Rather than fighting to wrest marriage and divorce matters from the religious courts which now control them, and place them in the secular arena, they are working hard for reform within the religious court system.

The religious courts have exclusive authority in marriage, divorce and other family matters in Israel and have repeatedly been charged with discriminating against women.

"It would be too divisive to have civil divorce," said Dr. Alice Shalvi, head of the Israel Women's Network, who was here during a recent speaking tour of the United States. Many fear that the growing rift between religious and secular Jews in Israel would widen beyond repair if two different legal systems were given authority in family matters, she said.

Addressing the "unfairness, injustice and discriminatory nature of the rabbinical courts" is the top priority of the Israel Women's Network, Shalvi told a meeting of American feminist leaders in Manhattan. The network is an umbrella organization encompassing virtually every Israeli women's group.

Distortion of Halacha

Shalvi, a distinguished-looking, lively woman with piercing eyes, blames today's rabbis—and not Jewish law—for the situation she deplors.

"The rabbis are giving halacha a bad name," Shalvi told the meeting, sponsored by the New Israel Fund, an agency that funds socially progressive projects in Israel. Shalvi described herself as a practicing Orthodox Jew who believes halacha, or traditional Jewish law, is compassionate. "But the compassionate aspect of halacha is not being practiced in Israel. What we see today is a distortion of halacha," she charged.

The network's declared resolve to concentrate its efforts on reforming

the religious courts marks a sharp departure from past feminist strategies. The formation of the coalition itself—which includes Knesset members from the right-wing Tachia Party and Shulamit Aloni, founder of the left-wing Civil Rights Movement bloc—seems to signal a new wave of Israeli feminism. The network is broad based and growing fast. In contrast, the Israeli feminist movement of the '70s was small and concentrated on the political left.

The network and others who advocate reform of the rabbinical court system see the problem as two-fold. Nowadays, more right-wing rabbis are applying to be *dayanim*, or religious judges. In addition, halacha itself has become ossified and is not changing with the times.

As an example of the discriminatory nature of the religious courts, Shalvi cited the fact that nearly 100 men in the last five years were granted permission by dayanim to remarry before receiving a divorce from their wives. No such permission is granted to women in similar positions.

"No one knew about this until we publicized it," said Shalvi, who described the practice as "scandalous." While the Knesset prohibits bigamy, Ashkenazi men may remarry without divorcing if they obtain the signatures of 100 rabbis. Sephardi men need only the permission of Israel's Sephar Chief Rabbi.

Seven percent of these men's wives had left the country and could not be found and six percent were in mental institutions. Many of the rest were holding out for higher maintenance custody payments, Shalvi said. She praised the courts for showing compassion in these cases, but said no such compassion was forthcoming towards women whose husbands refused to grant them a *get*, or Jewish divorce document, which is required in Israel.

Under Israeli law, a woman who remarries without a *get* is an adulteress. Any children from the remarriage are regarded as illegitimate and cannot legally marry other Jews except for

offspring of similarly "adulterous" liaisons.

Shalvi sees Jewish law as basically protective of women. In Israel, where the rabbis have civil jurisdiction over such matters, a man who refuses to grant his wife a divorce, thus leaving her unable to remarry, can be jailed to force the granting of *get*. But the rabbinical courts overwhelmingly fail to resort to these measures, Shalvi observed. Some dayanim are known for the fairness of their decisions, however, and Shalvi's group tries to direct women to their courts.

"The rabbis are giving halacha a bad name"

Shalvi said the Israel Women's Network has convinced Na'amat, the women's Labor Zionist group and Israel's largest women's organization, to join its strategy of rabbinical court reform. Na'amat had previously pressed for secular marriage and divorce.

As part of the new strategy, the Israel Women's Network organized a postcard campaign in which 2,000 people wrote the chief rabbis urging equal treatment of men and women by the religious courts. The network itself has had three meetings with Israel's chief rabbis in which they submitted a list of proposals for halachic reinterpretation. A group of women lawyers set up by Emunah, the Orthodox women's organization, investigated the situation and made similar liberalizing recommendations to the chief rabbis.

"Halacha need not be petrified as it is in Israel today," Shalvi said. "It must confront the changed status of women in Israel. We can't stay thousands of years behind society."

Throughout the ages, Jewish law has been reinterpreted to meet the demands of the times, Shalvi said. She cited Rabeinu Gershon's 12th century ban on polygamy as an example. "This is the spirit I'd like to see in Israel today," she said. "The ban came because Jews were living in a Christian, monogamous society. Jews have always known how to adapt to life around them."

She blamed the politicization of religion for the lack of halachic reinterpretation in Israel today. The chief rabbis are appointed by the government and are "afraid to rock the boat," Shalvi charged. "They see themselves as supporting the right-wing of Orthodoxy."

Speaking of other religious leaders in Israel, she claimed, "What happens so frequently is that rabbis don't want to have fingers pointed at them from the right. But it's time for people to stand up and be counted."

"Liberal Orthodox rabbis must speak out. We who believe in the true spirit of halacha will defend them from the ultra-Orthodox," Shalvi declared.

As one strategy, the women's network is trying to liberalize the nature of the 10-member board that appoints dayanim. "We discovered that only four board members are appointed by the religious authorities," Shalvi said. Two are appointed by the Israeli Bar Association, two are members of Knesset and two are cabinet ministers. These appointees can be non-religious and they can be women. The network currently is lobbying to get women Knesset members appointed to the board that chooses the dayanim. It has succeeded in getting female Knesset members of the Labor Party to support the candidacy of the Likud's Sarah Doron.

American Feedback

The network's approach has stirred

Alice Shalvi: Orthodox Grandmother, Fighter For Equality

Alice Shalvi is an anomaly. She is an Orthodox Jew who fights for the equality of women. She is a 1958 "Housewife of the Year" who urges women to become involved in politics and public life. She is an educator and grandmother of seven who sees as her primary goal the raising of Israeli women's consciousness and the combatting of sexism in the political, social and religious spheres in Israel.

"One doesn't see many observant, religious women involved in the issues she's working on," said Erella Hadar, Israeli Consul for Cultural Affairs in New York and a former student of Shalvi's. "One needs to be familiar with internal Israeli politics to see how impressive this is."

American Jewish Congress Executive Director Henry Siegman called Shalvi "one of Israel's most extraordinary citizens." He said she "combines the best of the varied strands symbolized by Israel—religious commitment plus commitment to democracy and to pluralistic values."

On a recent U.S. speaking tour, Shalvi made a strong impression on other Americans.

The novelist Ann Roiphe, who is concerned with "how sexist Israel is" and not overly optimistic about the possibility of change there, said, "But what can be done, Alice will do. And we will stand with her in America. She is a beloved person."

Shalvi is a professor of English at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, principal of the Pelech Religious Experimental High School for Girls, a public speaker and writer, and most recently, head of the newly formed Israel Women's Network coalition.

Including such varied strands as Emunah, the women's organization of the National Religious Party, and Shulamit Aloni, the outspoken civil rights leader, the network is combatting sexism and working for women's rights in a variety of arenas.

Though Shalvi claims she was "born a feminist," she, like many Israelis, was oblivious to the lack of equality

between the sexes in Israel for many years. Her eyes were opened at a workshop she led on women and the family in the early 1970s.

"When I talked about equality in the home, most of the women there laughed in my face and said, 'You don't know what you're talking about,'" she recalled. "They proceeded to tell stories of being held back by their husbands, of being prevented from studying, of family violence. I went home to my loving, supportive husband in shock. This for me was a turning point."

Shalvi traced her concern for public affairs and her instinctive feminism to the influence of her "unusual and enlightened" parents. She was born in the large industrial town of Essen, Germany to a religious Zionist family. Her father was a delegate to the Zionist Congress and served on the Actions Committee of the Jewish Agency. When Alice was seven the family moved to England, where she attended public schools and had private Hebrew

tutors at home. She remembered her parents' house as a hospitable one that was always full of guests.

Speaking of her feminist roots, she noted, "I can't remember a time when I didn't just take it for granted that anything a boy could do, a girl could do. I was accorded equal treatment with my brother; it was always assumed that I would get a university education and become a professional."

In 1949, at the age of 23, Shalvi moved to Israel. She hoped to put her training as a social worker to good use in the newly established state, but found she could not get a job because she didn't speak Arabic or Ladino. "I only knew English, Hebrew, German, Yiddish, etc.," she said with a laugh.

In desperation, Shalvi took a job teaching English as a second language at the Hebrew University and has been there ever since. Her reasons for studying for a Ph.D. were practical ones: "It was," she said, "the key to promotion."

(Special to PBJW)



Alice Shalvi

debate on both ends of the political and religious spectrum.

Rabbi Louis Bernstein, president of the Orthodox Rabbinical Council of America (RCA), expressed sympathy for the goal of rabbinical court reform. But he disagreed with Shalvi's tactics.

"The appointing of dayanim requires a great deal of expertise in Jewish law, which unfortunately women today aren't trained in," he said in an interview.

Speaking of a teach-in the women's network held when the RCA's jubilee convention in Israel in 1985 refused to give them a platform, Bernstein said, "Their behavior was reprehensible.

"To be confronted in such a manner was unladylike," he said. "It's not that we disregard the issues, but we don't come to Israel to answer Israeli problems, just as the Chief Rabbi of Israel wouldn't interfere in American Jewish issues. A rabbi is *mara d'atra*, the final authority in his place."

Shalvi said the teach-in, which attracted 200 women and two RCA members, was organized to protest the RCA's denunciation of women's prayer groups in the United States.

"That's our problem here, and it is totally unrelated to her problems there," Bernstein said.

But Bernstein added he empathizes with the problems women are facing. Speaking of the problem faced by observant Orthodox women in the United States whose husbands refuse to give them a get, he said, "We're now engaged in a major effort to make it easier for an *agunah* to get a divorce. But it's a very difficult, arduous, lengthy task."

An *agunah* is a married woman who is separated from her husband and cannot remarry, either because he won't grant her a get or because it is not known whether he is alive.

Two years ago the RCA introduced a prenuptial contract that was to be

signed by Orthodox Jews before marriage, committing each partner to grant the other a get in the event of civil divorce or face financial penalties, and meant to be enforceable by civil courts. Six months later, however, the RCA

withdrew the document, citing problems in the legal language used. A spokesman at the time said an improved version would be introduced by November 1984, but none has been issued yet.

The women's network approach also meets tempered criticism from civil libertarians.

"Anyone who works for progress is doing something positive," said Shulamith Koenig, international coordinator of the America-Israel Civil Liberties Union. "But they are accepting the hegemony of the religious courts. In Israel, you have 10 to 15 percent of the population which is religious trying to control the rest. The argument that two court systems would be too divisive is a threat used by the religious. Divisiveness with dignity is better than coercion."

Feminist Perspective

The Israel Women's Network was born out of dialogue between Israeli and American women sponsored by the American Jewish Congress in Israel in August 1984. The broad-based coalition considers itself feminist and includes all 10 women Knesset members and most Israeli women's groups, including Emunah, the religious women's organization, Israeli feminist groups, the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) and Hadassah.

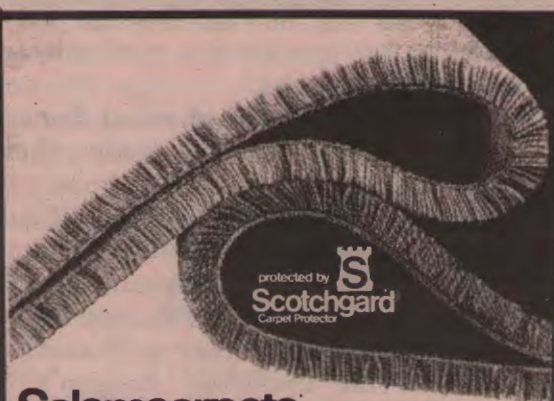
The network has impressed both Jewish and political leaders in the United States. "In a short time, the network has made a big impression on the Israeli political scene," said American Jewish Congress Executive Director Henry Siegman.

Former U.S. Congresswoman Bella Abzug, who met with Shalvi in New York, said, "I think they're creating a very strong consciousness that doesn't exist and that is very much needed in Israel."

The network sees its goal as nothing less than full equality for women in Israel and an end to sexism in Israeli society. "Legislatively, Israel is way ahead of the U.S.," Shalvi said, citing the equality clauses in the Israeli Declaration of Independence as well as many laws enacted by the Knesset. "But legislation is not enough, as we have found to our cost in Israel."

In reality, there are only 10 women in the 120-member Knesset, no women cabinet members, no female directors of government ministries and no women in the top echelons of the Histadrut, Israel's powerful labor federation. Only four percent of university professors in Israel are women, according to Shalvi.

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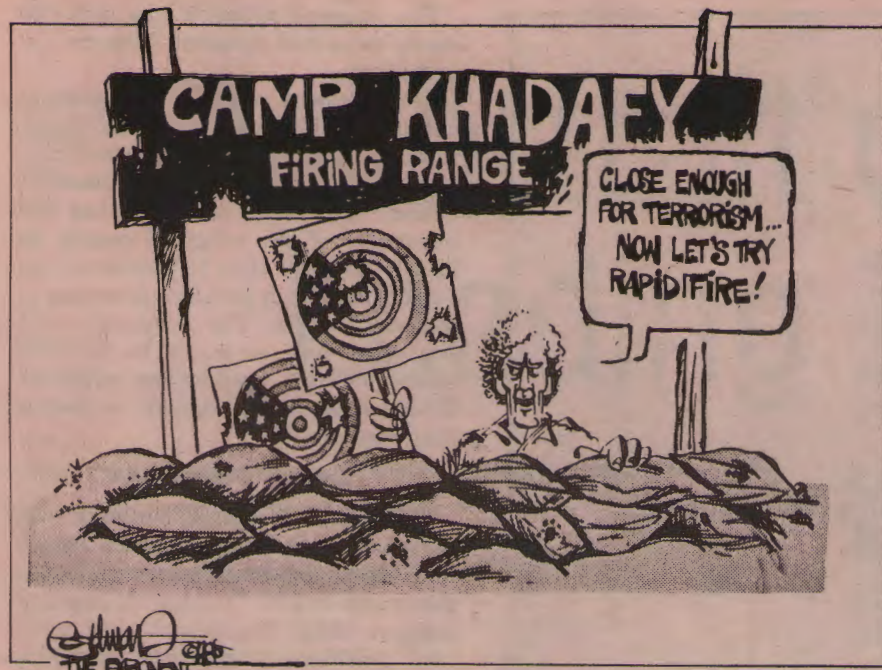
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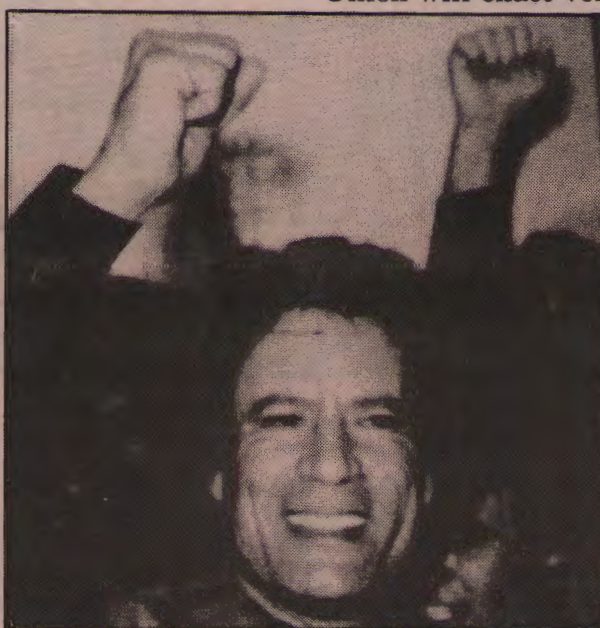
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The Next Move

The recent U.S.-Libyan confrontation in the Gulf of Sidra, followed by the U.S. retaliation Monday night against Libya for the part it played in the TWA and German disco bombings, may at last signal a change in Washington's hitherto wavering commitment to deal forcefully with Muammar Qaddafi and his terrorist accomplices. By resorting to the use of force, the U.S. has delivered a clear message that terrorists will have to pay a high price for their continued brutality.

Of course, it isn't certain that military initiatives will work. But then again diplomatic perseverance, economic sanctions and restraint haven't worked either. In fact, a good argument can be made that Qaddafi has been encouraged by a U.S. policy of abstaining from the use of force. As President Reagan noted in his television address Monday night, since 1972 the Libyan dictator's meddling in the affairs of his neighbors and his support of terrorism have dramatically increased. Sudan, Chad and Egypt have been Qaddafi's prime targets. Before the battle in the Gulf of Sidra and before the U.S. decision to use force, Qaddafi had reportedly devised a detailed plan to assassinate U.S. diplomats and tourists in Europe and was planning to unleash bands of suicide squads within the borders of the U.S.



Critics of a military response argue that Qaddafi will only escalate his war of brutality. And while there is little doubt that he will try to unleash a new wave of terrorism, that argument begs an important question: hasn't terrorism already escalated beyond the point which the U.S. is willing to tolerate? How many more Vienna and Rome massacres are these critics willing to accept before approving a military option?

Critics also argue that military responses will only crystalize Arab support for Qaddafi and will move him into the role of a major player in Middle East politics. We think that possibility unlikely. That argument ignores the reality that most Arab states, who are threatened by Qaddafi, have been uneasy with the Libyan dictator and privately welcome his end. Even after the confrontation in the Gulf of Sidra, there were only a few perfunctory expressions of concern. Qaddafi's neighbors showed no sign of rushing to his aid then, and there is no reason to assume they will do so now.

A number of critics also say that dealing with Qaddafi militarily

will not solve the root problem of terrorism. One must first resolve Palestinian claims in the Middle East, they say. That argument, however, implies that U.S. Middle East policy must change not because it is wrong but because it is a hostage to terrorism.

The answer, of course, is that fear is a poor reason for making policy changes. Carried to its logical extreme, moreover, the U.S. might have to abandon its European allies and quit NATO for fear that the Soviet Union will exact vengeance against military personnel in Europe.

The root-cause argument also assumes that there is some room for discussion and negotiation with Qaddafi and his terrorist accomplices. The argument further assumes that the U.S. and Israel have been unwilling to deal with the Palestinian demand for self-determination.

Those assumptions, of course, are myths. In reality, the root cause of the Palestinian problem is the unwillingness of Qaddafi, Syria's Hafez Assad and Yasir Arafat to accept diplomatic initiatives. The tragedy and blood of the Palestinian people rests at Qaddafi's feet, not at the feet of the U.S. or Israel.

Some critics also say that Qaddafi is the wrong target—that, instead, the U.S. ought to be confronting Syria, Iran or the PLO. There is some truth in that position. But the critics miss the point of selecting Qaddafi. The point

isn't to bully Qaddafi, who is undoubtedly the most convenient target. Rather, the point of the exercise, as Secretary of State George Shultz suggested Monday night, is to deliver an unflinching message to Syria, Iran and the PLO that the U.S. has grown tired of being victimized by terrorists and is now willing to use military retaliation against all terrorists.

No doubt, the physical damage of the U.S. strike can and will be repaired. Yet there is a psychological and political price which terrorists now know they must pay. There is a new calculation, there are new stakes, which politically unstable regimes must consider before they unleash their agents.

Moreover, it is arguable that the new U.S. military option will convince our allies in Europe to play a constructive role in convincing Qaddafi and other godfathers of terrorism to give up their guns. So far President Reagan's call for diplomatic and economic initiatives has fallen on deaf ears in Europe. The raid against Libya hopefully will nudge our allies into some action. □

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LETTERS

'Beautiful Purim Explanation'

To the Editor:

You will be pleased to know that I (and many of my friends) have been happy readers of *Jewish World* for several years.

But what this letter is really all about is to tell you that I was particularly taken with "A Very Strange Festival" by Shlomo Riskin in the March 21st edition.

Nowhere, not Sunday school, not the synagogue, not books, have I had such a beautiful explanation of Purim given to me. I am keeping the article for my children, grandchildren and great-grandson (when he can read).

Sincerely,
R. T. Friedman
Pompano Beach, FL.

Please turn to LETTERS, Page 16



Marvin Schick



Charles Silberman

Present Tense Sponsors Joel Cavior Book Awards

Silberman and Schick Debate Nature of Anti-Semitism

By Benjamin Levitman

Charles Silberman, who asserted in his recent book, *A Certain People*, that anti-Semitism is no longer a major factor shaping the lives of American Jews, defended that thesis recently during a forum sponsored by *Present Tense* magazine.

It is a position that has drawn fire from certain quarters as unduly rosy. And *Long Island Jewish World* columnist Marvin Schick, one of those who has attacked Silberman's thesis, joined him on the dais, as did Milton Himmelfarb, recently retired as the American Jewish Committee's director of information and research services.

By the time the forum finished, however, many in the audience discovered that much of the heat generated by the book is a matter of whether one thinks the author is describing anti-Semitism today or predicting that it will not become a problem in the future.

The program, held at the American Jewish Committee's New York headquarters, was in conjunction with *Present Tense's* presentation of its 1985 Joel H. Cavior Book Awards, one of which Silberman received for *A Certain People*.

Acknowledging the controversy over his general assessment of anti-Semitism, Silberman contended that much of the dispute was a matter of perceptions and the inferences one draws from such perceptions.

Weighing his words carefully, the tall, white-haired researcher-journalist told his audience, "I have not argued that anti-Semitism has disappeared in America. On the contrary, it exists and it's real. That much is plain from newspaper reports about extremist activity in the Midwest and from Louis Farrakhan's speeches.

"The critical question, though, is not whether anti-Semitism exists or whether instances of it are growing or diminishing in number. Rather, the real questions are what kind of anti-Semitism is it that we encounter today, and are we talking about attitudes or behavior?"

Attitudes are significant, Silberman acknowledged, but behavior is more so. It is behavior that powerfully affects access to economic and social opportunities, he said.

"A generation ago," he observed, "anti-Semitism was widespread in American society. But where it caused Jews particular injury was its prevalence in society's upper reaches. It was there that decisions were made about who would and wouldn't be admitted to the corporate suites, graduate and pro-

Silberman's thesis is that antisemitism no longer affects society's behavior as much as in the past

fessional schools, and to certain neighborhoods.

"Today, that sort of discrimination is rare. And while attitudinal anti-Semitism still exists in certain age and economic groups, it no longer affects the central choices in our lives—where we live and work and go to school.

"The anti-Semitism that remains," he concluded, "is largely confined to the private domain, and because the United States now is a genuinely pluralistic society, there are powerful forces to keep anti-Semitism from intruding into public life in general and politics in particular."

Challenging this optimistic assessment, Schick argued that while Silberman's book displayed good use of critical materials, anti-Semitism is a subject that cannot be dealt with in statistical terms.

"One of the problems I have with Mr. Silberman's book," he told the forum, "is the way he handles polling data

showing that while the general public's levels of anti-Semitic attitudes have declined, a large percentage of Jews still report either experiencing or perceiving a great deal of anti-Semitism.

"What's his response? He deals with it by observing that when it comes to assessing anti-Semitism, Jews have 'a tendency to exaggerate.' That comes very close to assigning our perceptions of anti-Semitism to an excess of paranoia."

Yet Schick too acknowledged that Jews are paranoid about anti-Semitism. It was, he said, an understandable social trait given the course of Jewish history.

"Mr. Silberman argues that we need no longer be so defensive about anti-Semitism because America is now an open society. But Weimar Germany was also an 'open society.'

"The truth is," Schick added, "anti-Semitism is, by nature, irrational and, therefore, unpredictable. You can't plot it on a graph, and that's why we can't rely on statistics and polls to tell us the current state of affairs or what will happen in the future.

"I liken the whole question of measuring anti-Semitism to looking at a married couple who have problems but persevere in their relationship. Then suddenly one day something goes wrong and the relationship explodes in violence in a way no one could have predicted."

It was left to Himmelfarb, the third panelist, to note that both Silberman and Schick agreed anti-Semitism today affects American Jews less than it did a generation ago.

Himmelfarb attributed the controversy over Silberman's thesis to readers mistaking the author's description of anti-Semitism's currently low level for a prediction that anti-Jewish attitudes and action will continue to remain low in the future.

"It is often said that Jews are different from other human beings,

and the hostility to Charles' book provides a good example," Himmelfarb said. "Human beings like to kill the messenger who brings bad news. Jews attack the messenger who brings good news."

The Change at Columbia

As an example of how opportunities have opened for American Jews, he noted that a half-century ago Columbia University's English department was wracked by a debate over whether Lionel Trilling should be given tenure.

Trilling, who later became one of the nation's most respected literary critics, was a Jew, and at the time of the debate members of the department questioned whether someone with a Jewish religious and cultural background had appropriate credentials to interpret English and American literature.

"Today," Himmelfarb said, "it is no longer a question. The president of Columbia is a Jew, as is the president of Barnard College. Moreover, Yale recently went even further and offered its presidency to an immigrant Jew—and he turned them down!

"So why then, despite all the objective evidence that Jews now hold positions in the highest ranks in business, education and government, did Jews, by a two-to-one ratio, deny that 'Virtually all positions of influence in American society are open to Jews' when the American Jewish Committee posed that statement in a survey conducted in 1984?" Himmelfarb asked.

Some insight into the nature of Jews' continuing unease can be gleaned from their responses to questions in the same survey about which groups in America they viewed as anti-Semitic, he suggested.

"Only six to seven percent thought the Democratic party or liberals were anti-Semitic," Himmelfarb said. "Contrast that with the fact that 29 percent of our Jewish respondents thought 'many' or 'most' Republicans were anti-Semitic; 35 percent thought the same of conservatives; and 40 to 46 percent thought that of Christians."

Self-Justifying Syllogism

"What we have here, I would offer, is a syllogism: 'Most Jews vote for Democratic and liberal candidates. But America today is a country dominated by Republicans, conservatives and Christians. Therefore, America is not a good place; therefore, there must be anti-Semitism.'

"Quite simply, we do not allow the facts to invalidate our logic," Himmelfarb concluded.

Please turn to Silberman, Page 23

LETTERS, continued from Page 14

Questions Wiesenthal Grant

To the Editor:

The heralded "wall of separation" negotiated by the attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Simon Wiesenthal Center to legitimize the California state grant of \$5 million to the Center for its "Museum of Tolerance," albeit a holocaust memorial, is porous in that California law restricts examination of the records of sectarian institutions because of the "freedom of religion" clause in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights. This "Catch 22" situation limits the required monitoring of the funds allocated by the state.

Removal of the constitutional question from any court test also sets a precedent for any and all sectarian bodies to seek and secure funds from the state treasury by creating a separate legal entity that by-passes the constitutional prohibition of such funds to religious institutions for educational purposes. Each can now create their own "noble cause," and lobby the legislators for support, if blessed with any significant financial power.

There is also another dimension to this issue for the organized Jewish community.

Contrary to the charge by the Wiesen-

thal Center officials that the opposition was due to the "jealousy" of the other Jewish "defense" agencies because of the Center's successes, there is the matter of multiple fundraising appeals without regard to need, limited resources, and duplicative, overlapping organizations, especially in the field of fighting anti-Semitism, while other services go begging for dollars to meet growing demands such as care for the elderly, and more intensive education of the young.

The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and especially their local coordinating bodies, have been derelict in facing this question of competition for valuable dollars. The CJFWF "budgeting" bodies may audit institutional budgets, but none dare challenge need, especially if the institution is blessed with powerful supporters.

It will be interesting to observe future developments in this field of Jewish "defense," and its use of holocaust history to justify portions of their fundraising appeals.

Sincerely,
Hyman H. Haves
Pacific Palisades, Ca.

Sees No Nicaraguan Antisemitism

To The Editor:

Two news briefs on page two of your March 28 issue caught my eye and prompted me to ask myself: what made these items newsworthy for *Jewish World* and its readers? One was headed "Prominent Jewish Republicans Urge Contra Aid;" the other "ADL Supports Pres. Reagan's Charge of Sandinista Anti-Semitism." Obviously, it must have been the allegation of anti-Semitism attributed to the Sandinista government of Nicaragua; for, taken by itself, what is so important to *Jewish World* and its readers in the fact that 19 prominent Jewish Republicans support President Reagan's request for \$100,000,000 for contra aid? Indeed, one would normally expect that of Republicans.

On the other hand, *Jewish World* did not report the activities of *Central America Week* (March 16-23) during which a large number of church groups, church-connected organizations and individual rabbis and ministers throughout the country carried out various programs supporting peaceful negotiations of problems in Central America and opposing any aid to the contras in Nicaragua. Apparently, these events involving

Nicaragua are not newsworthy for *Jewish World*.

I am writing as a representative of the Palm Beach Coalition Against Intervention in Central America. We have contacts with numerous people and organizations who have lived in, worked in or visited Nicaragua. None has ever reported to us any evidence of institutionalized anti-Semitism attributable to the Sandinista regime. One of the articles mentions Rabbi Bricker's statement to the contrary. According to the Council of Hemispheric Affairs which conducted five separate investigations no evidence was found of persecution of Nicaraguan Jews.

President Reagan's charge that the Managua synagogue was fire-bombed and the entire Jewish community has "been forced to flee Nicaragua" is on a par with his recent remarks about the "invasion" of Honduras by the Nicaraguan army. He clearly has an axe to grind and doesn't hesitate to spout anything he dreams up, expecting that his position as president will lend it credence.

Can it be that the ADL is only too ready to find anti-Semitism wherever opposition to Israeli policies and actions occur? Since it sounds illogical that the much-beleaguered Sandinista regime would deliberately engage in anti-Semitic acts and practices against Jews just because they are Jews, the ADL and other detractors must attribute the alleged anti-Semitism to other reasons; e.g., "a reflection of the repression inherent in the Marxist-Leninist society the Sandinistas seek to establish;" that is, the society is supposed to be inherently anti-Semitic. Such is their view of a government which came to power with the overwhelming support of a deeply religious Catholic peasantry and other religious elements of the population.

The last thing Nicaragua needs is a "pluralistic, democratic" society in the U.S. mold. What it needs is what it has: a managed society which allows for some pluralism in the form of the participation of 7-13 political parties in an elected National Assembly; a society which maintains an economy some 60-70 percent devoted to free enterprise; one which permits the operation of an opposition press even in time of war (with the U.S. and the contras); one which seeks its own development in response to its people's needs, free from outside interference. It is not empty democratic forms that are needed in Central America; what is needed is true, real economic reform which will keep the formerly dispossessed really free and independent. Such is the true image of the Sandinista government, even if some of its leaders are Marxist. Perhaps that is so because some of its leaders are Marxists.

To use charges of anti-Semitism, not for the purpose of fighting anti-Semitism but for an entirely different end—to overthrow a government whose purposes are at odds with your own—is a pretty cheap shot.

I say "shame" to those well-heeled Republican Jews who would use dubious charges of anti-Semitism to influence the Congress to turn over \$100,000,000 to the likes of Burmudez and Lima. They are nothing but erstwhile underlings of Somoza who fled the wrath of their countrymen and now, having no place else to go, are posing as great yearners after democracy. Or to Alfonso Robelo, the spokesman for the big-business segment of Nicaragua, which cannot tolerate having its overweening influence in a "free enterprise" society curtailed in any way.

Hyman R. Cohen
West Palm Beach, FL.

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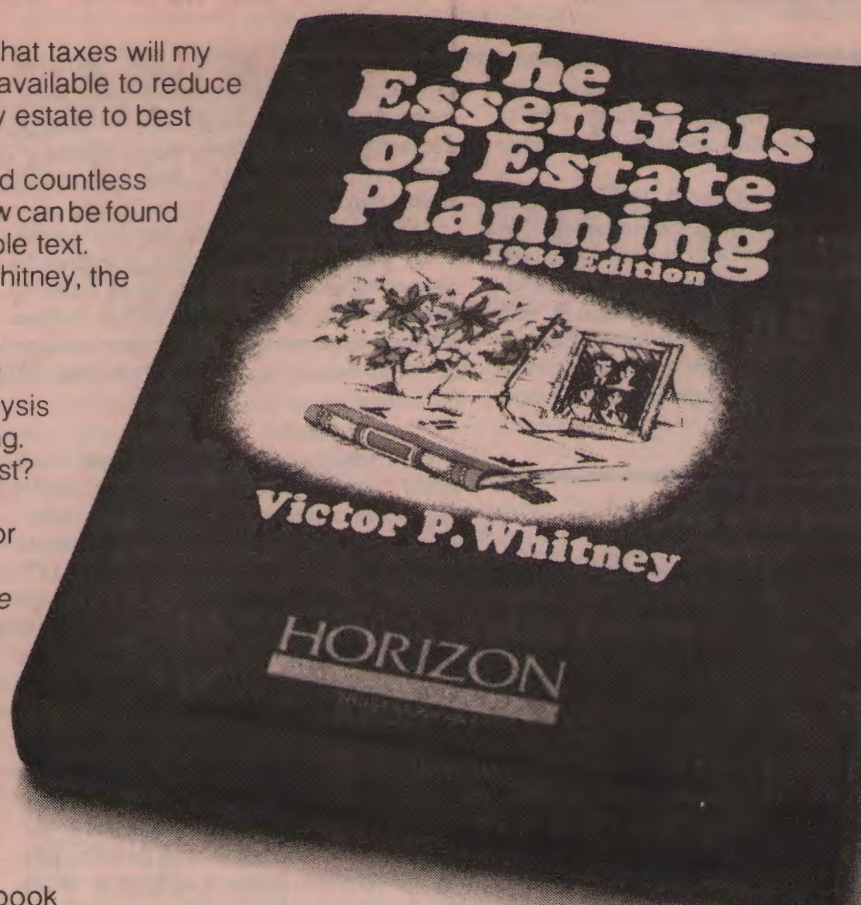
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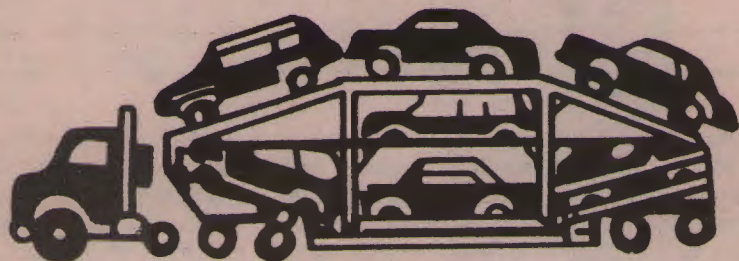
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Oscar-winning film is new Thanksgiving story with a Russian-Jewish twist



A scene from award-winning film, *Molly's Pilgrim*

Molly's Pilgrim Warms Hearts

By Ruth Mason

The members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences didn't know it, but in presenting their Oscar for best live-action short film last month, they paid tribute to a Russian Jewish immigrant who lived in Brooklyn more than half a century ago. Although she wasn't thanked or mentioned, this woman was the original inspiration for *Molly's Pilgrim*, the half-hour-long production that won the Academy Award in that category.

Many of us hear and retell touching or memorable family stories about our grandparents who came here as immigrants. But the original Molly's story was fortunate enough to fall on the right ears: that of a writer of children's books, an enthusiastic librarian, a producer with an eye for a human story and a talented young filmmaker.

The writer is Barbara Cohen, prize-winning author of many children's books who, just when she was looking for a new story idea, heard a family tale from her cousin Betty, the original Molly's granddaughter.

Molly's daughter, Rosie, came home from school one November day about 60 years ago saying she must make a pilgrim doll as a Thanksgiving project. "What is a pilgrim?" the 'greenhorn' Molly asked her daughter.

"A pilgrim is someone who came from the other side for religious freedom," her daughter answered. So Molly made a doll that looked like her Russian immigrant self and sent it off to school with Rosie.

"As soon as I heard it, I knew it would make a good story," said Cohen. *Molly's Pilgrim* was published in 1983 by Lothrop Lee & Shepard, a division of William Morrow & Co.

Not long afterward, a children's librarian in Newburgh, N.Y. spotted the book and sent it to Phoenix Films, a Manhattan-based independent producer and distributor of educational films. Barbara Bryant, a Phoenix producer who "doesn't make films about how things are but about how they should be," according to Phoenix Vice President Bob Dunlap, fell in love

with the book and showed it to filmmaker Jeffrey Brown. Eleven months and \$50,000 later, the film became a reality.

The budget is a mere shoestring by film-industry standards. But the movie is beautifully shot and the story is one with universal appeal.

"Call Me Moll"

Molly (in the film, the mother's name is given to the daughter) is a nine-year-old Russian girl newly arrived in present-day snowy American suburbia with a long braid, thick accent and all the wrong clothes. The film's opening scene establishes Molly's identity, her impending struggle and one of the story's messages: The camera focuses still-life-like on Molly's nightstand, where a music box decorated with a star of David is playing "Hatikva" next to a Russian doll. As her mother comes in to wake her for school, Molly covers her face with her thick quilt.

"Mashinka," her mother prods lovingly and says a few words in Russian. "Speak English," says Molly. "And don't call me Mashinka. Call me Molly now."

Her mother concedes the English but adds, "I don't want you to forget where you came from."

The next few scenes endear Molly to us; she is a sensitive child, eager to learn and be accepted. But accepted she is not. Her classmates stand apart from her at the bus stop, giggling at her flowered babushka. In the crowded, noisy school cafeteria, a lonely Molly, wearing a too-long dress, tights and high shoes, eats by herself from a plastic container, napkin tucked into her collar, while her blue-jeaned classmates laugh and scoff at her over their peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. The worst insult comes when Molly stops longingly by a group of classmates playing jump rope on the way home from school. Elizabeth, the leader of the anti-Molly campaign, nastily taunts, "What are you staring at, big nose?"

At home, Molly stares dejectedly at a photograph of herself with her two

Continued on Next Page

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National Jewish Book Awards

NEW YORK—Authors of ten works on various aspects of Jewish life have been announced as winners of the 1986 National Jewish Books Awards by Blu Greenberg, president of the JWB Jewish Book Council.

The winners are:

Jewish Thought—David Hartman for *A Living Covenant: The Innovative Spirit in Traditional Judaism* (The Free Press).

Biography—Jehuda Reinharz for *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader* (Oxford University Press).

Fiction—Arnost Lustig for *The Unloved: From the Diary of Perla S.*, translated by Vera Kalina-Levine (Arbor House).

Holocaust—Raul Hilberg for *The Destruction of the European Jews: Revised and Definitive Edition* (Holmes and Meier).

Israel—Steven L. Spiegel for *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's*

Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan (University of Chicago Press).

Jewish History—Robert Liberles for *Religious Conflict in Social Context: The Resurgence of Orthodox Judaism in Frankfurt Am Main, 1838-1877* (Leo Baeck Institute/Greenwood Press).

Scholarship—Michael Fishbane for *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford University Press).

Visual Arts—Carol Herselle Krinsky for *Synagogue of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (The Architectural History Foundation/MIT Press).

Children's Literature—Linda Atkinson for *In Kindling Flame: The Story of Hannah Senesh, 1921-1944* (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard).

Illustrated Children's Book—Florence B. Freedman for *Brothers*, illustrated by Robert Andrew Parker (Harper & Row).

Continued

best friends in the Soviet Union.

"I want to go home," she tells her mother tearfully.

Says Mama: "You are home." She then attempts to soothe her distraught daughter with, "Soon they will know you better and they will all love you."

That night as her father tucks her in, Molly asks, "Why do they make fun of me? I never do nothing to them."

Says Dad: "They forget that everyone is different, but everyone is the same too. One nose, big or small, one heart. Even those girls have heart."

"I don't think so," Molly replies.

"You should look closer," says Papa.

New Kind of Pilgrim

The tension builds as Molly's class is assigned the project of making pilgrim and Indian dolls for a model Thanksgiving celebration. The doll is only half done by Molly's bedtime. But Mama, a seamstress, says she'll finish it. To her question about what a pilgrim is, Molly answers that it's someone who comes to this country for freedom. Mama nods with understanding: "Like us."

The next morning, Molly cannot conceal her disappointment. The doll is exquisite, but is dressed in traditional Russian garb. "It's beautiful," Molly manages. "But it is not a pilgrim."

"A pilgrim is someone who came from the other side for freedom," Mama replies. "In Russia, your passport said you are a Jew. Here it says you are an American."

"Listen to your mother," says Papa. "She knows what she is talking about."

Molly grimly takes the doll and trudges through the snow to school. When her turn comes, she is reluctant to show the doll. Her worst fears come true as the other kids laugh, "That's not a pilgrim, it's a Russian farmer!" Even kind, understanding Miss Williams says the doll is beautiful—but not a pilgrim. Molly then musters her courage and tells her teacher what Mama said: "Mama came here for freedom because in Russia it's very hard to be a Jew."

With new understanding, Miss Williams turns to the class and says, "Some of you probably understand what Molly's mother is saying, but I think not all of you do." She asks them to explain.

"I think Molly is a new kind of pilgrim," says Jenny, a small black girl.

"It takes all kinds of pilgrims to make Thanksgiving," says another child.

Miss Williams tells the class that the pilgrims got the idea for Thanksgiving "from Jews like Molly and her mother... from reading in the Bible about Sukkos."

Jenny turns to Molly and smiles: "Your doll is beautiful, Molly."

That afternoon, Molly skips home happily. The film ends with Molly and her classmates posing behind their Thanksgiving dolls for a picture. Molly slides past the now-chastened Elizabeth to stand next to Jenny. Her new friend throws her arm around Molly and the camera clicks on Molly's smiling face.

The Actors

In real life, that smile belongs to Sophia Eliazova, a ballerina who had no acting experience before *Molly's Pilgrim*. Yet her native talent is such that the viewer feels that closing smile is but a reflection of the kind of inner happiness that comes from the love and acceptance of one's peers.

Brown, the director, found Sophia after placing ads in Russian newspapers in Brighton Beach and Queens. "We saw 200 kids," he said, "and Sophia was about number 199. But as soon as she walked in, I knew she was the one. She had an amazing presence—a poise and grace and control that's rare in a kid her age. She's extraordinarily gifted. Before a crying

scene, she would go into the bathroom and think about hungry people in her neighborhood or about the world after a nuclear destruction and cry. When she told me about the nuclear war part, I told her not to do that anymore and used bottled tears."

Most of the other children were also first-time performers. How did Brown transform them into convincing actors? "I cast for types, for certain characters," he said. "And then I tried to get the kids to reveal themselves on film."

Reflecting on her ability to play Molly so convincingly, Sophia said, "When I did the movie, I began to like Molly so I tried to be like Molly. I tried to help her."

While part of the film's beauty lies in the fact that it is shot in snow-covered suburbs, the choice of setting is an exercise in poetic license, said Dr. Eric Goldman, director of the Jewish Media Service, a national media resource center. "Soviet Jews rarely get resettled in middle-or upper-middle-class areas where there are no other Jews," he pointed out. "Nobody dresses like Molly. The first thing Soviet Jews do



Barbara Bryant, who produced the film

when they get here is buy jeans." But despite the breaks with immigrant reality, Goldman hailed the film as "powerful and touching."

For Brown, 29, who has been making films since he was 12, the Oscar represents the big break many artists hope for but few get. He said he thinks the film's subject matter played a large part in determining the award. "It's essentially an immigrant story," he said. "But the most fundamental aspect of the movie is about prejudice of all kinds. Prejudice is simply fear of someone who is different from you."

Brown knows about being different. He grew up in Uganda, the son of a Jewish pediatrician who worked with starving children in refugee camps and a Roman Catholic mother who considers herself Hindu. "So I consider myself a Buddhist Jew," he said with a chuckle.

The Academy Award has opened a lot of Hollywood doors, Brown said. He is now working on ideas for his first feature-length film. His main interests: movies about cultural conflict and films in which people "grow in small ways." If *Molly's Pilgrim* is any indication of Brown's talent, his is a name to watch.

Molly's Pilgrim is being distributed by Phoenix Films (\$50 for a one-day rental) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (\$40 for a day). □

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Japan Puts On the Brake

The strong upsurge in the stock market riding on record-breaking volume was interrupted by Mr. Sumita, the governor of the Bank of Japan (BOJ). He directed the central bank to take steps to control lending activities. With Mr. Sumita's remarks, the market responded very negatively in the early moments of the April 3 morning session, dropping 409 yen, the largest fall on record.

The BOJ's decision was based on its concern that both the stock and bond markets and land investment are growing increasingly speculative, given the rapid increases in the prices of bonds and stocks and of land in the center of Tokyo.

□ The stock market has appreciated 15.5 percent, or 2,132 points, during the month of March alone.

□ Land prices in the center of Tokyo recorded a year-to-year gain of 53.6 percent in 1985, reflecting the very tight supply situation for office and residential space.

The BOJ governor is worried that, left unchecked, the overheated bond and stock markets and real estate investment may create an inflationary environment.

We Don't Think BOJ Is Shifting Basic Policy. Our interpretation of the BOJ's decision is not that the BOJ intends to change its easy-money policy, but rather the central bank means only to cool off investment behavior. Underlying our assessment is the fact that the deceleration in economic activity mainly arising from the stronger yen will not allow the Bank of Japan to take a tighter monetary policy. In fact, it will be under increasing pressure to lower the official discount rate even farther to stimulate the domestic economy.

Although the BOJ's announcement has resulted in a fall of the bond market (the yield was up), we believe that the interest rates in Japan will continue to trend downward at least toward the summer, and the possibility is quite high that the discount rate will be cut to the historical low level of 3 percent (or lower) before then.

Super-Liquidity Prevails, But Market Fashion May Shift. The super-liquidity situation that we argue has supported Japan's bull market is still very much with us, and we think the trend of the market is likely to be up over the

longer term, supported by the very low interest rates we expect will continue through the end of this year and into 1987.

It should be noted, however, that market fashion frequently changes when there is a significant drop in the stock market indexes, as exemplified by the collapse on April 16, 1985, (the index was down 345 yen) and on July 31, 1985, (the index was down 321 yen). On April 10, 1985, export stocks entered a clear consolidation phase while domestic-oriented stocks started to rise, gaining extreme popularity. On July 30, the reversal between two groups took place—namely export stocks started to recover strongly toward the end of 1985, whereas domestic-oriented stocks suffered from profit-taking through January 1986.

Domestic Stocks Likely to Consolidate While Speculatives Emerge. Our gut feeling is that a temporary share price adjustment may be required among front-running domestic-oriented groups such as the real estate stocks, brokerages, warehousing stocks, fisheries, interest-rate-sensitive stocks, consumer stocks, and oil refineries. We think these stocks have around 10 percent or so downside risk from this level. We feel that speculative stocks, such as those that were popular in the February market, may replace front-running domestic-oriented stocks, which could be due for a consolidation of at least several weeks. We doubt, however, that investors' interest will be shifted into exports. Rather we reiterate our view that investors should take advantage of any rebounds in export-oriented stocks to reduce their positions in this group. At the same time, we suggest they increase the weightings of domestic-oriented stocks in their portfolios.

Buying Opportunity. Looking at a three- to four-month investment time frame, we believe that the most attractive stocks will be the leading domestic-oriented stocks in each respective industry. We think they may offer at least 20 percent to 30 percent upside potential, assuming that investors will accumulate the shares during the possible weakness in share prices, which we expect to take place over the next few weeks. □

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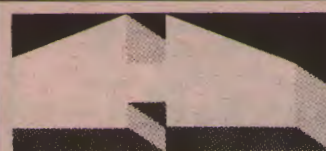
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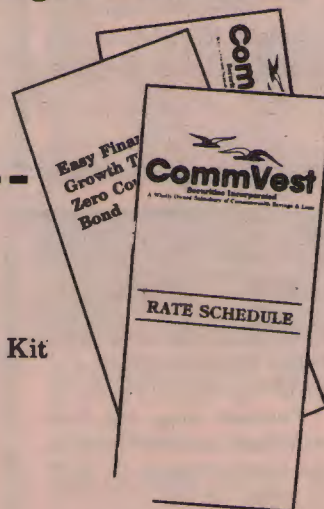
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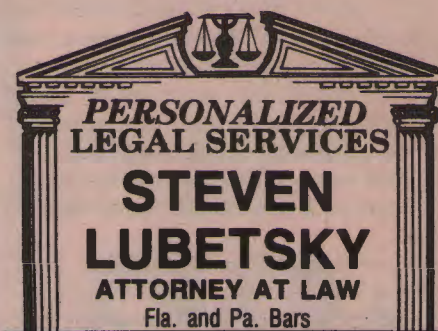
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WALDHEIM, continued from Page 11.

(the investigator) could not limit himself to the UN file. He would have to go back to the source documents." Netanyahu also said he saw "no indication" that the Waldheim files had been tampered with in any way.

Famed Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal issued a direct appeal to the Yugoslav government to open its files. In a press conference here last week, Wiesenthal said, "As a matter of justice and historical truth, Yugoslavia should send Austria its file so the people of Austria can know this whole matter before the (May 4 presidential) election."

Wiesenthal said he "did not know" why Yugoslavia kept quiet about its charges against Waldheim for so many years, but noted that Waldheim had received a medal from the Yugoslav government and been received personally by the late President Tito, who headed the partisans who Waldheim fought in Yugoslavia. He reiterated, "Only Yugoslavia can provide the answers now, by releasing the entire Waldheim file."

Wiesenthal also criticized the World Jewish Congress, contending that the WJC ought not to have charged Waldheim with being a war criminal unless it had irrefutable evidence. According to Wiesenthal, "To call someone a war criminal is a very hard thing. It is possible to kill someone morally as well as physically... I do not work that way. One should have the documents (that prove the allegations) in hand and the (public) charges should be moderate. Otherwise people will say you are a hater."

SILBERMAN,

continued from Page 15

During brief questioning from the audience, Silberman summed up his perspective on the debate over his view of anti-Semitism.

"Since emancipation in the 17th century," he said, "Jews have suffered a failure of nerve. That failure has been the fear that, given a choice between remaining Jewish and assimilating into an open society, Jews would opt to assimilate."

"One measure of the quality of Jewish life is not how many Jews opt out, but how many Jews opt in. And in researching my book, the most striking and significant fact I discovered about American Jews and Judaism is what has not happened. American Jews haven't opted out of their Jewishness or Judaism."

Challenge of Volunteerism

"So long as American Jews remain Jews, there is a chance for them to become better Jews. And that raises a profound challenge for our community: Whether it can reconstitute itself on the basis of volunteerism and choice, or whether our communal institutions will rely on raising the cry of 'anti-Semitism' to maintain their constituencies' loyalties and affiliation."

The winners of the seventh annual *Present Tense*/Joel H. Cavior Book Awards were Charles Silberman for *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* (Summit Books) in the general non-fiction category; Jehuda Reinharz for his biography *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader* (Oxford University Press); and novelist William Herrick for *That's Life* (New Directions).

Also receiving awards were Michael R. Marrus for *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford), in the field of history; and Robert Alter, whose volume *The Art of Biblical Poetry* won in the category of religious thought.

Literary critic and writer Irving Howe, author of *The World of Our Fathers* and editor of *Dissent* magazine, was presented a special citation for lifetime achievement. □

(Special to PBJW)

Wiesenthal, who was reported to have been miffed by the failure of WJC investigators to consult with him during their original investigation of Waldheim in Vienna in February, also implied he believed the WJC had been fed the incriminating documents on Waldheim by the former Secretary General's political opponents in his race for the Austrian presidency. According to Wiesenthal, "If it had not been for Waldheim's political opponents, these charges would never have come up."

Meanwhile, the WJC revealed early this week that a secret wartime report signed by Waldheim was used in 1947 by US prosecutors at Nuremberg as evidence of Nazi war crimes in Greece.

The WJC characterized the docu-

ment, which its investigators found in the US National Archives last week, as "extraordinary documentary corroboration" of its earlier announced conclusion that Waldheim was a war criminal. Waldheim's report, dated August 11, 1944 and stamped "secret," evening report of the intelligence section of the High Command of Army Group E, and reports on "band activity" — the Germans' expression for partisan operations — south of Iraklion, on the island of Crete.

The WJC also made available two intelligence reports from the Army Group E High Command three days later which describe a German "cleansing operation" launched in the area Waldheim had identified as a center of partisan activity. According to the two reports, German forces engaged in the operation "destroyed two band villages" and "shot to death

20 hostages" in the area southwest of Iraklion.

On August 18, 1947, the report signed by Waldheim and the follow-up reports were read in open court at the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg by the prosecution at the trial of Wilhelm List and eleven other German officers charged with the mass murder of hostages and the "reprisal" destruction of hundreds of towns and villages in the Balkans during World War II. List and most of the other officers charged were found guilty and sent to prison.

According to WJC General Counsel Eli Rosenbaum, "The discovery of these Nuremberg documents has qualitatively changed the character of the Waldheim affair, and compels the initiation of a major criminal investigation."

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(L. to r.) Chief Rabbi Moshe Rosen of Rumania, Chief Rabbi Mordechai Elyahu of Israel's Sephardic community; President of Yeshiva University, Dr. Norman Lamm; Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira of Israel's Ashkenazic community, and Chief Rabbi Rene-Samuel Sirat of France at the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University.

Israel's Rabbis Chastise Reform and Conservative Leaders

Conservative Leader Responds

NEW YORK — The head of the congregational branch of Conservative Jewry accused Israel's two Chief Rabbis Monday of "divisive political action" and said they used their visit to the U.S. to interject "political views and concepts into a religious discussion."

Franklin Kreutzer, president of the two million member United Synagogue of America, which represents 850 Conservative congregations in the U.S. and Canada, spoke in response to charges made by Rabbis Avraham Shapira and Mordechai Elyahu, the Ashkenazic and Sephardic Chief Rabbis of Israel respectively, that the Reform and Conservative movements "are creating a new Torah that can divide the Jewish people."

The Chief Rabbis claimed that Reform and Conservative rabbis do not conform to halacha (religious law) and demanded that they "stop converting to Judaism according to their new laws."

"The issue is not whether Conservative rabbis observe halacha, as they do in conversions and all other religious observances, but where the rabbi obtained ordination. If the ordination was Orthodox, the procedure is accepted; however, if a rabbi with Conservative ordination follows strictly, to the very letter of the law, halachic principles, the conversion is not accepted."

"Why? The answer is obvious — politics," Kreutzer declared. "This divisive political action on the part of the two Chief Rabbis of Israel is consistent with the Orthodox attempt to amend the Law of Return in the Knesset, which has been repeatedly rebuffed and rejected. It is *hutzpadick* for the chief rabbis to come to America and state that 'We ask of you, don't divide the Jewish people' when it is they and their Orthodox communities that are sowing the seeds of distrust and divisiveness," Kreutzer said.

Based on wire service reports □

NEW YORK — Israel's two Chief Rabbis—Ashkenazic Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira and Sephardic chief Rabbi Mordechai Elyahu — said that the Reform and Conservative movements in America "are creating a new Torah that can divide the Jewish people. They must not change halacha (Jewish religious law) and must stop converting to Judaism according to their new laws," the two rabbis said.

In an interview at the Israel consulate here, Elyahu said: "The Jewish people is not a race, it is a religion. The halacha sets the rules of conversion. The Reform and Conservative (movements) want to create a new Torah and they want us to recognize their new religion. By their new laws, they encourage assimilation. They want to force their opinion on us and change halacha."

Shapira added: "The Reform and Conservative rabbis want to convert *goyim* and make them Jews against halacha. How can you make a *goy* a Jew when part of the Jewish people (the Orthodox) doesn't want him?"

"The point of controversy is not Who is a Jew? The struggle is against the Reform and Conservative way of conversion. We are not against the four or five million Reform and Conservative Jews in America. They will always be Jews. The point of contention are the some 5,000 people whom the Reform

and Conservative movements converted, not according to halacha."

The Chief Rabbis, who were in New York on a five-day visit to attend Yeshiva University's 100th anniversary, were asked about the escalation of tensions between secular and religious Jews in Israel.

"There are extremists on both sides," Elyahu replied. "In our opinion, the majority of the Israeli people are sympathetic to religion and keep the traditions of the Jewish people. But there are groups who are creating the escalation because they do not accept the fact that most of the people favor religion." Shapira noted that the Chief Rabbinate has been working to build bridges between religious and secular Jews in Israel.

Shapira contended that since the establishment of the State of Israel, there has been a "consensus" regarding the character of the Jewish State. "The consensus has been that as a State the character of Israel will always remain Jewish while inside one's home every person can do as he pleases." Now, however, Shapira charged, "there are elements who want to break the consensus." He cited the opening of movie theatres in Israeli cities and towns on Friday nights as an example of "breaking the consensus."

Based on wire service reports □

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Condos for a Jewish Community

By Caryn Eve Wiener

FIRST, YOU notice the features, ticked off in the sales brochure: an eat-in kitchen, a separate level for bedrooms and patio space outside the condominiums.

But read on, and discover that each kitchen is equipped to satisfy *kashrut*, that each private patio has space for a *succah* and that the Brooklyn neighborhood surrounding 52nd Street is filled with "familiar *balabatish* people."

Clearly, more than just the sprinkling of Hebrew and Yiddish in its sales brochure is what sets Borough Park Towne House apart.

The Brooklyn duplex and triplex condominium housing is one of a handful in the neighborhood designed with its natural market in mind: Borough Park's Orthodox Jewish and Hasidic community. (Other projects along similar lines include the Fifteenth Avenue Gardens, and the White House, a co-op.)

Here, the "open market" is the Orthodox market: So ensconced is this neighborhood in the daily life of attending *yeshivas*, or private schools, *shuls*, or synagogues, and *shtetlach*, a small house of worship, that these words — which also appear in the brochure — need no translation for consumers.

(On the rare occasion that a visitor asks, a sales person such as Lazar Spira will explain. *Kashrut* is Jewish dietary law, a *succah* is the wooden structure built for the harvest festival of Succot and a *balabatish* environment is one that offers a homey, warm satisfying family life.)

Hoping to inject the blighted, crime-battered 52nd Street of years past with a strong, curing dose of that *balabatish* medicine, the Borough Park Developers Co., a private investment firm, carved the development out of the former Midwood Gardens. An 11-building rental property, the apartments had their beginnings in the 1920s as four-story brick walkups.

But the local building boom that has virtually resculpted Borough Park during the last few years has also thoroughly transformed Midwood Gardens.

"This is a 'gut-rehab,'" said Joel Kaplan, president of the sales brokerage for the complex, Prime Resources Group. Kaplan, an Orthodox Jew, was born in Borough Park. "We created townhouses, some with finished basements, some with patio roof space. We wanted to privatize every foot." Current prices range from \$122,000 to \$185,000.

Kitchens offer twin sinks, ample counter space and storage cabinets, to prevent meat and dairy dishes from mingling. The full-size kitchens are eat-in kitchens because Orthodox families have many children — and the dining room is generally reserved for holidays and Sabbath use.

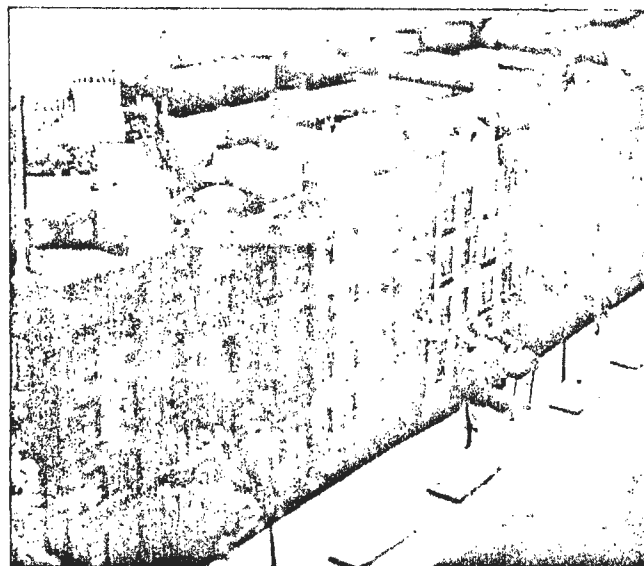
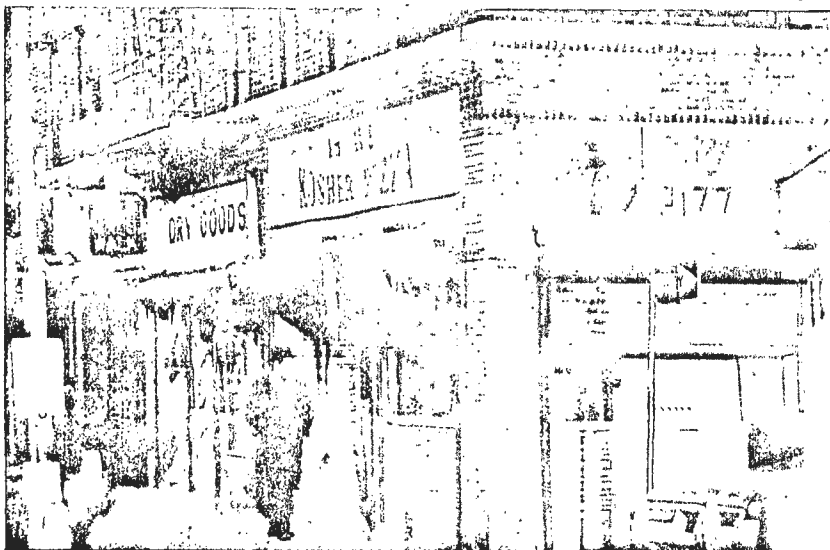
Each of the bedrooms is designed for two children. And the master bedroom must accommodate twin beds; religious law bars a husband and wife from sleeping in the same bed.

Outside, patios and rooftops have areas set aside for the *succah*. And although elevators can carry residents to their third-floor duplexes, stairwells are also present.

"The Orthodox cannot ride in elevators on the Sabbath," explained Kaplan, adding that operation of a mechanical device such as an elevator is considered a form of work, which is forbidden on the day of rest.

A religion-dictated design is not as unusual as it may seem, said architect Peter Thomson, who directed the project for the firm, Ruthzeit, Kasserian, Thomson & Bee. "It's a lot like designing a custom home, which also has specific needs," he said.

Prime Resources already has sold about half of the development's first phase — two buildings near the corner of 52nd Street and 18th Avenue containing a total of 60 units — so far all to



The blocks of Borough Park boast matzoh bakeries, kosher butchers and pizza parlors, above; artist's model of new condo project, left, depicts rooftop space where structures called *succahs* for harvest festival can be built

Newsday Photos
/ Audrey C. Tiernan

Orthodox Jews. Occupancy is expected soon. There ultimately will be 250 units.

The promise of a fully occupied future is painted in bright colors across the brick facades. A mural outside the yet-to-be-renovated buildings depicts what life will be like after the "rehab."

"I am looking forward to having something new for a change," said Alexander Lieberman. The 60-year-old diamond cutter is selling his two-family home in Borough Park and expects that, by late February, he and his wife, Freda, will be living in the three-bedroom duplex, with rooftop patio, that they bought for \$112,000.

Typical of Orthodox couples, the Liebermans have a large family — seven married children and 30 grandchildren — but unlike many future residents of Borough Park Towne House, the Liebermans are "empty-nesters," moving in without children.

Yehuda Gobioff, the owner of a local hat store, said that when he, his wife, Chany, and their four children move sometime in the spring, their new three-bedroom triplex will be the first real home they have ever owned. It will mean "community" in the residential sense, and in the religious sense as well.

"Others who are not Orthodox can of course live here," said Gobioff, who is a longtime friend

of Kaplan's. "But I don't think they would want to buy there."

The community is a cornucopia of Jewish activity, and there are often two or more *yeshivas* to a block, as well as kosher butchers, matzoh bakeries and other shops catering to a religious lifestyle.

Borough Park, with a population of 188,000, has become a haven for thousands of Orthodox and Hasidic families and their children who were displaced first from Europe by the Holocaust and later, from blight that began to claim Williamsburg, Crown Heights and other Brooklyn neighborhoods of their American refuge.

Much of Borough Park's new real-estate has been guided, in one form or another, by the non-profit Southern Brooklyn Community Organization, directed by Rabbi Shmuel Leffkowitz. The organization, begun a half-dozen years ago in an attempt to stabilize what had been a slowly eroding housing market, has already developed Fifteenth Avenue Gardens, another condominium complex designed for the Orthodox.

All of which has been an education for Thomson, who was SBKO's architect as well. "A market's needs are a market's needs," said Thomson, who is not Jewish. "It's just that these needs in Borough Park are dictated by a higher order." ■

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MIDSTREAM

A Monthly Jewish Review

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Statement of Purpose

THE THEODOR HERZL FOUNDATION has been established as an educational agency to promote the study and discussion of problems confronting the Jews of the world today. Two overwhelming changes in the context of our Jewish existence—on the one hand, the destruction of one-third of world Jewry, which has erased many political and cultural landmarks, and on the other, the rise of the State of Israel, which has opened broad new horizons—call for a reexamination of basic concepts and the ways to Jewish fulfillment. Equally grave and equally difficult to answer in traditional terms, are the fateful questions that face a world aghast at the threat of its own annihilation. It is against this background that *Midstream* has been conceived.

In sponsoring *Midstream*, a Zionist publication, we are committed, above all, to free inquiry. We conceive Zionism as, in essence, a questioning of the Jewish *status quo*, and as a steady confrontation of the problems of Jewish existence. It is our hope that *Midstream* will offer critical interpretation of the past, searching examination of the present, and afford a medium for considered and independent opinion and for creative cultural expression.

Midstream is not an official organ, nor do the publishers and editors necessarily identify themselves with views expressed in its pages. It is our purpose, rather, to enable a wide range of thought to appear in the columns of this magazine.

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A Monthly Jewish Review

DECEMBER, 1985

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ARYE LIPSHITZ

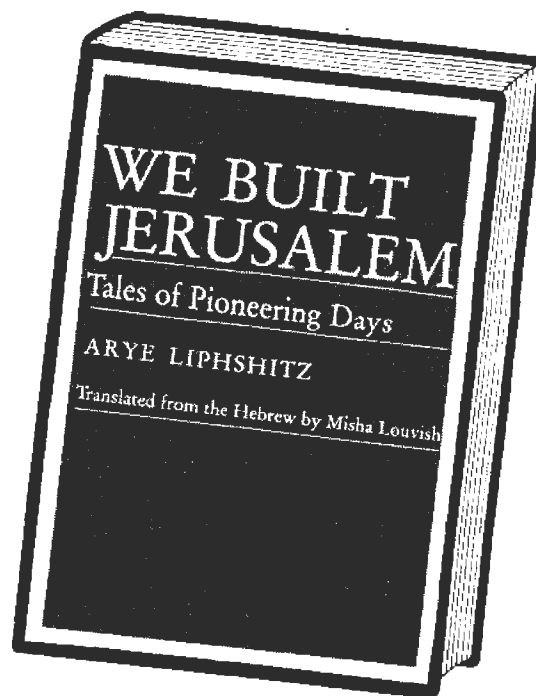
Translated by
MISHA LOUVISH

A superb re-creation of the Palestine milieu of the 1920s and 1930s, this collection of short stories has been selected from a much larger oeuvre written by Arye Liphshitz over the past seventy years. In *We Built Jerusalem*, many characters take shape and emerge as complete, compelling personalities. At the same time, the problems and promise of the State-in-the-making emerge as well.

The Palestine of 1920, when Liphshitz arrived with a group of pioneer comrades from Cracow, Poland, was vastly different from the Israel of today. Liphshitz's own experiences provide the bases for his dramatizations of the hardships the pioneers encountered. There is the story ("Master of His Fate") of the tragic conflict between one pioneer, Benjamin Goldwasser—who is fascinated by the Russian Revolution and who joins the Communists—and his Zionist comrades in Jerusalem.

Another young pioneer, David Auerbach in "The Last Stage," unhappily falls in love with a young woman shortly after his arrival in Jerusalem. A poignant and unhappy situation also appears in "Under the Horses' Hooves," in which Mahmud Hassan falls in love with Nada—who is married to a man who ill-treats her.

Loneliness and haunting memories permeate the lives of Liselotte Grau, widow of a German-Jewish professor who had been killed by the Nazis, and Lily Jordan, a German-Jewish poet in "Three Women." An equally moving tale, "Jum'a and Jamila," focuses on the friendship—and the strains placed on that friendship—between Jum'a Ibn Rashid and Alexander Neri; the latter's decision to conceal his Jewish identity while working on a construction project in Trans-Jordan leads to unexpected and painful difficulties.



The parochialism of the orthodox religious neighborhood in Jerusalem in "Gates of Joy" and the narrative of Zalman Stark's attempt to escape from the neighborhood are balanced by an account in "The Monk" of the strictly controlled lives of the monks in the Armenian monastery and the actions and fate of one young monk who rebelled.

Arye Liphshitz, turning to fiction in order to convey a true, full, and eloquent account of the early days in Palestine, treats personal and political dimensions with equal mastery. The stories in this volume constitute a realistic, albeit lyrical, representation of lives lived against a backdrop of an evolving society. They reflect the difficulties of the Third Aliyah pioneers in adapting to a new life and reveal their soul-searchings as they sought a foothold in the ancient homeland. Some toiled with revolutionary fervor; others sought a modicum of personal fulfillment; and still others were devastated and broken by the struggle.



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Fundamentalist Bluff

JON KIMCHE

I met the father of modern Muslim fundamentalism, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, exactly 40 years ago — in December, 1945 — in Cairo. Hasan al Banna was at the height of his fame and power. He was feared and courted by all the parties and by the King himself. He had unleashed the sword of Islam and had become the political power broker whose support or enmity could make or break the government of Egypt, and could protect or undermine the monarchy itself. Estimates of his Brethren ranged from 50,000 to two million. On the face of it, fundamentalist Islam had arrived in a great surge of populism.

The day before our private meeting I had watched Hasan al Banna in action, preaching as the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood at one of Cairo's larger mosques. It was frightening. His evocative and menacing oratory roused his audience to a state of frenzy directed at the British occupation of Egypt and against the evils of Western ways brought to Egypt by the British, and at the corruption they had introduced in high places. Without specifically naming the King, the government, the police, and every other emblem of the establishment, he called for their destruction in the most violent terms. The Brotherhood was depicted as the sole guardian of Islamic morality and Egyptian patriotism, which was attacked and persecuted by all the secular political parties in the government and opposition. It was the perfect prototype for those religious fundamentalists who were to flourish in its wake. Al Banna had provided the pattern others could follow: religious extremism in the service of the politicians who were prepared to pay the price.

The next day I met this prophet of revolution and destruction in the privacy of his home. He was alone: no aides, no acolytes, no secretaries. I was taken to him by one of the leaders of the Wafd, Fuad Serrageddin, the man who has now surfaced again to lead the Wafd in opposition to President Mubarak. In public, the Wafd and the Brotherhood were deadly enemies who never ceased to attack each other in the most venomous manner. There was no sign of this when Serrageddin introduced me to al Banna; they seemed to be close friends. In this setting, away from the crowds, al Banna was a pleasant, mild-mannered, youthful man who did not

look his age of 40, wearing a blue double-breasted overcoat and a fez. It was a civilized encounter, full of friendliness and ambivalent generalities. There was none of the steamy excitement of the prayer meeting in the mosque.

Yet everything surrounding the presentation of the Brotherhood as the real expression of Islam was false. In the mosque, the Supreme Guide had denounced the corruption at the court of King Farouk. Away from the mosque, the Brotherhood collaborated with the Palace in flushing out "agitators and Communists" and anybody else who was inconvenient to the King, the government, or the Brotherhood. The King and his men thought they were using the Brethren: the Brotherhood believed its connections with the Palace would serve its own ends. Islam came in a bad third.

At the same time, the Brotherhood and the Wafd had also a political understanding directed against the King and the government. The aim was political power for the Wafd with Brotherhood participation. Again, the Wafd thought it was using the Brotherhood to further the Wafd return to power; the Brotherhood believed it could use the secular Wafd as a means to its end: political power on the back of Islamic pretension. The fundamentalist crowds were manipulated with the cynicism of the most sophisticated party machine.

It worked — or seemed to. By the end of 1948, after the Egyptian withdrawal from the war against Israel, al Banna appeared all powerful, ready openly to challenge the establishment. He ordered the assassination of the Egyptian Prime Minister, Nokrashy Pasha, who had firmly opposed the Brotherhood in Cairo. But al Banna had miscalculated — as so many fundamentalists of all creeds, and none, tend to miscalculate. The Egyptian establishment had been willing to use the Brotherhood for its own ends; it was not prepared to see the Brotherhood as a senior partner in government or even in total control. Within weeks after the murder of the Prime Minister, al Banna himself fell victim to an official assassin. The Brotherhood as a factor in Egyptian politics went into steep decline.

The Brotherhood had become accustomed to assert itself by the use of terror; with Islamic fundamentalism as cover, it bombed cinemas, restaurants, and Western and Jewish stores in Cairo and Alexandria. More substantially, it joined in the preparations of Nasser's Free Officers coup against the monarchy in July, 1952. It did this with the help of one of the younger Brotherhood activists, Anwar el Sadat who acted as go-between and who was subsequently suitably rewarded by Nasser.

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During the early phase of the Free Officers' coup in Egypt, supporters of the Brotherhood occupied key positions in the revolutionary regime. The Brotherhood also provided the mass following in the country. In fact, in the summer of 1952, Islamic fundamentalism stood on the brink of its greatest political success — far greater and far more significant, had it materialized, than the Khomeini victory in Iran, a generation later.

The most populous and most powerful Arab country, the most strategically placed Muslim country appeared to be within the grasp of the Brotherhood and of Sunni Islamic fundamentalists. The history of the Middle East would have been wholly different in our time, had the Brotherhood then succeeded — and they very nearly did. The reason for their failure to achieve their objective is of profound significance in our own day when, again, we find ourselves preoccupied with the apparent threat of Islamic fundamentalism.

The Brotherhood's bid for power in Egypt failed because of a passive and an active factor. The passive reason, which we shall look at more closely in this and other instances of fundamentalism, was that the whole concept of political fundamentalism was based on make-believe at best and on downright bluff as a more general practice. The positive reason for the failure of the Brotherhood to convert the revolution of 1952 into an instrument of Islamic fundamentalism was the man who was to become President, Gamal Abdel Nasser. In the longer perspective of history, the successful stand against Islamic fundamentalism may well rank as Nasser's most significant achievement, more profound and more lasting in its consequences even than the High Dam or the nationalization of the Suez Canal. For one thing, by this action Nasser kept open the ultimate option of a peace between Egypt and Israel which — ironically — Anwar Sadat was to implement.

Nasser — who still lacked both authority and power at that time — was able to overcome the seemingly far more powerful Muslim Brethren because he understood that their claim to total political power was based largely on bluff. They could generate religious excitement but they could translate this into political power only by individual terror and by the intimidation of their secular opponents. The Brotherhood tried both means against Nasser. They attempted to assassinate Nasser while he was addressing a large crowd in the Republic Square in Cairo. The attempt failed; Nasser fought for the hearts and minds of the huge crowd for some five minutes after the shots had been fired — and he won.

Nasser then seized the opportunity. He had the supporters of the Brotherhood removed from the revolutionary leadership and interned. The most notorious of the secret terrorist High Command were tried and executed. The organization was proscribed. Nasser had

called the fundamentalist bluff and nothing happened. The millions of Islamic supporters the Brotherhood had claimed seeped away like water in the sand in the face of Nasser's firmness. A hard core of conspirators survived, but it took them more than a decade to reorganize their terrorist cadres on a very limited scale, only to be once more dealt a crippling blow. They ceased to be a threat to the regime in Egypt, though they could still carry out spectacular acts of individual terror such as the assassination of their one-time benefactor, Anwar Sadat. But as a power in the land, their bluff had been called by Nasser. He refused to accept their claim to special consideration as men of religion, as Islamic partisans who had used terror only to preserve the cause and purity of Islam. Nasser confronted them with the full rigor of the law and of his power, and they submitted. One hopes that echoes of this theme heard in Jerusalem in the summer of 1985 will evoke a similar response.

The failure of this major fundamentalist effort in Egypt served to emphasize the basic distinction between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslim fundamentalism. The Sunni fundamentalists use individual terror rather than mass intimidation because they do not seek to change the basis of established society; they are not really revolutionaries. They want to preserve the Sunni establishment, and win control of it. This is the great difference between the Sunni fundamentalist effort in Egypt that failed largely because of Nasser's successful resistance and the Shi'ite fundamentalist effort in Iran that succeeded.

Many explanations have been given for Khomeini's success against the Shah. For our purpose, however, the most important difference lay, in the first place, in the Shi'ite attitude to authority. Whereas the Sunni fundamentalists are prepared to work within the framework of existing society, and object only to individuals in places of authority, the Shi'ites in general reject all authority and especially that of a Muslim society dominated by the Sunni in which the Shi'ites are permanently condemned to an inferior minority status with very little say in the conduct of Islamic or national affairs. They see themselves as permanently discriminated against by the dominant Sunni. They are psychologically geared, therefore, to oppose the prevailing Sunni regime. But this is more often than not a pipe dream rather than a practical proposition, as for example in Iraq where a minority Sunni ruling class totally dominates the Shi'ite majority.

How then could Shi'ite fundamentalism succeed so dramatically in Iran, where the Shah's government appeared so powerfully backed by the instruments of state, far more so than in any Arab country? After all, Khomeini and his supporters had been preaching Islamic revolution and the overthrow of the Shah for more than 15 years without success. What was so differ-

ent in 1979 that had not been evident in 1969? If anything, the Shah appeared to be more powerful and the country richer than before. Two things had changed which had virtually nothing to do with Islam or the Shi'ite creed but which provided Khomeini with the opportunity to exploit religion in a way that Nasser had never permitted.

The Shah's ambitious programs of reform had merely expanded the fissures of Iranian society: the great wealth of the country had not been institutionalized and diffused. Inflation, in particular, had hit not only the poor but had ravaged the urban middle classes; the secret police could make no impact on spiraling rents and food prices. The Shah and his Ministers did not seem to comprehend the nature of the crisis confronting them at home. The machinery of government was breaking down, and the men in charge seemed unable to repair it. It was not the kind of situation in which the CIA specialized, and Washington appeared to be as much at sea as the Shah's regime.

It was a ready-made situation for Khomeini's Shi'ite message of rejection, the total rejection of the Shah's regime. But Khomeini was by now in France and his Shi'ite followers were 2,000 miles away in Iran. At this point, a central role was played in the provision of a communication link for Khomeini which enabled him to direct his campaign effectively and safely from a distance. The British Broadcasting Company placed its Persian service at Khomeini's disposal. His messages were recorded in France and beamed over the BBC's most powerful transmitters to Iran. French Radio also obliged but without the same decisive resources. And so did — with great effect — the Communist Tudeh broadcast from Baku, from just over the frontier in Soviet Azerbaijan.

Thus all the classic elements of revolution combined in the overthrow of the Shah. The economic disintegration, the revolutionary mood encouraged by the Shi'ite Mullah, inspired by Khomeini's messages and assisted by the BBC. But the really decisive element that contributed to Khomeini's success was the absence of a Nasser prepared to confront the fundamentalist bluff. Because he had to deal with a Shi'ite uprising instead of a Sunni, the Shah was, uniquely in the Middle East, confronted by a Shi'ite opposition which challenged the foundation of the state in a more radical manner than had the Sunni Brotherhood in Egypt. Moreover, the Shi'ite clergy provided the framework of a revolutionary grass-roots leadership in a way not available to the Sunni Brotherhood. All the same, the Shah's resources in 1979 were immeasurably greater than Nasser's had been 25 years earlier.

Nasser, moreover, had the will to fight and a sense of purpose which he was able to communicate to his followers and his troops. The Shah had neither. He had

lost control over the economy and retained nothing with which he could persuade his powerful armed forces to kill and be killed. So they walked away. Khomeini won not so much because of the power of his Islamic fundamentalism but because of the help he had received from abroad, from the British and French in particular: he was seen as an effective alternative to the Shah. It was the most effective bluff pulled by the Shi'ite Mullah; it worked with the help of their regime of terror but it was no more than temporary; it had virtually nothing to do with fundamentalist Islam other than to use it as cover for the seizure and control of state power.

That Shi'ite fundamentalism was not the driving force emerged clearly after the outbreak of the war with Iraq. Had the call of Shi'ite fundamentalism been the real core of the Iranian revolution, its appeal would have crossed the frontier into Iraq where more than half the population was Shi'ite ruled harshly by a Sunni dictatorship. Yet the supposedly Shi'ite revolution in Iran brought forth no spark of Shi'ite response in Iraq or from any of the large Shi'ite populations of the Gulf states. It was supposed that the call of the Shi'ites in Iran would find an echo in every Shi'ite community in the Middle East, not least among the Amal in Lebanon. It did not; while the Amal were Shi'ite, they were not fundamentalists. They saw through the fundamentalist bluff and remained supremely uncommitted.

In the event, the Lebanese Hizbollah and Islamic Jihad, the organizations of Shi'ite fundamentalism could be recruited only from Iranian imports; they could act only by means of individual terror for the cause of fundamentalism in Lebanon had few followers. It was not that much different in Egypt where there has been a recurring fear of a fundamentalist revival. But in Egypt, fundamentalism has not regained the mass appeal temporarily engendered by Hasan al Banna 40 years ago; even then it was not much more than a flash in the political pan.

The Islamic threat to President Mubarak does not stem from an Islamic fundamentalist movement but rather from a strictly limited Islamic terrorist conspiracy that could kill individual leaders but could not overthrow an existing regime. This limitation of Sunni fundamentalism is still the characteristic of political fundamentalism in the Arab world. In Libya it is an altogether artificial creation fostered by Qaddafi for his political ends, but it has no real roots in the country.

It is only in the minds of Western sympathizers to Arab hostility to the West that the threat of Islamic fundamentalism exists as a reality. It is not so in the Islamic world except where Islam is used as a cover to protect an otherwise unpopular and indefensible regime, as in Iran, Pakistan, and Libya. But in terms of assessing Western — or Israel's — future relations with the Arab

world, the threat of Islamic fundamentalism is either a bluff or a stalking horse for altogether different objectives, a diversion from the essential problems. The alternative to Mubarak, or King Hussein, or President Assad is not a Khomeini-like fundamentalist regime. We used to be frightened with this kind of argument in Nasser's day. Western apologists painted horrific scenarios of what would follow if Nasser were suddenly removed from office. In the event, it was Anwar Sadat who followed him.

It is time therefore to call the bluff of the threat of Islamic fundamentalism — and of every other fundamentalist intrusion into politics. Nasser showed how it

has to be mastered. And conditions have not really changed wherever fundamentalism rears its head: be it in Cairo or in Jerusalem. But one further caution needs to be delivered, especially at this time: the active — and destructive — aid of the Moscow-supported mujaheddin Communists was the decisive element at the critical moment which tipped the fundamentalist balance against the Shah — the tacit alliance of the godly and ungodly fundamentalists. This is a threat that could be again maximized by the reentry of the Soviet Union into the Middle Eastern arena — even if it comes in the guise of one of the superpower peacemakers in the service of the United Nations. ■

Anna Frank and I

AMNON SHAMOSH

1.
We were born
in the same year
Anna Frank and I

imprisoned we were
together
Anna Frank and I

we both wrote a diary
she from left to right
I from right to left
hers was preserved
mine —
disappeared

which one of us
is alive

2.
We were born
in the same year
Anna Frank and I

the discovery slapped my face
in the house on the Canal
and my daughter beside me
her age

shivering
(my hand held hers)

imprisoned we were
together
Anna Frank and I
trembling with Jewish fear

we both wrote a diary
she from left to right
I from right to left
hers was preserved
and its echo fills the world
mine —
disappeared

which one of us
is alive

what taste to life
if I could not
in my life
do a little of a little
of what she did
by her death

3.
We were born
in the same year
Anna Frank and I,
the poor
in deeds

the discovery slapped my face
in the house on the Canal
and my daughter
beside me
and her age

imprisoned we were
together
Anna Frank and I

we both wrote a diary
she from left to right
I from right to left
hers was preserved
mine —
disappeared

which one of us
lives
and exists

and what point to life
if I could not
in my life
do a little of a little
of what she did
by her death

Where will I go, Anna?
And what will I do
I,
the poor in deeds?
*Ana,**
Anna,
answer me.

*Please

Translated from the Hebrew by ADA AHARONI

The New Right and the Jews

HERBERT L. SOLOMON

The New Right is a coalition of political conservatives, Protestant Fundamentalists, and Evangelical Christians. Often called Far Right and Christian Right, it is a powerful force with many millions of adherents. It has achieved important political successes, most notably in its role and contribution to the election and re-election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency.

As a relatively recent phenomenon, the New Right is far different from the Old Right of the fifties and sixties. The old Right-wing, known as the Radical Right and Right-Wing Extremists, used tactics of intimidation and incitement to violence. It was obsessed with an alleged Communist conspiracy that was supposedly taking over America. It included organizations such as the John Birch Society, Liberty Lobby, and other groups tinged with anti-Semitism.

The New Right is more sophisticated and pragmatic. It disassociates itself from Klan and neo-Nazi groups. Anti-Semitism and known anti-Semites are debarred. Although determinedly opposed to the Soviet Union and its international allies, indigenous Communism is not a concern. The New Right's statements and pronouncements, especially lately, are strongly pro-Israel.

American Jewish leaders and spokespersons for Jewish organizations are now warming up to the New Right. The earlier hesitations and animadversions are being replaced by acceptance and praise. The New Right is being embraced as a true friend of Israel and the Jewish community.

Certainly the new words of the New Right are encouraging. Support for Israel is vociferous, unambiguous, consistent, and enthusiastic. Recently 19 of the most conservative members of Congress sent an all-out pro-Israel letter to President Reagan written in phraseology that could have emanated from the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations. Senator Jesse Helms, previously an implacable foe who almost never voted for military or economic aid for Israel, is now urging the United States to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and not to pressure Israel to relinquish any part of the West Bank. Rev. Pat Robertson, the powerful televangelist who once implied that non-Christians are "vermin" needing a "Godly fumigation," now says he "loves Israel" and considers Jerusalem "my home."

A remarkable transformation is that of Rep. Mark D. Siljander (R-Mich.). In his campaign for office in 1981 he sported a button reading "Jesus First." Subsequently he sent a mailing urging voters to defeat Rep. Howard Wolpe (who is Jewish) and "send another Christian to Congress." But in 1985 Siljander almost single-handedly forced a cancelation of an invitation extended to Nehdi Terzi, the PLO observer at the United Nations, to brief members of Congress. And early this year at the Prayer Breakfast in Honor of Israel, a Christian evangelical assembly where Israel's U.N. Ambassador was the guest of honor and which was addressed on videotape by Shimon Peres, Siljander was introduced as "a great American, a great Christian, a great lover of Israel." He was given a big hand after saying a few words in Hebrew and reciting the *Shema*.

Also encouraging are the New Right's verbal assurances of its new-found love for the Jewish community. At the Prayer Breakfast a Proclamation was issued affirming unity with "the Jewish people against those who wickedly assail them." The keynote speaker was conservative Presidential hopeful Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) who declared, "In this post-Holocaust world we must all wear the Star of David on our sleeves." Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority and one of the most conspicuous voices of the New Right, keeps emphasizing his admiration for Jews: "We believe in the chosenness of the Jewish people. . . . I'm with you, whether you want me or not. . . . I extend a hand of friendship and ask nothing in return." Noting that anti-Semitism is still in existence, Falwell says he can rally a "block of 70 million Christians behind Israel and the Jewish people." And just a few months ago he apologized for his past sins: "I have been preaching the Christianization of America. I realize now I was mistaken. We are wrong and we are sorry."

Such continuous enunciations of friendship are difficult to resist. Small wonder that the Jewish leadership is welcoming and speaking favorably of the New Right. The Jewish responses range from unreserved endorsement (ultra-Orthodox), to "the Bible Belt is Israel's best friend" (Rabbi Emanuel Rackman, *Jewish Week*), to "the Evangelical community is the largest and fastest growing block of pro-Israel, pro-Jewish sentiment in this country" (Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee), to "let's see if we can cooperate" (Synagogue Council of America). The shift from skepticism

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toward acceptance was expressed clearly by Rabbi Richard Yellin (Synagogue Council of America): "I've undergone a metamorphosis . . . and I can say there has been a change in their theological questing of Jews. They don't use the old language and rhetoric any longer. . . . And I don't see them as a threat."

To be sure, there are those who are unconvinced (Union of American Hebrew Congregations, American Jewish Congress, and others). But the bulk of Jewish organizational spokespersons and prominent leaders have succumbed to the persistent proffers of friendship from the Right-wing, especially from the Christian religious component.

It is almost certain, however, that the Jews as a whole do not agree with their "leaders." The Jewish voters' failure to support Ronald Reagan in 1984 was due primarily to their rejection of the Christian-first flavor that became so integral to the Republican campaign. The majority of American Jews hear the words of the New Right but, as yet, have not been won over.

During the past several months there were two dramatic instances in which the New Right's assurances of friendship for Israel and the Jews were put to the test. One related primarily to the Jewish community and the other to the security of Israel.

The first was the Presidential visit to the Bitburg cemetery in West Germany. When the President adamantly refused to cancel the stopover at the cemetery, the Jewish reaction, virtually unanimous, was one of revulsion, outrage, and indignation. The entire episode and how it was (mis)handled produced a shockwave of disbelief. Reagan's equating of the Nazi murderers and the millions who were butchered, calling both "victims," fell on Jewish ears with a horrifying thud.

Prior to the visit, millions of Americans, Jews and non-Jews, wanted the President to exclude the cemetery stop. Dozens of prominent non-Jewish organizations and individuals added their names to letters, advertisements, and telegrams urging a change of plans. Although the issue was of extraordinary importance to Jews, the Bitburg visit was so morally repugnant that opposition came from non-Jews of all descriptions — religious leaders, legislators, blacks, conservatives, liberals. Thus, when the U.S. Senate considered a non-binding resolution urging the President to revise the itinerary, 83 out of the 100 Senators voted in favor. In the House a similar resolution passed 390 to 26.

The second instance affected Israel. When King Hussein came to Washington in June he brought along some new proposals for possible peace negotiations. Regardless of the merits of these proposals, it was clear that he also came looking for military weapons. Israel opposes the sale of advanced arms to Jordan, considering them a real or potential threat to its security. The Reagan administration looks favorably on Hussein's requests.

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)

and other supporters of Israel lobbied against the sale of advanced weapons to Jordan. Senators Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and John Heinz (R-Pa.) quickly put together a resolution opposing "advanced arms sales to Jordan [which] would jeopardize the security of Israel . . . The U.S. should focus its efforts to bring Jordan into direct negotiations with Israel." The resolution was co-sponsored by more than two-thirds (71) of the Republican controlled Senate. (Confronted by such overwhelming pressure, President Reagan subsequently endorsed a face-saving resolution that delayed consideration of the arms deal until next March.)

By examining the Senate votes on these two significant issues, one directly related to Jewish sensibilities and the other affecting Israel's security, we can learn much about the behavior (action, not words) of the New Right.

The only similar test of the New Right's Congressional voting occurred in 1981 when the Senate approved the sale of AWACS surveillance aircraft and other advanced arms to Saudi Arabia. At that time, of the 28 most conservative Senators — those most closely allied with the principles of the Moral Majority — only two voted against the AWACS package. A study by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations released earlier this year states, "91% of the Senators supported by the Religious Right" voted in favor of the sale to Saudi Arabia. A conclusion of the study is that "voting records of advocates of the Religious Right in Congress are not consistent with their rhetoric."

The UAHC study ends with, "It is our hope that through continued dialogue and greater understanding, the Religious Right's rhetoric can become action." Well, it is now four years after the AWACS vote, four years during which the Right-wing's pro-Israel and pro-Jewish orations have become more fervent. Have the verbal assurances been translated into deeds in 1985?

It is first necessary to determine which Senators are closely identified with the New Right ideology. There are many techniques available. For example: their position on the conservative-liberal continuum as rated by conservative and liberal groups; how they vote on issues considered crucial by the New Right; how they fare on the "Biblical Scorecard" put out by *Christian Voice*; who are the heroes of the Moral Majority, American Coalition for Traditional Values, and similar religious Right groups.

Utilizing a combination of these techniques, I arrived at a list of the 12 most persistent and consistent New Right Senators (see chart). In the 1984 rating by the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a scale running from 0 (conservative) to 100 (liberal) based on voting records relating to a spectrum of domestic and foreign issues, eight of them were the only Senators to score 0, while the other four scored 10 or less. Five of

them (Helms, Armstrong, Denton, Hatch, and East) were the "most admired" Senators in a readership poll conducted by *Conservative Digest*. In this poll, as an indication of the readers' political leaning, the most admired man in the nation was Jerry Falwell and the most admired woman was Phyllis Schlafly, head of "Stop the Equal Rights Amendment," who says Holocaust studies in schools amount to "child abuse" and lead children not to believe in God. Every one of the 12 Senators voted for a proposed constitutional amendment to per-

them approved both the Bitburg and Jordan resolutions.

As to the critical resolution urging cancellation of the Bitburg cemetery visit, a resolution that only 17 Senators refused to co-sponsor and the intent of which had such widespread support in the nation, 10 of the 12 New Right stalwarts refused to add their names to the list of sponsors. Similarly, the resolution to prevent advanced weapons going to Jordan, supported by 71 Senators, was opposed by 10 of the 12 conservative "strong

RATINGS AND VOTING RECORDS					
Senator	ADA 1984	Vocal School Prayer	Abortion Aid (Rape or Incest)	Deny Arms to Jordan	Cancel Bitburg Visit
CONSERVATIVES					
McLure (R-Idaho)	0	YES	No	No	No
Symms (R-Idaho)	0	YES	No	No	No
East (R-N.C.)	0	YES	N.V.	No	No
Helms (R-N.C.)	0	YES	No	No	No
Hecht (R-Nev.)	0	YES	No	YES	YES
Thurmond (R-S.C.)	0	YES	No	No	No
Garn (R-Utah)	0	YES	No	No	No
Denton (R-Ala.)	0	YES	No	No	YES
Laxalt (R-Nev.)	5	YES	No	No	No
Wallop (R-Wyo.)	5	YES	No	No	No
Hatch (R-Utah)	10	YES	No	No	No
Armstrong (R-Colo.)	10	YES	No	YES	No
LIBERALS					
Metzenbaum (D-Ohio)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Levin (D-Mich.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Sarbanes (D-Md.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Bingaman (D-N.M.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Pell (D-R.I.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Dodd (D-Ct.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Riegel (D-Mich.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Lautenberg (D-N.J.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
Burdick (D-N.D.)	100	No	YES	YES	YES
(ADA = Americans for Democratic Action)					
(N.V. = Not Voting)					

mit organized vocal prayers in public schools, a proposal that failed to get the necessary two-thirds vote (March 20, 1984). None of them supported a measure to allow federal medicaid payments for abortion in cases of rape or incest (October 3, 1984).

As a contrast I have also listed ratings and voting records of nine liberal Senators who are resolute opponents of the conservative-religious Right-wing (see chart). It is to be expected, of course, that staunch liberals would oppose the Reagan administration on key matters. Yet the contrast is quite startling. Every one of

supporters of Israel."

(It is interesting that one of the 12 Right-wingers is Jewish [Chic Hecht, R-Nev.]. Although he is extremely conservative, having scored 0 in the ADA ratings for 1983 and 1984, he did not agree with his confreres on Bitburg and arms for Jordan. Perhaps his "Jewishness" took precedence.)

We learn, therefore, that New Right Senators, notwithstanding their pro-Jewish and pro-Israel rheto-

ric, fall abysmally short in their actions. They approved the AWACS sale in 1981 and now in 1985 they were on the wrong side on two issues of tremendous significance to Israel and the Jewish community.

What we should also learn is that this new secular-religious political phenomenon, the New Right, is essentially and fundamentally anchored to an ultra-conservative ideology. The guiding belief of its adherents, pursued with a crusade-like determination, is to "restore traditional moral and spiritual values" as they interpret them. Their priority is not Israel, certainly not their putative love for Jewry. Rather, their concerns center about such issues as prayers and Bible readings in public schools, "pro-life" legislation, opposition to the furtherance of feminist and gay rights, larger outlays for the military, the gradual elimination of social and welfare programs that they believe create dependency of the poor, and so on.

Ronald Reagan, although not perfect in their judgment, still represents the New Right ideology better than other leading conservatives (Bush, Dole, Kemp) and he is, after all, the President. Therefore when Reagan favors the sale of advanced weapons to Jordan

as being in our "national interests," the Rightists follow their leader. And when the proposed cancellation of the Bitburg visit is portrayed as showing "U.S. weakness," the New Right ideologues must go along. Should the current administration become somewhat disenchanted with Israel (may it not happen, but it could) and should it wish to reduce the level of assistance or to pressure Israel into concessions Israel considers against its interests, does anyone doubt on which side we would find the ultra-conservatives and the Christian Right?

All in all, the first priority of the New Right is its rigid pursuit of the conservative program. Only when the needs of Israel and the Jewish community coincide with this program can the reassuring words be matched with political action.

The purpose here is not to suggest Jews turn away from the offerings of friendship and support. It is reasonable for the Jewish community and backers of Israel to welcome and nurture the offerings. Rather, the point is that the overtures of friendship and support are secondary matters to the New Right and, accordingly, can dissipate in the face of a conflict with its essential priorities. Therefore, caution and awareness are advisable. ■

Gleanings

AVNER TREININ

I keep finding bits
of lost grain. A corner of a field
grows beans in the heart of my childhood
at the corner of the graveyard
in Sanhedria where you are buried.
The pine grove was silent once
in the garden of Affuri, the gardener of the High

Commissioner who left us in the middle of '48
on a battleship festooned with flags.
This too has long been forgotten
along with other meaningful events.

As if out of Chekhov, wearing a Russian braid,
Madame Affuri comes slowly pouring the tea,
so slowly she pours it, while a faint summer
buzz hovers in the garden, drifts
through a torn net, and quivers in the jam.
Menachem, the son, sneaks her an imbecile smile.
And Arza, the clumsy daughter, also with a braid,
is always waiting on her chair
for this summer finally to end.

Translated from the Hebrew by SHIRLEY KAUFMAN

Jews for Jesus: Causes and Treatment

STANLEY N. ROSENBAUM

Participation by Jewish youth in various mushrooming post-war cults is out of proportion to their membership totals. Though the absolute number involved in such religious epiphenomena as the Moonies, Hare Krishna, or the clutch of self-styled Messianic Jewish movements is small, the mainstream Jewish community has got to be concerned with defections of any size. Of these new groups, those that necessarily command the most concern are the "Jews for Jesus" (JJ). There are several reasons for this.

The first is simple self-preservation. Despite the group's stated desire to diminish anti-Semitism, their most likely effect will be to increase it. The Christian community has always been suspicious of "Judaizing" tendencies among its members, much more so now that some Christian kids have joined the JJ. On the other hand, if the JJ were so successful in spreading their gospel that Jews may believe in Jesus and still remain Jewish, then Jews who remain outside Christianity would inevitably be seen as more obstinate and in consequence more damnable than before.

Jews are affronted by the idea that one can be a Jew and a Christian at the same time. Such a notion was present in early Christian circles, but those groups which claimed it were declared heretical in the fourth century. The modern Jewish-Christian groups, promoted in large measure by the American Board of Christian Missions or the Messianic Literature Outreach of Waterloo, Iowa, can only be seen as clever devices to obtain converts to Christianity.

Naturally we in the Jewish community feel both guilty and rejected. But the insult is not confined to our emotions; we also feel an insult to our intelligence. Why, then, do some of our own Jewish children reject the faith?

Converts to Judaism are usually rational people who are more convinced by History than by Mystery; Jews for Jesus, in my experience, exhibit a high degree of sociopathology along with their sincerity. Many see themselves as misfits. It's a toss-up as to whether they would be better addressed by Jewish theologians or psychologists, but in all cases we should proceed with caution and concern. And love. The following observations

are based on my contacts with a number of these people over the past 12 years.

Initially, I was surprised to see how easily I could get upset when actually dealing with JJs. But over the years I've trained myself to avoid anger and even much of my usual sarcasm. I see now that many JJs are a species of mental masochist; they expect and even want insult, something their callowness is almost bound to produce. For example, they will argue that since Abraham served unkosher food to God's messengers (Genesis 18:8), they can eat it, too. Their justification for this is Romans 4:13, "Abraham trusted God and it was accounted him for righteousness" (actually a comment on Genesis 15:6). This meshuggah midrash would not please Orthodox rabbis. Then again, the Orthodox way of life might not make much of an impression on JJs. The parents of one young JJ I know hustled him off to the Lubavitch community in Jerusalem without success. It's better to send JJs to Jewish scholars who are not *a priori* committed to defend Abraham's Orthodoxy and who, more important, command both Jewish and Christian sources.

Most JJs have a small store of biblical verses that they keep in their mental medicine cabinets like specifics for various diseases. The "disease" they guard themselves most zealously against is independent thought. JJs consistently mistranslate or simply misuse the text, e.g., Isaiah 7:14, 53 and Psalms 110, reading them as advance notices of Jesus's career. For the Rabbinic (and common-sense) principle of dealing with all verses in their contexts, JJs substitute the Chinese restaurant method of theology, taking one verse from Column A, say, Psalms 2:7, "You are my son; today I have begotten you," and one from Column B, Acts 13:33, which quotes that verse to produce instant enlightenment.

They use other Jewish sources like the *Zohar* indiscriminately, as equally authoritative with Scripture. Richard Wurmbrand, a Rumanian who is one of their most prolific authors, thinks the Talmud contains the Letter of Aristeas as well as a number of allegedly suppressed admissions of Jesus's divinity. One is grimly reminded of the Russian Orthodox "expert" at the Beilis Trial who identified *Baba Kama* as a malevolent Jewish grandmother.

Pointing out these errors doesn't help much. Most JJs

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do not wish to see that if one destroys the premises on which they base their conclusions, then the conclusions themselves become questionable. It is not necessary, of course, to remain purely defensive in the face of these confused claims; there are grounds for counter-offensive provided by the Christian tradition itself.

We can show that the oldest New Testament texts come from at least two centuries after the events they relate. Using the New Testament to substantiate events of the first century CE, then, is analogous to reconstructing the life of George Washington based on books not in print before 1957. And which exist only in translation. Scholars largely agree that Jesus did not speak the Greek of the New Testament, and while stories may “lose” in translation, they can also “gain.” Moreover, the New Testament was not canonized until 367 CE, plenty of time for editors to make whatever changes their piety dictated.

There is some risk that mainstream Christianity may be offended by a spirited defense, but I think the risk is small. Thoughtful Christians know that the Gospel stories don’t *disprove* anything about Jesus, even if they are too far from the actual events of his life to offer solid support. As someone once said, real Christians believe in the New Testament because of Jesus, not the reverse.

If pressed, new “believers” (as the JJs call themselves) will quote the blindman in John 9:25, “One thing I know, that though I was blind, now I see.” It might be amusing to suggest that this is a case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* because JJs don’t know formal logic very well, either, but Jewish tradition is not short on miracles or faith healers. A better response is Deuteronomy 13:1-5, which states that “signs and wonders” do not a prophet make. Instead of a reasoned response, JJs simply fall back on the humility of Uriah Heep.

We have to recognize that at bottom JJs really have no interest in a deeper understanding of Scripture. Rather, they want and need selective confirmation of the fragile opinions they have come to espouse. They do not want to know that the Israelite insistence on giving animal blood back to God is in compensation for the life of the animal, not just the “sins” of the farmer/ herdsman who slaughters animals to feed his family. But JJs don’t have to *know* anything; religious Know-Nothingism is their passport to Heaven, conferring the knowledge that they are saved.

What are they saved from? One young woman of my acquaintance claimed that her new belief in Jesus saved her from an addiction to tennis! Obviously she had heard other young people’s testimonials about promiscuity or drug addiction and this was her weakness. Unfortunately, religious games can have serious outcomes. The same young woman had to be hospitalized later when her friends exhorted her that proper faith would make it unnecessary for her to remain on insulin.

It might be trivial to claim that JJs can’t be Jewish because they have no sense of humor, but it’s interesting to note how little humor any of them have. JJs cling doggedly to their beliefs like high school actors — many are not much older — clinging to their scripts; their situation is one that allows little room for laughter. If we merely destroy their memorized material without writing convincing new parts for them, we only leave them open to the next guru who has his act together.

We must understand that while the religious experience of JJs is a “quick fix,” something has been broken. The question is, can it be mended?

I begin by asking them, “When did you stop looking for *Jewish* answers?” Those youngsters whom I have asked this usually admit, *inter alia*, that they never really looked in Jewish sources before making their new commitment. Consequently, some have been “converted” to their new belief on the basis of a single New Testament verse, read at random.

Talmud, of course, is not the answer, though I try to explain to them how self-contradictory it is to accept the Ktuvim (Writings) that the rabbis canonized and at the same time to reject what those same rabbis wrote as commentary. If JJs seriously wanted to study Talmud, answers would be forthcoming, but they usually haven’t the necessary time or patience; they need answers now.

Some of the most effective Jewish answers are provided by Isaac Troki, the 16th-century Karaite author of *Faith Strengthened*.^{*} This early refutation of Christian claims, while it often uses arguments as questionable as the ones it refutes, has the advantage of providing a verse-by-verse handbook that we can use to play the JJ game of “verse tennis” (you hit a verse, I hit a verse). The game itself generally has no conclusion, but to play it is to show that, indeed, Jewish tradition contains the wherewithal to “answer fools according to their folly” (Proverbs 26:5).

Whether or not they have studied Judaism seriously, or care to, what JJs are ultimately rejecting is not Jewish logic and opinion, but the Jewish community of their childhood. Many come from unhappy homes in which they received too little attention, Jewish or otherwise. My closest friend among the JJs adopted his new faith in the backwash of a divorce from his Jewish wife and subsequent estrangement from their two small children. In his new family he can bask in instant love while at the same time relishing the unfavorable attention of mainline Jewish and Christian denominations all the while congratulating himself with verses from the Beatitudes about persecution and peacemakers.

My friend’s need for a father figure led him to attach himself to Richard Wurmbrand and, like his mentor, he claims the title of Reverend. Wurmbrand’s personal suffering and considerable charm mask an almost com-

^{*}Written in 1593, but not published until 1705. Presently available in English from Ktav (New York, 1970).

plete lack of scholarship. But the disciple who ordained my friend has almost as little training as he has himself — when he came to study Hebrew with me, it was the first time he had seen the language. Luther's suggestion that each man be his own priest has become, at the hands of JJ, ordination by assertion.

We cannot undo the hurts and neglect of these people's previous lives, but we should leave the door open for the return of those who "go on limping on both legs." If we lock our doors behind them, they will have to remain pretty much where their youthful enthusiasm and ignorance have carried them, in a kind of limbo of self-deception, a place in which embarrassing recantations are particularly painful. Despite the threat JJs pose to Judaism, we have to remember the idea of *tshuvah*.

The long history of unsuccessful Jewish splinter groups suggests that we can expect their children and grandchildren to feel the gravitational pull of Judaism after the initial thrust of religious romanticism fades. I know a few in this generation who have already done so, for example the young woman who told me the following story.

Nominally Jewish, but uneducated, she fell in with a Gentile who belonged to a Messianist group. She joined the group and married him before she was 20. It wasn't long before he became abusive, so she went to their "Reverend" for counsel. That worthy could only suggest that divorce is a sin and wives should be submissive. The next time she went to him it was to ask whether divorce was a greater sin than suicide; he had no answer. This story has a happier ending than some. The young woman and her second husband are now tentatively examining their long-neglected Jewish roots. The moral of the story may be this: Since Halakhah is not a "do-it-yourself" subject, we may expect the many phony reverends to expose themselves to all but the most benighted of their followers.

It would be remiss, however, simply to wait for this result; we also need to take steps to remove the causes of disaffection among our own. This is not the place to discuss radical changes in institutional Judaism — institu-

tional change takes time and promotes further controversy. In the meantime, more Jewish children would be lost. Let me instead propose a Jewish quick fix.

As beautiful as Judaism is, we cannot expect it to attract our young if it holds no allure for their parents. Before age 13 (and even after), parents and children might set aside half-an-hour a week to study the weekly Bible portion, or anything else with Jewish content. The level of erudition need not be great; it is more important that our children see that Judaism means a great deal to us as adults.

These family study sessions should continue until the children enter college. In this way we will be providing protection for our children during a time when they are more likely to come into contact with schismatics, missionaries, and the devotees of religious ephemera. Self-protection aside, ask yourself what other areas of knowledge you think children can successfully master by age 13.

One of my fondest memories is studying the weekly portion with my own 12-year-old daughter during a Sabbatical in Jerusalem. If parents are not serious, informed Jews, then they will become accomplices to the abandonment of children to the cults. Franz Kafka apparently rejected Judaism and Christianity. In 1919, he wrote in *Letter to His Father* (Schocken, New York, 1953): "It was impossible also to make a child . . . understand that the few flimsy gestures you performed in the name of Judaism, and with an indifference in keeping with their flimsiness, could have any higher meaning." He admonishes his father, "Had your Judaism been stronger, your example would have been more compelling, too . . ."

Cult movements have many sources for which Jewish parents are not responsible, of course. American "individualism" (translated into doing "your own thing" regardless of community mores), the breakdown of family life, the competitive nature of our society, all these are ills for which there are no simple remedies, no quick fixes. But if we continue in the present patterns of Jewish religious education, we can expect to see the situation worsen. To borrow a phrase from Eldridge Cleaver, if we aren't part of the solution, we will remain part of the problem. ■

The Guru

DIANE LEVENBERG

Isaac was a typical Jewish father. He was mad for sons. This year he was celebrating the birth of his fifth. As soon as Miriam received his call, she knew she was to be invited to make her annual trek south, from the Upper West Side to another *bris* in Brooklyn. This year, confirmed in his destiny as sire to the kingdom of the Jews, Isaac decided to take on a new role — *shadchan*, matchmaker. He wanted Miriam to meet his friend, Daniel, who, as Isaac assured her in his breathless, eager way, was a very unusual man.

Miriam needed this enticement; it was the only reason she had agreed to come. Isaac might have suspected this. Or perhaps it was because he was a man who liked the excitement of beginnings, and hated the discipline and pain of middles and endings, that he forgot to tell Daniel about Miriam. Miriam was told to find her seat upstairs in the women's room. She quickly realized that once he had invited her, Isaac had not given another thought to her love life. Carrying in platter after platter of chicken and kugel, in celebration of his wife's fertility, and of his ability to produce male progeny, Isaac was a busy, self-absorbed husband.

Miriam stood at the top of the stairs, away from the room's entrance, waiting to greet him. While balancing a large waiter's tray, Isaac was gingerly trying to climb the stairs. "At least," she said smiling, "you can point him out to me."

He peered at her from around the side of the tray. "Miriam. Hello. I'm glad you were able to make it."

Miriam wished for an affectionate way to respond. Kissing him, an Orthodox rabbi, was out of the question. And shaking hands was equally impossible. "Mazel tov," she replied. "I'm sorry but I can't stay long. I'm teaching another class today in Manhattan." She waited while he set the tray down so one of the women could continue serving. "Which one is Daniel?"

He led her towards the room next door. With him standing next to her, it seemed appropriate for her to be casually looking for someone.

From the center of the seated circle, surrounded by table-pounding men on either side of him, Barak, her folk-singer friend, waved to her. With his melodious

voice, he was trying to prevent the others from singing off-key the Hebrew tunes he had composed.

"Daniel is the only one not wearing a jacket. Straight ahead, next to Barak, the blonde one with glasses." She turned to ask Isaac if he would introduce her but he had already disappeared.

She stood there for a while trying to decide if Daniel looked like someone she really wanted to meet. He was humming rather than singing, and his hands were folded in front of him. She thought he seemed a bit withdrawn but his narrow nose and thin mouth made him appear intelligent and sensitive. She admired his daring in not wearing a suit — even Barak was wearing one. But there was no way to approach him. They were separated by the clusters of men between them, and by centuries of tradition.

Disappointed, she turned to leave. It was a lonely party, and in some ways, she thought, a celebration of hypocrisy. She wanted the manifestations of love always to be whole-hearted and tangibly real. And she wished that Isaac's gesture of friendship had been followed through with some meaningful act. Whoever Daniel really was, she had decided that he was sufficiently unconventional to be at least half as interesting as Isaac had promised. Perhaps, she consoled herself, it was precisely Isaac's unconcerned way of doing things that attracted him to offbeat characters.

Suddenly, she saw Daniel heading for the door. He too was leaving. She seized her moment. "Are you Daniel Blank?" she asked, extending her hand. "I'm Miriam Levine, a friend of Isaac's. He spoke very highly of you and suggested that it would be interesting if we met." She was amazed at how much she was beginning to sound like one of her politicking, Zionist aunts.

"Why did Isaac think that?" he asked.

She was startled by his abruptness. "Something about our having mutual interests," she said, hesitating. "I'm not really sure."

If he had been taken aback by her unexpected assertiveness, he quickly recovered. He began a strange staring. His eyes kept looking into hers, moving across her face, down to her mouth, finally pausing, as though

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pulled to rest by her own unwavering look. "When you meet him," Isaac had warned, "he might seem a little strange. He's a therapist." Though for years she had needed to remind herself to stop romanticizing that profession, his dowsing stare felt to her as though he were trying to probe the arid, sterile places of her being. He looked at her again; this time he made her nervous. She gazed back into his glintless blue eyes, hoping they would finally turn away. She wanted him to be saner than the neurotics she had been told he worked with.

"What do you do?" he asked.

She smiled. At last she was on safe ground. "I'm a writer. But to earn a living I teach literature at a small private college."

"I thought writers made loads of money."

She wasn't sure if he was being hostile or ironic. "Some do," she said. "Perhaps someday I will."

His face suddenly softened. "I teach, too. Meditation. But to make a living I'm a therapist."

"I thought gurus made a lot of money."

This time he chuckled and now there were glinting hints of light in his eyes. "Some do," he said. "But I'm not really a guru. And the man who taught me how to meditate didn't believe in charging anyone who wanted to sit with him." He was serious again and there was an awkward silence. "I have my car. Do you want a lift?"

"No thanks," she said. "I drove here in mine."

He walked her to her car, said goodbye, turned, and left. On her drive back to Manhattan, she wondered why it hadn't worked. But the way he had stared at her was intriguing.

She waited a week, then called to ask Daniel out to dinner. His timing was off; he said yes almost immediately. He lived near Atlantic Avenue and since she had always enjoyed the exotic ambience of that Arab neighborhood, she agreed to meet him in a local restaurant. Eating Middle Eastern cuisine often made her feel not New York Jewish but Israeli Jewish. At least, she thought as she sat down opposite him, he had chosen a place where she could feel at ease.

"I brought a poem to show you," he said. "I wonder if you would look at it."

"Of course," she said. Unsure whether to respond with critical honesty, she asked him if he wrote much poetry.

"Not lately," he said.

She read it and knew that his talent lay elsewhere. It was about his mother and his anger at her and she worried as much about its content as about the haste in which he had obviously composed it. Had Isaac told him that her recently published book of poems was mostly about her mother? By now, she knew, he and Isaac had discussed this crucial first date and she wondered what Isaac might have said about her to interest him. Was Daniel lamely trying to compete?

When she looked up, she saw the fear in his face. He looked away to pour her some more wine but it was too late. She felt the stirrings of compassion. "It's nice," she said. "But you might want to work on it a bit more."

"I haven't written any poems since college, but this was something I had to get out of my system."

Miriam sat quietly, waiting to see if he would talk about what was really on his mind.

"My mother is thinking of selling their house so my father can retire in Florida. She asked me to meet her on the Island to get my advice. But what she really wanted to do was complain. You know, all the typical stuff. That my father doesn't make enough money. That she isn't feeling well. That my sister and I don't visit enough. She went on and on for hours and I don't think that she once asked me how I was. It just made me furious — after I drove all the way out there. I don't think she even mentioned selling the house." He looked up and smiled. "I guess I shouldn't tell you all this. It's such old material. I don't think she ever really wanted a boy. She always said that girls were fun and boys were trouble. I guess I'm still trouble. If I'm such a hotshot therapist, why can't I solve even one of her problems?"

As she drove home, Miriam wondered if she had it in her to give him the attention he hungered for. Her mother, probably having read Freud, had waited until Miriam was six before she had decided to die. Miriam had never gotten quite enough of the kind of caring Daniel obviously needed her to give him. Two days later, before she had decided firmly whether she wanted to see him again, he called. He was seeing patients until nine that evening, but he wondered if she wouldn't mind driving out again to Brooklyn. They could have a late dinner. She didn't have to teach the next morning, so she agreed. But she hoped that he didn't expect her to spend the night with him.

They met again at a Syrian restaurant where the owner seemed glad to see him. He ordered for both of them and she realized that the more in charge he was the more relaxed he became. "You look great," he said. "Did you get a haircut?"

She smiled. She thought that this was the first time he was really noticing her. She animatedly described an exchange she had had that morning with a student. "They love any sign that reveals I'm as human as they are."

He refilled her plate. "You make me high," he said. "As though I've been drinking champagne. I think your energy is contagious."

"Thank you. You're very —"

"I'm not using the word energy in the conventional sense. What I teach is kundalini yoga, learning to release the energy that lies at the base of the spine. You're blocked in a lot of places, but otherwise your energy flows very freely."

"I do as much hatha yoga as I find the time for. It's a great gift." She had read about kundalini but had never met anyone who had tried to raise it. She had long since

given up on rabbis, her teachers, friends, lovers. But gurus were a new adventure.

"I lived for a year in an ashram," he said smiling. "The lines in your forehead say that you are an old soul. That you've been through a lot."

Is that why he stares? she wondered. She had always been fascinated by all sorts of "personality readers." A year ago, while writing an article on the occult, Miriam had consulted one of New York's most famous "hand analysts." In common with the astrologers Miriam had visited, Mme. Morel had predicted a forthcoming marriage. "Soon, within the year." Perhaps she had foreseen Daniel, who seemed to subscribe to a more primitive version of phrenology — reading foreheads. Despite herself, Miriam was more interested than amused. Guru, she thought, go ahead and show me the path.

They went back to his apartment and he brewed tea. Filling her cup, he said, "When I lived in the ashram I was learning to be celibate. For the past year, I've been living that way again." Before she could reply he turned around to water his plants. There was a large avocado plant near her chair and he seemed intent on making sure it had the correct amount of moisture. "A woman like you should be married."

She was startled into an immediate reply. "I was married. It didn't work out very well."

"Well, I think marriage would suit you. You should probably have kids. There's a very maternal side to you, though when one first meets you, it's not that obvious. When I first met you at the *bris*, I thought you were tough and independent."

"I am independent. Tough . . . I don't know. It takes a long time to learn how to be strong rather than tough. When Israel first became a State that's how its people were described. Sabras were said to be tough on the outside but soft and sweet on the inside. After what the Israelis have suffered, you don't hear that too much anymore. They've cried, they've endured. Now they're strong."

He sat down again, stretching his long legs towards the fire. But he didn't seem to be feeling as comfortable as he was trying to look.

"Tell me about your celibacy," she said. "Why would you choose to live that way?"

"I was in love with a dancer. We felt too close to break up when the sex stopped being good. We kept seeing each other, and I didn't want to sleep with anyone else."

"Have you been missing it?"

"Yes." He looked at her, and then towards the fire. She was aroused. His knuckles turned white as he gripped the arms of his chair. "Do you want to keep me celibate?"

His aggressive, non-aggressive proposition caught her off-guard. She was embarrassed. "Are you attracted to me?" he asked.

"Yes. Are you to me?"

"Yes." She sat quietly for a while. "Now all that remains is for us to see what games we play against each other." She walked over to him and bent down to kiss him on the forehead. He rose and hugged her. They kissed and then lay down in front of the fire. There was not yet the passion to make either of them want to take off their clothes. Daniel looked pensive.

"I'd like to fall in love with a woman I could also sleep with. Then, I'd finish my thesis, leave New York, and buy a house. Though I'm afraid of building a new practice. For my spiritual work, New York is enervating." He folded his arms beneath his head. "Sometimes, I think my life is way behind schedule — getting my doctorate, having kids. What's your fantasy of a successful life?" he asked.

"Not too different from yours. I'd like to fall in love with a man whom I could trust not to leave me. Then, I'd like enough money to buy the time I need to write. After that, just the simple things. My own house, children."

But in the ensuing silence, they each knew that the more simply they painted their dreams, the more mottled the underface of the canvas became. What they failed to reveal to each other was why they each still believed their dreams were impossible to realize.

The first time they made love, in her bed, Daniel held her most of the night. Miriam dreamed she was sliding with him down a dark hole. When she reached the bottom, she was lying on a wooden bunk bed surrounded by hollow-eyed ailing women. Walking towards her was her mother, asking her to come home. She woke up shaking, but Daniel had to rush off to see a patient in his Brooklyn office. She kept the dream to herself.

It was almost Passover and Isaac invited them to the first night's Seder at his house. At the table, Isaac and Daniel were discussing the possible medicinal properties of the bitter herbs. Jesus could heal, Daniel said, because he had learned medicine from the Essenes. As the story of the Jews' Exodus from Egypt began arduously to unwind, Miriam's back began to ache. "Daniel," she whispered, "I'm afraid I might have to go home." He put his hand to her back and she felt a strong heat. They stayed until the *Haggadah's* final parable — *Chad Gadya*.

For the second Seder, they were invited to a huge vegetarian feast planned by a friend of Miriam's. Daniel agreed to go but he wanted to be home by 10:30. His meditation was tiring him out and he insisted that he needed his sleep. They argued a while. Daniel reminded her that he had, using the energy of the kundalini, recently healed her back. "I do it by taking your pain into my system. Then I get tired."

"I never asked you to do it. Actually, I wish we had come home early from Isaac's so that tonight you wouldn't be too tired."

Daniel looked at her sadly. "I wanted to do it. When I know I can heal, I have to do it."

Lying next to her in her bed after that night's Seder, Daniel told her more about his meditation and the "healing." He had learned it from Amar, an American businessman who had become a Swami in India. "I studied with him for nine years. He wrote a book, *The Desire of the Spirit*. I'll get it for you. After you read it, I'll teach you the meditation."

She didn't understand Daniel very well, but perhaps, she thought, Amar's book would make him clearer to her. He held her, putting his hand on her chest where he told her her "hole of pain" was. Finally, she wanted him to heal her only by making love. But he kissed her good night and fell fast asleep.

She read Amar's book and became absorbed in miracles. Objects could be materialized from thin air, the shapes of bodies could be transformed, and loneliness could be converted into the wisdom of solitude. She and Daniel began to meditate together.

What worried her, though, was that Amar had become rich enough to live in India by cheating people in his American business — selling antiques at inflated prices. A confirmed misogynist, he had taught only one female student and after a while had thrown her out of his class. She wasn't, as Amar had put it, "getting it." When Miriam discovered these facts, the purity of Amar's teaching was destroyed. She wondered also about the spiritual legacy Daniel had inherited.

Still, in the beginning, meditating with Daniel gave her an unusual kind of contentment. She sat patiently, in lotus position, waiting for the energy to flow as he promised it would, from one chakra to the other, finally coming up through her spine and out the top of her head. She did, at times, feel something flowing inside her, and the meditation made it easier for her to feel centered and quiet.

But she never felt what he wished she would — her heart chakra opening. Was it towards God he wanted her to experience this, or towards him, for himself? She wanted her guru to be egoless, to want, as she had read, nothing for himself. At other times, sitting with him, she experienced nothing more than a wrestling match of egos. But as it was she who needed him as a teacher, she felt he held her ego pinned safely to the mat. Daniel disagreed. "We get what we need from each person we meet. You have chakras which are more open than mine. I need to work with you."

She hurt him later when she asked who else she could study with. Jayna, his former lover and student, though living with someone else, still loved Daniel, selflessly and spiritually, as he tried to explain, and would, as a favor to him, teach Miriam. According to Jayna, there was no jealousy between them. But Jayna told Daniel privately that Miriam's psyche was like pea soup. Miriam

am would have to sit with Jayna a long time before her head would clear. Daniel said they should try it for a month. Then he would sit with Miriam and check on her progress.

Whatever Jayna really thought, Miriam felt good with her. The sharp needles of pain in her back started to dull and melt away, her heart did seem more open, and sometimes she left the sittings aroused. But Daniel never slept with her more than once or twice a week. He said it had to do with the therapy he was doing and the yoga he was teaching. He promised that very soon they would take a vacation.

Towards the end of April, Miriam gave a poetry reading at the Goldberg Center on the Upper East Side. Daniel came and she eagerly introduced him to her friends. He sat next to Nina, who had for years been sitting sazen — the Zen way of meditating. As Miriam had predicted, they recognized each other instantly.

Before the reading began, Miriam walked Daniel outside into the garden. In the middle of the city, it was her secret oasis. She often came there to read or write. Once she had chosen to sit under one of its trees, in evening clothes, to be photographed for a brochure. Daniel kissed her. "I know," he said. "You would like to get married here." Was it at that moment that she had first fallen in love with him? But as he walked her inside, she imagined she saw a tiger stalking them from behind the garden's trees.

The reading was a success. Nina, who lived in the neighborhood, and who seemed quite fascinated by Daniel, invited Miriam, Daniel, and Isaac to come home with her for wine and leftover chicken.

Nina and Miriam were in the kitchen making salad. Miriam asked if Nina, given the opportunity, would marry Daniel. Nina dried her hands and looked intently at Miriam. "Is that what you're planning to do?"

"No. He seems more your type than mine. You two are the most spiritual people I know."

Nina smiled. "The kind of spirituality you're talking about can sometimes be dangerous. It lets you forget to bathe in the real world of the senses and to enjoy the body."

They walked into the other room and Daniel lit a fire. Then, he repaired Nina's telephone answering machine. Miriam never ceased to be amazed that he could fix everything. It was one of the reasons she felt secure with him. All her life, it seemed to her, mechanical objects had been breaking down. She was always at a loss as to how to deal with them. Often, in despair, she threw out the offending machine so that over the years she had invested a fortune in new stereo components, typewriters, tape recorders.

Daniel was happy. The audience had loved Miriam but Nina was appreciating him. He trusted her: she, like him, was a therapist, though not yet as successful. She

asked him about the class he taught and said she'd like to meditate with him once. He instantly agreed.

"Would you like to see how it works?" he asked.

Miriam was sipping her wine. "Sometimes," she said, "Daniel can heal."

Nina's dark eyes, in the firelight, were wistful. Almost inaudibly, she said, "Could you show us something?"

Nina had chosen to remain alone, frightened by powerful men, yet always hopeful. It seemed as though no one in the room breathed as Daniel kept staring at her.

"Your stomach is in knots. Nothing in you, around the area of your womb, moves."

Nina stared back, startled. A year ago, she had almost died of a dangerous diet of too little protein. Her colon had become a writhing coil of pain. Since then, she had been doing bioenergetics, but as her therapist had told her, her energy, from the waist down, was severely blocked.

Miriam was watching them with bated breath. Here was the man she loved about to heal the woman she loved. She recalled the time Nina had healed her by holding her, letting her cry her memories away.

Daniel's hand shot forward and at the same moment they all saw it. Sparks of light seemed to radiate from his fingertips. Nina's face flushed. The lines in it seemed to ease back into blissful smoothness.

"Stop," she whispered. "I felt it."

Daniel put his hand down. "I think I got it flowing again." There was a stunned silence. As Miriam rose to pour everyone another glass of wine, Isaac steered the conversation toward her poetry.

Daniel said he never read much poetry. "I've read the few poems Miriam has shown me but otherwise I don't read much of anything. I think I have dyslexia."

Miriam's heart sank. Literature was her food, her air. She had always longed for a truly literate lover. Men had often wooed her as passionate, learned Israelites, but after a while she had to send them away — ignorant Philistines threatened by her range of bookish interests. She had seen Daniel's library of Tibetan art books, Buddhist philosophy, Hindu scriptures. She didn't really believe he didn't read.

It was getting late and Daniel and Miriam rose to leave. They went to Miriam's apartment and wordlessly began to undress. She wanted him; she hoped that even after tonight he would still have enough energy left which was sexual. She hoped that in bed, as he had in the garden, he might read her mind.

He made love to her, and for a minute she thought he wasn't really there. She felt a frightening loneliness. Suddenly he burst into tears. Still holding her, he said, "Miriam, I love you. I want you to be my wife."

She took a corner of the sheet and wiped his tears. "And I want you to be my husband," she said. They gave each other a long kiss.

"We'll get married in the garden," he said. He, healer, mentor, was promising to lead her to a garden of spiritual delights.

Sleepily, they planned a weekend in Montauk. What they needed, he said, was more time like that in bed.

The next weekend, in Montauk, they woke early, and walked with their arms around each other along the beach. In the late morning, he asked her to go out for the paper so he could meditate in their room, alone. She distracted him. Miriam was a little hurt, but when she returned they read the paper together.

In the afternoon, they walked around until they found an old village bar. They walked in, took one look, and walked out. "The vibes in there are terrible," Daniel said. Miriam thought it had to do with the plastic decor but she said nothing.

They ate lunch at a place with a veranda facing the ocean. Daniel talked for a long time about a painful love affair he had had, and then, how Amar had let Daniel live with him in order to teach Daniel the meditation. When Amar had died a strange, quick but predicted death, his students had sought out Daniel. Miriam studied his eyes, the stars of sunlight twinkling on the waves behind him, and she loved him. She wanted to protect him. His pensive face against the sea was beginning to arouse her. She wanted to tell him this and to have him take her back to bed. But she was afraid to spoil his romantic, nostalgic mood.

They drove back into town and shopped for trinkets they didn't really need. That night, they found a cheap Italian restaurant, and as Miriam ordered wine, Daniel said he worried that she drank too much. Miriam was shocked. "I had one drink with you this afternoon. What makes you say that?"

"When you really get into the meditation, you shouldn't drink at all," he said. "Now we're on vacation."

A lonely chill whipped through her, and she wondered if it was only the late night Montauk breeze. She offered Daniel some more salad. When she looked up, he looked terrified. "What's the matter?" she asked.

"Nothing. I'm just tired. It's almost 10 o'clock."

"I thought we're on vacation," Miriam said lightly.

"Well, let's go back and just be together."

He paid their check and they went back to the motel. Miriam, who couldn't figure out why she felt slightly anxious, took a hot bath. When she came out, Daniel was asleep. She stayed awake trying to read, but she couldn't concentrate. She wanted to wake Daniel, but was afraid he might be deaf to her seductive whispers. A guru needs his sleep, she thought. Finally, with fantasies of Daniel waking up and making love to her, she put out the light and fell asleep.

They had another day together at the beach. After Daniel meditated alone, they went for a swim. He disliked the coldness of the water, and from the shore yelled to Miriam that she was staying in too long.

"Too long for what?" she asked.

"Too long for the energy to flow properly." He rubbed her back with a towel. "You're going through subtle energy changes since you've started meditating. You have to be careful."

In the afternoon, they played tennis and Miriam won the first set. Daniel wouldn't play again. "I'm out of practice. I tire too easily," he said.

They stopped for a late lunch. Miriam thought the pine-paneled walls and oak tables in the restaurant looked authentic and charming but Daniel wouldn't sit down. "This place gives me a headache," he said, leading her out the door. They drove around until they came to a diner. "Much better," he said, smiling. But the plastic seatcovers and formica tabletops made Miriam feel lonely and isolated.

On the ride back to the city, he took her hand. "We're going to get married."

"Yes."

He couldn't mistake the tone in her voice. "What's wrong?"

"Nothing," she said. "I'm just tired. Too much sun, maybe."

"Let's meditate together when we get home." He put his arm around her, and she felt close to him again.

"I hope I don't distract you."

"If I didn't love you," he said, "you wouldn't." They laughed.

They were planning to be married at the beginning of the summer. In the meantime, Daniel brought two small Oriental rugs, some clothes, and a few books to her apartment. Three nights a week he stayed in Brooklyn to teach his class and to see early morning patients. He split the rent with Miriam and in that way they were living together.

His headaches got worse. Sometimes, he woke and left — without speaking or having coffee. Often, after those mornings, it took Miriam until early afternoon before she felt like speaking to anyone. They spoke every day on the phone — she after classes, he between seeing patients. He excused his behavior by explaining that the energy was changing and adversely affecting not only him but also his students. "I'll be all right," he promised. Miriam let herself get caught up in their wedding plans.

The garden was out of the question. The Goldberg Center didn't want to set a precedent of allowing weddings to take place there. Miriam was almost relieved that their wedding had to be postponed. Jayna explained that if Miriam wanted to continue living with Daniel she would have to develop more patience. "He's difficult, but he'll force you to open up," she promised.

To please him, Miriam roasted a chicken in the old-fashioned Jewish way — with too much fat and lots of garlic and paprika. Hours after she had expected him, he came storming in, white-faced, his mouth a taut line

of silence, only to sit in front of the television set. He was angry at being late and said he needed to drain the negative energy generated in his system by his patients. Miriam wanted to throw the roasting pan at him. Instead, she slipped out quietly and took a walk on Riverside Drive. When she returned, he was gone. His things were still there and she waited for his call. He apologized. He cried. He was tired and overworked. He needed a vacation. "As soon as the energy changes, everything will be better," he assured her.

One morning, at six o'clock, she woke to find him putting on his pants. "Where are you going?"

"Home," he said. "I don't feel quite right here."

She looked at him steadily, as he buckled his belt. Quietly she said, "If you ever try to sneak out of here again while I'm asleep don't bother coming back."

He took off his pants and came back into bed. Before breakfast, they meditated together. It was the first Sunday morning she had seen him so relaxed.

The first week of July they rented a house in the Berkshires. Each time Miriam sat down to write, Daniel asked her to come with him for a drive. He was restless and took his camera along. He was a good photographer with an instinctual love for the New England countryside, and Miriam was entranced. Each night, after Daniel went to sleep, she managed to sneak in a few hours of writing.

On their last night away, Daniel lit a fire and let 10 o'clock go by, talking of how his father had instilled in him a love of music. His mother, however, had wished he'd go outside and play more baseball. Miriam was falling in love with him again and they made love on the floor. She asked him if he had ever had any sexual fantasies about Nina. "Sometimes," he admitted.

Daniel lay silently on his back, with his arms resting under his head. "New York makes me nuts," he said. "The only time I really experience my sexuality is when we're away."

The next morning, back in Manhattan, almost as soon as they opened the door, Isaac called. As usual he was in a hurry. In just a few weeks, there was to be a conference in Jerusalem on Judaism and Eastern thought. At the last possible moment, Isaac was inviting Barak and Daniel to participate with him in a keynote panel. Daniel spoke no Hebrew and was afraid to travel to Israel by himself. Miriam, who spoke it fluently, agreed to join him.

In Jerusalem, Daniel was excited by everything he saw, but at first he was afraid to have Miriam leave his side for even a moment. Miriam never felt more at home than in that ancient city. But Daniel's headaches had returned. How ironic, she thought, that Jerusalem is the city to which I make love but never the city in which I make love. For the past few nights Daniel had left her alone for hours as he went with his hired driver

to the Western Wall to meditate. He would return to their room, hug her, and wordlessly fall asleep.

The day before Daniel's scheduled panel, after one of the conference sessions, Miriam met Isaac and Barak for lunch in the nearby Knesset cafeteria. Daniel was supposed to join them but they couldn't find him.

On their way out, Barak seemed to know everyone. Isaac and Miriam hung back as he floated through the halls shaking hands and kissing one woman delegate after another. Barak urged his friends forward and graciously introduced them to everyone he met.

Barak, too, had been meditating for years, but Miriam had always believed that his charisma was the outward manifestation of his sexuality. She spoke to him about Daniel.

"He has a great spiritual gift," Barak said. "Since he met you, he looks years younger. You, on the other hand, since I last saw you at the *bris*, are beginning to look a bit drained." He peered at her closely. "You have your own spiritual gifts. Don't trade your sexuality for Daniel's." At the entrance gates of the Knesset, Barak hugged her and kissed her sensually on the mouth. Isaac was nowhere to be found and Miriam started toward the bus which would take her to the hotel.

Across the street, in the blazing sun, she saw Daniel. He came towards her, his face drained. Inside his head the pounding had begun again. He had seen her kissing Barak. Miriam had not been waiting for him, had not been longing for him. Looking across the shadeless street, he had become almost blinded. But he had seen her kissing Barak — the kind of man he had always admired, a guru full of song whom his whole psyche

longed to embrace. He threw their hotel key at her. "Get out!" he screamed, a madman. "If you don't pack immediately, I'm throwing your things on the street."

"Daniel," Miriam pleaded, "please don't leave me stranded in Jerusalem." She was shaking with fear but she lunged forward and pulled his passport from his shirt pocket. If she could spoil any escape of his, she thought, he'd have to talk to her.

He twisted her arm behind and up her back. A passerby stopped, and with the shocked look of one who has never seen such quarrels on the street, screamed at him, first in Hebrew, then in English, "You're breaking her arm!" Suddenly, Isaac came running toward them and pulled them apart. The white sun had them caught in its glaring circle and she tried to steady herself against Isaac's arm. But he saw his bus approaching and ran to leap aboard. Daniel picked up his passport and walked toward the opposite end of the city, as if toward the Wall.

When Miriam arrived at Kennedy Airport a week later with a sprained right arm, she couldn't lift her bag without help. A redcap hailed her a cab and at the last minute she told the driver to exit off the FDR Drive at East 96 Street. It was 10 o'clock and Miriam hoped that she would find Nina at home. The cab driver, seeing her wince, graciously offered to carry her bags up the four flights of stairs. Nina answered her knock: Miriam thought she didn't seem too surprised to see her.

Miriam lay her head for a long time in Nina's lap, sobbing softly. "My arm is beginning to heal but nothing else is," she said.

"It will," Nina said, stroking her arm. "It must." ■

Two Poems by SAMUEL MENASHE

Adam Means Earth

I am the man
Whose name is mud
But what's in a name
To shame one who knows
Mud does not stain
Clay he's made of
Dust Adam became —
The dust he was —
Was he his name

Mirror Image

Ribs ripple skin
Up to the nipples —
Noah, equipped, knew
Every one has two —
This ark I am in
Embarks my twin

Abraham Isaac Kook: The Sacred Element in Zionism

GERSHON MAMLAH

"Innate in Judaism is a universal blessing to all of mankind. . . . The realization of Israel's mission will engender bliss and happiness for all nations."

— A.I. Kook

There are two ways to evaluate the spiritual legacy of a great man: a) to bring into focus his outstanding virtues and thus create a picture of his personality; b) to outline the total *Weltanschauung* of the personality underlying all his activities.

The genius of Abraham Isaac Kook is described by many scholars who have adopted the first method, depicting Kook's various activities, his philosophical and Halakhic creations, and the conflicts he became entangled in. Kook's uniqueness, his impact on the national renaissance of Jewry and in the later-established State of Israel, gleams through the mass of detailed events.

Yet there is still lacking the all-embracing worldview, completely anchored in Judaism, that inspired Kook's every act.

The blazing richness that permeates Kook's many-sided activities, the literary profundity with which his views are expressed, have led biographers to seek for influences emanating from Kierkegaard, Bergsohn, Kant, and others. There is no basis for such findings. Not that he, the man of Halakhah, the authentic *homo religiosus*, was a stranger to modern, any less than to classical philosophies; nothing human was alien to his mind. But he believed that the treasury of Judaism contained answers to all the phenomena of human existence.

His selfless devotion to the Jewish people, his profound love for the pioneers in the non-religious kibbutzim — his passionate advocacy of national unity between the bickering factions in Jewry, his unshakable conviction of the centrality of the Chosen People complemented by bottomless love for mankind, the rainbow spectrum of his ideas, emotions, and actions all ema-

nated from one homogeneous philosophy — the Torah of Israel.

Kook's *Weltanschauung* is based on two pillars: 1. The Creator assigned to Man the task of perfecting the worldly habitat; this Divine call is the driving-power of all human action. From the lowest layers of primitivism to the most sophisticated soaring of the mind, Man has been fueled by the primordial commandment: "conquer the earthly habitat and rule the elements of nature." The nostalgia of the human race for its primordial source is the root of all socio-economic, political, and cultural conflicts. They are all triggered by Man's sincere and/or distorted yearning for the realization of his destiny — "to be creative," to perfect what has, mysteriously and deliberately, been left unperfected by the Omnipotent Creator.

2. The chosenness of Abraham and the Sinai Covenant did not annul the primordial mission of man. An undivided mankind, despite the presence of just individuals, could not avert the bestialization of the human race. Hence the idea of a Chosen Nation, God's plan to reshape cosmopolitan society into a conglomeration of national entities.

Like a giant trampling the constructions of pygmies, Kook demolishes the pseudo-scientific theories, rooted in Hellenism, about the supremacy of cosmopolitical conglomerations, the glossy, sterile aggrandizements of a nationless mankind. Kook considers nationalism *sui generis* as a higher form of social life; ethnic diversities reach closer to the Divine.

Kook also exposes the impotent narrow-mindedness of those ultra-religious and/or super-nationalists who project into the Torah a parochial isolationism. The destiny of mankind and of the earthly planet is at the heart of Judaism and the Sinai Covenant.

Here, too, lies Kook's answer to the secular and the Orthodox heralds of a meta-historical Judaism. The role of a people created to teach "law and justice" as the foundation of human history cannot be accomplished from *outside* human history.

In the essence of Judaism there is no room for a con-

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ceptual division between universalism and nationalism. Judaism is the nationally construed instrument for the performance of God's universal design, as the surgeon's surgical equipment is part of his medical purpose.

All postulates in Kook's philosophy are derivations of this bi-polar structure; nothing is marginal, nothing is due to emotionalism. As the Torah titan whose intellect towered over his contemporaries', he recognized the Torah and Halakhah not only as the revelation of the Divine, but also as the epitome of human intellectual achievement — the almanac for man's this-worldly problematics in all ages. The complex plurality of his activities was based on the lucid simplicity of the Bible — the idea of one human race, created by, and yearning toward the universal source of life.

Kook's *tour de force* was his evaluation of the post-Emancipation epoch. With mighty boldness, he criticized the view of those Torah-authorities who hallowed the status quo as the only response to the challenges of modernity.

Not that Kook considered the new age a reason to modify Judaism; nothing could have been further from his mind. He did not look for additions to, or omissions from, Judaism; he insisted on turning the appropriate page in the eternal book of Judaism: to understand the ways of Him "Who with Wisdom transforms the times and changes [historical] seasons."*

Kook makes a distinction between the eternal validity of the Torah, and the misconceptions, and often lack of perception, of contemporary religious authorities. Steadfast as he was in maintaining the supremacy of the Torah, he was courageous in pointing out the failure of religious authorities to grasp the radical changes that took place with the advent of Enlightenment and Emancipation. His reverence for those who led the life of extreme piety and exclusivity, his acknowledgment of them as guardians of the Torah, did not prevent him from admitting the crucial failure of these sages in not perceiving the radical transformation of the Galut and in insisting that "nothing is new on the frontiers of Judaism."

Kook considered the adage "New is forbidden by the Torah" (a statement by a Halakhic authority referring to the innovations in Jewish liturgy made by the Reform movement in Germany) as the contradiction *par excellence* of the Torah, letter and spirit. It is characteristic that among those who made use of this adage were ultra-Orthodox personalities who had no qualms about embracing the new ideas of German philosophers (including German super-nationalism).

Since the days of the Patriarchs Judaism has encouraged the new and the advanced. It was paganism, in all its multiplicities, that constituted a stumbling-block to

the new. The visions of biblical prophecy are permeated with the ideals of progress. The creators of the Oral Law, the Pharisees, fought against the dogmatic opposition to the new of their Sadducee opponents. The compendia of the Halakhah reflect the ingenious integration of the new into the old — and holy.

There is little need to state Kook's fierce opposition to secular ideologies as a substitute for religion. For him, separating any existential problem from the sphere of the Divine leads to the degeneration of this very problem: even when human progress is achieved through the road of anti-religion, it must ultimately fail. There is no wisdom and no progress cut off from the knowledge of and subordination to the Divine.

Kook recognized the role of those who devoted themselves exclusively to the study and preservation of the Torah and to warding off the dangers to Judaism and Jews from secular ideas. He shared their conviction that no changes in the political, social, or scientific realms require a change in the laws of the Torah. But he contested the view that the eternity of the Torah means the exclusion of everything modern.

It was unadulterated, genuine Judaism Kook gave expression to in his motto, "The New will be hallowed and the Old renewed."¹

Kook's encounter with the attitude and policies of so-called "ultra-Orthodoxy" was all-embracing. It is wrong to conceive the clash between Kook and the spokesmen of the ultra-Orthodox in Jerusalem as a conflict between contradictory attitudes to the Zionist pioneers and to the idea of Jewish statehood prior to the coming of the Messiah. The difference in their approaches to political Zionism was not the cause of the dispute but its branching out. The genesis of the dispute was the diverse attitudes to the problematics of Judaism in the post-Emancipation epoch, in the evaluation of the new Galut in which Jews and Judaism found themselves after the emergence of the national state (in the 19th century).

The very term "ultra-Orthodoxy" to describe the position attacked by Kook is confusing: there could not be a more Orthodox position than Kook's. What he aimed to revise was not any principle of Orthodoxy, but the inertia of Orthodox leaders.

The claim that Judaism has endured two millennia of Galut is misleading. The Galut challenging Judaism today, the Diaspora problem discussed with deceptive profundity in the sophisticated realm of Jewish intellectuality, and obfuscated by many Orthodox luminaries, is less than two centuries old. None of the experiences in previous centuries supports the prognoses of today's Galut, or the challenges facing Judaism today.

Babylon, Rome, Persia, medieval Europe, Islamic caliphates — all systems and regimes treated Jewries and Judaism as alien entities. Hostility and tolerance, perse-

*An attribute ascribed to God in the daily prayers.

cution and protectivity alternated in the policies of Gentiles towards the Jewries dwelling among them, but the status of Jews remained that of an alien. This was due to the fact that their religion was alien to the religion of the rulers of the countries where Jews lived.

Degradations and suffering were turned by Jews into a means of glorifying past and future sovereignty; physical helplessness and spiritual heroism concurred in keeping alive the vision of Jewish sovereignty — the awareness of life in Galut became the torch illuminating the certainty of redemption.

The non-existence of a national consciousness in the countries where Jews dwelt, the absence of any spiritual creativity of the masses surrounding Jewish communities sheltered and preserved the uniqueness of Judaism. Till the modern age there was no challenge to the unique structure of Judaism. The lack of some primary national attributes did not imply their dismissal from the Jewish psyche. Their lingering in the spiritual realm deepened the yearning and hope for the *status quo antes*. Galut existence did not engender any conceptual split within the essence of Judaism; physical, material vicissitudes did not affect the spiritual treasures of Judaism. Rather, the dangers looming over the earthly abodes of the Jews protected Judaism's integrity by leading to their transformation into the realm of the supernatural.

The dichotomy between Galut and Judaism was obvious to the sages of Judaism through the ages, in all the habitats of the Diaspora.

With the emergence of the nation-state this traditional infra-structure collapsed.

The factors that for over a millennium and a half sheltered the aloofness of Jewish existence in an alien world and were conducive to social/spiritual autonomy in Jewry, disintegrated rapidly in the post-Emancipation epoch.

The innate consciousness of national affinities, suppressed by the ruling Church in collaboration with the ancient regimes, surged into history. Religion was dethroned from its position as the bond of a country's inhabitants. It was replaced by the awareness of common political vicissitudes; the unfolding social/cultural history of territorial entities.

The emergence of the nation-state entailed nationalism instead of religion as the ruling authority; identification with the cultural/emotional and political vicissitudes of the territory where one lived determined the national belonging of individuals and collectives. Religion could no longer determine the relationship of people to the land they inhabited; the ruler in the lands where Jews lived was not anymore an individual or a group of lords but the collectivity of the inhabitants — the national entity.

Jews were invited to share with the masses of the Gentile majority the national realm of the countries they lived in while "adhering to the religious cult" of their ancestors. Citizenship, loyalty to the land, became syn-

onymous with national affinity. Religion was removed from its dominant position, and relegated to the private domain of the individual or group. Inclusion in the national framework and in the culture of the host-nation became feasible, tempting the Jewish community to purge their "Mosaic faith" of the earthly elements of a separate nationalism.

The postponement of Judaism's vision of regaining sovereign statehood was now replaced by the demand to relinquish the vision entirely: Jewish anormality, caused by the postponement of a vital component, had now to be "cured" by sharing in the nationalism of other nations.

Emanicipation and the establishment of the nation-state were, therefore, not a continuity of Jewish Galut-existence but a completely new type of Galut that had never existed in any previous stage of Jewish history. Judaism as such could endure, even benefit, by deferring the vision of its national sovereignty; but adapting the nationalism of a Gentile entity as a component of Judaism transformed the Galut into a mortal threat.

The nation-state also produced another phenomenon lethal to Judaism. The ideals of social justice, of humanism, essentially inseparable from Judaism, became a separate realm, contrary to religion. What Judaism had demanded in the name of God was now presented as a challenge to God's laws.

This schizophrenic phenomenon infected Jews with the idea that social justice is irrelevant, or even contradictory to religion — an idea incompatible with Judaism.

The nation-state and secular humanism also carried the vision of a Perfect Society, of a mankind redeemed through progress and science. This could not but lead to the blurring of Judaism's messianic vision.

In its very substance the Messiah-vision of Judaism entailed disbelief in man's capacity to achieve redemption independent of the Divine. The post-Enlightenment world entangled Jews (religious and secular) and Judaism (Orthodox and others) in the glittering web of a vision of redemption-through-progress.

The disastrous results were not late in coming. At the beginning of the 19th century the "Assembly of Jewish Notables" convoked by Napoleon apologetically submitted the demanded reply: "Judaism is only a creed, its adherents constitute no nation." Some of these "Jewish Notables" were outstanding religious personalities.

The declaration of Jewish leaders was more than a response to the rulers of the nation-state, it expressed a yearning that had been ripening among the Jewish intelligentsia since the days of Moses Mendelssohn: the yearning to do away with Jewish aloofness in the world of Gentile intellectuality and to find a common basis with the host-nation.

The redefinition of Israel as an anational *cultus-*

gemeinde took root among secular and religious Jews — primarily in the West, but its symptoms made themselves visible in the East as well. Secular Jews promoted the de-nationalization of the Mosaic ethic as evidence that the commandments became obsolete in modern times; their religious counterparts claimed that the eternal validity of the Torah transformed Jewish communities into a meta-historical entity that had outgrown the mundane, earthly bonds of nationhood.

Translated into plain language, it meant that human progress transcended the Sinai Covenant.

In the emergence of political Zionism, and the returning of estranged sons to the national fold, Kook saw the Divine instrument to counter the devastating trend of secular and religious assimilationism, the antidote to the de-nationalization of the Sinai Covenant.

Kook was unmoved by the “150 pious speculations”^{*} that justified the anti-Zionist frenzy in wide circles of Orthodoxy. He perceived the intrinsic sacredness of the Zionist movement as the Divine messenger to save Judaism and Jews from the apocalypse of the modern Galut.

Jewish nationalism, *sui generis*, was to Kook a sacred entity. The oneness of Jews reflected the oneness of God. “It is a misconception to maintain that we are a holy people because we received the Torah and its Commandments. The Torah was given to us to augment our primordial, natural holiness.”² Nationhood and religion are so inextricable in Judaism that those who defend either one are *a fortiori* preserving (even when inadvertently) the other as well.

If it were really possible to divorce Torah and nationalism, then nothing should have been viewed as too extreme in fighting those who aim at such a separation. However, because this can never happen, we consider those who embrace either one of the components [Torah alone, or nationalism alone], as positive factors who, although unintentionally, are strengthening the sacred totality of Judaism.³

It is noteworthy that in stressing the mortal threat of severing the two components of Judaism, Kook makes no distinction between those who refute religion and those who deny nationalism; it would present the same potential danger if either threat could ever materialize.

Kook never overlooked the dangers lurking in the secular attitudes of Zionism. When the slogan “Zionism has no relationship to religion” was coined he stigmatized it as the “mark of Cain on the forehead of Zionism,” and called on religious Zionists to mobilize all efforts to remove this infamy. But while denouncing the anti-religious utterances and actions of secular Zionists, Kook never failed to laud the idealism and love for Zion of secular *halutzim* as the fulfillments of a primary commandment.

It was not tender loving-kindness, but analytical, ra-

^{*}A Talmudic description of casuistry to purify the impure.

tional evaluation that fueled Kook’s positive approach to political Zionism, making him the foremost champion of the movement of national renaissance. Kook’s fierce opposition to separatism and divisions among Jews was the logical corollary of his universal approach to history; he saw the urgency to regain national sovereignty for the people of Israel in the context of their historical mission to be “a light unto the nations.”

Kook’s conviction that our age calls for cooperation with the non-religious was based not only on the fact that they were a vital force in the Jewish national renaissance; there was another, no less significant reason for it: Kook’s positive attitude toward the ideals of humanism and progress, his conviction that Judaism must integrate these ideas (actually re-integrate them). He considered it a positive phenomenon that in modern times the nations rebelled against the Christian negation of earthly problems.

Kook explained the fact that the ideas of progress and humanism had emerged as secular, often anti-religious systems by the distorted ways the God-idea was introduced to the non-Jewish world by Christianity and by Islam.

Kook even finds partial justification for the upsurge of atheism. Dangerous, absurd, and degrading as man’s negation of God is, it came as a rebellion against the adoption by religion of obscure and false elements. Thus atheism may serve to expunge those external elements from faith.

Kook did not share the conventional view that Christianity and Islam were an extension of Judaism’s monotheism; he considered them distortions of the Jewish God-idea, and the cause of modern atheism: “Religion [presented in a way] unacceptable to the mind evokes anger and cruelty, because it defies the very sublime elements in man, his intellect is embarrassed.”⁴

Kook welcomed the participation of Jews in the dissemination of the ideals of social justice and in the advance of sciences and cultural creativism — but he realized the danger to Judaism if the only outlet for Jews to participate in those creativities would be the infrastructure of a Gentile nation-state.

The restoration of the national framework of the people of Israel now became even more urgent because of the need to provide indigenous channels for Jewish action, to harmonize the spirit of the new age with the eternal spirit of the Torah.

Kook realized his view was bound to evoke fierce opposition in the camp of so-called ultra-Orthodoxy, because Galut existence had led to the diminishing of Jewish sensitivity to these fundamental tenets in Judaism, resulting in a partial side-tracking of humane and humanist ideals from the focus of the religious authorities: “Our lengthy sojourn in the centres of Christianity has given rise in our midst to the concept that there is a con-

tradition between the sphere of holiness and the yearnings for what is healthy and natural in human life.”⁵ And as a result:

the majority of [Torah] scholars, including the leading ones of our generation . . . do not dare to embrace the ideals of the time and harmonize them with the Torah. They see themselves forced to deny validity to anything new. . . . They refuse to admit that they are thereby forsaking the basic maxim of Torah and faith. Because of this we are walking in the dark, our masses are blundering and deviating. But it is not those who deviate who are to be blamed; it is due to it that no one illustrates to them the way to harmonize the problems of life with the Torah, its sacred principles and with the faith.⁶

One may trace this to the creeping influence of the normative religions among which Jews have lived for close to two millennia, where ideals of social justice and the striving to establish perfect societies were introduced by secular movements *against* religious doctrines, where the ideas of humanism and enlightenment emerged as anti-clerical forces. Judaism had never acknowledged a separation between the “City of God” and “the City of Man.” The Torah and the Talmud know of no distinction between religious rituals and prescriptions of social justice. According to Halakhah sins against one’s fellow-man are even greater than those against religious rituals.

Kook discusses a phenomenon obscured for so long that it no longer provokes concern: the tendency of Orthodox movements to consider the observation of religious rituals as the *totality* of a Torah-true life.

Kook writes:

Three forces are fighting each other among us in our times . . . Orthodoxy, as it is conventionally called, carries the banner of holiness . . . the new national camp fights for everything that concerns Jewish nationalism, in itself permeated with sublime elements of Judaism . . . and the liberal universal force . . . that concerns itself with general cultural and ethical issues of mankind.

As separate entities presented by distinct social groups, each ideal tends to view itself as the only legitimate element of Judaism, claiming all of Judaism and refuting the others. The greater and deeper the separation, the stronger grows the belief of each separate force that it alone presents the totality of Judaism, excluding all the others.⁷

Here Kook makes two fundamental statements:

- 1) Judaism allows no separation between the God ideal, the national awareness of Israel, and the concern with the universal and human. Only a movement embracing all those aspects represents Judaism *in toto*.
- 2) As the camp of Orthodoxy concerns itself only with the holy it cannot be considered as the representative of the totality of Judaism. The very definition of *holy* as distinct from Jewish nationalism and from Judaism’s universal essentiality reduces Jewish Orthodoxy to only *one* among the forces of Judaism, and necessitates the

existence of other forces to represent the omitted attributes of Judaism.

This puts the issue of cooperation between the religious and non-religious forces in Judaism in an entirely different realm. It was not solely a question of love for a fellow Jew who deviates; cooperation between religious and non-religious turns into a religious tenet due to the incompleteness of Orthodoxy to embrace the totality of Judaism — the “holy in its fullness.”

It was the vacuum within the camp of “Orthodoxy,” their (still prevailing) tardiness in restoring the Torah to its avant-gardist role in the sphere of social justice, that made necessary the appearance of secular forces in order to present the left-out components of Judaism — nationalism and the ideals of universal brotherhood and social justice.

Not only does this situation, in which no one camp embraces the totality of Judaism, call for cooperation between the religious and the non-religious (who carry Jewish values), but any claim of Orthodoxy to exclude the non-religious smacks of heresy: “Any one of the above-mentioned three forces when striving to exclusivity, and refuting the others, forfeits its own usefulness and turns into a force of destructiveness.”⁸

The excessive stress laid on Kook’s emotional richness, his profound kindness and all-embracing love — true as it is — tends to obscure the basic fact that it was a strictly rational Halakhah that dictated his approach to the national renaissance and to his demand of unity among all forces in Judaism.

Kook was not the first in the ranks of Torah-giants who pointed out the dangers of nourishing Galut illusions and obfuscating *all* phases of Jewish redemption. But Kook’s perceptiveness was the most comprehensive. His philosophy elucidated the converging of the sacred/mystical and the human/rational in the destiny of the Chosen People.

Zionism was not the total answer to Jewish destiny. But it was the divinely inspired reaction to the two-fold curse of the disintegration of Judaism: secular and religious distortions.

The Basel Congress was far from heralding the coming of the Messiah — neither were the majority of its delegates representatives of Judaism’s sacred ideals. Still, in this gathering of Jewish notables in the final years of the century, Kook saw the Divine remedy for the fatal gathering of Jewish notables at the beginning of the century. The Zionist search for a solution to the question of the Jewish people was the long-overdue refutation of the “emancipation solution” adapted by Jewish notables almost a century before.

Kook and numerous other mentors of Religious Zionism failed to make the Torah sages the avant-garde of the national renaissance, and the decisive factor in shaping the regained statehood. This was detrimental

to the entire process of national revival. Much of Israel's predicament is due to it; it remains the main contributor to the most traumatic alienation in history — the alienation of a great part of Israel's children from the Protector of Israel.

The tendency to "soften" the issues in which Kook differed from the views of some leading Torah authorities does a great disservice to the spiritual legacy of this unique Torah genius; it obscures the relevance of Kook's ideas to the problems plaguing Judaism, the State of Israel, and Jewish communities everywhere. The mounting conflicts between religious and secular, the shrinking role of Religious Zionism make it pertinent to reintroduce Kook's legacy in an authentic, non-

evasive manner. It is his philosophy that offers the only available bridge to span the rift between secular and religious in the fold of Israel.

His comprehensive, non-fragmented elucidation of the Sinai Covenant and the role of a Jewish state can become a catalyst to rekindle the intrinsic idealism that lingers in the masses of the returnees to Zion.

In the diversified habitats of the Jewish dispersion Kook's teachings may make Jews aware of the unrivaled centrality of the State of Israel and the debt Jewish communities everywhere owe to it. It should serve as a reminder to those who officially adapted Kook of how far behind they have remained in applying his true teachings to their political activities.

NOTES

1. *Yigroth Harayah*, V. II, p. 210. (Mosad Harav Kook, Jerusalem, 1922) Translations of Kook from the Hebrew are mine. — G.M.
2. *Oroth*, p. 155. (Mosad Harav Kook, Jerusalem, 1921)
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.
4. *Oroth*, p. 52.

5. *Yigroth*, V. II, pp. 134-5.
6. *Musar Arikha veMidot*, p. 122. (Mosad Harav Kook, 1931)
7. *Oroth*, pp. 70-2.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 71

The Convert

LARRY RUBIN

Hounded by the hunger of converters,
Caught on the horns of love and law, I fled
Down the corridors of foam to where
Cathedrals were museums, their domes a dime
A dozen, spires poking for my camera,
Stabbing the sky like Chrysler's layered thrust,
But full of memories of God. So safe,
I could genuflect for joy, then flow
Into canals of carnal dreams. The cream of sense
I skimmed, and no voice thundered No.
But then one day a Temple of the East,
Looking familiar as my beveled glans,
Opened its Ark with tasseled grace; I saw
The rolls, the scrolls, the halls of patriarchs,
My father's eyes stabbing through the shawl
Of stone. And I debarked, and bought my ticket home.

Adin Steinsaltz — A Modern Mystic

ARTHUR SAINER

Centered in a modest, white-stone structure off a tiny alley in Jerusalem known as Rechov Ha'Maaravim, Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz, together with a handful of assistants and several word processors, has been attacking a two-and-a-half-million-word Aramaic fortress known as the Babylonian Talmud with the intent of rescuing it from the icy fingers of academia. Steinsaltz's long-term publishing venture includes the resurrection of passages that early censors either eviscerated or wiped out, commentaries by venerable medieval scholars and Steinsaltz's commentaries on the commentaries, discussions of Halakhah, breakdowns of dense concepts, insights into flora and fauna, and excavations into sociological and linguistic terrain. But this is only one of the Rabbi's projects. When he isn't ruminating about the *Sefirot*, the Knesset, or subatomic particles, supervising Yeshivat Shefa (it opened in September, 1984 with 20 high-school graduates putting in an intensive, 16-hour day of study), barreling around the Holy Land in his little red Renault, conferring with scientists, statesmen, and mystics (he meets journalists at two a.m., works till five, sleeps perhaps three hours, prays one or two hours in the morning), writing philosophical treatises, mystery novels, or mathematical formulations, this bearded, untidy, nearsighted rabbi, enveloped in a nimbus of pipe tobacco fumes, may be found in residence at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Research, in workshop at New York's 92nd Street Y, or in consultation on drug problems in Southern California.

Talmudist, Kabbalist, a legend in his late forties — or perhaps 5,000 years old. "I was in a class," Steinsaltz recalls as we converse in his office,

"and I had to teach people three times my age. I was then 25 and some of these people were the best minds in the country. And it was, in a way, embarrassing. And the only way I could see to do it was to say to myself, they are not listening to me as a person, I am now 5,000 years old and these are 75-year-old babies." It is the kind of understanding that is accessible if one conceives of the world as an ongoing stream of thought that has no end and no beginning, and each of us as beings with the potential for dipping into the stream.

If there is about this Talmudic mystic a touch of the venerable prophet, more laid-back than fiery, there is also a healthy dose of the self-deprecating humor of the shtetl Jew nurtured on the ironies of folk wisdom. Steinsaltz has described himself alternately as a transmitter and a messenger; does he wake mornings and tune into whatever God has been broadcasting through the night? In response to my query about his thought processes, he tells me, "Unfortunately I'm such a disappointing interviewee. I have nothing in me that is really bizarre. I would love to have some unique trait, say the talent to do something like this" — he makes a quick hand gesture — "and suddenly flowers are sprouting from the ceiling. Had I been everything that I learn and transmit, I would not sit here — perhaps I would grow wings.

"I have very limited experience," he says, "surely not great wisdom, but I'm trying to attune to the Jewish people, to our heritage. Sometimes I may be wrong, I didn't hear properly, didn't listen properly. But I'm trying to see something. Between the lines there are enormous gaps; one has some knowledge here and there; this knowledge encloses some areas

that you don't know about, but you can have a sense of what it's about, of what's being enclosed."

What is "it" about? Many of Steinsaltz's perceptions of the universe derive from Kabbalah. The two towering figures who explored Kabbalah earlier in this century were Martin Buber and Gershom Scholem. Buber took an Aggadic approach, involving philosophic speculation, often on a level of poetic rhapsody, and a reforming of the Kabbalistic folk tale in which the force of parable gave mystical narrative its exemplary power. Scholem came at Kabbalah like an inspired doctoral candidate, or an obsessed archeologist, poking through rubble, tunneling through the misty past for clues to a system of belief. Where is Steinsaltz in relation to these forces? Yossi Klein Halevy, Israeli correspondent for the *Village Voice*, sees Steinsaltz, the mystic and the legalist, as within the real tradition of Judaism. He tells me,

In all other forms of mysticism you go up, in Jewish mysticism you're constantly mediating between Heaven and earth. There is this tradition of transcending the body and a kind of merging with God, *but you never stay up there*, the idea is to bring your experience of the highest realm back to earth so that you're elevating earth and its people. What Steinsaltz says is that *everything* is potentially sacred: everything material, everything in history. He says there is no such thing as the Jewish world and the rest of the world. Judaism, in one sense, *is* the world. In that sense it's the most universal religion because it's concerned with absolutely everything that's human.

In relating Steinsaltz to the Talmud, Halevy says that Talmudic

teaching over the past few centuries has been narrow and doctrinaire: "Steinsaltz is trying to open the debate again, he's saying let's start talking, let's resume the transgenerational dialogue: what does Judaism have to say about the sexual revolution, about art, about genetic engineering?"

And who speaks to us today? I ask Steinsaltz, "Is the age of prophecy finished? Are there no latter-day prophets?" He declares, "You need the right time for prophecy to be received. We believe the voice in Sinai that created the world is still speaking, is still creating it." "Still reverberating?" "No, still *creating*. It is an infinite break in space-time, the Lord is creating the world and is *going on* creating it constantly. The same voice that says, Let it be Heaven, is going on creating Heaven as we meet right now. The only difference is that there are some times when you are at Sinai when you're able to listen and some times when you only hear an echo or less. These days there is too much noise."

When there is not too much noise, when the Jew who has never been at home with his Jewishness begins to question his life, there is the possibility of "return." The *Ba'al Teshuva* returns to fulfill the mitzvot and embarks on the task of finding his authentic self. This journey constitutes an immense struggle; the self endures endless self-questioning. The journey, paradoxically, moves through the very observances that one may be relentlessly questioning. Steinsaltz, whose forthcoming book, *Teshuva*, is on the phenomenon of return, reflects that "in the contemporary world you return to a home you have never been in. You go to a — sorry for using a Jungian term — an archetypal home, to your ancestors that you have never known. Take a tree. I find it shocking the way Frenchmen cut their trees into all kinds of figures. You can make a tree appear like anything. And the Japanese bonsai — you take an oak, plant it in a small field, exert lots of pressure, and you have a miniature. But there is something in the seed of the oak, plant the miniature's seed and give it the right environment,

then it will get its own size and form again. That is the basic idea of the return, the form can be twisted but never entirely destroyed. You," Steinsaltz says to me, "were raised in the Bronx so you hardly saw a real tree. But here in Israel I sometimes tell people, try to plant something, even a tomato, watch it, water it. You learn lots of things. You see a plant striving to get its own: it's an enormous power; sometimes it moves whole buildings. It is not a conscious thing. You can see it twisting, suffering; *it wants to get its own*. It's a struggle between the inner form and the outer pressure.

"Lots of people at a certain age," he notes, "begin to resemble their parents. Sometimes it's a frightening experience. When you're young you think you and your parents are worlds apart, nothing in common. A young biological unit is flexible; it moves in every direction. Later on there are bigger forces that push it into the more stable format of the genus of the species. You begin to resemble your parents; the genus reaffirms itself. Some people — some trees — are so twisted they cannot reaffirm themselves in their lifetime; the genus has to wait for the next generation. The phenomenon of return is reaffirming some mould that you possibly never knew existed. He found himself but he never knew himself. Somebody said, 'There is no fleeing from God. Being everywhere you cannot avoid Him, but also you cannot be near Him. The only question is whether your face is towards Him or from Him.' So the point of return is facing about."

Crookedness and straightening fall oddly into our conversation. "I hated school," Steinsaltz recalls. "My imagination told me it's a kind of Chinese torture which you have to undergo, not for any *benefit*, but because everybody's supposed to do his bit in the world. After three months in the first grade, I came to my parents and said, 'I know now how to read and write so please release me,' which they didn't do." But he dropped out of high school, eventually studied chemistry, mathematics, and physics at Hebrew Universi-

ty, then despite a non-observing, Marxist family — his father had gone to Spain to aid the Loyalists — found himself caught up in Biblical Studies. "I had to discover Judaism *in spite of* the religious people. Our home didn't have a religious atmosphere but it had a Jewish atmosphere.

"I think all Jews suffer from a Messiah complex," he reflects. "We are born with it, a feeling that you have to redeem the world. It doesn't come from any special gift or wisdom. It's a Jewish malady: *you cannot let things go as they are*. You possibly know this type of people, when they see a table disarranged they have to straighten it — they suffer *physically* when something is crooked. If you have this habit," he surveys the casual disarray of his office, "I obviously don't have it, it hurts you when things are not straight." But later he speaks of the messianic impulse as a child-like attribute. "There is a Jewish legend that tells that a child, before birth, has a candle burning over his head and he's learning everything in the womb. And when he's born the angel strikes him just below the nose and he forgets everything. Sometimes there are children whom the angel forgets to strike, so they still remember, they don't grow up. Growing up means you tend to the serious business of the world, making money and so on. But if you remain a child, you want to redeem the world."

At some point we move on to Israel's political turmoil. Steinsaltz believes "the ambivalence of Zionism underlies almost everything that's happening here. On one side is the idea of return, you come home, you become a more strongly defined Jew. It's a messianic attempt. On the other side, a self-destructive movement which believed Herzl's view that there is a Jewish problem, and the problem stems from Jewish abnormalcy — people without a state. When Jews will become normal there won't be a Jewish problem. In a way it was a movement to cut out all the 'strange things' about Jews. Jews are supposed to be sentimental, full of complexes, self-tortured, slight in build, not given to violence or physical exercise, and very much disconnected to anything that

grows. In early Israeli fiction they created new, idealized images. We used to call many of my generation 'nova children.' One writer said there was an unconscious effort to create Nietzsche's blonde beast. The Sabra didn't grow exactly to this measure, but even today this image is pushed. But there is an inner ambivalence, people want to be special and simultaneously want to be normal.

"Every issue here is not debated but shouted, possibly you noticed it. Everybody is a prophet. Whether you are right or wrong you proclaim everything at the top of your voice. You don't have time for debating because a prophet doesn't debate, he proclaims. So when you have three million prophets in a country, it becomes a bit noisy."

In our last session Steinsaltz and I are at odds over the value of art. "In *The Thirteenth Petalled Rose*," I remind him, "you speak of art as an aesthetic form which 'can only be partial and inadequate as compared with the great artistic creation of . . . a Jew living according to the Torah.' It seems to me that art is one of the ways in which humans can set out on profound journeys, and one of the essential ways in which humans make contact with one another."

"What I really stated," he replies, "is that art, almost by definition, is symbolic. If I see it as a symbol, then what does it symbolize?"

"One hopes it has a *content*."

"It may have a very deep content, but what does it symbolize? Whether it is *Medea*, *Hamlet*, or a play by Genet, it is still a symbol of the existence of man. Oscar Wilde said he put his genius in his life and only his talent in his writing."

"Didn't he also say, as for living we let our servants do that for us?"

"The idea of the artist is not what he does but what he is."

"Are you saying that's a higher value?"

"What the artist does constitutes partial and symbolic outbursts of personality."

"From a *being*. Outbursts from a being with ideas."

"From a being. I would say the primary form is the being. Socrates

writes that the poets don't understand their own poetry. Bertrand Russell once gave a lecture about Bergson's philosophy, and there was a small man always trying to interrupt, and finally Russell lost his patience and said, 'Mr. Bergson, I know you are *here*, I know you *wrote* it, but let me explain what you said.' When being is less than the art, it's not necessarily because the art is superior. Ultimately the supreme form is the being, the thing rather than the image."

"I think there's a confusion," I say. "I don't think you can make the split. Obviously one can make it. On the one hand there's a wonderful human being, but on the other this wonderful human being doesn't seem to *do* anything, this being is simply wonderful. Is he a relevant being?"

"Relevant for *what*?"

"For some vital human interaction."

Steinsaltz persists. "When it comes to use, there are other valuations. What is more useful? From an economic view, a piece of dung is far more useful than a bunch of roses. The dung works far better for the soil. When you come to value in aesthetics then you have another valuation. So if I'm trying to deal with the usefulness to society, I would say, some people are wonderful but they don't do anything so they can be written off. But there's a story by Mark Twain — I didn't find anybody who read it, I found out Americans don't read — it's called 'Captain Brassbound's Visit to Heaven.' In Paradise he sees a special place for poets, another for generals, and so on. He sees Napoleon and Alexander, but the person everybody looks toward is a tailor from Tennessee who, if conditions had been right, would have been the greatest military genius of all. Same things with poets, and all the others. So, *if* you give positions in Paradise, then possibly the true measure is what a person is. When you are dealing with society then you measure what a person does."

Steinsaltz refills his pipe. "The Hasidic Rebbe of Kotzk told of the miracle of Elijah when fire came down from Heaven. He said people didn't know what the miracle was. The real miracle wasn't mankind ob-

taining fire. The real miracle was that the responsible people, instead of talking about how great the miracle was, said that the Lord is indeed God, *that* was the miracle."

"The Lord is indeed God." And we are in a struggle over belief. After Freud, after quantum mechanics, after a string of Eastern saviors, where are we? For many Jews there is this curious, often tentative, sometimes aggressive movement back to ancestral roots. There is a lot of lip service given to spiritual values, but even catch phrases may speak to some longing. Steinsaltz is one of those peculiar beings who gets under your skin. You begin by questioning what in the world he's tapping into, then you find yourself wondering if you simply haven't been listening, if you are at Sinai and are simply facing the wrong way. Steinsaltz says don't worry about belief, practice mitzvot and belief will come. And he speaks about struggle — forget about peace, you weren't put on earth to be peaceful, you have a journey that no one can undertake for you, that takes you home, *your* home, no one else's.

Is Steinsaltz some kind of bizarre miracle, a new prophet asking Jews to wake up to yet *another* struggle? As I watch him, his very being seems to become an act of memory, he seems to become the embodiment of a collective memory for Jews who then begin to remember what, conversely, they have never yet known.

What is being remembered? The insistence of an ethical ground, ongoing and relentless arguments, the nesting and spiraling and simultaneity of the universe. In *Biblical Images*, Steinsaltz remarks that Abraham did not *conceive* of monotheism but *remembered* it during a polytheistic age. This new, contemporary act of memory becomes a surrogate for the territory of re-discovery. This Abraham is a pebble in the sand, a transcendent and yet very material interrogator, a maker of acts and of nothing, a generator of good and bad angels, a former and a formation. ■

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No More "Good" Terrorists

MARIE SYRKIN

In the still unfolding drama of terrorist violence and retaliation two recent developments stand out. The first, of course, is the American interception of the Egyptian plane carrying the hijackers of the Italian cruise ship to their PLO haven. The second is an uncharacteristic reaction of the Soviet government. An extraordinary statement issued by the Soviet news agency Tass shortly after the event declared "The Americans' anger at the hijackers' crime aboard a cruise liner is understandable and just. The crimes of terrorists, no matter where they are committed, must be punished most severely, and such severity must be shown unfailingly to all perpetrators of such crimes." The statement went on to say that "there can be no 'good terrorists' and 'bad terrorists.'" They are all a bad lot.

Apparently the Soviet Union has been stung by the kidnapping of its own citizens in Beirut and the murder of one of them. Till now the Soviet Union has been generously supportive of terrorism, offering training bases on its own soil and providing funds and arms to the "good terrorists" who were invariably described in the Soviet press as freedom fighters. The realization that "revolutionaries" cannot always be relied on to murder or kidnap the correct target has been an eye-opener. In their initial reaction to the killing of a Russian diplomat the Soviets promptly discovered the true culprit: Israel was indirectly responsible for the kidnapping because Israel was the "prime cause of internal Lebanese strife, of which Soviet citizens became innocent victims." The failure of the captors to release the other Russians, though Russian pressure persuaded the Syr-

ians to stop shelling in Beirut, may have caused a change of heart. Naturally there is no telling how long the new revelation will guide Soviet policy and how soon the distinction between "good" and "bad" terrorists will again be made. The likelihood that Middle East terrorism will be deprived of Russian diplomatic and financial support is not great. Still, it is instructive to see how a small dose of what other countries have been enduring stimulates perception.

The righteous clamor about American interception of the Egyptian plane followed predictable lines. The Egyptians became aggrieved altruists; the Italians, also aggrieved, released the mastermind of the hijacking enterprise. Various countries clucked in disapproval or fulminated indignantly in direct proportion to their fear of reprisal or involvement with the hijackers. And the PLO went on record claiming that the elderly American had not been murdered but had died of a heart attack. Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the political department of the PLO, unblushingly announced to reporters at the United Nations that the charge of the killing was "a big lie fabricated by the intelligence service of the United States." One Palestinian Arab went so far as to suggest that the widow of the victim threw him overboard herself for reasons clear only to a mind capable of making such accusations. Finally, Arafat, wrapped in the robes of virtue, lamented that his efforts in behalf of mercy and peace had been stymied by the wicked Americans. The American press, of course, had no lack of commentators to join in the lament. The "moderate" Arafat had been foiled in his genuine zeal for peace.

The persistence of the myth of Arafat's "moderation" and readiness for peaceful co-existence with Israel is inexplicable on any rational grounds. I am not referring to Arafat's declared policy of former years. A man, no matter how extreme or violent, may decide that a given course is unproductive and should be altered. But it is not necessary to go back to the PLO covenant or subsequent declarations to demonstrate that the PLO and Arafat have not abandoned their bloodthirsty dedication to the destruction of Israel, or to doubt that they are ready to live and let live if their modest demands — a state on the West Bank — are accepted. In view of the continued insistence of supposedly fairminded Americans and Europeans that the PLO has altered course and should be received as a legitimate partner in any negotiating process, the 1985 record is worth noting.

The notorious theory of "Two Phases" was formulated and revealed to the world by *Al-Ahram* on February 25, 1971:

There are only two specific goals at present: elimination of the consequences of the 1967 aggression through Israel's withdrawal from all the lands it occupied that year, and elimination of the consequences of the 1948 aggression through the eradication of Israel. . . . Some of us make the mistake of starting with the second step instead of the first.

The strategy here defined is crystal-clear. While so-called "extreme" Palestinian Arab terrorists demand the immediate destruction of Israel, the more sensible "moderates" are ready to negotiate the first

step, a state on any "liberated territory," for the easier implementation of step two — the total annihilation of Israel. Have Arafat and the PLO renounced this strategy? Declarations made in 1985, not in 1971, reveal how steadfastly they cling to their ultimate goal. This explains their shy reluctance to state explicitly that they are ready to recognize Israel — a reluctance that apologists pretend is a quirk of the Arab psyche.

How about Arafat, whose participation as a negotiator in any peace talks is urged on Israel by friends as well as foes? As recently as May 14, 1985, he confided to an Arab League seminar in Tunis that he would never accept Israel's "right to exist." This was duly reported in the European press. Arafat's close confidant, Khalid al-Hassan, head of the PLO's international relations department, a leading member of the PLO's Palestine National Council, and, ironically, a member of the Jordan-PLO slate submitted to the U.S., amplified the master's declaration in the Kuwaiti daily *al-Anba* on June 1, 1985 in an interview that merits full quotation:

When the Palestinians or Arabs struggle against Zionism or U.S. policy in the Mideast, they experience the supposed contradiction between conscience and logic. The conscience focuses on the obvious fact that Palestine is an Arab homeland, an integral element of the Arab motherland; and that no non-Muslim or, to be more precise, non-Palestinian may exercise sovereignty over that homeland. This is the source of the idea of 'complete liberation, referred to by Arafat as "the great dream"; namely, the establishment of a Palestinian state over the whole of Palestine.

However, logic points to the sour reality . . . which is a natural outcome of the deterioration in the inter-Arab situation.

And then, logic directs us to choose the "phased-policy." The frightened conscience inquires about 1948 *Palestine*; and logic replies that while the "phased-policy" prescribes accepting anything possible during the first phase, it is determined to carry-on the battle until the final goal is attained. [Emphasis added.]

In reply to a question by *al-Anba's* editors as to the meaning of the "peace for territory" slogan, al-Hassan was admirably explicit:

"Currently the struggle is in the phase of the West Bank. . . . but the struggle is going to be long, and will not be decided until either Arab nationalism or Zionism is annihilated. . . ."

Abu Nazir, Secretary of the Revolutionary Council of Fatah, Arafat's umbrella organization, discussed the two-phase policy in another issue of *al-Anba* (May 13, 1985); he did not engage in al-Hassan's tortuous distinctions between logic and conscience. Refreshingly he came straight to the point:

When we demand the establishment of a national authority [over any area evacuated by Israel] or a Palestinian state, or even a [Jordan-PLO] confederation, the overall strategy leads to the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state over the whole of Palestine. . . . The phased policy takes advantage of certain circumstances which provide us with a spring-board towards further goals. The Zionist entity utterly contradicts the Palestinian [national] existence. [Emphasis added.]

None of these utterances is precisely news. We have heard such declarations since 1971 when this strategy was plainly formulated. But many Middle East "experts" persist in disseminating the notion that Arafat and his lieutenants are reformed men, realists who have abjured violence and want to discover a peaceful modus vivendi with Israel if only that intractable state would exhibit an equally peace-loving disposition; therefore, these statements, made at the very time when Arafat has been beating his peculiar peace drums, deserve more attention.*

An extraordinary instance of the current readiness to accept PLO members as self-styled men of peace was recently exhibited by so hard-headed a stateswoman as Margaret Thatcher, who has had ample experience of IRA terrorism in her own country. After inviting PLO members for talks on the Middle East

*I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the *Contemporary Mideast Background*, an invaluable publication issued by Israel's information service that makes first-hand material available to those unable to read the Arab press. — M.S.

peace process, the British Foreign Office was obliged to rescind the invitation when the two gentlemen refused, at the last minute, to sign a previously agreed-on statement that included recognition of Israel's right to exist. The PLO balked at signing because it was too explicit. So much for the PLO as respectable negotiators and "moderates."

The same hocus-pocus could be observed in regard to the release of the notorious Abul Abbas by the Italians. With an Iraqi passport he had diplomatic immunity, so the Italian Prime Minister claimed in extenuation of his act. Abbas himself was promptly heard on TV declaring that the hijackers had not killed Klinghoffer; he died of natural causes: "We are not killers." The discovery of Klinghoffer's corpse with two gunshot wounds settled the question of Abbas's veracity; now he may claim it was a mercy killing. In any case the history of Abbas casts further light on his homicidal record.

Abbas is the head of a faction of the Palestine Liberation Front that remained loyal to Arafat when that organization split. The group is distinguished among Fatah's terrorist branches for the particular savagery of its acts. Among Abbas's exploits is the notorious attack on the seaside town of Nahariya. His band entered an apartment chosen at random and slaughtered a man and his five-year-old daughter in addition to other victims. The mother, who had succeeded in hiding, accidentally suffocated her baby when she tried to quiet its cries. The individual who masterminded this act was Abbas. The pathos of this incident made it memorable, but the point at issue is the fact that Abbas is a prime strategist of PLO terrorism. It was no accident that he was the PLO negotiator to whose commands the hijackers of the Italian ship deferred. His known role makes Italy's release of this killer indefensible and the indignation of the American and any other government determined to excise terrorism fully justified. Regrettably the Russians, now that they have temporarily renounced the distinction between "good" and "bad" terrorists, did not find it politic to add their voice in disapproval of the re-

lease of Abbas. Communist Yugoslavia was his refuge.

Secretary of State Shultz commented on what he viewed as a positive element in the hijacking. He commended countries that had denied sanctuary to the ship and to the hijackers, and urged that similar firm action be taken against countries like Libya and Iran that openly support terrorists and offer them safe havens. These are welcome words from an influential member of the American government. The craven response of the world community to terrorism has resulted in its proliferation so that now no country is exempt from the violence of some disgruntled band. And, unfortunately, there are apologists who keep peering for a "root cause" as though its existence would be an extenuation of a tactic that specifically victimizes innocents. Root causes exist for every conflict; the adversaries, however, are not likely to agree to their nature. Before we can identify the root the wild growth that obscures it must be cleared out and destroyed.

Conventional wisdom has it that there can be no defense against a suicidal terrorist ready to die for his cause. That is certainly true of individual acts of madness or vengeance. But most terrorists are politically motivated and inspired by their leaders. Those ready to die for Allah and Khomeini have been taught that their sacrifice will be rewarded by immediate entrance into the Muslim paradise. Their teachers are not anonymous. And, unlike their followers, the mentors show no haste to avail themselves of celestial bliss. On the contrary: they have objectives for whose fulfillment they consider their personal existence essential. As long as the world's timidity gives them a free hand, they are ready to lose a few disciples for the end benefits. Should the tactic prove more

costly than it has till now, the Khomeinis and Qaddafis might lose their appetite for random havoc. Were the inspirers and supporters of terrorism to be held directly responsible, they would swiftly contain the enthusiasm of their pupils. The first step in this direction could be the formation of a disciplined international force trained to strike promptly at a suitable target in the guilty country. The actual terrorists are only messengers; their dispatchers should be held accountable. Obviously the establishment of such an anti-terrorist force would require careful planning; above all it would require more will and gumption than affected countries have shown heretofore.

Sporadic strikes against terrorism such as the recent U.S. interception of the Egyptian plane will have no lasting effect if they do not presage a continuing, concerted effort. Terrorism thrives in an atmosphere of implied sympathy or overt acclaim. Japanese pilots who dashed themselves against American ships in World War II did so in the knowledge that they were fulfilling a mission that had absolute national approval. They were the heroes of their people, openly striking against the avowed enemy. Arab violence feeds not only on the direct support of its instigators, who view it as warfare with minimum risk and expense, but also on the passions of the Third World, who mistakenly applaud a role model; it is also abetted by the rhetoric of psychologists in the West who defuse the monstrosity of a bomb secreted in a schoolhouse by prattle about "frustration" — the blanket excuse for any crime no matter how heinous. And, predictably, there are the ideologists of the Left ready to spring to the defense of any foul means the PLO or PLF or XYZ might employ to further their ends.

At the present time, violent outbreaks by victims of apartheid in South Africa arouse understanding

rather than revulsion even among those who question the wisdom of particular acts. But were blacks to begin throwing grenades randomly in the streets of London, Paris, or New York, sympathy would soon give way to justified anger. Arab terrorism — Christian, Shi'ite, Sunni, radical, fundamentalist — has become an international pestilence. The plague is state-sponsored and should be contained by concerted international action. Airlines can refuse to fly to the centers of infection. A *cordon sanitaire* is as essential as in the eradication of yellow fever or smallpox or any other affliction to which the world was subject before adequate controls were introduced. By now the West is largely immune to oil blackmail and can afford to assert its conscience without fear of economic reprisal. And if the consequences of hijacking and murder in the air, the high seas, or the world's cities turn from capitulation to swift retribution directed at the well-known strategists of terrorism, this form of cheap warfare may lose its appeal.

The caterwauling about an endangered peace process caused by the proper United States criticism of Egypt for freeing the hijackers indicates how fragile this process must be, if it requires the abandonment of basic conditions for a viable social order. Certainly one notion that has been exploded is the suitability of Arafat or any of his confederates as negotiating partners. Even those unfamiliar with the two-phase policy of the PLO to which I have referred and those who have ignored the wave of outrages to which Israel has recently been subjected and to which the press has given minimal notice, may now entertain doubts about Arafat's "moderation." Negotiations can be held only with those Palestinian Arabs for whom "peace" is not a subterfuge for the easier destruction of Israel but a road to genuine co-existence. ■

Wellhausen and Kaufmann

STEPHEN A. GELLER

Around 1960 a discreet but distinct tremor rippled through some quarters of the world of Jewish Bible scholarship. The cause of the excitement was the appearance on the scene of a new and potent presence, Yehezkel Kaufmann. He was then nearing the end of his life, but his work was just beginning to come to the serious notice of general, that is, non-Jewish Bible scholars. The mood was almost one of approaching vindication. To understand why, one must know that scientific biblical criticism, which had done so thorough a job of shredding the traditional view of the sacred text, was a set of disciplines developed by non-Jews, especially Protestants, especially Germans. Of course, grave damage was done to all orthodoxy, but Jews felt a special irritation, not only to religion but also to national pride. It was like Jacob's taking instruction in Bible from Esau, or even Ishmael. Julius Wellhausen, the personification of 19th-century Teutonic scholarship, was raised in the imaginations of some to the status of a mythological figure, the eleventh horn of the beast of modern biblical criticism.

But at last it seemed that a major Jewish counteroffensive, bristling with penetrating arguments and sharply honed hypotheses, was about to be launched, with Kaufmann as commander-in-chief. To be sure, his major work, the many-volumed *History of Israelite Religion* (*Toledot Ha'emunah Hayyisre'elit*), written in the Thirties to Fifties, was in modern Hebrew, a language as inaccessible to the generality of Bible scholars as Tibetan. A one-volume English abridgment appeared in 1960, and several articles in European languages adequately presented the Kaufmannian approach. American Bible scholarship, especially the branch represented by William F. Albright and his students, was disposed to give Kaufmann a sympathetic hearing, and many Jewish biblicists were whetting their polemical lances, preparing to follow in the train of this anti-Wellhausen.

Today, the Kaufmann enthusiasm has vanished. It quickly disappeared among non-Jewish scholars after preliminary reconnaissance. But Kaufmann's messianic aura has dissipated also among Jewish biblicists, al-

though he continues to be consulted on specific scholarly points.

It is useful to consider some of the broader aspects of the Kaufmann phenomenon. It is truly meaningful only if Kaufmann is studied together with Wellhausen. Along the way it will be necessary to touch upon questions of basic methodology and the development of Biblical Studies. The problems are complex, and no more than a skeleton discussion can be presented here.

Wellhausen's classical statement is his *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883).^{*} It consists of a source-critical foundation and a historical and interpretational superstructure. The former, the "documentary hypothesis," maintains that the Pentateuch, the core of the Old Testament and the testing ground of critical theories, was composed by the concatenation of four "sources": J (Jehovist or Yahwist), E (Elohist), D (Deuteronomist), and P (Priestly), in that order. It was a complicated process of literary redaction, which lasted for about 500 years until its completion in the fifth century BCE. Wellhausen's superstructure was an interpretation of biblical culture and religion as a series of stages in a historical development from primitive polytheism to advanced monotheism. Each stage could be associated with one of the literary sources. The whole was an imposing reconstruction of Israel's spiritual progress.

Kaufmann proposed to make one slight change in the source-critical foundation: replace the documentary sequence D-P with P-D. This seemingly minor rearrangement is, however, as fateful a displacement as the one Samson worked on the temple of Dagon. Kaufmann then raised his own structure, the impressive interpretation of Israelite religion in his *Toledot*. Its cornerstone was the doctrine of the radical and unbridgeable distinction between that religion and all forms of paganism.

In the documentary hypothesis itself Wellhausen's stamp was little more than the final signet to a century's analytical activity. The key discovery occurred in 1806.

^{*}*Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*. All page references cited here are to the Meridian Paperback edition (1957), which also contains Wellhausen's *Encyclopedia Britannica* article "Israel." Here the two will be taken as a unit.

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The young de Wette was able to identify the "book of the Torah" discovered in King Josiah's remodeling of the Temple in 621 BCE with the book of Deuteronomy. Now, the latter is a book with a program: centralization of worship, the absolute proscription of all cult outside of Jerusalem. For the first time scholars had established a firm link between biblical literature and history.

The major strands of the Pentateuch could then be arranged on either side of the watershed of 621. Those which did not reflect centralization of worship were earlier; those that did, were contemporary or later. In all major respects P seems to presuppose centralization, to such an extent that it must surely be dated a century or two later. This latter point was the contribution of Graf, who, accordingly, reversed the hitherto accepted order P-D for D-P; and the documentary underpinnings of the later Wellhausian system were complete.

It should be clear even from this spare outline that serious objections can be raised. Why, for example, must it be assumed that texts which do not mention centralization are ignorant of it? Even more puzzlingly, why does P "presuppose" centralization without, in fact, mentioning it (except in Lev.17)? And is it not obvious that these two positions are quite contradictory? For the present, however, we shall turn to the main structure of Wellhausen's hypothesis, the real expression of his mature creativity.

The interpretation of Israelite literature and religion that Wellhausen constructed on his source-critical foundation manifests an awesome symmetry derived from a single concept, centralization of worship. It acts in relation to the theory as it did in practice in 621 BCE: it is the great unifier, a pillar that runs through each story of the structure. It could both be used to date the literary strands of the Bible, and also act as a key, a kind of Rosetta Stone, to the study of the development of Israelite cultic institutions, a major aspect of biblical law.

The first part of the *Prolegomena* is devoted to a masterful reconstruction of the sacrificial system and the priesthood, with centralization and its locus, Deuteronomy, as the guide.

The compelling power of Wellhausen's hypothesis as a structure lay in the association of the institution of centralization of worship with its equivalent in the world of concepts — monotheism: "One God, one sanctuary, that is the idea" (p. 34). The unity of the cult is the concrete expression of the unity of God proclaimed in the *Sh'ma*: "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One!" (Unity is, of course, assumed to be a highly evolved and, therefore, complex idea.)

From this point of view the *doctrine* of monotheism is the logical unfolding of the *practice* of monolatry. The development is: worship of many gods at many shrines (polytheism) to worship of one God at many shrines (monolatry, henotheism) to worship of one God at one

shrine (monotheism). This spiritual advance was mediated and shaped by the prophets, the thinkers and seers who, through the alchemy of the spirit, transmuted base primitive Yahwism into religious gold. And the chief intuition of that spirit was that religion must clothe itself in morality. The prophets were responsible for the social training of an uncouth tribal deity, patiently teaching him that it was fitting for him to act only in accordance with his better nature, so to speak. The religious and social aspects of the Josianic Reform of 621 were the triumph of prophetic activity.

This hypothesis posits a development from lower to higher, from simple to complex, that intrinsically fulfills one's expectations of what development should be. The latter concept acted like the force of magnetism, causing all the polarized elements of Israelite literature, law, and religion to fall into a seemingly inevitable pattern. Running through the whole was a single unifying axis — centralization of worship. It is little wonder that the effect of Wellhausen's system on late 19th-century biblical scholarship resembled that of a natural force like gravity: its momentum was virtually irresistible.

Kaufmann's work is a detailed attempt to reverse this momentum, to oust Wellhausen and take his place. It also consists of a source-critical foundation and an interpretational superstructure. The keynote of the former is, as already noted, his reversal of the Wellhausian sequence of sources D-P to P-D; and in the latter, the positing of the absolute difference in principle between Israelite religion and all forms of paganism. Wellhausen bound foundation to edifice through centralization of worship and its twin, monotheism, both center points of a long development from polytheism through monolatry (or henotheism) to Unity.

Conversely, Kaufmann's positioning of P, with its multiplicity of ritual laws and involved historiography, earlier than D seems to deny any meaningful development in biblical religion. Centralization to him is little more than a mechanical step. Similarly, his view that Israelite religion was from the beginning totally distinct from paganism seems to imply that real monotheism was also always present as its chief characteristic.

Kaufmann's source-critical discussion is extremely detailed but, in the main, possesses an appealing ingenuousness. It focuses on that major gap in the Wellhausian foundation noted above: that P "presupposes" D and its centralization of worship. Kaufmann maintains that if P does not mention this pivotal concept surely the simplest explanation is that P is *ignorant* of it. The most natural explanation of that ignorance is that P precedes the centralization concept — hence the priority of P.

He proceeds to demonstrate that P shows no awareness of other aspects of Deuteronomic legislation and prophetic points of view. Is it likely that a source deeply influenced by prophetic morality would prescribe the

primitive rites of the red heifer (Num.19) and the hapless scapegoat (Lev.16)? Is it conceivable that P would dare to make the Passover sacrifice a ceremony clearly to be performed in the circle of individual families (Exod.12) if it knew and approved of D's thundering demands for centralization of that ritual (Dt.16)? Hardly!

Rather,

In every detail, P betrays its antiquity. Its narrative preserves bold anthropomorphisms . . . its cult presupposes the existence of local altars . . . its tithes are ancient; its thousands of Levites are a reflex of a distant past; its view of the prophets as the civil and military leaders of the people is archaic. . . . As the law of the local sanctuaries, then, P crystallizes a stage of religious evolution earlier than D. The tradition that placed P before D thus correctly reflects the historical development.*

After thus snapping the source-critical link posited by Wellhausen, Kaufmann can then turn to the erection of his own palace. Israelite religion is absolutely and irrevocably unlike paganism, in all times and in all aspects. There is no connection between them other than chronological propinquity and a number of literary motifs. At the gateway of this hypothesis he places what he considers his strongest evidence for the radical difference: "The Bible is utterly unaware of the nature and meaning of pagan religion."*** His surest proof is the Bible's consistent misrepresentation of polytheism as mere fetishism, idol worship. It does not show the slightest awareness of the real attitude of polytheists toward the physical representations of their gods, the deep symbolic meaning rooted in a living mythology, but rather mocks them for adoring sticks and stones, works of their own hands. The simplest explanation for this ignorance is surely isolation: there never was any real spiritual or even physical contact between the mass of Israelites and the pagan world which surrounded them; Israel lived encapsulated in its own spirit.

Kaufmann then deals with each aspect of pagan religion and contrasts it with its seeming equivalent in the Bible. In all cases, despite some superficial similarities, the biblical institution or belief lacks the key element that lies behind paganism, what Kaufmann terms the "metadivine." This is the "primordial realm" beyond the gods, the mechanical force which controls them. Both gods and men seek to tap it, even manipulate it, through magic, rite, and ceremony. The religious cult in paganism is little more than such a magical act. In their dependent stance before the metadivine, men and gods share some aspects of a common nature. If immortal, the gods are still subject to fate; if supernatural in

*Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, translated and abridged by Moshe Greenberg (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 206.

***Ibid.*, p. 7.

their substance, they still feel the compulsions of sex.

But Israelite religion recognizes no force, sphere, or potentiality above God. His transcendence is absolute. He is unaffected by magic and even by cult in its mechanical aspects. He has no sex beyond that required by grammar in a patriarchal society.

The basic idea of Israelite religion is that God is supreme over all. There is no realm above or beside him to limit his absolute sovereignty. He is utterly distinct from, and other than, the world; he is subject to no laws, no compulsions or powers that transcend him. He is, in short, non-mythological. This is the essence of Israelite religion, and that which sets it apart from all forms of paganism.***

Of course, the Bible does not clothe its views in such abstractly philosophical garb. These are intuitions which expressed themselves in symbols through institutions: the cult, prophecy, liturgy, and religious imagery. The many admitted similarities between the latter and their pagan counterparts are deceptive. Paganism and Israelite religion are not twins but antitheses. To be sure, there is a superficial historical connection between them; but biblical religion really marks a new start and could no more have evolved from polytheism, as Wellhausen maintained, than free spirit from gross flesh.

No brief summary can do justice to the power of Kaufmann's arguments, which comes from their number and their array, range upon range like the Himalayas. Those who, especially when young, have encountered them in the original can attest to their almost hypnotic appeal.

But one must disenthral oneself and attempt to understand the real nature of the clash between the massive structures of thought and fact erected by Kaufmann and Wellhausen. The conflict between them is like the grinding together of icebergs: great forces are at work, propelled by powerful currents, but most of the action occurs hidden from view under the surface. A full evaluation is beyond the scope of this essay. But even a brief discussion must recognize that it is wrong simply to compare such grand hypotheses representing different periods and different intellectual backgrounds in a disingenuously direct way. Each must be judged in relation to the mediating body of methodological questions that governs them both: How well do Wellhausen and Kaufmann meet the recognized tests for intellectual simplicity, integrity, and true scholarly productivity? How well does each theory represent its stage of intellectual development, incorporating and, perhaps, transcending the *Zeitgeist*?

Wellhausenism is the model of a successful theory. It virtually silenced competing hypotheses for 50 years. Much of this success was undoubtedly due to the fact

****Ibid.*, p. 60.

that it possesses a wonderful elegance. The symmetry of the idea of monotheism and the cultic requirement of centralization of worship, as well as the relationship of both to the successive stages of literary and religious development, give the theory a compelling simplicity, for all the overwhelming mass of detail. The theory itself is centralized, revolving about the axis of Unity. It therefore seems to have that singleness and clarity of intention required of all aesthetic products.

Moreover, it is, for its century, an exceptionally clear-eyed theory. Wellhausen is aware of the essentially deductive nature of his method. He presents his hypothesis forcefully and consciously proceeds to fit the facts into it. His arguments are presented in an engaging and emotionally tinged manner. There is no prissy pretense of antiseptic, lifeless detachment.

But this appealingly honest self-awareness in regard to method must itself not blind one to Wellhausen's real methodological limitations; just as the marvelous simplicity and symmetry of his theory must not be allowed to obscure the fact that it contains such a painful dichotomy of emotional viewpoints that it is in a state of moral civil war.

Wellhausen's methodological failings are well understood today. To some extent they were perhaps unavoidable in his day. Like all his generation, he was basically oriented toward history; but the tools of historical research were as yet little developed; there was a paucity of external, archeological evidence for biblical and ancient Near Eastern history. Wellhausen, thrust back upon the written evidence, created an essentially literary theory, and remained oblivious to its serious methodological implications.

The clearest expression of this ignorance is well-known to contemporary Bible scholars. Wellhausen, like 19th-century higher critics in general, is literature-bound, deriving almost all his evidence from the written traditions of the Bible. The practical result is a distressing "documentariness," a tendency to associate the date of materials with that of the document in which they occur. This is a striking example of a discipline's coming actually to *think* according to the limitations imposed by the nature of the evidence it employs.

The corollary is drastic in its effects: Wellhausen cannot deal with those aspects of biblical traditions which precede the stage of literary fixation, i.e., oral tradition. He knows that there is such a tradition behind the documents of the Pentateuch, at least in the case of J and E; yet he cannot face the complex implications of that fact. The result, as Albright pointed out, is a ridiculously foreshortened estimation of the length of the development of oral tradition, reflecting a basic ignorance of its nature and workings.

Wellhausen's theory is therefore distorted in its treatment of the period of biblical history whose literary

evidence was transmitted initially by oral tradition: the whole millennium before David. Since this period contains most of the events Israel considered normative for its religion — Patriarchs, Exodus, Sinai Covenant, Conquest of Canaan — and since it is also the first of his postulated stages in the historical development of biblical culture and religion, the methodological insensitivity to the limitations of literary evidence is not merely frustrating but actually counterproductive.

The best example is his treatment of the patriarchs. Like everything in that early age they are an anachronistic projection into the past of the conditions and attitudes of the period of the First Temple, the date of the stories in their *written* form:

It is true, we attain to no historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose in the Israelite people; this later age is here unconsciously projected, in its inner and its outward features, into hoar antiquity, and is reflected there like a glorified image [p. 318].

But there is a nagging problem: the disturbing tendency of the patriarchs to cultivate and maintain peaceful, even covenantal relationships with their Canaanite neighbors. However, at the hypothesized time of the literary formulation of the stories, the first millennium BCE, Israel's traditions were bitterly inimical to that people and categorically demanded their military extermination. Wellhausen is perplexed and offers his explanation for this unexpected peaceableness:

It is remarkable that the heroes of Israelite legend show so little taste for war, and in this point they seem to be scarcely a true reflection of the character of the Israelites as known from their history. Yet it is not difficult to understand that a people which found itself incessantly driven into war, not only dreamed of an eternal peace in the future, but also embodied the wishes of its heart in these peaceful forms of the golden age in the past. . . . [p. 320]

The pleasant fantasy is Wellhausen's, not Israel's, and cannot mask a serious methodological embarrassment. Even more important, however, are the problems caused by the duality of emotional viewpoints mentioned above.

At the heart of Wellhausenism is its concept of process and development, its link to the *Zeitgeist* of its century. That there is not merely change but also discernible, meaningful development is taken to be incontrovertible fact. This conviction is the root of Wellhausen's passionate insistence that P "presupposes" centralization. The relationship between the two, it must be clear to all right-thinking scholars, is such that P must be the result of a long process of development. Those who disagree are "superficial" — to a Teuton the most opprobrious of scholarly reproaches.

But it is in this concept of development that Wellhausenism is wounded. It presents two distinct and, in their

emotional effect, quite polar views of that process. One is evolutionary and progressivist, the other, romantic and degenerative.

Evolutionism, whose classical scientific formulation was Darwinism, posited a universal progression of forms through time from simple to complex. But, in its incarnation as Social Darwinism, progression soon took on the familiar optimistic moral tone associated with "progress," an inheritance from the Enlightenment. As applied to history and institutions, evolutionary development was taken to be an inevitable self-improvement of the species, a survival of the fittest.

In conflict with this evolutionary, and essentially linear, view of development was a cyclical one derived from Romanticism and such painters of the mistier landscapes of the European soul as Rousseau and Herder. It assimilated development to the recurrent biological sequence of youth, maturity, and senescence and associated it with an additional, moral, continuum: "natural" to "unnatural."

When the two concepts of development were combined, the outcome was a logically hazy but emotionally fervid identification of the simple with the youthful, natural, good; and, conversely, of the complex not only with the evolved but also the decadent, denatured epigone. The essential incongruity of the two focuses on a single point: the "mature" stage of the biological sequence is totally anomalous in regard to the evolutionary and moral continua. It is emotionally ambiguous. On the one hand, maturity is the fulfillment of youthful potential and represents full growth and productive fertility; on the other hand, it is also the father of its own decay, a transition to death.

In most of its key aspects, Wellhausen's theory is clouded by this two-faced concept of development. The gloominess of the biological sequence is incompatible with the sunny eudaemonism of evolutionary progressivism.

The roles of youth, maturity and decline are assigned by Wellhausen to the three stages of literary development. J and E, the early sources of the Pentateuch, are "youthful," "natural," and "simple." Deuteronomy, with its doctrine of centralization, represents the "mature" phase, which also includes the canonical prophets. P, the priestly, cultic, "Jewish" stage after the Exile, is "complex," detached from "nature," spiritually "dead."

These equations are fully active in his treatment of the cult. "In the early days, worship arose out of the midst of ordinary life." It expressed "earthly relationships" and corresponded to "the natural festal occasions presented by the vicissitudes of life. . . . Religious worship was a natural thing. . . . It was the blossom of life." The Deuteronomic Reform, which limited sacrifice to Jerusalem, "severed this [natural] connection." To be sure, this was not Deuteronomy's intention, but "human

life has its roots in local environment [and] in being transplanted from its natural soil [the cult] was deprived of its natural nourishment. . . . The consequences, which lie dormant in the Deuteronomic law, are fully developed in the Priestly Code." There worship is its own end, "the warm pulse of life no longer throbbed in it to animate it . . . the soul was fled, the shell remained." Religion was complicated by "a manifoldness of rites." No longer "spontaneous," it became a matter of "technique" and "statute." This degenerative "spiritualisation of the worship is seen in the Priestly Code as advancing *pari passu* with its centralisation" (pp. 76-81, *passim*).

Wellhausen presents a simile epitomizing the multiple focuses in his concept of development: "We may compare the cultus in the olden time to the green tree which grows up out of the soil as it will and can; later it becomes the regularly shapen timber, ever more artificially shaped with square and compass. . . ." (p. 81). From the point of view of utility to mankind, the progress from unkempt tangle of seedlings to a stand of timber is a productive fulfillment of potential, a process completed only by the application of the carpenter's tools. But in order to become useful it must be cut, transformed into dry, dead lumber — a procedure most disturbing to a Romantic's longing for untouched forest depths free of man's intrusion. The lumber industry is no friend of *Waldeinsamkeit*. So a development, perhaps necessary and good in itself to body and even to spirit, kills what is most dear to the heart. The victory of monotheism in Judaism was such a process:

The great pathologist of Judaism is quite right: in the Mosaic theocracy the cultus became a pedagogic instrument of discipline. It is estranged from the heart . . . It no longer has its roots in childlike impulse, it is a dead work . . . The heathenism in Israel against which the prophets vainly protested was inwardly overcome by the law on its own ground; and the cultus, after nature had been killed in it, became the shield of supernaturalistic monotheism [p. 425].

The Priestly Code "lifeless itself . . . has driven the life out of Moses and out of the people, nay, out of the very Deity" (p. 347).

The emotion in these passages, the most deeply felt in the *Prolegomena*, is no mere vestige of Paul's "the law killeth." It is close enough to the traditional Christian critique of Judaism to support an imputation of religious prejudice — Schechter's "Higher Criticism is higher Antisemitism." But, in fact, it results primarily from the internal pressures in Wellhausenism's core, its warring concepts of development.

The incongruity of progressivist and Romantic views of development is most pointed in Wellhausen's treatment of the prophets, the "mature" stage of biblical religion. On the one hand, they are great individuals, al-

most *Naturmenschen*: "the representative men [who] are always single, resting on nothing outside of themselves." In speaking to them, "Jehovah, overlooking all the media of ordinances and institutions, communicates Himself to the *individual*" (p. 398).

Yet, ironically, the prophets laid the groundwork for the stultifying influence of the Law by introducing morality into religion. As a result "the natural bond between [God and man] was severed, and the relation between the two was henceforth viewed as conditional . . . the ethical element destroyed the national [read: natural] character of the old religion." Their "ethical monotheism" was a "progressive step" which "saved faith" and enabled Israel to survive. But by preparing the way for the Law, they were "the spiritual destroyers of the old Israel." Theirs was a tragic error. "What they were unconsciously laboring towards was . . . religious individualism. Their mistake was in supposing that they could make their way of thinking the basis of a national life." Their victory, the Deuteronomic Reform, was the doom of their "unconscious" ideal. It also killed them, like drones after mating. "Prophecy died when its precepts attained to the force of laws; the prophetic ideas lost their purity when they became practical" (pp. 473-474, 488-491, *passim*). The way was open to the Priestly Code's valley of dry bones.

This is a rich tapestry of philosophies, prejudices, vague intuitions, and real insights. There are echoes of Hegel, including his Romantic side, in the image of a national culture poisoning itself precisely as it reaches the stage of synthesis. There is even a glimmering of the tragic splendor of pagan mythology, of heroes doomed by fate. But this tortured amalgam of progressivism and pessimism hardly possesses that integrated unity of viewpoint one expects in a confident hypothesis.

Wellhausen's confusion in regard to the concept of development caused him to miss, by several miles, the two key aspects of biblical religion: the roles played by history and covenant.

His romantic idealization of "nature" led him to denigrate history. For example, in the cult, history was introduced only in the final stages of priestly ossification. Thus, the festivals were originally associated with nature, having "their reference to harvest and cattle. . . ." Only later did they become "historical commemorations: they deny their birth from nature, and celebrate the institution of supernatural religion and the gracious acts of Jehovah therewith connected . . ." (p. 423).

He is also, and for the same reason, blind to the nature and antiquity of covenant, the true core of biblical faith and central also to its view of history. As a legal concept it falls under the curse of all law: it is the late, anemic offspring of unwitting prophetic error. "The relation of Jehovah to Israel was in its nature and origin a natural one; there was no interval between Him and His people to call for thought or question." Only later did the prophets "raise the Deity high above the people, sev-

er the natural bond between them and put in its place a relation depending on conditions . . . of a moral character. . . . In this way arose . . . as an entirely new thing the substance of the notion of covenant or treaty. . . . The Babylonian Exile no doubt helped . . . to familiarize the Jewish mind with the idea that the covenant depended on conditions . . ." (p. 416). In perhaps no other area has Wellhausen's theory been so decisively refuted by later scholarship. His position on the origin and function of covenant in biblical religion mimics the course of events as now reconstructed by most scholars.

Why was Wellhausenism so successful in its day? To be sure, it is justly considered one of the intellectual Crystal Palaces of the 19th century; but its power to convince lay in the force of its emotions rather than in its logical arguments. Its most timely and appealing aspect lay precisely in its major flaw, the deep confusion regarding the nature of development. The age was progressivist and devoted to productivity. Even its theories were machines, ism's generating more ism's. From this point of view Hegelianism and Darwinism were efficient engines. The former postulated an endless process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; the latter, an assembly line of adaptation in which each generation is the product of its predecessor and the raw material of its successor.

But a streak of Romantic pessimism also ran through the age, a sense of something irretrievably lost through progress. There was a yearning; deeper than nostalgia, for that simple and direct link between man and nature severed by the machine.

This dual perspective is exactly mirrored by Wellhausen's two views of development, linear progressive and cyclical degenerative. So well did the theory fit the intellectual and emotional contours of its audience that its incongruent dualism was perceived not as a fault but as a strength. Wellhausen's interpretation of the development of Israel's spirit found its motivation and its reverberations in the spirit of his own age.

Kaufmann has not had Wellhausen's success. He has given birth to no school or scholarly tradition. He was and remains a loner. But greatness often takes a side road for a while, only to become itself the main highway when it later proves to be the quickest and surest route. In Kaufmann's case, however, there are major internal blocks to such a future emergence as, or even into, the mainstream.

Kaufmann's major methodological weakness is his excessive passion for negative arguments. They are employed with riotous abandon in the *Toledot*, often accompanied by arguments from silence. The latter, especially, are notoriously two-edged. For example, the prophets hardly mention Moses or even the Sinai Cove-

nant itself; what can one infer from that fact? When suppositions based on lacunae begin to fly, nothing is safe.

But Kaufmann's negativism extends to the heart of his theory. A good example is his most confident "proof" of the incompatibility in principle of Israelite and pagan religions. The positive evidence is itself curiously negative: the polemic *against* idolatry, which consistently *misrepresents* the latter as mere fetishism. This argument can be countered by another observation: one does not judge the nature of something from polemics, evidence adduced by its enemies. In this case there also happen to be strong positive indications that Israel did, in fact, truly understand the essential nature of paganism. Images do play an indispensable role in the latter. While they do not capture the entire reality of the gods, divinity can have no *potent* existence without concentration of its power in such cult objects. The issues are profoundly rooted in the nature of mythology and symbolism. Kaufmann's approach catches no more than an insubstantial ghost of the real relationships. In general, his understanding of biblical religion as a whole is distorted by its negative presentation as the antipode to paganism. Kaufmann stands in the tradition of scholarship, which loves to present everything in terms of antitheses and dichotomies. The aesthetic effect is neat, resembling that of antithetical parallelism; unfortunately, the complexities of life cannot be limned in discrete polarities.

It is in keeping with Kaufmann's negativism that his relationship to Wellhausen is essentially reactive. Too often Kaufmann seems to be simply reversing Wellhausen's arguments. The result is a polemical defensiveness inconsistent with the self-assurance of authentic hypotheses. Kaufmann's theory, like a besieged fortress waiting for the attack, is composed of a chain of defensive arguments each of which is intended to shore up its predecessor by withstanding possible objections.

The nature of his argumentation is delineated by the sequence of its presentation in the crucial second and third volumes of the *Toledot*. He first lays out, in eloquent, ringing polarities, the opposition of pagan and Israelite religions and world-views. But an obvious problem emerges: this distinction could hardly have been so radical as Kaufmann maintains, to the point of mutual incomprehension, if it existed only for an intellectual elite of priests, prophets, and scholars. It must have been the spiritual orientation of the masses of people.

The battle therefore passes on to a second ring of defense. He deals with "popular religion" and, not surprisingly, finds there no major evidence of real idolatry or understanding of the nature of pagan worship. The prophetic fulminations against Baalism are exaggerative. They are directed against tiny syncretizing circles and for limited periods of time.

Yet another objection looms menacingly: How is it

conceivable that this radical gulf existed between paganism and monotheism if, as most biblical scholars maintain, the bulk of Israelites, especially during the formative period, lived in close proximity to those notorious pagans, the Canaanites? The question now becomes historical; the combat surges toward a famous Armageddon of competing hypotheses: the problem of the nature and extent of the Israelite conquest of Canaan.

Modern biblical study has long held that the extraordinarily complex traditions of the book of Joshua and the first few chapters of Judges are the result of a long and involved process of oral and written transmission. The latest and least reliable stage is the national tradition of a series of lightening campaigns and thorough mopping-up operations during the lifetime of Joshua himself. It paints a picture of the virtual extermination of the Canaanites, except in fringe areas. More authentic is the collection of fragmentary and, in some cases, enigmatic traditions in the first chapter of Judges. It presents a number of tribal campaigns of very mixed results: success in some cases, failure and stalemate in others. There were blocks of surviving Canaanites in the most desirably fertile areas, and pockets of them everywhere.

The accumulated pressure of his theory obliges Kaufmann to uphold the basic authority and validity of the national, official account of the conquest. Only the annihilation of the Canaanites in the areas of mass Israelite settlement will insure that total spiritual isolation needed to defend his chaste dichotomies. The requirements of ideological security are such that Kaufmann abandons the basic premises and tools of literary and historical criticism. He maintains that the heterogeneous clumps of traditions in Joshua and Judges date from very close to the time of the events they claim to record, and only mock by their structure and tone the complex and lengthy chains of transmission posited by scholars.

Finally, then, the noble religious polarities of the outer ring of his hypothesis become weltered in numerous and furious hand-to-hand combats over the interpretation of specific verses in Joshua and Judges, on which books Kaufmann wrote detailed and highly polemical commentaries. They are marked by semi-fundamentalist exegetical maneuvers designed to uphold the basic integrity of the text as it stands. They reveal an ignorance of the nature of oral tradition which rivals that of Wellhausen and betrays the Bible both as literature and as history.

Kaufmann's hypothesis is like a crustacean: if one pierces the hard and impressive carapace one plunges into an interior which grows ever softer. What is more, since each of his major arguments is the logical presupposition of the one which precedes it, the forward

motion of this hypothetical crustacean is curiously retrograde, a gait both ungainly and unnatural.

The greatest strength of Wellhausen's theory, its timeliness, extended even to its flaws. Kaufmann's gravest failing is his genuine untimeliness, his irrelevance to the concerns of his age.

There is no need here to review the special horrors and anxieties of the 20th century. The feelings of cultural dissolution and apocalyptic foreboding are a heightened continuation of the pessimistic strain of the previous century. But the progressive tradition also continues. In this century its central interest is man; the new tools of study are the social sciences, psychology, sociology, anthropology. A paradoxical counterpoint to the emotions of increasing cultural helplessness is the sensation of increased and deepened understanding brought by these disciplines, of new light sloping in from new horizons.

Biblical Studies was also quickened by these new influences. Wellhausenism suddenly seemed as stifling as a Victorian parlor. The crystallization of the new mood into hard method was "form criticism," whose presiding influence at the beginning of the century was Hermann Gunkel. For him biblical literature is "the mirror in which living man (*der lebendige Mensch*) is reflected." He tried to understand the relationship between the forms of literature and the community, the "situation in the life of the people" (*Sitz im Volksleben*). The impulses were anthropological and psychological, although they were soon diverted into historical channels.

Special interest focused on that cultural emanation of community which was to become embodied in living form, oral tradition. This was precisely that aspect of the literary process slighted by Wellhausen. It is a primary interest of all contemporary Bible study. The other characteristic activity of this century is that other daughter of anthropology, archeology, which has so vastly enriched our understanding of antiquity.

To be sure, these new sources of intellectual power have brought new problems. There are theoretical and practical limitations to what we can know about the workings of oral tradition in the ancient world. Despite much circumstantial contribution, archeology has failed to shed decisive light on any of the crucial events of early biblical history. As a result, Biblical Studies today is in many respects at a virtual impasse as regards the interpretation of Israel's history and the origins of its religion.

Kaufmann reflects very little of these new motives, methods, and problems. His use of archeology is scanty, his interest in man rudimentary. As a satellite of Wellhausen, on whom he is fatally dependent, he can shed no more light than his sun. His negative passion for undoing the work of Wellhausen deformed his own spirit and blinded him to new realities. In fact, by the

time of Kaufmann's mature activity, Biblical Studies had long since passed out of the orbit of Wellhausen, now a distant, barely glittering constellation. The new universe was Newtonian, a dynamic system of forms and functions, each holding and being held in its place by the forces of cultural momentum and gravity. Its sun was man. Kaufmann's cosmos remained Ptolemaic: disembodied textual strands and motifs circled majestically around its center, the Idea which moved them, monotheism.

Kaufmann exhibits no more than a glimmer of that interest in man and community which stirred Gunkel. He does understand, in an embryonic way, that cultures have a characteristic pattern; but he soon bends this insight to the service of his typical negative argumentation:

Wherever an original national culture arises a closed culture area develops; hence the uniformity in the style of that culture. For several generations it manifests itself in pristine, homogeneous forms as a world in itself. All that Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, or Chinese art produced in their early, formative period bears a unique, unalloyed impress. Here too, one may ask: were not these artists aware of other creative styles? Undoubtedly they were; but awareness of the art of others was not important. It remained external and alien without decisive effect on native expressions and styles. The isolation of Israelite religion from heathenism was perhaps greater because the contrast between them was so much stronger and fundamental.*

Not man but the Idea rules Kaufmann's theory. The chain of logic is outlined in the introduction to the *Toledot*. The "style" of cultures is an expression of their unique "spirit" and is not really explicable from the influence of environment or history. It originates in the "intuitions of the people," likewise basically unconditioned by external circumstance. Mediating between the spirit and its visible manifestations are "ideas." Israel's idea was monotheism, its corollary, the absolute transcendence of God, a new creation of the human spirit, *ex nihilo*, with no genetic roots in paganism. It extended itself through all expressions of Israelite culture in all ages and stamps the whole with its non-paganism. The result is the relentless polarity which marks Kaufmann's theory introduced in the first sentence of the *Toledot*: "The basic question of the history of Israelite religion is the question of the relationship between biblical religion and paganism."

The contrast is not quite that between good and evil; but since one idea, paganism, was borne in antiquity by the bulk of mankind, while the other, transcendent monotheism, was the sole creation of Israel, the implications are not unflattering to the latter. This partially explains the attraction of Kaufmann to Jewish national-

*Kaufmann, "The Bible and Mythological Polytheism", *JBL* 70 (1951), p. 195.

ists. But it must be noted that he is treading dangerously close to one of the most corrosive delusions of nationalism: the people as bearer of an idea.

Kaufmann explicitly rejects Hegelian Idealism; there is no single Idea working itself out in history. But he is as enslaved to the iron necessity of his idea, monotheism, as Marxism is to that of materialism.

Perhaps most objectionable of all is Kaufmann's anti-historicism, his implicit denial of real development in biblical religion:

And the pinnacle of Israel's cultural creativity was reached in the very midst of its "idolatrous" age. This is highly significant: it means that the culture was monotheistic throughout the pre-exilic period. . . . In the beginning was the conquest of true heathenism . . . and its impact produced the partition which set Israel apart from the gentiles. Our data compel us to assume that the monotheistic idea was not only born in Israel's initial period, but that already then it had effected a far-reaching revolution in the spirit of the people.*

Later "developments" were little more than religious housekeeping, processes of systematization and canonization of principles and attitudes always assumed and felt. This view of development as prefigured mocks that concept and robs the term history of real meaning. The static quality of Kaufmann's theory is probably the most important reason for its failure to establish itself, despite its factual comprehensiveness and clarity of presentation. In history only development is a vivifying principle, capable of stirring the emotions. No Idea, even the loftiest, can animate that sense of the tragic, of the role of chance and accident, which makes history the most human of the sciences.

Kaufmann was not the messiah to free Jewish Bible Studies from *shi'abud malkhuyyot*, subjugation to "foreign" principles. That apocalyptic expectation was itself a delusion. Biblical Studies is a child of the humanities and the social sciences, to which nothing human is alien.

Which of the theories, Wellhausen's or Kaufmann's, stands up better to modern criticism? It should be apparent from the preceding discussion that both contain major failings as regards methods and basic orientation. In truth, it is pointless to compare them directly in terms of any of the major concerns of contemporary Biblical Studies. Each is the product of an age which is irrevocably past.

But these grand theories are not irrelevant to today's needs. Biblical Studies is wrestling with what must always be considered its essential problem: the nature of Israel's uniqueness and of its development through time. Wellhausen and Kaufmann can be a valuable entrance into this topic if each is taken iconically, as representative of the principle ruling his theory. From this point of view, Wellhausen stands for development it-

**Ibid.*, p. 197.

self, the process of historical fluidity and dynamism. Kaufmann, who described with unequaled clarity and conviction the many facets and implications of Israel's uniqueness, stands for the principle of individuality, perdurant and timeless, resisting change.

The problem with Wellhausen was that he had little understanding of the necessity of trying to penetrate the secret of Israel's singularity. With the arrogance of his age, he attempted to impose its pieties and anxieties on biblical man. Kaufmann, contorted by his reactive and defensive posture, sought to glorify Israel by transfiguring it with what for him was the ultimate ground of reality, the realm of abstract ideas. This was a different arrogance from Wellhausen's, but it was no less distorting.

Contemporary scholarship has not yet found the synthesis between the antithetical poles represented by Wellhausen and Kaufmann, development and individuality. But the outlines of such a resolution of the polarity are beginning to sharpen. Its beginnings in Biblical Studies lie with Gunkel's insight into the mediating role of community and tradition as expressed in vitally developing forms. In truth, forms are the key. As the expression of ideas they are rooted in eternal and individual truths, unique and unchangeable. But as human expression, they are the medium of development, subject to endless modification and flux.

The great advance of current Biblical Studies is that, by freeing itself from dogmatic, doctrinal limitations and letting ancient Israel speak in its own voice, it is gradually becoming aware of the nature of the Bible's true secret, the source of Israel's uniqueness and its power to survive through change in forms.

The mystery of Israel is not simply, as Kaufmann thought, in its "monotheism." In any case, as a consciously philosophical idea, the latter could not become apprehensible to Jews until the Hellenistic period. It was then that they learned those ontological categories developed by Greek speculation which could present religious issues in terms of God's uniqueness, transcendence, omniscience, and omnipotence.

Rather, the peculiar insight of Israel was that mediating form must be understood as a *relationship* — Covenant. Just as for pagans the numinous reality of the gods became manifest in sacred things, preeminently the cultic images, so to Israel, God's active power became real only through the mediating form of the covenant. The mighty workings of that power in history were understood within the covenant framework as acts of beneficent loyalty (*hesed*). Israel's emotional response to those deeds was established by covenant as one of singular wholeheartedness, expressing gratitude and loving, but not servile submission.

Recent Bible study has begun to place covenant in that central position denied by Wellhausen and slighted

by Kaufmann. Form as that relationship which is covenant is not only the source of the concrete, formal, literary expressions characteristic of the Bible, but also of Israel's ability to maintain a basically unchanging individuality through radical development. That Israel could be so devoted to a mediator as immaterial as a relationship was a perpetual bewilderment to pagans. But the dynamic interpenetration of eternal, individualizing principle and constant development was consciously understood by at least some Jews in Rabbinic times. For that we have the testimony of the famous story of Moses's taking a seat in Akiba's school, being at first baffled by the lecture and then thunderstruck by the concluding words, "This was a law given to Moses on Sinai!"

In one very important respect Kaufmann is likely, after all, to have been essentially correct. Israel's unique discovery of covenantal relationship as the link to God, rather than the immanent, numinous sanctity of places or objects, was probably an original creation of the human spirit. If it has genetic roots elsewhere they have not yet come to light. In the words of Martin Noth:

In spite of all . . . historical connections and possibilities for comparison, "Israel" still appears as a stranger in the world of its own time, a stranger wearing the garments and behaving in the manner of its age, yet separate from the world it lived in. . . . At the very center of the history of "Israel" we encounter phenomena for which there is no parallel at all elsewhere, not because the material for comparison has not yet come to light but because, so far as we know, such things have simply never happened elsewhere.*

*Martin Noth, *The History of Israel* (New York and Evanston, Harper and Row, 1960), pp. 2-3.

But Kaufmann's greatest mistake is intimately related to this very insight. To explain Israel's uniqueness it seemed necessary to him to posit its spiritual isolation from the rest of mankind. This view does not, in general, correspond to that aspect of living complication and complexity that characterizes all human development; specifically, it does not do justice to Israel's real achievement. The battle with paganism was not against an external foe, as Kaufmann thought, but rather was an internal *naptule elohim*, a wrestling with the divine, in Israel's own soul and for the length of its history. This struggle was between two responses to contact with divinity. One was typically "pagan" and well known also to Israel. It is expressed succinctly by Solomon's question at the dedication of his temple, "Is it true that God can dwell on earth?" and by Jacob's statement at Bethel, "Truly God is in this place!" Both utterances throb with an awestruck awareness of God's indwelling, here and now.

The other response is that which swells in the antiphonal cries of those Psalms which recount God's puissant acts for Israel: *ki le'olam hasdo*, "His loving care for us lasts forever!" and in the proclamation, "This is God's doing — it is marvelous in our eyes!" They express the equally expansive emotion of grateful amazement at God's faithful actions on behalf of his covenant people.

To deny the former, "pagan" response, as Kaufmann did, is to diminish Israel's humanity. To ignore the latter one, as Wellhausen did, misrepresents Israel's true significance for mankind. Both responses are necessary. After all, each expresses the same surge of emotion, a transfixing bolt of wonder at God's presence. ■



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The Prague Orgy: Roth Still Bound to Henry James

ADELINE R. TINTNER

When Henry James was about 60 years old he explained what Balzac's *Comédie Humaine* had meant to him:

The authors and books that have . . . done something for us . . . exist for us, with the lapse of time, as the substance itself of knowledge: they have been intellectually so swallowed, digested and assimilated that we take their general use and suggestion for granted, cease to be aware of them because they have passed out of sight. . . . They have become part of our personal history, a part of ourselves, very often, so far as we may have succeeded in best expressing ourselves.*

James wrote this just at the time that he used for the main plot of *The Ambassadors* the plot of "Madame Firmiani," a short story by Balzac that he had absorbed into his bloodstream, just as he had earlier adapted Balzac's "The Girl with the Golden Eyes" for *The Bostonians* and *Père Goriot* for the tale called "The Pension Beaurepas."

Is Roth behaving in like fashion with the stories by James he had read from youth onwards? Not quite. The influence of James on the Zuckerman trilogy plus its epilogue, *The Prague Orgy* (under the covering title, *Zuckerman Bound*)** seems to have taken place by a more conscious process than that of Balzac on James's work. The epilogue of the Zuckerman trilogy makes a case for both unconscious and conscious aspects of literary influence, if we were to read it in isolation from the preceding three novels. But as a final segment of the whole it repeats the method followed in each of the three prior books, and thus reveals as a conscious aim Roth's appropriation of the work of James.

In each of the novels there are two works by James operating. In *The Ghost Writer* there is one overt and one covert tale. The reader is actually told about the first one, "The Middle Years," with plenty of clues pointing to its integral role as a key to the understanding of Roth's legend of a writer and his fan, a younger writer just making his way. The second is the covert one in which James's "The Author of Beltraffio" lends its main plot, the visit of a young writer to the Master in his country retreat where the wife, antagonistic to her husband's manner of life and art, upsets the visitor with her psychotic behavior.

Zuckerman Unbound, the second novel of Roth's trilogy, shows the same scheme of using two stories, only

now both are covert and unnamed within a filament of commentary on the overriding role that James plays in Zuckerman's work. It includes an exhortation by a character in the novel to get rid of his influence. Here again Roth uses two tales by James, "The Figure in the Carpet" and "The Jolly Corner," as both weapon and shield for his hero, as well as an apology. Neither is named but both can be recognized by readers of James.

The technique in the first novel of the trilogy was to begin first with the tale, "The Author of Beltraffio" (1884), then, following the chronology of James's writings, to move on to the short story, "The Middle Years" (1893). In the second novel, *Zuckerman Unbound*, there is a further advance in time to "The Figure in the Carpet" (1896). The second story, "The Jolly Corner" (1908), is chosen from James's 20th-century late fiction. So also the third novel of the trilogy, *The Anatomy Lesson*, proceeds to the first two parts of the autobiographical trilogy, *A Small Boy and Others* and *Notes of a Son and Brother* (1913 and 1914).

The *Prague Orgy*, as an epilogue, should and does next claim for its basic model *The Middle Years*, that third unfinished fragmental part of James's autobiographical writings named after his short story of 1893. In it James moved away from his family and home and on "that momentous March day" of 1869 landed in Liverpool, beginning his experience of the Old World — for James, always fundamentally England and especially London. Because of his preparation through literature nothing was "impenetrable . . . and still more wherever I pressed, I sank in and in up to my nose." As James was finding England true "to literature, to poetry, to Dickens, to Thackeray, particularly to Smollett and to Hogarth," and as he subjected England to "appropriation," so Zuckerman appropriates Prague through Kafka. Zuckerman travels into Czechoslovakia, which like England for James, has been made real for him by a great writer. Roth as Zuckerman has become James, as James tells us he became Balzac. The Czech writer Sisovsky calls Zuckerman *cher maître* as James was known as "the Master." As James through his first adult European experience had opened "the gates of paradise of the finer larger initiations," so Zuckerman finds

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* *Notes on Novelists* (New York: Scribners, 1914, pp. 109-10).

** New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux. 784 pp. \$9.95.

the Prague of modern times the literal blossoming of the outrageous place Kafka had fantasized.

James called the London he was now visiting as an adult the "monster," the "great figure" of his literary education that made him feel so small he "glanced adventurously up at his knees." Was London not a model for the Prague of Kafka, that "monster" which became the symbol of the plight of the Jew in modern Europe and of modern post-Holocaust man?

But Roth's experience is an advance over James's experience. For the young James the European possibilities were possibilities of adventure for the mind, "the passions of the intelligence." For him the "passions of a deeper strain, whether personal or racial" were not to be his concern, although he was, after his London residence, to find out that as an Anglo-Irish American he would confront matters of cultural resistance and aspects of the British personality that he would be unable to stomach, as his mature stories reveal.

James's *The Middle Years* acts as a link between the books of Roth's trilogy and the newly written epilogue. Since its length is just one-fourth the size of its predecessor, *Notes of a Son and Brother*, it serves as a model for the relation of Roth's epilogue to the novel placed last in his trilogy; it too is just one-fourth the size of *The Anatomy Lesson*. Although James had planned a much longer book, which was cut short by his death in 1916, we now read it as a kind of epilogue to the preceding two volumes of James's childhood and youth. And that is also how *The Prague Orgy* relates to Roth's foregoing trilogy.

It begins in strikingly Jamesian language where the personality of Zuckerman recedes from the center of the stage and those of his characters take over, a trait similar to *The Middle Years*, most of which, when it gets going, consists of the impressions that English writers made on the young James. On its first page *The Prague Orgy* also summons up *The Ivory Tower*, the other unfinished masterpiece by James. Eva Kalinova, the actress, appears in "black like Prince Hamlet" on the very first page of the epilogue; only her "funeral suit" shows signs of wear. Gray Fielder, the hero of *The Ivory Tower* was also a "young black-clad figure," black for the funeral of his uncle, but he, unlike Eva, was a "happy Hamlet." (Zuckerman's Europe has no happy spots.)

The epilogue is always within the framework of the late James — in style, in outlook, and in tone, for *The Ivory Tower* is also concerned with "the black things" behind the fortunes of the very rich, those evil forces of society that were visible then to James, if not to other writers. This is as far as Roth goes with *The Middle Years* and it is enough to create the mood for Zuckerman's trip and to establish its importance to the hero who is now removed from his family problems, initiated into the land Kafka has made recognizable and penetrable.

But for the actual plot of the epilogue Roth goes to a second James story; his choice may to a certain extent depend on the fact that the tale is considered the masterpiece of James's "middle years." The hero of "The Aspern Papers" (1888) is a "publishing scoundrel," a nameless, presumably American journalist who wants to obtain possession of the papers of Jeffrey Aspern, a deceased American romantic poet, that are now owned by his former mistress, Miss Bordereau, who lives in Venice. The price the journalist must pay to get the papers is to marry Miss Bordereau's unattractive, middle-aged spinster niece, Tita, a price he is unwilling to pay. Just at the moment when he thinks it is possible he might make such a personal sacrifice, the niece tells him she has burned the papers "one by one."

This is essentially the plot of *The Prague Orgy*, only it is not, as Harold Bloom says, a parody of James's tale. Roth would no more parody James than James would parody Balzac. The process he has subjected "The Aspern Papers" to is one of transmutation into a modern analogue. Zuckerman's mission is to obtain possession of some remarkable stories by Sisovsky's father, who like Aspern is now dead. It is believed that after publication in the United States they will take their place as unique testimony to vanished Yiddish life.

Eva now owns these stories and her price is like Tita's — marriage. Unlike her Jamesian predecessor (for she is a worldly woman, exhibiting the corrupt values and habits of the Central European middle class, oppressed and distorted by Communist repression), she demands in harshly repeated four-letter words that Zuckerman sleep with her as a prelude to marriage. The fateful repetition of the essential four-letter obscenity is presumably an appeal to the author of *Carmovsky*, whose success depended on the use of such language. But, like the James of *The Middle Years*, Zuckerman has become a receptor of new experiences rather than an aggressive sexual personality. He has lost the appetency of the novels of the trilogy (even with his Jamesian "obscure hurt" in *The Anatomy Lesson*) for bedding down with every available woman, and he takes on the disgust and non-receptivity of the Aspern scholar. One might say he assumes in the epilogue Jamesian sexual ambiguity.

The ending also follows the pattern of James's tale. Eva seems to be responsible for the confiscation of the Yiddish manuscripts, for although in a seemingly renunciatory gesture she allows Nathan to take them from her, the police confiscate them at his hotel: "Either Olga had a change of heart and called the cops, or else they called on her. . . . I just cannot believe that she and the hotel clerk work for the same boss, but maybe that's because I am a shallow, sentimental American idiot Jew."

So the plot line of "The Aspern Papers" has been followed, allowing for the modifications that a different time and a different milieu would dictate. The linked use of the fragment of *The Middle Years* and "The

Aspern Papers parallels the bimodal structure of the other parts of the Roth trilogy. Beyond their narrative strategic function all eight works by James, two to each novel, constitute, as it were, an appreciative anthology of those writings by James most meaningful to Roth as a writer of modern sensibility.

Although in *Zuckerman Unbound* the hero was urged to free himself from books ("Uncarton all the boxed-in brains!") and especially from those of Henry James ("The world is yours, Nathan, stop hiding behind Henry James!"), the trilogy is called, after all, *Zuckerman*

Bound, and bound he is. He had tried to free himself by Jewish hagiography, by atonement as a Jewish prodigal son, and by thinking of becoming a doctor, like William James, but at the end of *The Anatomy Lesson* he must face up to his own anatomical structure and his own physical and psychological configuration. He is forced to learn that he could never "unchain himself from a future as a man apart and escape the corpus that was his." He is an artist bound to tradition. Part of his corpus is the corpus of Henry James's work, which, in the words of the Master, he has "so swallowed, digested and assimilated" that it has become part of his "personal history," so far as he may have "succeeded in best expressing" himself. ■

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American Jews Reconstructed

EDWARD S. SHAPIRO

A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today, by Charles E. Silberman. New York: Summit Books, 458 pp., \$19.95.

There is a European folk tale concerning a rabbi who was asked to decide a difficult case. After the first party presented his points the rabbi declared, "You are right." The second party then gave his argument, and the rabbi answered, "You are right." The rabbi's wife then proceeded to berate him: "Idiot, they both can't be right." The rabbi responded, "You are right too." I remembered the story this past summer when reading two diametrically opposed analyses of the contemporary American Jewish condition.

The first was an essay by Nathan Glazer, the distinguished Harvard sociologist, in the August, 1985 issue of *Commentary*. In "On Jewish Forebodings" Glazer recalls the somber picture of modern American Jewry that has characterized his analysis of American Jewry since his involvement in Zionist youth activities in the early 1940s. Glazer notes that this pessimism was typical of many post-war sociologists who during the 1940s and 1950s believed the vicissitudes of the business cycle and political anti-Semitism threatened American Jewry, and during the 1960s and 1970s emphasized the dangers of affirmative action and reverse discrimination. At the same time, sociologists also contended that assimilation and acculturation were corroding the distinctive ethnic and religious profile of American Jewry. With the birth rate declining, the intermarriage rate increasing, and the ending of massive Jewish immigration from Europe, the future of American Jewry was at best problematical.

In Glazer's view while the political

and economic fears of Jewish survivalists were mistaken, their sociological concerns were well-founded. He points to a stagnant, if not decreasing population, an atrophy of traditional religion, and a Jewish identity which seems to have little of intrinsic value. Glazer admits that there have been countervailing trends such as greater Jewish political influence, a growing day-school enrollment, a pervasive and intense identification with Israel, an absorption with the religious and philosophical significance of the Holocaust, and a new openness and pride in being Jewish. Still, he argues, the future belongs to acculturation and assimilation. While Jews will continue to identify themselves as Jews, "little by way of custom, belief, or loyalty will be assumed as a result of their identity as Jews. . . . The sociologists who have persistently feared for the American Jewish future may thus have feared for the wrong reasons; but I believe they have been right to be fearful."

In contrast, it is not fear but optimism which animates Charles E. Silberman's *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today*. Accurately described on the book's jacket as America's "most distinguished journalist-scholar," Silberman has written several significant previous volumes, including *Crisis in Black and White*, *Criminal Violence*, *Criminal Justice*, and *Crisis in the Classroom*. His interests have been a barometer of America's social concerns, but none has engaged him so intensely as the state of contemporary American Jewry. "I found I couldn't edit myself well," he told *The New York Times*, "since everything fascinated me here, it was much harder to maintain control." The author dedicated the

book to his present and future grandchildren, the guarantors of "the eternity of Israel."

"Journalist-scholar" is simply another term for popularizer, and Silberman's role has been felicitously to present to the general public the findings of modern social science. In the case of *A Certain People*, he has been influenced by a small coterie of sociologists who have been presenting a sunny scenario of the American Jewish future.

The Transformation of the Jews (1984) by Calvin Goldscheider and Alvin S. Zuckerman of Brown University is a clear and provocative statement of this group's outlook. According to Goldscheider and Zuckerman, the modernization process has changed, but not attenuated, Jewish identity in Europe and the United States. Jews are choosing to remain Jews, but in different ways. Industrialization, urbanization, and nationalism have undermined traditional Jewish religious mores but they have also led to the birth of new Jewish religious ideologies, to the emergence of Zionism and then Israel, and to the appearance of new bases of ethnic and religious cohesion such as Jewish cultural organizations and Jewish suburbs. "We have found no support for those theories that associate modernization and ethnic assimilation," Goldscheider and Zuckerman argued. "The Holocaust and Soviet terror, not educational opportunities, social mobility, urbanization, and secularization erased the Jewish communities of Europe. Neither political devastation nor assimilation awaits Diaspora Jews. Jewish communities changed but did not dissolve during modernization." In fact, they claim, modernization has "reshaped and strengthened levels of Jewish cohesion."

Silberman shares Goldscheider and Zuckerman's confidence. Today's America, he contends, is the most open society in the history of the Diaspora. "America really is different — different in kind, not just in degree — from any other society in which Jews have lived." Political anti-Semitism does not exist; Jews no longer feel they must hide their Jewishness and have filled the most prestigious economic and social positions including the presidencies of the Dupont Corporation and Columbia University. For Silberman, the saga of American Jewry is the greatest success story in Jewish history.

The very openness of American society has given rise to the fear that American Jews will be seduced. With equality "a fact, not just an aspiration," what reason is there to remain Jewish? But Silberman stresses the congruity between America and Jewishness, arguing that the overwhelming majority of American Jews are choosing to remain Jews. A creative intellectual ferment permeates American Jewish life, new forms of Jewish identity and new religious rites have emerged, and American Jews are willingly and generously taxing themselves to pay for domestic Jewish institutions, to succor the State of Israel, and to aid Jews in need throughout the world. Even those two traditional bugaboos — intermarriage and a low birth rate — have been exaggerated. If anything, intermarriage has resulted in a net population gain to the Jewish community, while the Jewish birth rate exceeds the replacement level.

Only a seemingly congenial Jewish pessimism prevents American Jews from recognizing the unprecedented situation they find themselves in. The choice we face, Silberman writes, is "whether through fear of strangers, we live like weaklings behind walls of our own construction or whether we have the courage to live like mighty warriors." Here he directs his argument at those, particularly within the Orthodox community, who preach isolation. "The most creative periods of Jewish religious and cultural life," he reminds us, "have been those of great cultural assimilation and cross-fertilization." Judaism's willingness to adopt

the mores of its host societies without losing its essential continuity explains Jewish survival as "a separate and distinct group."

Silberman personifies the central argument of *A Certain People*. He grew up in an Orthodox family in upper Manhattan and was married by Joseph H. Lookstein, spiritual leader of Manhattan's then most affluent and important Orthodox congregation. As early as he can remember he was taught that the operative principle in American Jewish life was "shah": to stand out as a Jew meant to court the scorn and wrath of the Gentile world. Today Silberman is on the Board of Governors of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, chairman of the Reconstructionist Prayerbook Commission, and a director of the Synagogue Council of America, the Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research, and the New York chapter of the American Jewish Committee. The publication of *A Certain People*, which was aided by grants from Jewish and non-Jewish foundations, is a measure of the distance Silberman and the American Jewish community have come.

A key to understanding Silberman and his book is his affiliation with Reconstructionism, the great American Jewish heresy developed by Mordecai Kaplan after World War I. Kaplan attempted to salvage Judaism at a time when many, including Kaplan himself, believed the philosophic naturalism of John Dewey and others had destroyed the credibility of supernatural religion and the idea that Jews were a chosen people. In his magnum opus, *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), Kaplan argued that Judaism was merely one element of Jewish civilization and that "the Jewish religion existed for the Jewish people and not the Jewish people for the Jewish religion." Jewishness, according to Kaplan, was primarily a matter of sociology and culture, not religion and theology. This Reconstructionist stress on Jewish peoplehood accounts for Silberman's emphasis on diverse forms of modern Jewish expression (including contributing to UJA campaigns, enrolling in Jewish courses on the

campus, and working in behalf of Israel and Soviet Jewry) and his definition of a Jew as anyone who identifies with the Jewish people and accepts the joys and sorrows of Jewish life.

He argues, for example, that the problem of intermarriage has been exaggerated: many intermarried couples consider themselves Jewish and impart to their children a Jewish identity. "The notion that intermarriage means the inevitable loss of the Jewish partner," he observes, "is hard to shake, for it is rooted in the long association of intermarriage with apostasy and self-hatred." The claim of the Orthodox that neither the Gentile spouse nor the children, if the wife is Gentile, are Jewish is, for Silberman, irrelevant. He is concerned with delineating the sources of Jewish persistence, not with scoring points in a theological dispute.

Silberman's hopefulness regarding the contemporary American Jewish condition, resulting from the willingness of Jews and those married to Jews outwardly to identify with the Jewish community, is thus based on a sociological frame of reference. But what is the nature and intensity of this identification? What impact do Jewish values and ideas have on the daily lives of America's Jews? In what ways does their identity as Jews distinguish them from Gentile Americans? Would a psychological analysis of American Jewry, which, in contrast to a sociological analysis, dissects their values, come to a less sunny conclusion?

Silberman claims we are in "the early stages of a major revitalization of Jewish religious, intellectual, and cultural life — one that is likely to transform as well as strengthen American Judaism." Glazer is sceptical, contending that *A Certain People* slighted the fact that the "wholeness and density of Jewish life has been radically broken." Jewishness has become largely "symbolic and gestural," an inheritance to which Jews pay a respectful obeisance but which has little influence in their daily lives. While American Jews might be a certain people, they no longer see themselves as a chosen or a separate people. According to

Glazer, they are becoming Jews in the way that other Americans are Presbyterians, Masons, and Republicans. Had Silberman been more concerned with the interior life of American Jews, Glazer concludes, he might have tempered his optimism.

The literature on the American Jewish condition points to contradictory conclusions. Ultimately it comes down to a matter of faith and values. For those such as Silberman

with long memories and confidence in the strength of cultural pluralism, the American glass indeed looks half full. Yet one should remember the words of James Branch Cabell: "The optimist proclaims that we live in the best of all possible worlds; and the pessimist fears this is true." Perhaps the glass is both half full and half empty. ■

EDWARD S. SHAPIRO is Professor of History at Seton Hall University.

Torment Among the Leftist Literati

NATHANIEL WEYL

Josephine Herbst: The Story She Could Never Tell, by Elinor Langer. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 374 pp., 51 illustrations, \$19.95.

This well-researched and insightful account of the life of a tempestuous feminist caught adrift in the wasteland of American proletarian literature began as a labor of almost idolatry by a radical of the Fifties, yet Elinor Langer's essential integrity and perceptiveness as a writer blunted her original intent. Josephine Herbst emerges as a complex and disturbed personality unable to maintain stable love relationships.

Langer is less perceptive concerning the fact that, when Herbst became aware of the moral enormities of the Stalinist regime she had served, she withdrew into silence. She had invested too much of her life in the cause to face reality — to obey Plato's maxim that "the unexamined life is not worth living."

When Herbst was alone, forgotten, impoverished and in her mid-fifties, Gustav Regler, a hero of the International Brigade, asked her to live with him in Mexico. She killed the offer with procrastination. Regler was handsome, sensitive, intelligent, cultivated, and a man of noble character. But he was to write (or perhaps had already written in Ger-

man) his landmark autobiography, *The Owl of Minerva*, which describes how Communist firing squads in the Loyalist forces executed anti-Stalinist volunteers. Did she reject Regler to avoid being branded as an enemy of the Communist movement? Or because she was primarily lesbian? Langer does not tell us.

Nor is there any discussion of how Josephine Herbst became a Marxist-Leninist. What intellectual processes, if any, led her to the conviction that she had the moral obligation to work for the revolutionary destruction of the American social order? Herbst was a serious student of literature. Can one assume that she committed her life to a philosophy and a cause purely on emotional grounds?

Josephine Herbst operated on the principle that her own emotional and sexual needs deserved gratification at all costs. Her main heterosexual relationship was with her husband, John Herrmann. In his absence, she was introduced to lesbian love by the painter Marion Greenwood.

Herbst persuaded Marion and John to form with her a *ménage à trois*, in which she was the dominating force. Both found this arrangement unappetizing. Greenwood withdrew and, after Herbst had

expatiated once too often about his inadequacies, John Herrmann left her for the woman he was to spend the rest of his life with.

Herbst wrote Herrmann that she was "forlorn," "neglected," that "work is nothing but a pile of shit, love is something to be turned out in the cold and kicked in the tail." She threatened to kill Herrmann's wife and sent the happy couple a curl of her pubic hair.

Years later, she had a homosexual affair with Jean Garrigue. When Jean tried to escape being emotionally devoured, the flood of accusatory letters began. Langer refers to Herbst's "constant emotional uproar," to her "endless recriminations," to her roles as an "imperious busybody," an "ideological harri-dan," and a "manipulative victim." When Jean wanted to marry a well-known poet, Herbst apparently arranged matters so that the latter could read the correspondence of their affair.

Elinor Langer's biography has received unexpected attention because of the light it sheds on the Hiss case and on Katherine Anne Porter.

The most important thing Langer says about the Hiss affair is that John Herrmann, who was an organizer of the Washington Communist underground at the time, brought Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers together in 1934: this gave the lie to sworn testimony by Hiss. It was a great shock to Langer, who had previously believed Hiss to be innocent.

A bizarre side to this story is that in 1949 Herbst went to Hiss's attorneys with an offer to help. She blandly informed them that, if Hiss had been a Soviet agent, he had done nothing wrong, adding: "I do not recognize any higher duty to Government authorities and do not have any confidence in Government." A Hiss defense lawyer characterized Herbst as "an international anarchist without any respect for government and a completely confused set of political ideas. . . ." Naturally, they declined to put her on the stand.

The laudatory *New York Times* review of the Langer book seethes with righteous anger over an FBI report on Herbst, based on an interview

with Katherine Anne Porter. This report, according to *The Times* reviewer, "is filled with fantastic lies describing Herbst as a dangerous international agent, lies invented maliciously and gratuitously by Porter to regale the FBI, an act of perfidy which Miss Langer reveals here for the first time." These accusations, which reflect on a distinguished writer, are somewhat at variance with the facts.

Herbst had got a wartime job in Washington with an organization (COI) headed by "Wild Bill" Donovan, soon to be boss of the OSS. On May 21, 1942, Donovan fired her on security or loyalty grounds. The Katherine Anne Porter interview occurred on May 16 and the agent's report was dated May 23. Whatever Porter actually said could have had no bearing on Herbst's discharge. The fact that she considered American officials morally entitled to serve as Soviet agents would seem to have been sufficient reason for dispensing with her services.

The FBI usually has agents interview informants without taking notes (so as not to alarm them) and then write up the gist of the information received later. This opened the door to inaccuracies due to memory lapses. The agent who handled Por-

ter was evidently a poor speller, an inaccurate reporter, and a man who knew little or nothing about Communism.

His summary statement says that from 1930 to 1940 Herbst is "known to be Communist Party organizer in US, Cuba, Mexico, Germany, Spain." All that Porter is quoted as saying in the text of the report is that in 1930-35 Herbst received letters from these countries and "there was some intimation" that she had worked for the Communists there—a horse of a very different color.

The charge that Katherine Anne Porter was emphatic about was that Herbst "had the greatest contempt for the American form of government" and for liberals.

We don't know what Porter actually said. We certainly don't know her motives. From the fact that she hated Communism at a time when it was unfashionable to do so, it does not logically follow that Porter "maliciously and gratuitously" invented perfidious lies.

Nevertheless, she behaved rather badly. She gave derogatory information about a woman with whom she had had a close friendship for decades and insisted on confidentiality. It would have been more honorable to refuse to discuss Herbst on

grounds of friendship or else to state that her extreme revolutionary views made her unsuitable for wartime government service and then to let Herbst know exactly what she had told the FBI.

Herbst's novels have fallen into oblivion. Among important critics, Saul Bellow was ecstatically laudatory, Edmund Wilson and Malcolm Cowley ignored her existence, and Alfred Kazin eulogized her, but dismissed her work in 1942 as "desperate pedestrianism." Her revolutionary reportage from Cuba and Germany in the 1930s, judging by Langer's excerpts, was dreadfully roseate agitprop fodder. She would argue in 1942 that since General Motors, "who deliberately preached Naziism" (sic!) was entitled to work for the Federal Government, she should have the same privilege.

Langer considers Josephine Herbst a courageous woman. The only subject on which Herbst really expatiated in her fiction was herself. Yet she concealed her bisexuality. She knew about the NKVD murders of Loyalists in Spain and anguished over the Hitler-Stalin alliance. Yet she remained silent. By what standard is this moral courage? ■

NATHANIEL WEYL is author of *Karl Marx: Racist*.

Intellectuals Transplanted

ELLIOT L. JURIST

Exiled in Paradise. German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America from the 1930s to the Present, by Anthony Heilbut. Boston: Beacon Press, \$12.45.

Anthony Heilbut's social and cultural history of German refugee artists and intellectuals in America bears a title almost as ambiguous as it is appropriate. Many of these refugees initially responded with unbounded enthusiasm to America, particularly to FDR, and to the opportunity to resume their work. The ambiguity in the title is best explained by an analogy:

Comrade Stalin once stood before

a huge gathering to read an alleged apology from exiled Comrade Trotsky; it concluded with the statement: "and furthermore, I should apologize." As Stalin glanced out to the audience with an obvious look of satisfaction, a small man with a long beard raised his hand: "With respect, Comrade Stalin," he said, "the message needs to be read like this," and he repeated Stalin's quotation, stressing the "I" and booming out the final word, thus transforming a statement into a recriminating question.

Similarly, the title *Exiled in Paradise* can be understood as irony. For many German refugee artists and

intellectuals, America was never the paradise it purported to be; for others, paradise turned into hell when in the Fifties they came under fire as Communists in the same country that in the Thirties had welcomed them as anti-Fascists. Heilbut documents the refugees' experience, including the "final disillusionment and the attendant revision of the loving schemes and estimation of the previous decades." That America was a dubious paradise can also be confirmed by Thomas Mann's assessment of America, just before he left this country in 1952, as an "artificial paradise."

Heilbut's ambiguous title encom-

passes the diverse experience of many refugees. His work ranges over a broad realm: visual artists like George Grosz and Hans Hofmann; composers like Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler, and Arnold Schoenberg; conservative thinkers like Hans Kohn, Leo Strauss, and Peter Drucker; theater directors like Max Reinhardt and Erwin Piscator; filmmakers like Billy Wilder, Fritz Lang, Douglas Sirk, Otto Preminger, Max Ophuls, and Ernst Lubitsch; writers like Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Bertolt Brecht, Alfred Doeblin, and Hermann Broch; scientists like Hans Bethe, Edward Teller, and Albert Einstein, psychoanalysts like Bruno Bettelheim, Wilhelm Reich and Erik Erikson; and Frankfurt School members like Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse. The tendency to cover so much is fortunately balanced, however, by some thorough case studies, for example in chapters on Adorno, Brecht, Mann, and Arendt respectively.

Basic distinctions emerge between the experience of those refugees who accommodated to their new environment and those who clung to the old world; between those who wholeheartedly pledged themselves to America and those, like Brecht, who saw their stay as a stopover; and between those who stayed and those who eventually went back to live in Europe.

Some refugees, like Billy Wilder, attained fame and fortune in America, surpassing what they had achieved in Europe. Some, like Alfred Doeblin and Heinrich Mann, who suffered neglect and ignominy during stays in Hollywood, never were able to match their former success. Others, like Max Horkheimer, who returned to Germany to assume a place within the academic establishment impossible before the war, achieved the pinnacle of their success only upon returning to Europe.

The wide variety of the refugees' experience forces one to consider whether it is possible to comprehend their experience as a group. Like other refugee groups, the German refugees came to America under duress, but they were better edu-

cated and better integrated into the culture from which they departed, hence less likely to accept the new culture, particularly the American ethos of starting at the bottom and working one's way up.

One discerns a testiness, an almost arrogant posture in their understanding of their new status. The opening of Hannah Arendt's essay "We Refugees" is characteristic:

In the first place we don't like to be called "refugees." We ourselves call each other "newcomers" or "immigrants". . . . A refugee used to be a person driven to seek refuge because of some act committed or some political opinion held. Well, it is true, we have had to seek refuge; but we committed no acts and most of us never dreamt of having any radical political opinion.*

The reality is somewhat different. Arendt's view might be accurate as a self-description, but there were certainly refugees who had been radicals, who either had surreptitiously held such radical views, perhaps suppressing them, or had actually given them up.

Brecht is an interesting case in point. Although not active organizationally, he remained a Communist. He disdained integration into American life and had every intention to return to Europe to play a role in its rebuilding. "McCarthyism" might have been an embarrassing episode in American life, but it would be naive to ignore Brecht's real beliefs, and how appropriate it was for him to move on to a nascent Socialist society like East Germany (his destination the same evening as his testimony in Washington).

Herbert Marcuse is another interesting case. The Frankfurt School's political views were always distinct from the party's, but they must be construed as Marxist. They were dedicated to the transformation of society based upon an ongoing analysis of it. Marcuse actually became more of a public spokesman for radical views with time: criticizing America's military build-up and interventionism, siding with students against the Vietnam war.

But it is untenable to locate the

common experience of the German refugees on political grounds. One must instead seek out the distinctive quality of their experience in the psychological disposition manifest in their theoretical work.

Heilbut does not pursue the issue of what was essential and distinctive about these refugees' experience; and he seems curiously content with vagueness. For example, he resorts to things like *Berliner Schnauze* (or "lip" in the colloquial sense of the word) to explain the resourcefulness and energy they had in common. Heilbut's failure to be more specific is all the more disheartening since he has assembled the material to justify such a conclusion explicitly.

There was hardly unanimity concerning the issue of the preservation of German cultural tradition in America. Alternative responses to this issue were offered by Hannah Arendt and Herbert Marcuse, both of whom became leading intellectuals in America. For Arendt, there is an overlap between the burden of tradition and the value of tradition. It is revealing that she defined herself as fundamentally a product of the German philosophical tradition in her response to Gershom Scholem's suggestion that, despite his objections to her work on Eichmann, he still considered her "a daughter of our people." She rejected a Jewish identity in favor of forging ahead with the philosophical tradition in a new location.

Arendt's study of Eichmann is best understood as an attempt to defend this tradition over and against the regime of shallow thoughtlessness instituted by the Nazis. The apparent lack of attention to the horror of Eichmann's victims can be explained by her focus upon the living present, i.e., the need to assert the value of the tradition the Nazis usurped and to further its interests. Arendt's attention centers on the resolve not merely to mourn for the victims, but to defend and protect culture itself as an ongoing, living entity. This is a struggle for which one must be prepared to fight and die, contrary to what one might assume from the vantage-point of living in "paradise."

* H. Arendt, "We Refugees" in *The Jew as Parriah* (New York: Grove Press, 1978), p. 55.

Marcuse's orientation differs from Arendt's insofar as he posits a distinction between traditional thinking and critical thinking. Traditional thinking has revealed itself to be impoverished. In contrast, critical thinking is the self-reflection of a culture and aims to transform it. The continuity of thinking, codified in cultural tradition, sustains the status quo. For Marcuse, the integration of psychoanalytic and Marxist analysis can usher in a new domain for thinking that resists utopian formulas and can bring about an emancipated society.

It would be easy to condemn critical theory on the basis of its failure to implement the changes necessary for a new society. On the other hand, one should not underestimate the widespread appeal of Marcuse's views during the Sixties. Heilbut notes that Marcuse's status as a media figure is "perhaps the single most surprising incident in the whole history of emigre culture." It is not so surprising, however, given Marcuse's lack of nostalgia for the cultural tradition that was destroyed in Europe and his uncompromising

criticism of American society. Furthermore, unlike Adorno and other Frankfurt School members, Marcuse was attuned to the changes taking place in America. One example is his attempt to posit a reality principle which could countenance an enlargement of the sphere of the pleasure principle.

The possibility of increased individual gratification within civilized life met a responsive audience, not only amongst students, but amongst a broad segment of American intellectuals, who were seeking something more than new formulations of traditional ideas. It is the apparently forward-looking vision in Marcuse's work — his trendiness — that explains his appeal, although he readily acknowledged the limitations of a critical theory of society to bridge the gap between the present and the future. At the end of *One-Dimensional Man*, Marcuse claims that critical theory has a negative force, partaking in the "Great Refusal." The final words of Marcuse's book belong to Walter Benjamin, whose suicide was often attributed to Nazism, and help to explicate what

he means: "It is only for the sake of those without hope that hope is given to us."*

There is no more appropriate epitaph to the legacy of the German refugees than these words. As for how enduring their legacy is, or, indeed, *what* it is, it is difficult to say. Unfortunately, Heilbut does not attempt to resolve this. On the one hand, I would submit that however much Marcuse's popularity was surprising 15 years ago, it is even more remarkable how much his ideas are currently eclipsed. (Ask college students if they have even heard of him!) On the other hand, I believe that the refugee legacy, whatever it was, has penetrated American culture to such an extent that it is pointless to speculate about the nature and extent of its influence. The saga of these refugees is without doubt a fascinating and haunting chapter in American cultural life. Heilbut's book is far from conclusive; still, it is highly entertaining. ■

* H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 257.

ELLIOT L. JURIST is a freelance writer.

A Refusenik Speaks

To the Editor of Midstream:

The image of Grigory Wasserman in "The Messiah and the Kremlin," by Sidney H. Schwarz (August/September, 1984) is an unjustified distortion.

I have known Grigory Wasserman since 1979 when we both were lecturing on Jewish history and Judaism at a Leningrad Seminar. I correspond with him regularly, and occasionally talk to him by telephone.

Grigory Wasserman, a leading activist of the struggle for the Jewish soul of Soviet Jews, persecuted and slandered by the KGB, has a right to have his good name defended.

My defense of Wasserman is by no means dictated by any religious or group motivations.

LEV UTEVSKII
Beer Sheva, Israel

To the Editor of Midstream:

Midstream, in "The Messiah and the Kremlin," by Sidney Schwarz, seems to have become part of the general campaign against me on the basis of my persuading young people to not make aliyah. Such rumors have been spread in Israel as well.

These and similar charges are utterly false. They have been repeated in Leningrad and have blossomed in the atmosphere of suspicion and ignorance that is typical of life in the USSR.

I have never concealed my convictions. In the letter quoted by "Ogonek" (N.47, 1983), I wrote to my friend that "work in the name of the return must be done here in Galut." I am not afraid to declare that history is writing the last pages of the chronicle of the Jews in Eastern Europe, and that our future is connected with the land of Israel and with the Jewish state which miraculously arose in this land.

Anyone who wants to be sure that my convictions are really such can find out easily enough by speaking with my friends who have already come to Israel and with those who

were deprived of such opportunity and are living, temporarily, in the USSR. It is enough to read the open letters, written by activists of the movement for repatriation of Soviet Jews to Israel, which I have signed and which were published in the Jewish press.

My ill-wishers speak of peace and collaboration. I am for peace too! So why do you tell lies, my ill-wishers? Because you *are* telling lies! Our long contact makes it impossible to speak about occasional misunderstanding. You do know the truth, and you distort it deliberately. Even if you do not observe the Commandments of the Torah, your mothers told you during childhood that a lie is a sin.

Is it not absurd at the height of the struggle for repatriation of Soviet Jews to Israel to publish an article which describes one of the activists of this struggle as "An agent of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, urging the Jews to remain in Russia and to wait there for an advent of the Messiah?"

Why do you cite as incriminating evidence the fact that most of my pupils are not refuseniks? Don't you know that it has already been more than five years since even applying for a visa became practically impossible in Leningrad?

Although it may be that you really do not know about such things, we are obliged to speak openly and clearly about our spiritual ailments and to discuss the ways to treat them. It is impossible to solve political problems by discrediting differently minded people or by stopping them from talking. Such actions might only confirm an opinion about grave shortcomings in the struggle for Soviet Jews.

I cannot give all the details (it must be taken into consideration that this letter is being sent through the Soviet post and the probability of it having been read by the KGB is very high), but I appeal to all Jews: Let us discuss our problems openly.

GRIGORY WASSERMAN
Leningrad, USSR

Sidney H. Schwarz replies:

Often, responding to a critical let-

ter about one's own article is cause for defensiveness. In the present circumstances, however, I cannot help but celebrate. Imagine, an American rabbi encounters a refusenik in Leningrad, writes about him in an American Jewish periodical, and that very refusenik not only reads it but writes a letter that succeeds in making its way back to the periodical and its author! I have had less success in private correspondence with my refusenik friends in Russia.

For this reason, my response to Grigory Wasserman's letter is quite secondary to the fact that *Midstream* serves here as a vehicle for Jews actually to make successful contact across the sea, indeed to another world.

I regret that my article caused Grigory Wasserman any pain. If he believes that there is a conspiracy to discredit him I can only assure him that there is none. I can't help but feel sorry for refuseniks who live lives that breed belief in conspiracy theories.

If Grigory Wasserman says that he believes very much in repatriation to Israel and has no reason to repudiate his commitment to that goal which he has stated publicly in the past, I believe him. My article was based on what I experienced spending one Erev Shabbat with Grigory and his *chevrah*. Still it seems that even in his letter Grigory indicates that he presently does not actively encourage his friends to apply for visas for Israel. He suggests in a veiled way that this is due to the very bad situation in the Soviet Union today. Again, I do not think we are equipped to second-guess the strategy determined by refuseniks who must live with their decisions.

I can attest to the fact that Grigory Wasserman is providing important spiritual sustenance to a community which may have concluded, for now, that aliyah is not realizable. Under such circumstances American Jewry is duty bound to do its share to aid Soviet Jewry in any way that it can.

I pray that in the not too distant future, I can exchange correspondence again with Grigory — in person, at the Western Wall.

MIDSTREAM

A Monthly Jewish Review

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The Land of Israel

National Home or Land of Destiny

ELIEZER SCHWEID

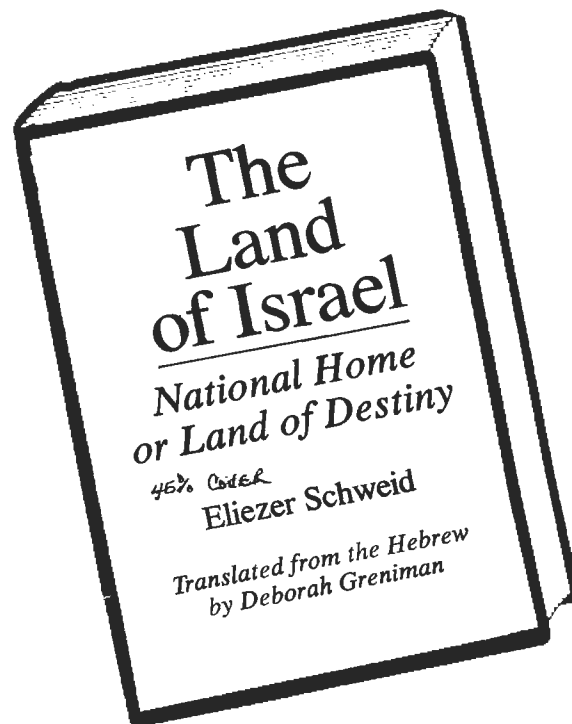
The legitimacy of Israel's claim to the land upon which it has been established has been denied by its enemies and questioned even by its friends and supporters. It is also debated and argued among Israelis themselves. In this study, Eliezer Schweid analyzes the relationship and explores the unique attachment of the people of Israel to the land throughout the generations of Jewish history.

Unlike other wandering tribes that settled in areas they had succeeded in mastering in the course of their wandering, the Israelites had a specific Promised Land as their goal. The Bible tells of the Promise, and relates the story of the conquest and settlement of the land, and the ultimate exile from it.

Schweid begins with the biblical basis for Israel's attachment to the land and proceeds to analyze the ways in which that attachment varied—and the manner in which land itself was viewed—when the people were exiled and when the return to rebuild the land began. He surveys the Talmudic authorities and also examines the conception of Israel in the philosophies of Judah Halevi, Maimonides, and the kabbalists. He then turns to the teaching of Rabbi Nachman of Bratslav, the great Hasidic leader, and the early religious "Lovers of Zion" movement, portraying the differences between religious and secular Zionists as epitomized in the writings of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and Aaron David Gordon.

In a concluding chapter, Schweid deals with the legitimacy of Israel's claim to the land in the light of the foregoing analyses and resolves the dilemmas resulting from the varying approaches. Throughout the analysis Schweid differentiates between the concept of Israel as the biblical Promised Land and the physical homeland as it was built and rebuilt by generations of settlers and resettlers.

Incisive, logical, and erudite, *The Land of Israel* is a major contribution to Zionist thought.



About the Author

Eliezer Schweid was born in Jerusalem in 1929. He served as a soldier in the Hagana in 1947 and 1948 and then was a member of Kubbitz Zoraah until 1953. He received his Ph.D. in Jewish Philosophy at the Hebrew University in 1961 and is now associate professor of philosophy there. He has published many articles on Hebrew literature, Jewish philosophy, and other Judaic subjects in leading Hebrew periodicals. Among his books are *Shalosh Ashmuroth* (1964); *Studies in Maimonides' Eight Chapters* (1965); *On the Poetry of Bialik and Tchernichovsky* (1968); *The World of A. D. Gordon* (1970); *Feeling and Speculation* (1971); *The Theology of Don Ch. Crescas* (1971); *Jewish Nationalism* (1972); *Israel at the Crossroads* (1973); and *The Religion and Culture of Israel* (1976). He is married and has three children.

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— Carlos Fuentes

AGAINST SILENCE:

The Voice and Vision
of
ELIE WIESEL



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OFEQ
AN INSTITUTE DEDICATED TO THE RESEARCH OF HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS
AND THEIR PREPARATION IN CRITICAL EDITIONS

TREASURES OF OUR CULTURAL PAST

The Middle Ages was one of the greatest periods of creative Jewish learning. To this day, we continue to learn from the insights and analyses of the great figures of that period. Yet, it is one of the sad facts of Jewish history that, while much has been preserved, much has also been lost.

Ofeq Institute addresses itself to the task of searching the libraries of the world for these treasures of our cultural past -unpublished Hebrew manuscripts, especially those containing the classical works of the Rishonim (the great medieval Jewish scholars) on the tractates of the Talmud and on other aspects of Rabbinical literature. These works have served in the past, and continue to serve, as an inexhaustible source for subsequent authors on Talmudic themes, and to the many scholars interested in various areas of Jewish scholarship.

Within these works are preserved the wisdom and achievements of spiritual giants who produced their works under the harsh conditions of the Diaspora and continuous persecutions. It is miraculous that their writings were not completely lost. They are testimony to the unconquerable human spirit. The books of Responsa contain vivid descriptions of the various communal life-styles in all the lands of dispersion - their social orders, and their various cultural organizations. This material is apt to shed new light on the known chapters of history and to uncover new chapters which hitherto were unimagined by researchers.

In the exegetic works on the Bible new solutions to old problems are offered. Philosophy and ethics, too, would be greatly enhanced, with the appearance of these works in print.

By opening up these teeming and glorious chapters of medieval Jewish scholarship, we are afforded a rich and varied tapestry not only of invaluable insights into the intricacies of the multi-faceted Jewish legal system in the context of medieval culture and history, but also of that very history itself.

RECOVERING HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS FROM OBLIVION

Many of these works have been published since the onset of machine printing, but many more are still in manuscript form waiting to be examined, edited, and interpreted so that their contents may be brought to the attention of students of Judaica throughout the world. The publication of some of these works and the neglect of others demonstrates the Rabbinical aphorism, "All depends upon chance, even the Torah scroll in the ark." Important works of the highest level did not see publication. Apparently the hand of Fortune decided which would see the light of print and which not. As a result, accomplishments of scholars of entire eras and major regions are almost unknown to us. It is not that their writings are lost, but rather confined to dusty manuscripts.

Ofeq Institute is a collegium of scholars engaged in researching and examining the contents of these manuscripts for their value to Jewish culture in our time, and, subsequently, in preparing them for publication in critical edition. This is a labor which requires an unusual combination of scholarly abilities. To do this work, one must already be expert in Talmudic studies. One must have mastered medieval paleography in order to be able to decipher manuscripts which are slowly being recovered from oblivion.

One must have mastered the skills of producing critical scientific texts of these manuscripts. In addition, in order to be able to introduce these works to contemporary students and to provide them with the apparatus of source notes and other scholarly aids, the researcher must already be a finished scholar.

MODE OF OPERATION

At present, Ofeq Institute utilizes the research facilities of the Rabbinical College of Telshe, Wickliffe, Ohio (but it is not connected with it), and maintains a network of scholars operating in other institutes of higher learning in the United States and Israel. The Institute is headed by Rabbi Abraham Shoshana, a well-known scholar, noted for his work on medieval authorities. His annotated editions of medieval Hebrew commentators are already classics, some having appeared in several printings. The people skillful enough to engage in this highly specialized work are scarce, and Rabbi Shoshana directs others in this scholarly enterprise.

The Institute operates in the following manner: A manuscript of one of the Rishonim is submitted to an Institute scholar who spends a great deal of time in the study of that manuscript and all related material. If he finds it of importance, this scholar and his assistants research it thoroughly, and, subsequently, transcribe it, edit it and prepare it for publication.

POPULAR PROJECTS FOR THE PUBLIC AT LARGE

Finally, Ofeq's work examining, researching, and eventually publishing medieval Jewish classics carries with it another significant benefit: it holds forth the hope of sensitizing the more broad populace to the wealth of greatness which is Jewish history in the last millennium. In

addition to the preparation of scholarly critical editions of the treasures of the medieval greats, Ofeq is engaged in the effort to research and present biographical materials as well. These collections of the "life and times" of the authors of the texts being published are written with the intent of providing a thorough-but-still-thumbnailed sketch for the layman. Serving as background material for the texts, these biographies offer a basis for an appreciation of the context within which the text was written and the point of view from which the author wrote. Like a setting for a beautiful gem, Ofeq's biographical work serves as a display for the brilliance of the classic texts, highlighting that brilliance and making it more available to the waiting public.

SUMMARY OF CURRENT PROJECTS

1) Rabbeinu Meir Halevi Abulafia, or RaMaH (circa 1165-1244). RaMaH was a leading Talmudist in Spain at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the initiator of European polemic over Maimonidean rationalism. He was also an accomplished poet, a very important Masoretic scholar, and an influential communal leader. Most of RaMaH's works have been considered lost for centuries, but many of his opinions were preserved at the very center of the mainstream of Halakah by R. Jacob b. Asher. Through the latter's Turim, RaMaH has had a tremendous impact on the development of Jewish family law and civil law.

During the last six years, Rabbi Shoshana has devoted himself to the exacting task of culling from many diverse manuscripts a great many portions of his lost works. The first fruits of this labor have been published in 1984 under the title Hiddushe HaRaMaH We-Shitot Kadmonim al Massekhet Gittin. This volume was received with much excitement throughout the world. Professor Bernard Septimus of Harvard

has this to say about it: "It is a stunning volume that shows great finesse and very impressive erudition. It is hard to think of any recent edition of a medieval Hebrew manuscript that can compare to it in the quality of its editorial work and annotation." The second volume of this book is ready for print and will be published in due course.

2) Some other of RaMaH's works discovered by Rabbi Shoshana are: a) portions of his novellae on Berakoth, Kiddushin, Yebamoth, and Baba Mezia; b) a fairly large collection of RaMaH's responsa, once considered lost; and c) a superior Cambridge manuscript of his famous "Kitab al-Rasa'il" (correspondence regarding resurrection controversy). The Institute has started transcribing and editing these works.

3) RaMaH's two other existing great works, his Perate-Peratim ("the minutest of details"), on Baba Batra and Sanhedrin, need to be edited and annotated anew so as to extract from them juridical information vital for Jewish jurisprudence.

4) R.S. Sirilio (fifteenth century Spain). Tractate Eduyoth, a reconstruction of and commentary on Tractate Eduyoth. This work was known to the great eighteenth-century bibliographer, Azulai, who praised it profusely. The original manuscript is possessed by the Leningrad Library in Moscow, and is not available in the West. However, the Institute has succeeded in acquiring a copy of it, and, during the last year, the work on this difficult manuscript has been completed. The publication of this important book will be the result of an effort on the part of outstanding scholars in Israel and the United States. With its publication, a new tractate, as it were, will be added to the Talmud.

5) Works of the Rishonim from the Mediterranean Countries: R. Perahia (thirteenth century Egypt) on Alfasi Tractate Sabbath, MS. Bodleian Library, Oxford. This work is very valuable for its preservation of hitherto unknown Gaonic and Maimonidean citations; the author was a relative of Maimonides and a close associate of his son, R. Abraham. Students of Maimonides will find it very intriguing.

6) R. Zaharia Agmati (twelfth century North Africa), Sefer Haner, MS. British Museum. A facsimile of this manuscript was published by the Museum in a limited edition. This work, on the three Babot of Order Nezikin of the Babylonian Talmud, contains a wealth of Gaonic and first generation Rabbis' citations, and it will serve as a juridical guide to all interested in the field of Jewish jurisprudence. Another work of Agmati on Order Moed is still in manuscript. The Institute's members, with help from medieval Arabic experts, have begun work on this project.

7) The Institute has just obtained the monumental commentary of R. Abraham b. David of Posquieres (1120-1198) on Sifra (Torat Kohanim), which was preserved in several rare manuscripts. Sifra is an interpretive midrash which explicates major elements in the biblical book of Leviticus. This tannaitic work is, in many respects, of unusual importance for many branches of research. Chiefly among them: the study of Talmud, the study of the Bible, and the study of religious thought. Over the generations various commentaries to Sifra were composed. Rabbi Abraham b. David (RaBaD) of Posquieres was the earliest commentator to provide us with a complete comprehensive study of Sifra. This commentary was first published by I. H. Weiss in Vienna, 1862. This edition is seriously flawed and has been rendered obsolete by later scholarship. Rabbi Shoshana, with the aid of a team of scholars, is now editing the entire commentary based on the

many manuscripts recently discovered. The book will contain an introduction, a complete set of textual variants, source notes, explanatory notes and references. The work is planned to appear in three over-sized volumes.

LONG TERM PROJECTS

Ofeq Institute is now engaged in gathering and researching copies of all available manuscripts of Rashi's commentary on the Talmud. Our aim is to develop a modus operandi by which to approach the great task of preparing in a critical edition the entire commentary of Rashi on the Talmud. It is well known that Rashi's commentary to the Talmud is one of the foremost and indispensable compositions in Jewish literature. The object of the project is to establish the most accurate version possible of this composition.

GOALS

It is the goal of the Institute to establish one independent center in the United States at which its members will engage in research and work collectively. A large library of rare Hebrew books and microfilmed manuscripts will also be established at this center to serve its members and other scholars as well.

Ofeq Institute also wishes to establish a smaller branch in Israel from which work can be coordinated between American, Israeli, and European scholars who specialize in the field.

CONCLUSION

It would be impossible to realize these projects through individual effort; they require the collective efforts of associated scholars. Only with the centralization of a trained and experienced staff, with systemized programs and appropriate funds, can these magnificent undertakings come to fruition.