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Washington Wrap Up

Precedent-setting presidential meeting

WASHINGTON — Precedent of an unusual sort appears to have been set when President Reagan addressed about 120 officers and representatives of 50 national organizations — 38 member groups and 12 observer bodies — affiliated with the National Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations at the Executive Office Building.

Yehuda Hellman, the conference's veteran executive vice president, said that apart from election times he could not recall a president or a presidential candidate meeting with a group so broadly representative of America's Jewish communities. Hellman noted large group meetings with Jimmy Carter in the 1976 and 1980 presidential campaigns.

The conference was founded in 1955 at the suggestion of the Eisenhower Administration to represent the communities in discussions on matters of Jewish concern with the Administration. Conference members include such bodies as B'nai B'rith and Hadassah while ob-

server groups include the United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish National Fund.

Reagan opened the four-hour



Joseph Polakoff

meeting which included a response to his address by Kenneth Bialkin, the Conference's president; White House Chief of Staff Don Regan; Alan Keyes, assistant secretary of state for international organizations; Richard Murphy, assistant secretary of state for Middle East affairs; Robert Oakley, the State Department's counter-terrorism bureau head; Herbert Stein, advisor to Secretary of State George Shultz on Israel's economy.

Emphasizing assistance for the

Nicaraguan contras to which he is devoting considerable time, the President noted that Nicaragua's rulers have not only retained close ties to the PLO and to Libya but that the Sandinistas had persecuted the country's tiny Jewish community. Nicaragua's lone synagogue, which was in Managua, no longer is in Jewish hands. Only two or three Jewish families now live in Nicaragua.

Bialkin, who is also president of the ADL, told the President "I would lose my job if I said that the whole Conference of Presidents speaks as one in supporting you" on the issue of aid to contras. However, he added, "I believe that the overwhelming sympathy and support of the American Jewish community rides with freedom, rides with the defense of those who wish to fight for their freedom, and would support you in your interested and objective and principled effort in that area."

The President, after hearing Bialkin's response to him, pledged that his administration would never sell arms to Arab nations if they are a threat to Israel — "qualitatively or quantitatively." Mur-

phy later said that it would be hard to measure quantity if the Administration had to add all the weapons held by all Arab countries but with reference to the combination of countries that would attack Israel the US commitment is for quantity and quality for Israel to exceed them.

At a news conference after the program at his Washington law office, Bialkin said that "the President's words moved the group." On Nicaragua, Bialkin seemed to draw back somewhat from his response to the President. "The Jewish community," Bialkin said, "has no position — no uniformity of view. As citizens, there probably is more sympathy on how the President put it today" with reference to the PLO and the Sandinistas.

Asked how the meeting originated, Bialkin said two or three months ago when he was meeting with Don Regan, he asked for another briefing conference by Administration leaders similar to one held a year previously. "Don Regan thought that perhaps the President would be there next time," Bialkin recalled. And it

came about that way. "We had a very upbeat afternoon," Bialkin said when asked by this reporter to characterize the meeting.

Questions posed by the Jewish representatives, Bialkin said, included those about the allegations former UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim is tainted with Naziism. Reyes and Murphy replied that at this moment they did not have the facts. Keyes said that there is increasing interest by the United States about who works for the UN.

Speaking of the growth of terrorism and the assassinations of Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme and Nablus Mayor el Masri, Oakley said that perhaps the world's greatest victim of terrorism is the Arab people. Oakley was reported as having pointed to the withdrawal of Arabs from candidacies for West Bank political positions following the Nablus killing and to have said "how can you move to peace when the whole West Bank is held hostage by threats of assassination and harm. Terrorism is causing the greatest harm to the Arab cause and the Palestinians' aspirations for freedom."

Handwritten note in red ink: "C. J. 12.14" and "S. C. 15" with a circled "9" and "15.11.86".

Is the Reagan Revolution Consistent with Jewish Ethical Values?

Adam Meyerson
Washington Hebrew Congregation
February 19, 1986

[Thank you.] I understand that two different invitations went out for this dinner, each with a different title for my remarks. The first is "What's a nice Jewish boy doing at a place like The Heritage Foundation?"--a question I imagine my mother frequently asks. How did we fail, I can hear her saying: here he grew up in a good Jewish family (in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Berkeley, California, no less), he went to a good liberal college, he marched in all the right marches; how does he end up working for a conservative think tank?

I'll address this question tangentially, but I'll be dealing mostly with the second subject: Is the Reagan Revolution consistent with Jewish ethical values? The Jewish tradition, especially the reformist tradition represented by this congregation, places a strong emphasis on charity and compassion toward the needy; on resolving disputes by negotiation if possible rather than warfare; on the civil, political, and human rights of men and women everywhere; on toleration of people of different faiths, races, and nations; and on the sanctity of life. These values--both the insistence on individual rights and the strong emphasis on man's obligation to his fellow man--derive ultimately from perhaps the most revolutionary idea in the entire

Bible: the idea that man is created in the image of God. This evening, I hope to use the perspective of these values to examine the record of the Reagan administration and the conservative political agenda, and to explore some of the fears many in the Jewish community have about people like me.

Actually, it is not at all unusual for a Jew to be working at The Heritage Foundation; several key members of top management are Jewish, and I would estimate that as much as a quarter of the professional research staff is Jewish. I have worked at Heritage for two and a half years without ever once experiencing the slightest innuendo of anti-Semitism. It is an organization where Catholics, Evangelical Christians, mainline Protestants, Mormons, Jews, and even a Japanese Buddhist work comfortably side by side.

My job at Heritage is to edit the foundation's quarterly magazine, Policy Review. The chairman of the magazine's editorial board is the economist David Meiselman. Some of you may know his wife Winnie, who runs an organization here in Washington called the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting, or CAMERA. As the name suggests, CAMERA keeps tabs on errors and biases in coverage of Israel by newspapers and television. Maurice is a member, and I am sure he can give you information about it.

If you will permit a brief commercial, I would like to read a few excerpts from an article in the current issue of Policy Review. It is by Senator Jesse Helms, and it is based on his

recent trip with Senator Chic Hecht of Nevada to dedicate the Hecht Synagogue on Mount Scopus overlooking Jerusalem. Those of you who think Senator Helms is anti-Semitic or hostile to Israel are going to have to reexamine your assumptions. "Israel," he writes, "is really our only reliable ally in the Middle East. Only Israel can oppose Soviet hegemony over the entire area." Elsewhere he explains why he, a Baptist deacon, would feel comfortable attending the dedication of a synagogue: "Well, the Jewish people worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and the last time I checked in the Bible that's the same God I worship." Any of you would like copies of this article, please see me afterwards.

Now this article by Senator Helms did not appear by accident. It is part of a campaign by conservatives to erase the perception that conservative political principles are code words for racial and religious bigotry. Conservatives today are making special efforts to appeal to all Americans, whatever their racial, ethnic, or religious background. This was not always the case, but it is today, and there has been some remarkable success in bridge-building.

To cite a few examples: In 1984 Ronald Reagan won 60 percent of the Catholic vote, even though Catholics have historically felt excluded from the Republican party. Reagan won 40 percent of the Hispanic vote; and those of you who live in

Maryland will soon be hearing a great deal from Linda Chavez, a Mexican-American who is running for Mac Mathias' Senate seat as a conservative Republican. (Incidentally, Linda's husband, Chris Gersten, is a former AIPAC lobbyist who now heads the National Jewish Coalition, an organization that is trying to build bridges between Jews and the New Right.) Though conservatives have generally been unsuccessful winning black support, there is a strong chance that the first black ever to be elected as a state governor will be a conservative Republican: watch the campaign of Bill Lucas in Michigan this year.

Only a third of the Jewish community, however, voted for President Reagan in 1984. I believe that Jewish opposition to Reagan conservatism is based on four issues. First, many Jews are upset by Reagan's (modest) cutbacks of welfare state spending, cutbacks that confirm their suspicion that conservatives don't care very much about the plight of the needy. Second, many Jews think the Reagan administration has been buttressing right-wing dictators with appalling human rights records. Third, Jews overwhelmingly support legalization of abortion in almost all circumstances, a position diametrically opposed to that of Reagan and many other conservatives. And fourth, most Jews are alarmed by the alliance between Reagan conservatives and the New Christian Right; they are worried that calls for more religious speech in public places will lead to a Christianization of America, and perhaps to a resurgence of persecution of religious

9/11/81

shocking about so many inner city public schools is the attitude toward academic achievement. Often winners of academic awards have to go to private ceremonies, because they would be heckles and hooted down at public assemblies. Friends of mine who tutor gifted students in Washington's Higher Achievement Program, or HAP, tell me that even there, anyone who raises his hand to answer a question is laughed at. No wonder hundreds of thousands of students graduate from high school every year without being able to read and write--and that's not even counting the dropouts. And if you can't read or write, you can't earn a living legally in this economy. It is no accident that two thirds of the inmates at Lorton Penitentiary are illiterate.

Perhaps the most tragic form of self-destruction is the total collapse of forethought and responsibility in the raising of children. I am thinking of the man on Bill Moyers' show about the family who sees no reason why he should be responsible for the six children he has fathered by different women. And I am thinking of those unmarried, uneducated mothers in Leon Dash's superbly reported Washington Post series on teenage pregnancy; there is no way that most of these girls are going to be able to provide for their children without being permanently dependent on the state. It's not impossible for a single mother to bring up children successfully--we all know women who have done it. It's just incredibly difficult, especially when you are already poor.

And the fact that 80 percent of the births in many poor neighborhoods are illegitimate is a sign that men and women are simply not thinking about the kind of life they can provide their children. It is hard to imagine a surer recipe for continuing poverty.

The availability of welfare programs may not actually cause this poverty, but it does encourage continuing dependency. And it is becoming distressingly clear that the welfare state is failing to provide hope and opportunity to a vast portion of America's poverty population. When Franklin Roosevelt set up the New Deal, when John F. Kennedy set up the New Frontier, when Lyndon Johnson set up the Great Society, their goal was to end dependency; they wanted massive but temporary spending programs that would get people off the dole and on their feet. It worked in the New Deal, but it's not working now, and it's time to go back to the drawing boards in redesigning the welfare state.

Let me illustrate with a few tragic statistics from 1980: 42 percent of black children living in poverty, 44 percent of black adults unable to read or write beyond 4th grade level, 24 percent unemployment among black men in their early twenties. This last figure is more distressing than the even higher unemployment for black teenagers, for if you can't get work in your early 20s, you probably will never enter the labor market. I remind you, these figures all come from 1980. The crisis in the welfare state preceded the Reagan cutbacks, and was not caused by them.

Let me close discussion of this subject on a note of hope. The story of the Vietnamese refugees, who arrived on our shores only a few years ago, is an example of the welfare state working at its best. Most of these refugees had lost all their possessions; they spoke no English; many had loved ones who had perished in the flight from Communism. Federal, state, and local governments gave the refugees generous welfare aid, to help them ease their transition to this strange new land. And today, thanks to their extraordinary courage and hard work, but also to the government assistance that was initially given their families, Vietnamese children are the leading academic achievers in California schools. Similar stories can be told of millions of other immigrants, and of the many blacks who have worked their way into the middle class by taking advantage of SBA loans, or college scholarships, or other special breaks provided by government that give the poor a first step onto the ladder of opportunity.

Providing this kind of opportunity represents liberalism at its best, and most conservatives have joined liberals in favoring programs that provide a helping hand toward genuine self-sufficiency. At the same time, I think it would be a terrible mistake for liberals to quarrel with the objective that President Reagan set forth in his State of the Union message: "It is time to reshape our welfare system so that it can be judged by how

many Americans it makes independent of welfare." To be frank, I'm not sure that either liberals or conservatives have the answer for how to achieve this through government policy. Much of the answer, I suspect, will come from greater attention to community self-help and to some old-fashioned ideas--such as the idea that unmarried 15-year-old girls and boys should not be having babies, and probably should not even be having sex, and that men and women should take personal responsibility for the consequences of their actions.

Let me turn now to questions of foreign policy and defense. What I am about to say may sound facetious, but it is not. I regard the United States Defense Department as our country's single most important charitable institution. And when we shift a few percentage points of our national budget from domestic social spending to the Pentagon, we are shifting from one charitable purpose to another. The recipients of our defense charity, however, are not simply the citizens of the United States; they are the citizens of the world.

What I mean by calling the Pentagon a charitable institution is very simple. The United States currently spends much more on defense than would be necessary to protect the lives and liberties of our own citizens. Instead, more than any other country in the world, the United States has committed itself to defending free societies everywhere. Our goal has been to make sure that the Soviet Union cannot do to Western Europeans and

Japanese and Israelis and Nicaraguans what it has done to Andrei Sakharov and Lech Walesa and Anatoly Shcharansky, and in this goal we have been largely successful. It is by no means clear that France or Italy or Japan or even Israel would be a free society today without the military protection, including the nuclear umbrella, of the United States. It is nearly certain that without U.S. aid, such countries as Greece, Turkey, Venezuela, El Salvador, Thailand, and South Korea would be Communist today. America's overseas commitments have served another charitable purpose: they have prevented the outbreak of international holocaust. In a century that has seen two catastrophic world wars, one coming only 20 years after the other, 40 years of peace in the Pax Americana is no little accomplishment.

All of this has taken an extraordinary amount of money, and the price of freedom is even higher in the face of a military buildup by the Soviet Union that rivals the Nazis' of 1930. The U.S. does not currently have the military capacity to meet all its commitments around the world. The response of many people is that we have to scale back our commitments, even if that means allowing some countries to lose their freedom. The Reagan administration has answered the question differently: It will not send American troops to El Salvador or Nicaragua or Afghanistan, but it will unstintingly support people who want to fight on their own for their freedom.

Now there is little love for the Soviet Union among the American Jewish community. Not only do the Soviets persecute Jews within their own borders; the USSR is also the principal military supplier of Israel's most threatening enemies--Syria, the PLO, and Libya.

But many Jews fault the Reagan administration and conservatives more generally for viewing social revolutions in the third world as East-West conflicts. They believe that the Reagan rhetoric about freedom fighters is hollow, that the contras of Nicaragua are no more than somocista thugs, and that conservatives will gladly support dictators so long as they are anti-Communist.

I have two answers to this. The first is that the actual Reagan record on right-wing dictatorships is as good as any in American history. The Duvalier dynasty that tyrannized and fleeced Haiti began in 1957. It did not end under John F. Kennedy or Jimmy Carter; it ended under Ronald Reagan. The barbarous military dictatorships that afflicted Argentina, Uruguay, and Guatemala gave way to civilian rule during the Reagan administration, not the Carter administration. The most brutal carnage by death squads in El Salvador took place in 1980, under Jimmy Carter, and the number of killings has steadily fallen every year since Reagan took office. In fact, El Salvador had its first free elections in 50 years under Ronald Reagan. The contras do not want to reimpose the Somoza dynasty, which, incidentally,

began under Franklin Roosevelt; the three top political leaders of the contras were all involved in the revolution against Somoza. The recent ballot-counting in the Philippines may have been fraudulent, but the Reagan administration has consistently insisted on fair elections, and if you think it is simply going to wink at the latest results, I suggest you wait and see what happens to Marcos in the next year. The Reagan administration well recognizes that democratic consent is a strong bulwark against Communism, and that human rights overseas is in the United States' strategic interest.

My second answer is that, nevertheless, the United States sometimes does have to ally itself with unsavory regimes or guerrilla movements in order to combat a greater evil. No one this century was as fierce an anti-Bolshevik as Winston Churchill. But Churchill sent aid to Stalin in 1941 after Hitler broke the non-aggression pact and invaded the Soviet Union. Churchill hated Stalin, but he simply recognized that the Nazis were then the single greatest threat to Western civilization and liberties. Priorities had to be kept straight.

They still do. Today the number one human rights priority must be to contain, and if possible roll back, Soviet military power. I say this for three reasons.

1) We Jews keep saying "Never Again, Never Again." Well, we don't say it loud enough. There have been four genocidal

holocausts in the last 10 years, and three have been in Communist countries. The first was in the killing fields of Cambodia, where between 2 million and 3 million people were ruthlessly slaughtered. Then came Afghanistan, where the Soviets have been deliberately depopulating the countryside by such measures as pouring gasoline into caves and setting them afire, and by distributing toys that explode in children's hands; 5 million Afghans, one third of the population, have fled their country. Now we have the man-made famine of Ethiopia, a deliberate effort to break the backs of the Tigrean and Wollo peoples, where trucks that could be used for delivering food are instead used in a massive resettlement program that has itself killed 100,000 people, according to relief workers. Apartheid may be reprehensible, but nothing the South African government has done in recent decades is as cruel to black Africans as the famine and resettlement program in Ethiopia.

2) Anti-Communist dictatorships have a better chance of evolving into democracies than Communist ones. Which is more likely to become democratic: Haiti or Cuba? South Korea or North Korea? the Philippines or Vietnam? Pakistan or Afghanistan? Within the last dozen years, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala have all become democratic. You cannot name a single Communist country that has moved to democracy except Grenada.

3) But the main reason why the Soviets are the biggest

threat to human rights is that they have the arsenal to impose their system on others. There is no danger that Ferdinand Marcos will impose his corrupt kleptocracy on other Asian countries, or that Chile's Pinochet will support guerrilla movements in Argentina and Peru. South Africa has no desire to export apartheid to Botswana and Mozambique, or even Namibia, where apartheid has been abolished. China ceased being a major threat to most of its neighbors in the late 1970s. By contrast, the Soviet Union is the only remaining imperial power in the world; it violates international law every day with its occupation of countries ranging from the Ukraine to East Germany to Mongolia to Afghanistan. Soviet allies such as Cuba and Nicaragua train and arm guerrilla armies to subvert and terrorize the countries of Latin America. Any country taken over by Soviet-linked Communists almost immediately becomes a threat to its neighbors. Any human rights policy must therefore have as one of its central emphases the prevention of Communist takeovers and the prevention of the consolidation of Communist power.

I can talk only briefly about the two most controversial subjects, abortion and school prayer. Perhaps we can discuss these issues further in the question period. The Jewish tradition prohibits abortion in almost all circumstances, but it does permit the taking of a fetus's life if the mother's physical or mental health is seriously endangered. More recently, Jewish

rabbinical organizations have taken the position that the decision about an abortion is a private choice that should be left to a woman and her doctor. The overwhelming majority of American Jews subscribe to this position--men as well as women, devout religious observers as well as secularists, married as well as unmarried. This support for legal abortion cannot be attributed to an anti-family or anti-natalist feeling; on the contrary, the most fervent Jewish supporters of abortion choice are men and women who take the responsibilities of child-rearing very seriously, and believe it is best for the children if parenthood is carefully prepared for and consciously wanted.

I have considerable sympathy for this argument, and, like many conservatives, I favor legal abortion in such circumstances as rape, incest, or any serious threat to a mother's life or health. As part of the honor that our civilization accords mothers, it is important for all of us to make sure that motherhood is a source of joy, not of pain and anguish. What bothers me, however, and what I think should bother everybody in the Jewish community, is that so many abortions occur in circumstances other than the ones I have just described. We Jews believe in the sanctity of life, the child's as well as the mother's. Well, last year there were one and a half million abortions in this country; I think even those of us who think a mother and her doctor, instead of the state, should be making abortion decisions, can agree that one and a half million is too

many, especially when there are long waiting lists of parents who want to adopt babies. Too many abortions are taking place as a form of birth control; too many are taking place for the convenience of the parents. Just because a practice is legal--and maybe should remain legal--does not mean it is right.

Religion in the schools could be the subject of an entirely separate talk. Let me just say this. The Jews are a tolerant people, but I am afraid we have not been as tolerant as we ought to be when it comes to religion in the schools. We have been wedded to an abstraction--the total neutrality toward religion allegedly mandated by the establishment clause of the First Amendment. Instead, what we should really be concerned about is ensuring an atmosphere of religious toleration, and remaining eternally vigilant against any infringement of the rights of religious and other minorities. Thus, for example, it is entirely appropriate for Jews to object to organized vocal prayers in schools where religious minorities might feel uncomfortable, or even coerced into joining prayers that violate their families' faiths. It is also appropriate to object to proselytization by adults on school grounds. But it is difficult to imagine how the liberties of Jewish students, or any other minorities, are violated by a moment of silent prayer, or released time provisions, or allowing Bible clubs on school grounds after hours, or even by the singing of Christmas carols at a school

assembly in a non-devotional way. Toleration is a two-way street. It is simply unfair for religious minorities to demand accommodation from majorities--for example, not to be penalized for taking off Jewish holidays--if we cannot accommodate the expression of harmless religious sentiments by Christians.

Thank you very much for listening, and I look forward to your questions.

The Play "No. 40, Sholom Aleichem Street"
at the Stanislavsky Theatre

(A comparative analysis of two articles
 reviewing the play)

Both articles appeared in the local press in Moscow:
 "The Threshold of One's Home" by N. Balashov appeared in
 "Moskovskaya Pravda" (12 Feb. 1986) and "A Tragedy" by A. Medvedko -
 in "Moskovsky Komsomolets" (29 Jan. 1986).

1. "The Threshold of One's Home" in "Moskovskaya Pravda"

a) It is noted at the very beginning of the review that the play aroused much public interest and, what is more important, it is openly said that "... a certain category of members of the audience" rejects the play as intolerable. There is no explanation as to who belongs to this category, but it is clear anyway that the author is referring to Jews who want to leave or to Jews who do not intend to leave but, nevertheless, think that emigration should be free for those who want it (the latter category includes not only Jews but non-Jews as well). It is also stressed that those who reject the play are a minority.

b) The article openly speaks about the fact that the play is a multi-faceted work.

c) It is reported the work on the play was done outside the regular framework of the theatre's repertoire because "it was not clear how things will work out". This means one thing only: those involved in the work on the play were not certain that the party authorities would allow it to be performed.

d) Before embarking on the analysis of the performance itself, the reviewer makes a brief digression which is of particular interest to us. In it he describes groups of people who gather near a Moscow embassy of a "small European country". "These people came here in order to submit documents for emigration from their Homeland". Having described the tragic future that awaits these people, the reviewer comes to the following conclusion: this kind of tragedy could be avoided "if it were possible to intervene in each life well in advance..."

e) The following passage is also of interest: "Until now the cinema and the theatre, our literature and our television have kept bashfully silent as if the sources of these tragic human stories were not developing nearby, as if they were not growing from a private act into an act of a political nature which will be followed by public reaction... The playwright A. Stavitsky and the Stanislavsky Theatre decided to speak out loudly about it, so that everyone can hear it, and their decision was not just based on the simple desire to brand the "renegades", but on the attempt to look into their souls and to understand how a person arrives at the decision to leave his Homeland."

It is most interesting to note that the reviewer refers to people wishing to leave as "renegades", while putting the word itself in inverted commas, i.e. explaining that they are not really renegades, but are, in fact, unfortunate people.

In other words, while an article about readers' conferences that followed the release of the "White Book" did not call Jews who emigrate traitors and renegades, in this review it is spelled out why they are not traitors, renegades, etc. It is, however, stated in the article that the head of the family, the father, actively opposed the decision to emigrate to Israel "... by preferring to die rather than betray his Homeland..."

f) The playwright provided the following reply to the question about the identity of these emigrating Jews: the son who decided to go to Israel is "a cold, cruel and calculating" man. He also convinced his brother, a "man of weak character", to leave too, as well as his niece, a "good girl, but a somewhat unbalanced one".

g) The rest of the review is devoted to the analysis of the dramatic aspects of the play and although it is of less interest to us, we find the author mentioning the following subjects: pre-revolutionary Jewish pogroms, the tragedies caused by the Nazi invasion, the happy life of Soviet Jews, as well as the close ties and friendly feelings between Jews and Russians.

2. "A Tragedy" in "Moskovsky Komsomolets", a youth newspaper

a) The reviewer deals with the professional aspects of the performance and does not make any digressions.

b) In the play only the father calls Jews emigrating to Israel "traitors". The playwright, however, presents him as a man who "... with true straitforwardness divided the world into the Reds and the Whites. And that was that." It follows, therefore, that the playwright himself does not consider them traitors.

c) The characterization of the Jews who decided to emigrate to Israel are more negative in this article than in the previous one. Thus, the son who decided to leave "...belongs to the category of people who can be described very briefly as confirmed swindlers, adventurers and rogues". His niece is also "that kind of a girl".

Conclusion

1. A clearly defined line on seeing the emigrating Jews as unfortunate people and not as traitors, renegades, etc. is found in both articles.

2. Both reviews, in fact, provide a similar evaluation of the emigrating Jews: they are either extremely negative persons or weak characters.

3. There are grounds to assume that the instructions not to consider emigrating Jews to be traitors, as well as the permission to present the problem of Jewish emigration on the theatre stage are connected with the authorities' desire to present the fact that practically no Jews are allowed to leave now in a more humane form.

4. Jewish emigration is called a "political phenomenon" in the article "The Threshold of One's Home".

5. Both articles were printed for the same purpose: to agitate against Jewish emigration. The form has changed: from an attack it has turned into an admonition.

6. The well-known Soviet playwright Arbuzov gave a positive appraisal of the play "No. 40, Sholom Aleichem Street" in an article entitled "Be Yourself..." ("Sovetskaya Kultura", No. 20, 15 Feb. 1986).

To: The Preparatory Committee of the 27th Congress of the CPSU

From: Ida Nudel, Citizen of the USSR, I.D. IUOM515668,
issued on 23 March 1982 by Dept. of the Interior, Krivosheino.
Citizen of Israel, I.D. 624, issued on 12 June
1972 by the Israeli Knesset.

Presently residing at 69 Sovetskaya St.,
Bendery 278100, Moldavskaya SSR.

Since 1971, I have been asking for an exit permit to leave
for Israel, where my sister Ilana Fridman lives, and which is, to me,
a national homeland.

I do not intend to describe the pain which this separation
for over 14 years has caused my sister and me to suffer. I would
just like to draw your attention to the fact that of our family,
which was once very large, only my sister in Israel, my cousin
in Moscow and myself have remained. All the rest of our family
either fell at the front defending Russia or were exterminated
in the gas chambers, as the Fascists annihilated all the Jews, including
our mothers. And so, two sisters have to turn to the whole world,
pleading and begging for help, in order that they might meet again
and live together.

When I was refused an exit visa by the Moscow OVIR office
on December 15, 1971, I was told the following:

Reason for refusal: state interests;

Validity of refusal: till January 1977;

Grounds for refusal: "You do not know confidential information,
but you may have heard something."

Fourteen years have passed since then. Is there anybody
among sane and educated people who could believe that rumours which
I may or may not have heard, or things said could still be
"matters of state interest"?!

I am absolutely convinced that no technically educated person
can accept the official version, that I supposedly knew some

"terrible secret", as was stated by Soviet delegates at the meeting between President Mitterand and Mr. Gorbachev in October 1985 in Paris.

A more absurd account was presented by delegates at the meeting between President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev in November 1985 in Geneva. In reaction to the American delegates' request for an exit permit for me to leave for Israel, the Russian answer was: "It is true that she knows no secrets, but she may have heard something." And this was said while all the sides involved were aware of the fact that I was dismissed from my job in January 1972.

So then "what is all this about?", a normal person would ask. "What is at the bottom of all this?" At the bottom lies the primitive revenge of the KGB against my struggle to have the refusal cancelled, a struggle which is an active one. My conscience has always been clear; I have never known any secrets nor have I ever occupied myself with eavesdropping or prying.

The stand I have taken in defending my rights and those of other Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel has aroused the hatred of the KGB and induced them to carry out all kinds of vengeful acts. These included a trumped-up accusation of my disturbing the peace, a sentence of four years in exile on a trumped-up charge, illegal refusal to grant me a Moscow residence permit after my return from exile, the expulsion from my own private co-operative apartment and its confiscation, which was done in contradiction to Soviet law and, possibly, even in mockery of it.

There is no sense in writing more about the above-mentioned acts of persecution nor about the many others that were carried out. World public opinion has already created around my personality the image of a woman persecuted because of her fight for her rights. As a result, Russia suffers moral damage and creates bitterness and a sense of disgrace in the simple people. Political figures cannot understand why they are tormenting me. No meeting with Russian representatives, in any country, can take place without pictures of me being displayed in the vicinity, no sports or cultural

event with Russian participation can go on without a great crowd shouting my name.

Who needs all this and why? Why does Russia need all these cries and calls for help? Who needs those horrible mental associations which arise when one thinks about the history of my family? What benefit does Russia have from my suffering? Only disadvantage, because any real danger of revealing state secrets is a fabrication and libel devised as revenge.

Every story similar to mine may at a first glance seem to be insignificant in relation to state interests. The truth is, however, that simple people and political leaders in the West see such a story as being typical of Russia, a sad illustration of the negative characteristics of Soviet procedures.

Whether you like it or not, in our day and age information about dramatic and tragic events rapidly becomes the property of world-wide public opinion. This must be considered if the USSR is interested in being accepted as a civilized modern state.

I ask the Preparatory Committee of the 27th Congress of the CPSU to consider my problem attentively and to give instructions to the OVIR office of the Moldavian SSR to correct the error of many years and to give me a visa for Israel, without delay.

I assure all the members of the Congress that exactly one week after I leave, the world will forget my name and my story, for new tragedies and dramas develop every day all over the world.

Is it possible that such a powerful country can put the urge for revenge of a small number of people above the honour of the whole country? I cannot believe this. The events will tell.

I hope that this problem will be solved to the benefit of both sides.

Respectfully your,

January 1986

Ida Nudel

To: The Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet,
A.A.Gromyko

From: Mark Kats,
res. in Leningrad 194156, pr. Engels No. 6, Apt. 2.

COMPLAINT

The decision of the OVIR office of Leningrad and the Leningrad Oblast to deny me and my family in 1981 exit visas to go to the State of Israel is:

- juridically groundless and illegal since it is not based on concrete legal facts and norms and it contradicts the International Charter on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Complete Liquidation of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, as well Soviet law;
- an act of racial discrimination the purpose of which is the artificial Russification of our family, since there are no objective legal grounds for denying us the exit visa.

The above is also confirmed by the following:

- Neither I nor members of my family are subject to the restrictions envisaged by Par. 3 in Art. 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, since we were never worked in and were never connected with organizations of classified nature; we were never convicted and never served punishment terms for committing a crime; we do not have close relatives who object to our emigration and who are materially dependent on us.
- We are deprived of juridical defence since during the five years (1981-1985) that we have been receiving refusals, we have been unable to obtain from the Procurator's Office, the Ministry of the Interior offices in Leningrad, the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR or from any other organizations any documents certifying the legal grounds which served as the basis for restricting our right to leave the USSR.

- We are deprived of judicial defence, since the courts (including the Supreme Court of the RSFSR) and the juridical supervision authorities (including the USSR Procurator-General), who did not examine the legal motives of my complaints and who did not refer in their replies to any concrete law, according to which my complaints lie outside the jurisdiction of the court, have claimed illegally that my complaints cannot be considered in court and have refused to examine them.

In view of the above and in accordance with the norms of legal defense stipulated by the Convention on the Liquidation of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Constitution of the USSR, the basic laws of civil procedure and the Code of Criminal Procedure of the USSR, I request:

to make it incumbent upon the Procurator General of the USSR to examine my petition to revoke the decisions of the People's Court of the Kuibyshevsky Region (of 9 February 1984) and the People's Court of the Vyborgsky Region of Leningrad (of 5 March 1984).

I hope that this complaint will be given careful consideration within the period specified in the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 4 March 1980 "On the Procedure for Examining Statements, Complaints and Suggestions Submitted by Citizens".

If we receive yet another reply not based on concrete legal arguments or if we receive no reply at all, we reserve the right to appeal to international organizations.

3 January 1986

M.Sh.Kats

TRANSLATED from Russian

To: The XXVII Congress of the CPSU

We, a group of Jews who have fought for many years for the right to emigrate to Israel, declare a hunger strike for the duration of the Congress.

According to a statement made by the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev, in his interview with French television, the Soviet authorities can keep persons in possession of classified information from leaving the country for a period of five to ten years. There are people among us who are not familiar with any secrets at all, as well as people who have been kept here for many more years than the period mentioned by Gorbachev after their access to secrets was discontinued.

We declare a hunger-strike of protest because we have given up all hope of being allowed by the authorities of the Ministry of the Interior to realise our legal right to emigrate to Israel, a right envisaged by Soviet and international law.

We call on the XVII Congress of the CPSU to consider this matter and to enable us to leave for Israel.

Natasha Bekhman, Moscow.

David and Dora Vodovoz,
Moscow.

Boris Gulko, Moscow.

Vera Kats, Moscow.

Inna Levinova, Moscow.

Liliya and Grigory Liberman,
Kishinev.

Anna Liberman, Bendery.

Elena and Natalia Khasina,
Moscow.

V. Tsukerman, Kishinev.

Simon Shnirman, Kishinev.

Liza Ladyzhensky, Kishinev.

Itsik Edelhoim, Moscow

19 February 1986

AN APPEAL

We appeal to all heads of state, party leaders, leaders of political and social organizations and to all people independently of their political views, race or religion.

For many years we have heard from various Soviet leaders that there was no Jewish question in the USSR and that all the Jews wishing to go to Israel have been allowed to do so. Lately we have heard the same statement made by the Secretary General M. Gorbachev. He declared before the whole world that only those who have had access to state secrets are being denied exit visas and even in those cases the issue of exit visas is delayed for five to ten years only. However, year after year the Soviet Union has been issuing an ever-decreasing number of exit visas to go to Israel, justifying this by lack of persons wishing to leave the USSR.

We are some of those who have been fighting for many years for the right to leave for Israel. Here, in the USSR, we are living proof of the falsity of the statements made by Soviet leaders about the non-existence of the problem of Jewish emigration to Israel.

You are all well aware of the fact that tens of thousands of Jews are prevented from leaving the USSR, in violation of international agreements and conventions. This violation of international law cannot and should not remain an internal affair of the USSR.

In view of the complete lawlessness and arbitrariness which prevail in the field of Jewish emigration from the USSR to Israel, we have lost all hope of realizing our right to emigrate by our own means. We, therefore, appeal to the world public to urge the XXVII Congress of the CPSU that law and order be introduced in the question of Jewish emigration and thus, all the Jews wishing to leave the USSR would be able to do so.

We appeal to leaders of Communist parties: When you, representatives of countries with different political and social systems, come to the Soviet Union to attend the party congress,

you will, of course, have no problem in obtaining exit visas from your countries. Please, think of those who have been deprived of this right to move freely from one country to another.

During the XVII Congress of the CPSU we shall be holding a hunger-strike to protest against the status of slaves to which we have been reduced.

Natalia Bekhman, Moscow

David and Dora Vodovoz, Kishinev

Boris Gulko, Moscow

Vera Kats, Moscow

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Anya Liberman, Bendery

Elena Khasina, Moscow

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Simon Shnirman, Kishinev
Liza Ladyzhenskaya, Kishinev
Itsik Edelboim, Moscow

19 February 1986

Zev -

Sorry we can't
give you a
better copy.

Claudia

Willy Brandt
PERSÖNLICHES BÜRO

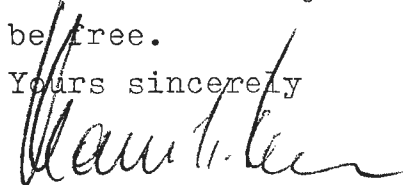
BONN, DEN 16. Sept. 1985
BUNDESHAUS
TEL. 16-

Dear Mrs. Gimpelson,

please excuse me for having delayed an
answer on your letter of July 23. because
of my holiday.

Let me assure you that we will take care
of the case of your husband until he will
be free.

Yours sincerely



(Klaus-H. Rosen)

Mrs.
Bronislava Gimpelson

34-19 29 thstreet Apt 5 J

Astoria N.Y. 11106

U.S.A.

May 6, 1986

Max Green - Assoc. Dir. of Public Liaison
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Av.
Wash. DC 20500

NR

Dear Mr. Green;

I am writing to you re the interview you recently had with the Jewish World. Since you do have a responsibility to the American people, and of course the American Jewish community, I want to indicate to you that you in no way represent the majority of either group.

Yes, you do represent the administration! Yes, the administration is indebted to Mr. Falwell but we are not about to assist Mr. Reagan et al in repaying that obligation:-

1. The Christian Fundamentalists are not our "allies" just because they endorse Israel's right to exist.
2. Neither is Mr. Reagan our ally just for that reason. We all know why he plays the role he does in the Middle East.
3. Mr. Falwell's objective is, his words, to make this a Christian nation, and Mr. Reagan's reference to "our" Christian nation needs no clarification either.
4. The sale of arms to Saudi Arabia (such a small amount) is not an act of a friend or ally of Israel. Yes, he is a friend of Sheikh Yemeni.
5. As for the school prayer, aren't you aware of the defeat of 2 proposals by Congress?
 - a. Mr. Reagan's for voluntary prayer.
 - b. To strip the courts of jurisdiction over school prayer issues. They will stop at nothing - even destroy our system of checks and balances. Fortunately, even our major legislators recognized this danger.

learned from ^{the} UFT on
instruction & exemption in private
schools.

Mr. Green, you simply don't represent us!
Don't you think you ought to resign before you
do as, the American People, including the American
Jewry, any more harm?

Yours truly,
Mrs. Theresa R. Hickens

believes, as we were told in the 1970s, that small is beautiful, that less is more and that yesterday was infinitely better than tomorrow will ever become. As Jews and Conservatives we know very much that tomorrow offers us a great deal and as a Jew I am comfortable working for that with my fellow conservatives. Thank you.

Morris Abram:

Thank you. And now I'd like to call upon Peggy Tishman who has led this organization brilliantly and who is going on, as you know, to become the head of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropists in New York. It's only appropriate that I call upon her for some remarks.

Q: Thank you, Morris. In the first place, I want to tell you that I love Coors beer. I think it's absolutely fantastic and I've even come to, well, I won't say love, but tolerate and understand Jesse Helms. I've had breakfast, lunch and dinner with him. I think I was involved in seeing that he went to Israel. I'm glad Burt that you made your remarks, because frequently people who are not internal to the Jewish community think that we are a one issue community and this is something that we argue back and forth.

We did a preliminary study of the major issues that concern the Jewish community in New York and we came out with three particular issues. The primary one was anti-semitism, the second was the problem of the homeless. Let me just add that there are less Jewish homeless than there are of any other ethnic group, yet it was a major concern. And the third was the aged and how this country is dealing with its ever-aging population. Those are the issues that are emerging.

Under the rubrik of anti-semitism, the whole issue of the separation of church and state is one that is of overriding interest and concern to the Jewish community. I would like very much to hear you make some comments about this because you know that Jews feel that prayer in school is very divisive and of very great concern. Having said this, and maybe you'll make some comments, we want very much to engage in ongoing dialogue with the conservative community. We know that we have a great commonality of interest, but there are certain areas that we are concerned about. So why don't we talk a little bit about some of the issues that really concern us and maybe you can respond.

Paul Weyrich:

Well, the first point I think that has to be made, is that we never envision that we are going to agree on everything so that all of the other dealings that we have with very diverse groups of people we don't expect that we

23. Are the Saudis really a leader of Arab states? What are some examples of their leadership? Or isn't it really fairer to say that the Saudis are paralyzed out of fear of antagonizing any one of the various Arab factions, particularly the radicals? What benefits are reaped from the Saudis always sitting on the fence?

A. The Saudis have shown leadership on many issues in past years, nearly always to the benefit of moderation and U.S. interests in the region.

Gulf War

The Saudis are the linchpin of Gulf air defense. They have shown that they are able and willing to engage Iranian forces when these forces threaten Saudi territory. The downing of one or possibly two Iranian F-4s by a Saudi F-15 in June 1984 proved this capability. The Saudis initiated a 24-hour combat air patrol which, in conjunction with USAF AWACS coverage, significantly enhanced the security of the entire northern Gulf. The Saudis' strong defensive posture has been one of the main reasons why the war has not spread to the western side of the Gulf.

Middle East Peace

The Saudis undertook ten months of quiet but intensive diplomacy in 1981-1982 to win acceptance at the Arab summit at Fez, Morocco in 1982 of a set of proposals developed by then Crown Prince Fahd. These proposals moved the Arab consensus from opposing peace with Israel to searching for a way to achieve peace. While ~~not wholly adequate in our view, this~~ was a major advance in the Arab position. The Saudis continue to support a negotiated peace.

*we do not agree with several elements of the Fez Plan,
it has several positive elements and*

Lebanon

The Saudis have worked closely with the U.S. to achieve the common goal of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. They played an important role in the 1981 negotiation of Special Ambassador Habib. The Saudis worked actively and publicly for the September 1983 ceasefire in the Shuf mountains. They helped secure Syrian agreement to Lebanese participation in the Naqura talks and remain active in exploring grounds for compromise between the parties. They have maintained a dialogue with the Lebanese and the Syrians, and we have made frequent use of their good offices. Efforts towards the resolution of this particularly difficult problem have not been easy for any of the states involved ~~involved~~. Like us, the Saudis have had diplomatic personnel kidnapped and their embassy sacked. In short, the Saudis have expended considerable effort and have demonstrated good will in trying to bring the various parties to a negotiated settlement.

Oil

Recent Saudi efforts to regain what it considers an appropriate market share have contributed to today's lower prices. During past OPEC efforts to regulate oil production and prices, the Saudis have worked in favor of moderation and stability to avoid disrupting international oil markets. In periods of increased world demand, they have increased production to temper the rise of oil prices. Often this policy has been opposed by other OPEC producers. For example, when OPEC exporters were demanding more than \$40 per barrel, Saudi Arabia maintained the official price of \$34 and produced at maximum capacity to restrain further price increases.

*Congregation Emanu-El
of the City of New York
Fifth Avenue at 65th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021*

Study of the Senior Rabbi

DR. RONALD B. SOBEL

May 2, 1986

Mr. Max Green
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

As per your request, I am enclosing a list of 25 Reform Rabbis with their addresses whom you might want to consider inviting to the meeting about which you spoke on June 3.

Of course, if my schedule permits I, too, will be delighted to come down to be with you.

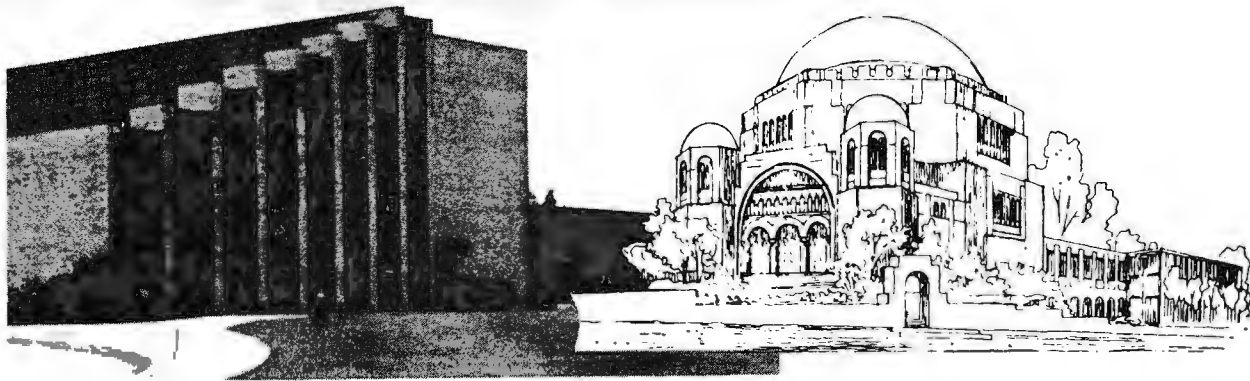
I am, also, enclosing some material about Gregory Gimpelson who has been trying to leave the Soviet Union for a very long time. I know Mrs. Gimpelson; she is an extraordinary woman.

Whatever you can do, on behalf of her husband, I will deem a great and wonderful mitzvah.

With warmest best wishes, I remain

Faithfully yours,





May 25, 1986
Vol. LXXI No. 20

The Temple Bulletin

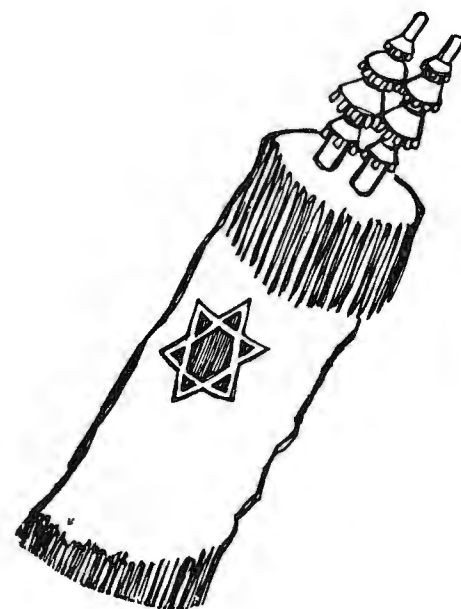
**You are invited
to the 136th
Temple Annual Meeting**

**on
Friday, June 6, 1986
8:15 p.m.
The Temple Branch**

**Honoring Rabbi Daniel
Jeremy Silver for his
thirty years of service to
The Temple**



**for more details, please turn
to the back page.**



**SHAVUOT
CONFIRMATION**

**FRIDAY,
JUNE 13, 1986**

9:30 a.m.

The Main Temple

The Temple

Rabbis

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
SUSAN ELLEN BERMAN
BENJAMIN ALON KAMIN

MERRILL GROSS Administrator
ALICE LICKER School Administrator
BRUCE SHEWITZ Director of Music
CLAUDIA Z. FECHTER Librarian

JAMES REICH President
DEBORAH COWAN Vice President
ALAN KRAUSE Vice President
HERBERT LEVINE Vice President
HARALD MILLER Vice President
SANFORD SUGARMAN Vice President
MARILYN BEDOL Secretary
STUART NEYE Treasurer
KENNETH HOCHMAN Associate Treasurer
LEO S. BAMBERGER Exec. Secretary Emeritus
MIRIAM LEIKIND Librarian Emeritus
JEAN WEIL Associate Editor

TEMPLE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL OPENS KINDERGARTEN REGISTRATION

If your child will be entering Kindergarten this year, please call our school office, if you wish to enroll him/her in the Temple for the 1986-87 school year.

Kindergarten forms the foundation of a wonderful Jewish education. The year begins with Consecration and continues on as the children learn about the holidays and milestones of the Jewish year.

Please contact Alice Licker, School Administrator, at the school office, 831-3233, if you are interested.

WITH THANKS . . .

To Marvin Lader and Bob Kendis for their thoughtful donation to The Temple of two coffee urns. They will gladly be used on Sunday mornings during breakfast prior to our 10:30 service.



TEMPLE ENDOWMENT FUND NEWS

The Endowment Fund Campaign has been active, resulting in recent gifts from the following people:

Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Auster
Mr. and Mrs. Barnett N. Bookatz
Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Goldfarb
Dr. and Mrs. William Herman
Mrs. William C. Treuhaft
(to the William C. Treuhaft Memorial Fund)

A generous bequest has been received from the estate of Adrienne Ratner, the late wife of Charles Ratner.

The total amount of these gifts and bequest is \$15,519. At this time the total of funds paid and pledged in lifetime gifts and bequests since the start of the Endowment Fund Campaign is \$1,493,931, or 49.8% of our \$3,000,000 goal.

The substantial rise in the stock and bond markets in recent months has resulted in large paper profits for many investors. This presents an extraordinary opportunity to benefit The Temple. Gifts of appreciated stock or bonds held for more than six months entitle a donor to a tax deduction equal to the fair market value, based on the date of the gift. The donor pays no capital gains tax on any appreciation. These features make this an excellent time to consider making an Endowment Fund gift or paying off an Endowment Fund pledge with the donation of appreciated securities to The Temple.

Check with your financial or tax advisor to take fullest advantage of this tax and philanthropic planning opportunity. If you would like further information on this or any other aspect of the Endowment Fund, call Merrill Gross, Temple Administrator, at 791-7755.

James M. Reich

50th CONFIRMATION REUNION CLASS OF 1936

SATURDAY, MAY 31 — 6:30 P.M.
THE TEMPLE BRANCH

Havdalah service conducted by Rabbi Melbourne Harris followed by cocktails, dinner and music.

For reservations contact Shirley Friedland: 831-2408.

Muriel Rivchun and her committee are attempting to compile as complete a list of confirmands as possible. If you have information on the whereabouts of any of the following people, please contact Ms. Rivchun at 464-2770.

Herbert Lurie Aronson
Janice E. Berger
Ruth Janice Cohn
Allyn Colen
Richard D. Friedland

Caroline Kangisser
Rita Klein
Doris Jayne Kleinman
Robert A. Rubin

THE FABRIC OF JEWISH LIFE THE KENNICOTT BIBLE

The place of fabric in Jewish life is by no means limited to costuming and ornamental cloths for religious use. We must not forget the economic role of the cloth industry which has provided jobs and great wealth for Jews since the Middle Ages. Such wealth enabled them to improve the quality of Jewish life and to underwrite the creation of Jewish artifacts.

La Coruna, a seaport city, was the capital of Galicia, the northwestern most province of Spain. It was also known for its extensive cloth industry. In the 15th century La Coruna became the most active exporting centre in Spain, trading with almost all of Europe.

There were Jewish merchants in La Coruna in the late 14th century, after Henry II granted them the rights of citizenship. During the next hundred years, La Coruna became an impor-

tant Jewish centre, as commerce increased. This prosperity attracted Jewish settlers from Portugal, among them the di Braga family. The di Bragas were the patrons of The Kennicott Bible - a facsimile of which is on permanent display at the Temple Branch.

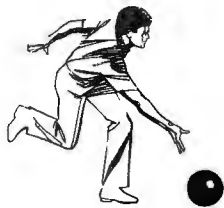
Jewish clothiers were among the richest families in Spain. It is believed that the di Braga family dealt with cloth in their native town of Braga in Portugal. They became exporters in their move to La Coruna in the 15th century. Isaac di Braga must have had great wealth to have been able to sponsor such an elaborate manuscript and to have housed the scribe, the artist and possibly the bookbinder and stationer for the entire time of production of the Bible.

During the period of the creation of the Bible, there was a rumbling under-

current of the coming of the Inquisition. Condition deteriorated each year with a massacre in Andalusia in 1473. In 1476, the year of the completion of the Bible, the Cortes of Madrigal ordered the Jews to wear a distinguishing badge and forbade them to wear luxurious cloth. The Jews had to contribute heavily to the Spanish war against the Moslems. This decline in the Textile industry and the threat of conversion drove Isaac di Braga to leave Spain, taking the valuable Bible with him. It is not known where he settled or if his heirs were forced to sell the precious manuscript to survive.

We must appreciate the broad place that the manufacture and export of textiles has taken in the history of the Jews.

Claudia Z. Fechter



THE TEMPLE YOUNG ASSOCIATES BOWLING PARTY

MAY 31 - 8:00 P.M. AT SOUTHGATE
LANES

Late supper and dessert. Prizes.
Guests are welcome.

RSVP to Cindy Saks at 831-3467.

THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION ANNUAL PURIM LUNCHEON

The TWA held its annual Purim Luncheon for Jewish Family Service Association clients on Wednesday, March 26th, 1986. Over 100 "socially-isolated" adults attended and enjoyed a delightful meal and an hour of music and fun provided by Harriett Rosenberg and her troupe. Each attendee received a freshly potted daffodil and a piece of *hamantashen* to take home. Special thanks to Lil Braverman and her committee for arranging a special day.



RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER and THE TEMPLE 1956 — 1986

Thirty Years in Retrospect



1959



1956

Laying the cornerstone for the new wing of the Main Temple.



1969

Groundbreaking ceremonies for The Temple Branch. Rabbi Daniel and Adele Silver, Bud and Doris Eisner and Charles and Marjorie Evans are pictured.



1980

Rabbi Daniel and Adele Silver enjoying a First Friday program with Rabbi Stuart and Ellen Geller.



1986

Religious School Model Seder.

SOUTH AFRICA II: A REPORT ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Daniel Jeremy Silver
Sermon of April 13, 1986

A Jew from America will recognize that the history of Jewish settlement in South Africa in many ways parallels his own. The first Jews settled in 1650 in New Amsterdam. The first Jews settled in Capetown in 1652. Both towns were then governed by the Dutch East India Company. The governor of New Amsterdam responded to the arrival of these Jews by trying to expel them. Jan Von Riebeeck, Peter Stuyvesant's counterpart in Capetown, quickly put in a rule that those who wanted to stay had to be members of the Dutch Reform Church.

Organized Jewish life does not begin in South Africa until British authority displaced the Dutch governors in the early years of the 19th century; and then again, as in the United States, immigrants began to come from Central Europe and England. The oldest synagogue in South Africa was established in Capetown in 1841 and is, therefore, only nine years older than our congregation.

The Jewish community there, as here, increased mightily after 1880 as Eastern European Jews fled the pogroms of that part of the world. Most of the Jews who came to South Africa were Litvaks from the area of Vilna. The one great difference in immigration patterns is that while our communities tended to remain centered on ports of entry — New York, Philadelphia, Boston — major portions of the South African community moved away from the Cape area into Transvaal. The reason, of course, was the discovery in the 1850's of diamonds in the area around Kimberley and the discovery of gold in the Rand around Johannesburg in the 1880's. Capetown is the second, not the first, settlement in terms of size. Seventy of the one hundred and twenty thousand Jews of South Africa live in and around Johannesburg, in the interior rather than on the coast.

Another parallel between our communities has to do with the recent concentration of Jews in the major urban centers. As you know, most of the small towns of Ohio had small but significant Jewish settlements in the early part of this century, but as urbanization and industrialization took over, these towns lost their Jews to the cities. At a breakfast meeting with the Board of Deputies in Durban I sat next to a man who told me he would spend the rest of the day driving a hundred or so miles north into the interior. His purpose was to close down a small town synagogue. That synagogue had been built, he told me, to seat 400 people. At one time one hundred Jewish families had lived there. Today two families remain. He would bring to Durban their Torah scrolls so they could be put to use. Jews had gone into such small towns just as Jews had come to the small towns of Ohio, as peddlers. The Afrikaaners called these peddlers 'schmauzers.' These men took covered wagons and sold whatever they could sell to villages of the interior. Some opened little stores and settled down. If the village hap-

pened to grow, they grew with it and some became, as here, mercantile princes.

The basic difference, of course, between the two immigration patterns, there and here, derives from the kind of people among whom the Jews found themselves. Both Jewries found themselves among other European emigrants. The white settlers in the United States, like the white settlers in South Africa, were Christians, people who brought with them the traditions of anti-semitism and Christian parochialism which were features of European life. But there the parallel ends. Here Jews found themselves in and among a diversified and divided Christian community: Puritans in New England; Quakers in Pennsylvania; Dutch Reform in New York; Catholics in Georgia and so on. In South Africa one Christian group dominated in a way no group did here. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Huguenots a French Protestant group which had been driven out of their homes by Catholic persecution emigrated to Holland and Northern Germany and from there many came out to South Africa. They came to be known as the Boers. We call them today Afrikaaners. Other groups would arrive, but the Boers were there early and in numbers and they had brought with them a special vision, not unlike the one Puritans and Pilgrims brought to New England, to establish in the open spaces of a new world a peaceful society where their ways, language, moral values and doctrine would regulate life.

They sought a life apart, but it was not to be. The English came and the Boers, at least many of them, left the Cape area. In the 1820's and 1830's successive groups of the Boers began what they now call the Great Trek to escape increasing British influence and to find a place where they could lead their own life in their own way. In this way they were much like the Mormons except the Boers moved north and east rather than west. The Mormons found their way to Utah and settled on a piece of land that no one else really wanted, so for half a century they were left alone. The Boers were not left alone. God played them a dirty trick. They settled in the interior in areas which unfortunately were found to contain some of the richest mineral deposits on earth. Diamonds were discovered in the Orange Free State. Gold was discovered in the Transvaal; and prospectors and miners from all over the world rushed there. I'm told that the first person to die in a quarrel over mining rights in Johannesburg was a Jew from Baltimore.

London was not about to allow the Boers undisputed enjoyment of the wealth of God's world. That is not what colonialism was all about. Soon England precipitated a war. The Boers fought courageously for three years, but they were outmanned and outgunned. By 1903 the gold mines were paying taxes to London.

The Boers made their peace with the British. What else could they do? Between the first to the second World War a Union Party which represented cooperative Boers and English settlers dominated politics. Jan Christian Smuts, the leading Boer of this period, formerly the youngest Boer general during the war, counseled cooperation as long as the British didn't interfere with Boer schools, culture and way of life.

But it was not too long before the old separatist vision of the Boers began to reassert itself. During the 1930's the National Party grew stronger. The National Party demanded an end to the further immigration of aliens. No Jews from Europe, thank you. In their minds only those who shared their views belonged in the Afrikaaner nation.

As war grew imminent, the National Party became increasingly anti-British. They remembered English concentration camps and Germany found much sympathy among them. In the late 1930's the National party ruled that no Jew could join their ranks. Many National party members were members of groups like the Gray Shirts who openly wore Nazi uniforms and worked for German goals. In 1937 the National Party forced the Union Party to pass the Aliens Law prohibiting future immigration into South Africa, effectively closing the doors to Hitler's designated victims. During these years Jews began voting for whoever opposed the National Party which meant the English-speaking party.

After the war in 1948 the National Party won a national election by reclaiming that small percentage of the Afrikaaners who had cooperated with the British. United the Afrikaaners represent about sixty percent of the white population. With this majority they were not destined to lose another election.

1948 was a year of wildly conflicting emotions, the year some Jews in South Africa first began to think of emigration. Israel was established and the National Party came to power. Jews looked on the National Party as enemy. The National Party's victory made them feel increasingly insecure. The South African Jewish community has always ardently supported Zionism. The support was granted not only on its own merits but as an acknowledgement that Afrikaaner cultural chauvinism made them feel alien.

To this day the Zionist Federation remains the most important Jewish institution in South Africa, far more important than the Board of Deputies, their Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The level of contributions by South African Jews to institutions in Israel is proportionately greater even than the vaunted generosity of Cleveland's Jews. They are the most involved and certainly the most Zionist community in the diaspora. Over half

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THE TEMPLE CONFIR

Jacqueline Beth Adler	Richard, Wendi	21425 Shelburne Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122	321-7776
Stacy Lynn Berman	Audrey Alan	29400 S. Woodland Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122 31150 E. Landerwood Dr., Pepper Pike, 44124	831-0260 464-8866
A. Jordan Bishko	Dr. Frederic, Ellen	2679 Rocklyn Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122	831-0390
David Alan Cohen	Jules, Coleen	2939 Montgomery Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122	751-1767
Jennifer Beth Cohen	Dr. Irvin, Phyllis	25300 Twickenham Dr., Beachwood 44122	464-2228
Matthew Barry Dickerson	Richard, Maralee	28999 Shaker Blvd., Moreland Hills 44022	292-4576
Richard H. Edelman	Lawrence, Barbara	28301 Cambridge Lane, Pepper Pike 44124	831-2092
Stacy Jo Eisenberg	Hy, Leah	22649 Shelburne Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122	292-4976
Margaret Johanna Elrad	Robert, Esther	5399 Golfway Lane, Lyndhurst 44124	442-3436
Halle Lynn Emerman	Martin, Nancy	200 Murwood Dr., Moreland Hills 44022	247-2858
Sharon Elise Finkelstein	Bernard, Sonia	29225 Bryce Rd., Pepper Pike 44124	464-5756
Amy Jo Goldberg	Gerald, Nancy	32599 Chestnut Lane, Pepper Pike 44124	461-6776
Sara Ann Goulder	Herbert, Terry	23126 Hardwick Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122	283-9108
Julie Elise Grossman	Bernard, Lynn	23115 Greenlawn, Beachwood 44122	381-4044
Rachael Hibshman	John, Elaine	2640 Hickory Lane, Pepper Pike 44124	461-0011
Jacquelyn Hallie Insul	Donald, Lynda	19000 Shaker Blvd., Shaker Hts. 44122	991-2000
Jamie Ellen Joseph	Steven, Linda	22387 Rye Road, Shaker Hts. 44122	991-8342

ATION CLASS - 1986

Benjamin Joseph Klein	Stanley, Laura Terri	3256 Bremerton Rd., Pepper Pike 44124 3023 Kersdale Rd., Pepper Pike 44124	292-0044 464-8444
Benjamin Samuel Ledsy	Warren, Sara Joy	13735 Caves Rd., Chesterland 44072	338-8669
Jessica Silver Leonard	Irvin, Elin	31500 Gates Mills Blvd., Pepper Pike 44124	461-1783
Jill Melissa Luntz	Ted, Idarose	29776 Gates Mills Blvd., Pepper Pike 44124	831-8695
David Harold Mann	Thomas, Diann	80 Quail Hollow Dr., Moreland Hills 44022	247-3399
Sean Hillel Meshorer	Marc, Judith	2722 Sulgrave Rd., Shaker Hts., 44122	464-8176
Andrew Fredrick Miller	Dr. Joseph, Mary	2860 Fontenay Rd., Shaker Hts., 44120	752-3355
Peter Joseph Mitchell	Bonnie Richard	2408 Loyola Rd., University Hts. 44118	291-2646
Lara Alison Pearson	Robin, Linda	22400 Shaker Blvd., Shaker Hts. 44122	921-4404
Jeffrey Michael Rosen	Harvey, Ellen	4340 Orangedale Rd., Orange 44022	831-1781
Daniel Aaron Rosenzweig	David, Nancy	21349 Fairmount Blvd., Shaker Hts. 44118	932-3334
Jeremy Scott Rosenzweig	David, Nancy	21349 Fairmount Blvd., Shaker Hts. 44118	932-3334
Gina Michelle Saginor	David, Ilene	3591 Bendemeer Rd., Cleveland Hts. 44118	371-0563
Laura Kelly Sanders	Robert, Linda	23620 Shaker Blvd., Shaker Hts. 44122	751-5455
Robert Samuel Sukenik	Arnold, Virginia	534 Barrington Ride, Painesville 44077	946-3540
Samantha Lee Weingart	Phyllis Glassman	18701 Newell Rd., Shaker Hts. 44122	921-0942

SOUTH AFRICA: A REPORT (continued)

of their children go to day schools which are beautifully equipped and housed and maintain exemplary academic standards. Any number of Jews, young and old, speak Hebrew fluently. Many more than from here make aliyah. I attended a service in Capetown the last Friday we were there. That night a young couple, who were to be married the following Sunday, came to the pulpit to be blessed. They had already spent two years in Kibbutz Yahel, a Reform Jewish kibbutz in Israel, and would return after they had attended to the marriage and a number of domestic details. Their lives are not all that unusual.

In 1948 the victory of the National Party with its history of pro-German and anti-semitic feelings and acts made Jews wonder whether they had a future in South Africa. But once in power, the National party had to face some hard political facts. All six million whites were needed to manage the government and the economy. The National Party represented three and a half million Afrikaaners, not enough to govern a country of thirty million. They needed the help of the other forty percent of the whites. Necessity led to a toning down of the anti-English, anti-Jewish elements in their rhetoric.

Segregation has been part of the way of life in the Union of South Africa from the beginning of white settlement, in the same way as here: but as we know from our own experience, the English approach to segregation was limited by an emerging concern to abolish slavery and by a legal system in which every man was assumed to have rights before the law. The British act which outlawed slavery in 1834 was the catalyst which set the Great Trek in motion. The English were class and race conscious, but their habits of discrimination were based on social traditions rather than theology and this fact ultimately allowed our country to develop a strong abolitionist community and, ultimately, if tardily, to outlaw segregationist policies.

Unlike the British, the Afrikaaners were committed to segregation as the will of God. They held dear a vision of a society governed by their cultural, religious and social values uncontaminated by alien values. There would be an Afrikaaner national state. The Afrikaaners would have their homeland and the other peoples would have their homelands. Apartheid is segregation treated as theology. The belief that it is God's will that every people should live its own life, alone.

To be sure, there was much that was disingenuous and self-serving in this theology. The Afrikaaner homeland would include the best part of the country, all of the cities and the mineral wealth. Still, it had its religious rationale. People, they claimed, want to live among their own. Every people should have their homeland. The Zulus should have Kwa-Zulu. The Xhose should have Transkei and Ciskei. If these groups did see the advantages of cultural and national autonomy, they were blind to their own well being and the Afrikaaners would show them the way.

In the Afrikaan homeland, non-whites would not be allowed to own land for they were not to think of themselves as permanent settlers. Entrances by Blacks, Indians and Colored to the white homeland would be limited by influx control. Non-whites were, for the moment, needed, but they would have to live apart from the white community and prove their worth by securing work permits.

To establish apartheid the National Party had, for the moment, to be inconsistent. although in their theology the English with their Anglican tradition and the Jews, of course, were now culturally or by conviction part of Afrikaaner society, but they were, however, necessary for the development of the state and so theology was tailored to practical necessity. All whites would be allowed in the Afrikaaner homeland. By 1951 the National Party had dropped its bars against membership by Jews. Few joined, but Jews joined willingly in developing South Africa's national wealth and participated in nearly thirty years of remarkable prosperity.

Relieved, most Jews preferred to go about their work and not to look too deeply at the political situation. Jews were not committed to segregation. Many consoled themselves that prosperity would bring about a more open society. Traditional teachings about human brotherhood was reaffirmed, but Jews, for the most part, stayed out of national politics and did not directly challenge the government's apartheid policies.

Jews played a significant role in commerce, industry and professions and were active in the development of the cities and the country's cultural institutions. On the local level, Jews have occupied every possible communal office. During the last fifty years, every second mayor of Capetown has been a Jew; but on a national level where the policies of apartheid were made, Jews played no role.

Most Jews voted for the Liberal Party, now the Progressive Reform Party, opposition in national elections. Jewish bodies took the position that they opposed apartheid, but could do little about it. The official Jewish bodies spoke out in the most general terms but did not attack the government directly on specific issues. One of the criticisms we heard from the more activist elements in the Jewish community was that until the last two or three years the Jewish Board of Deputies repeated over and over golden words, "how lovely it is for brothers to dwell in unity," but had been silent when it came to specific protests of specific government decisions.

That silence cannot be denied nor can the Deputies' claim that had they spoken up nothing would have happened except that Jews would have brought down on themselves the anger of the government. Still, silence had its price. Today there is little contact between the official bodies of the Jewish community and the United Democratic Front, the um-

rella anti-apartheid organization. Over the years the Jewish community did not go out of its way to cultivate such contacts and so has few talking point. Recently, when the Board of Deputies requested a meeting with the leaders of the United Democratic Front, they were told coldly that these leaders would meet with them provided that the Board of Deputies denounced Zionism. The feeling is strong that given the Third World ideological orientation of anti-apartheid groups, even an active opposition to apartheid by the Jewish community would not have made for close relationships.

Historians of the anti-apartheid movement have pointed out that a disproportionate number of Jews were among the small band of whites who involved themselves with the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups. In 1959 a cell of the African National Congress' military arm was uncovered. Seventeen people were tried for treason. Five were white; all five were Jews. In 1963 over one hundred and fifty people in a show trial faced various charges of subversion and treason. Twenty-seven were white; twenty of the whites were Jews. Other Jews worked within the existing governmental system. Helen Sussman for decades has been a courageous, if lonely opposition voice in Parliament detailing the government's arbitrariness and cruelty. But most in the community preferred, or felt it necessary, to accept the idea that they could not make a difference. 'I don't like what I see, but I can't do much about it.' Could they? I doubt it. Jews represent four percent of the white population of South Africa. The much larger English-speaking population, also largely in opposition, has not been noticeably successful in changing apartheid policies.

When the history of the Jewish adaptation to the modern world is written in the next century, I suspect observers will point to a single issue as our ultimate blind spot and South Africa will be used as a classic example of the argument that Jews missed out by failing to see the importance of being a missionary community.

In Greek and Roman times Jews made active and fairly successful missionary efforts, but once the Roman Empire adopted Christianity as a state church, it became a capital crime for Jews to continue this activity. When Islam became the dominant religion in the Middle East and along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, a similar prohibition was enforced. Thus, out of necessity, for over eighteen hundred years Jews have been self-contained and have made little, if any, effort to bring Judaism to the larger world. Today the old prohibitions no longer constrain us, but we have remained uneasy about resuming that process. While we dallied, North America, South America, Africa and Asia continents, largely empty of western religions, became Muslim or Christian but not Jewish.

The blacks of South Africa are mostly Christian. Many of their leaders like Desmond Tutu and Alan Bosack are Christian ministers. So
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SOUTH AFRICA: A REPORT (continued)

you have in South Africa another paradox. Some Christian churches, especially those in the Afrikaaner community, have been, and many are still, centers of apartheid teaching; yet, blacks accept Christianity as God's will. Liberal churches have established close bonds with black leaders. There are churches in Capetown, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth with racially mixed congregations.

To blacks Christianity is not alien, foreign, totally unknown, but Judaism is. The synagogue services I attended in Johannesburg and Capetown were well attended by lily white congregations. The South African Jewish community has made no effort to bring blacks into the fold. The result is not only human distance but that the Christianization of the black community has led that community to pick up some of the Good Friday, anti-Jewish emphasis of their new faith. To some blacks Jews are not only whites and religiously alien, but condemned as tools of imperialism. Black liberation involves equal parts of the Christian social gospel and Third World prejudices. Bishop Tutu is looked upon by many in America as a man of courage and vision, a deserving winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The South African Jewish community tends to look upon Bishop Tutu the way many American Jews look upon Jesse Jackson, and for most of the same reasons. Whenever he speaks about liberation, he identifies Palestinian liberation with the liberation of the blacks of South Africa. Jews seem to play a theological role in his thinking, not surprising since he is a Christian. We are different and somehow especially suspect.

Political change in South Africa must ultimately involve an exchange of powers. One man, one vote, the demand of the African National Congress and the UDF assumes the kind of political change which has taken place in Rhodesia-Zimbabwe. When the South African Jewish community looks at Zimbabwe they remember an active Jewish community of some ten thousand people, lively congregations, excellent day schools and they see the skeletal remains of a community of less than two thousand souls largely in Harare. This confirms their belief that the intense Jewish life with which they have been familiar is threatened by such change. The Jewish community in Zimbabwe survives on tolerance. The Jews there do not feel they can express their Zionism openly.

Jews talk a lot about the danger of a one-party government such as they see in most African states. If you interject, as I was sometimes tempted to do, that white South Africa has been, in fact, a one-party state and that their Jewish community has lived on sufferance; they respond: 'yes, but it worked out for us. We've been allowed to manage our affairs and to express support for Israel. That won't happen if the African National Congress takes over. They are all tied up with the P.L.O.'

What you find in South Africa that you do not find here in the United States and, believe me,

these people look familiar - speak our language, tell our jokes, use our Yiddish expressions and our prayerbooks - is an overriding concern with the issue of emigration: to go or not to go. In Durban I had a long talk with a judge who was father to five sons. The oldest son was in the United States. An accountant, he was seeking employment and intended to emigrate with his wife and his young child as soon as possible. The second son, a medical student at Witwatersrand University, was an ardent supporter of the UDF and had no intention of leaving South Africa, but he had a problem. South Africa requires military service of all white males once they finish school. He will refuse to serve, but the law makes no provisions for conscientious objection on non-religious grounds. So he must either go underground or into exile. Obviously, the two young men face radically different futures and this father wonders when and if his whole family will remain a family.

I asked about the other three sons. "We will raise them and they will make their decisions and we will be there when they come back." "Where will there be?" "I don't know. We've talked about Australia."

I tried to get some figures on emigration which, incidentally, is by no means limited to Jews. The only figures I was able to get came from the Zionist Federation. In 1985, 250 South African Jews made aliyah. In the first three months of 1986, 660 made aliyah. The increase is due in part to the political tension, but equally, to the current economic slowdown. Jobs are hard to come by. Someone estimated for me that for every one who goes to Israel, four to five go to Australia, Canada, England or the United States.

It's a community on the move, but paradoxically a community which has not yet lost numbers. When Rhodesia became Zimbabwe most of those ten thousand Jews moved to South Africa. Between fourteen and sixteen thousand Israelis have come. Incidentally, the Israeli Ambassador complained about the way some of these were conducting themselves.

Our first Friday in Johannesburg I went to services at Temple Emanuel. This progressive congregation uses the *Gates of Prayer*. Their music is familiar. The service began at six o'clock and ended at seven. South African congregations have not adopted the American Reform of a late Friday evening service. People normally eat late, and after services on Friday they have shabbas as a family which, incidentally, is not a bad idea.

It was a warm service. The congregation was full. After services I asked the young rabbi if he could arrange for me to meet with five or six couples, maybe a few individuals, for an evening of talk. I wanted to get behind the official presentations and find out what life was really like. Rabbi Mendel was kind enough to arrange just such a meeting the following Sunday.

We met in a modest, comfortable home. Some Jews in South Africa live the way some Jews in Cleveland live, like Caesar; but most live modest middle-class lives. The only difference between these homes and ours is that the front door and sliding glass panels to the back yard were fronted by collapsible, floor-to-ceiling iron gates.

We sat around a dinner table and talked of many things. I discovered that most families are larger than ours; three or four children is not at all unusual. Most school age children go to Jewish Day Schools which have a fine academic reputation. These day schools are nominally orthodox, but not so orthodox that children from Reform homes feel out of place.

Most collegians go to school in their home town and live at home. Colleges have limited dormitory facilities. Family ties are close, some felt too close. One mother told laughingly of her efforts to uproot her twenty-five year old from his comfortable room. Everyone else smiled knowingly. Children tend not to move out until they are married.

There is little intermarriage. I was told that the rate of intermarriage was well under ten percent. In such a family-oriented community the separation of families, attendant on emigration, is particularly difficult. Yet, this is a subject they kept coming back to and know they must face. Not everyone has similar views and several husbands and wives openly disagreed with one another. Usually, it was the wife who spoke of leaving and the husband who talked of the economic and practical costs: one or two of the men spoke with some heat of the possibilities of South Africa's future. Why did the husband want to stay? I'm sure many of the real reasons were not expressed, but, the men were clearly worried about providing for their families. The law provides an emigrant to take out only 100,000 rand. Three years ago the rand was worth about \$1.30. Today it's worth \$.47. It's hard to establish a new home and business in a strange land on \$47,000. Even when there was disagreement about emigration now, most everyone seemed to take it for granted that their children will leave. Parents actively encourage their children to master portable skills so that they will be readily employable.

One man and only one, was absolutely adamant about staying. He argued that after the Soweto riots ten years before many had left and over the decade many came back. Tensions peak and ebb. The emotional cost of family dislocation is high. The situation is not as bad as the papers may seem. No one agreed with him. Most felt that today's situation was different than it had been. Emigration was difficult, but at least you would be alive.

A young man, who happened to be the cantor of the synagogue where I had worshipped, a man of about thirty provided a dramatic illustration of how the situation has changed.

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SOUTH AFRICA: A REPORT (continued)

"I am a high school teacher. When I graduated from the university I felt I had a duty to South Africa. I gladly went into the service. I put two years of service on the borders and served willingly and well. I was protecting my country. I was decorated and promoted. I became one of the few enlisted men to be promoted to officer status. When I was first called back for duty the next year. I went willingly, but I found the nature of army duty had changed. We were no longer sent to the frontiers but assigned to security duty in the townships. My job was to carry out the apartheid mandates of the Nationalist Party. I realized I was not serving South Africa, but the peculiar political agenda of a party whose policies I believed to be immoral." He was leaving for a three month training program in cantorial work in Israel and would soon, I was sure, seek employment outside South Africa.

The people at that table faced problems you and I would be facing if our grandparents had gone south instead of west. What would we do? It's not easy to leave a lifetime of hard won success. A political judgment underlies the decision families are making and no one knew how soon the day of reckoning would come or if it would come. No one can rule out the possibility that the cosmetic reforms of the last two or three years might be enlarged and significant change take place. Those who want a reason to stay point to the proposed annulment of the pass laws and to the newly granted permission to blacks which allow them to have ninety-nine year leaseholds on their homes. They point to the abandonment of the laws which prohibited marriages across classification lines. They hope for more. Those who take the opposing view believes the optimists are whistling in the dark, and that the Afrikaaner government will share power with blacks. They believe that Botha is more concerned with the thousands of Conservative Afrikaaners on his right than with the millions of blacks who have been left out in the cold.

Most Jews seem to hope against hope, but to "know" there is little real hope. On the plane on which we returned to the United States, I met two family groups. One was a mother, father and two children who were emigrating. He was a physician on his way to Birmingham, Alabama where he had secured a position. The other was a mother and daughter. The girl was on her way to college here. She did not say it, but it was clear the mother hoped her daughter would get an Mrs. degree and be able to settle in the United States.

On a shabbas afternoon in Capetown I met with some twenty folk a generation older than those in Johannesburg. Some of you will remember David Sherman who served as an assistant rabbi at The Temple in the early 1940's. David is now 76 and has been the liberal rabbi of Capetown for over four decades. He is still active and busy. He was a kind and thoughtful host and invited a number of people in their sixties, his leadership, to meet me. The day before our group had met with the leadership of the Capetown Board of Deputies.

It had been a rather formal assembly. A head table had been set up at which our group was seated. The locals were arranged in rows in front of us and after some of us made a few comments, they began to ask questions. We had come to learn, not to preach, but we were pressed for judgments. One of our group finally said: 'The bottom line is that the odds are against this thing working out. If I were in your shoes I'd be thinking about leaving.'

A day later at tea in Rabbi Sherman's lovely apartment in Capetown, I was asked the same question. Being a rabbi, I parried the question with a question. "What do you feel about your situation?" We went around the room. Most had lived in South Africa all their lives. With one exception, they said: 'We expect our children to leave.' 'Had they argued with their children?' 'No.' Some were pleased. Others simply resigned.

David and Bertha Sherman have four daughters. Two live in Israel and two in Johannesburg. Bertha hoped the two daughters in Johannesburg would move to Israel. Then, at least the whole family would again be together.

Let me close with what was my most poignant moment in Jewish South Africa. It was the night before the tea. I was a guest at the Sherman apartment. The only other guests were a talented plastic surgeon and his wife. He had been a public figure of some consequence who had worked with Schweitzer at Lambourene, with a relieving medical team, at Hiroshima and in Israel as head of a South African medical team who had gone up to help during the 1973 war. This doctor was one of the few people I met in South Africa who was convinced that South Africa would have a peaceful future. He spoke earnestly, zealously, about how the world press magnifies and distorts their problems.

After dinner we sat around and talked. Bertha brought out a letter which a conservative rabbi in Dallas had written to his congregation. He had written this letter, he said, at the request of a number of South African Jews who had settled in Dallas. They have told him about the important role Jews have played in the economic and social development of South Africa and their efforts to ameliorate discrimination. Those who had come to Dallas had left because the future was not promising and they were requesting their new community to help others leave. 'We can help,' he wrote, 'by seeing if we need people with particular skills in our businesses and offices. If you need skilled people we will forward this information and those in South Africa will try to match up people and jobs. The community there is highly skilled and a job means a whole family can emigrate. You will not have to assume any financial obligation and all information will be kept private. We are eager to make it possible for as many to come as can.'

I asked Bertha what she felt about this letter. 'The rabbi was right to do it,' and then she added: 'I couldn't help remembering the

1930's when Jews here made similar efforts on behalf of the Jews of Germany.'

What's the future? I'm not a prophet. I told you last week that I believe that the major change is further off than the headlines suggest. I am certain that the Jews cannot make a separate peace with the blacks. Whatever happens Jewish life will be insecure and, to some degree, diminished. Some Jews will stay because they are committed to the new South Africa. Some Jews will stay because they are committed to their comforts. Some Jews will leave because they are committed to survival. Some Jews will leave because they are committed to their future comfort. Those who leave will bring to their new community many talents, a high degree of Jewish commitment which emphasizes not only a belonging but the ultimate insecurity of diaspora life.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

THE TEMPLE SENIORS GROUP GALA END-OF-YEAR MEETING

SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1986

**AT THE MAIN TEMPLE
UNIVERSITY CIRCLE**

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Entertainment and much more
Hours: 4:30 P.M. to 7:30 P.M.

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THE TEMPLE MEMORIAL BOOK

The Temple maintains a Memorial Book. Inscribed names are read at the Vesper Service which occurs nearest to the Yahrzeit.

ERWIN BROOKER

Inscribed by his wife, Ruth,
and children, Miriam and Roger
Arnstine.

IN MEMORIAM

The Temple notes with sorrow the
death of:

GOLDIE SCHULTZ

and expresses heartfelt sympathy to
members of her bereaved family.

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
MAY 25	26	27 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch	28 Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Main Temple Adult Hebrew 7:00 p.m. - Branch	29	30 SERVICE 5:30 p.m. - Chapel	31 Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. BAT MITZVAH Kathryn Bernstein 11:00 a.m. - Chapel BAR MITZVAH Gregory Dickerson 4:30 p.m. - Branch 50TH CONFIRMATION REUNION 6:30 p.m. - Branch TYA Bowling Party 8:00 p.m. - Southgate Lane
JUNE 1 TEMPLE SENIORS END OF YEAR MEETING	2	3 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TYA Old/New Board Meeting 7:00 p.m. - Branch	4 Confirmation Rehearsal 4:15 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Main Temple Adult Hebrew 7:00 p.m. - Branch	5	6 SERVICE 5:30 p.m. - Chapel FIRST FRIDAY THE TEMPLE ANNUAL MEETING 8:15 p.m. - Branch	7 Confirmation Rehearsal 9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. Main Temple
8	9	10 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch Temple Board Meeting 8:15 p.m. - Branch	11 TWA Board Meeting 10:00 - Branch Final Rehearsal Confirmation 4:15 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Main Temple Adult Hebrew 7:00 p.m. - Branch	12	13 SHAVOUT CONFIRMATION 9:30 a.m. - Main Temple SERVICE 5:30 p.m. - Chapel	14 BAR MITZVAH Jason Ornstein 11:00 a.m. - Chapel
15	16	17 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch	18 Adult Hebrew 7:00 p.m. - Branch	19	20 SERVICE 5:30 p.m. - Chapel	21 BAT MITZVAH Amanda Rosin 4:30 p.m. - Branch

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FIRST FRIDAY

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8:15 P.M. —
THE TEMPLE
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Kiddush and
Candle Lighting.

The First Annual Israel Travel
Award funded by The Lilyan
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Meeting of The Temple.

June 6, 1986

8:15 P.M. — The Temple Branch

The 136th Annual Meeting of The Temple

Honoring Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
on his 30th Anniversary as
Rabbi of The Temple.

Featuring a musical tribute . . .

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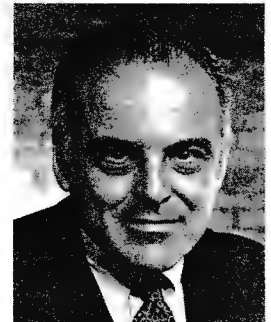
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Garver. Performed by an All-Star Temple cast.

Election of officers and board members.

President's Annual Report.

Oneg Shabbat.

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This World

WINTER 1985, NUMBER TEN, FOUR DOLLARS

JEWS AND AMERICAN POLITICS

—1984 . . . and After

*Nathan Perlmutter, David Sidorsky, Leon Wieseltier,
H.J. Kaplan, Nathan Glazer, Seymour Siegel, Marshall Breger,
Paul Gottfried, Murray Friedman, and Richard D. Zelin*

Offensive Speech and the Open Society *Stephen M. Baron*
America and the Federalist Revolution *Daniel J. Elazar*
C. S. Lewis and the Deconstructionists *Bruce L. Edwards, Jr.*

The Vatican Bank Mess *Edward Jay Epstein*

CATHOLIC BISHOPS' PASTORAL AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

*A Symposium with Walter Berns, John Langan, J. Brian Benestad
Donald Warwick, and Michael Novak*

THE BOOKSHELF

Review essays by E. Stephen Hunt,
Leslie Lenkowsky, Stephen Miller,
David Glasner, and Alan J. Levine

Jews & Politics

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This World

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TO OUR READERS

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A "THIS WORLD" SYMPOSIUM

Jews and American Politics, 1984 and After

In the weeks following the 1984 elections, This World asked a number of distinguished scholars, social critics, and activists to discuss those aspects of the election campaign and its results that seemed to them most interesting in terms of the past and future political behavior of American Jews. Below is a list of the respondents and of the pages on which their comments begin.

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- Nathan Perlmutter, National Director, Anti-Defamation League, p. 15
- Nathan Glazer, Professor of Education, Harvard University, p. 18
- Leon Wieseltier, Literary Editor, *The New Republic*, p. 20
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- Murray Friedman, American Jewish Committee, Philadelphia, p. 37

David Sidorsky

Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

THE statistical analysis of the Jewish vote in the 1984 presidential elections has not yet been completed. The difference between the slightly over 30 percent Republican vote indicated by some of the exit polls and the more than 40 percent figure derived from some studies of selected heavily Jewish precincts is a significant one. The larger figure supports the thesis of a continuing trend within the Jewish community away from the Left of the political spectrum, sustained by a closer alliance between the Republican Party and an important sector of the religiously Orthodox community.

On either tally, however, the Jewish community is the only significant ethnic or religious constituency in white America in which the majority did not vote for the re-election of Ronald Reagan. This electoral result, repeating the voting patterns in the support of McGovern candidacy of 1972, casts into relief some familiar idiosyncrasies of Jewish political behavior.

The Jewish community is demonstrably devoted to the security of the State of Israel and is well informed about the connection between that security and the military capabilities of the United States. Yet, it asserts a political preference for a party in which there is a faction whose sympathy with the goals of the PLO renders it effectively antagonistic to the security needs of Israel and a much larger than factional sentiment is in opposition to any strengthening or upgrading of American security capacities.

Similarly, the Jewish community is committed to protest actions and to political activism on behalf of the Soviet Jewish community, yet it advances through the Democratic Party the most accommodationist approaches to the Soviet Union. Again, the Jewish community is sincere in its expressed advocacy of an energy policy that would limit the excessive influence or potential coercion by the Arab oil-producing nations. It is also a community that legitimately takes pride in its comparative knowledge about scientific and technological questions. Yet, it has not provided any support for energy independence through such reasonable policies as greater use of nuclear power or the exploitation of American natural resources in ways consistent with environmental and ecological balance.

The listing of these apparent discrepancies in political behavior suggests a need for complex or plural explanations. Accordingly, I suggest two alternative hypotheses, even though either singly or in combination they provide only an incomplete explanation.

The first traces the roots of current Jewish political attitudes to the Democratic coalition of the 1930s, with the implication that the survival of these attitudes is a kind of disfunctional cultural lag, labeled as a "politics of

nostalgia." Like most exercises in nostalgia, the reference is to a past that never was, especially in the past history of the two sets of relationships that were most prominent during the 1984 campaign: the Black-Jewish coalition and the wall of separation between Church and State.

The second hypothesis places the current attitudes of the majority of the Jewish community in the context of the values and perceptions of the "New Class." Consequently, the course of Jewish electoral behavior is related to an identification with the political attitudes of the "New Class." This raises one of the central questions of American politics: whether the President as executive authority can regain from the "New Class," that is, from the prestige media, the elite universities, their politically liberal allies in Congress, and the judiciary, the power to determine the vocabulary and to set the agenda of the political decision-making process in the United States.

I. *The politics of nostalgia thesis.* During the Al Smith campaign in 1928, and above all in the election of Franklin Roosevelt, the urban immigrant groups coalesced into a bloc within the Democratic Party. This coalition with its balanced tickets provided avenues for the upwardly mobile, politically active leaders within these groups to participate in government. The result was a high level of Jewish involvement in the Democratic Party.

An even wider coalition with the trade union movement and with "ethnically-transcendent" left-wing intellectual groups formed the basis for the "Keynesian" or interventionist New Deal responses to the Depression. The political association of this coalition with the traditionally internationalist orientation of the Southern establishment of the Democratic Party, despite the internal tensions in that association, made possible an anti-isolationist foreign policy, so important for Jewish communal interests during the period of the rise and expansion of Nazism.

A sense of reciprocal interest strengthened the relationship between the Democratic Party and the Jewish community. This relationship drew support, in this view, not only from a growing network of personal association and from ideological sympathy or from empathy with the symbolism of Roosevelt's persona, but from the bedrock of mutuality of interest between Democratic Party policies and Jewish communal interests.

Throughout this period, and certainly in retrospect, there have been currents of opposition expressed by Jewish groups to this version of the optimal political options for the Jewish community. The inadequacy of Roosevelt's response to the Nazi war against the Jews was one element in this opposition that has been asserted at different times and for different reasons from both the Left and the Right. After the war, the vacillations in the Truman Administration's policies toward the emerging State of Israel stirred some movement within the Jewish community to look to such strongly pro-Israel figures as Senator Taft on the Right and Henry Wallace on the Left.

In the main, however, the serious failings of Roosevelt or Truman have been passed over in the institutional memory of the Jewish community. That community remained persuaded of the overall reciprocally beneficial results of Jewish participation in the Democratic coalition. This is not so surprising, since the Republican Party did not choose on either of these issues—the Nazi persecution of the Jews or the conflict about support of the State of Israel—to develop policies that would seriously compete for the Jewish vote.

The thesis of the politics of nostalgia analysis is that the reciprocity of interests between the Jewish community and the Democratic Party programs has ceased to exist, particularly since the Republican Party is now prepared to commit itself to policies which are responsive to expressed Jewish concerns.

The Jewish community is no longer the socio-economic group of the 1930s and 1940s that became the ally of Democratic Party policies. As a largely third generation immigrant group that has met with a comparatively high degree of success in the framework of equality of opportunity, the direction of the Democratic Party platform and rhetoric of 1984 is remote from any objective assessment of Jewish communal needs. Its overseas interests—the security of Israel and the emigration of Soviet Jews—require a base of coalition support different from constituency that was required for the alliance against Nazi aggression in the 1930s or with the establishment of the State of Israel in the 1940s.

The Democratic Party has also changed. The image of America projected nowadays is at variance with that which was present in the New Deal or the Fair Deal. The support for quotas is only a rhetorical symbol of a much more profound schism between a policy that seeks an end to discrimination as an expression of egalitarianism, and a policy of redistribution for the sake of equality of results.

Above all, the success of the McGovern wing of the party brought with it a decisive shift to the Left in foreign policy. In the earlier intra-party conflict, the Henry Wallace faction (the 1940s Democratic left wing) failed to achieve the adoption of its platform or the nomination of its candidates. With reference to the Jewish communal interest, the Wallace group that became the Progressive Party was more supportive of Israel in 1948 than the centrist Democrats, partially reflecting the Soviet and Left policies of the period which aimed at the exclusion of British imperial presence or military force in the Middle and Far East.

This heightens the relevance of the fact that the current left wing of the Democratic Party includes views that range from the minority support for the PLO and friendship with Libya to a broad sentiment of pressure upon Israel to negotiate with the PLO. These views reflect the general acceptance of Third World rhetoric and ideology in international conflict with Western nations and with the United States. Not surprisingly, many of the followers of Senator Henry Jackson, who was paradigmatically pro-Israel and opposed to accommodationist

strategies toward the Soviet Union, have felt compelled to leave the Democratic Party.

On this analysis, the continued Jewish support for the Democratic Party shows a "cultural lag" in Jewish perceptions of the present situation. This lag may admit of rational and functional explanation in the persistence of useful personal ties, and of established networks of communication and association with their important benefits of access, influence or appointments between major Jewish constituencies and the Democratic Party. Yet on this analysis, the character of Jewish communal interests and of the McGovernized Democratic Party would increasingly bring about a political realignment within the Jewish community toward the Republican Party.

The hope for such a realignment was greatly heightened by the surprising development of the Jesse Jackson candidacy. The personality, style and positions of the Jackson candidacy confirmed the leftward trend of the Democratic Party in dramatic ways that underscored the opposition to the security needs of Israel. Much more surprisingly, the campaign showed a continuing connection with Libya and the surfacing of overt anti-Semitism.

The expectation of this realignment was not realized for three reasons. The examination of each of those reasons can cast light on the future options for political choice within the Jewish community.

Black-Jewish relations. One reason that the Jewish community did not react to the Jackson candidacy with the expected protest vote against the Democratic Party was its refusal to believe that a Mondale victory would lead to a stronger role for Jackson or his policies in American government or politics. To a degree, in the characteristically liberal manner that views antagonistic behavior as a "symptom" to be treated by an examination and reform of institutional "root causes," including one's own responsibility for institutional failure, the leadership of the Jewish community has sought re-examination of the Black-Jewish relationship. In the post-election calm, there have been several significant Jewish investigations whose purpose is the diagnosis and the improvement of the relationship between the two communities.

Independent of any audit of the election results, there is virtual unanimity that the black minority should be assisted in any feasible and reasonable way to progress socially and economically. There is no disagreement about the value and significance of better understanding between blacks and Jews.

There is no such unanimity, however, about the program of the "restoration of the Black-Jewish coalition," since there is confusion about the historical relationships to which this programmatic slogan makes reference. It could represent a revisionist interpretation of the urban ethnic coalition. This coalition co-opted blacks for participation and office in the Democratic Party in increasing numbers after their post-war migration to the Northern cities. It would be a harmful historical distortion to narrow this coalition-building process to the Jews and blacks, particularly given the withdrawal of white ethnics.

Alternatively, the reference is to the considerable Jewish involvement in group relations activities, the intellectual defense of civil rights positions, and the financial support of the pioneer minority rights organizations and movements. Despite this usable tradition, there is little advocacy of the view that the black community of the 1980s would or should wish to restore these patterns of relationships.

Another alternative reference is by way of a nostalgic summoning of the memories of a few years in the middle of the 1960s. Parallel with the movements in support of the defeat of the non-Communist governments of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, Jewish groups participated in the direct-action demonstrations that led to the Johnson era civil rights legislation and programs. Whatever be the recognition of the need for constructive relationships between the Jewish and the black communities, the intervening two decades, with their successes in black achievement as well as their failures in terms of the counter-productive character of many of the programs, bars a restoration of that framework for coalition.

Turning to the substance, rather than the history of the Black-Jewish relationship, there is even greater difficulty. Only a substantive agenda which has a basis in the current conditions of the black community and a practicable approach can provide a guide to action, without excessive risk of future disillusion. Yet, such an approach is remote from the rhetoric of the Democratic Party platform or from the traditionally liberal approach of the Jewish community agencies.

It is difficult to imagine any thoughtful black agenda for progress in the 1980s that does not stress the promise of a society of economic opportunity rather than of increased redistribution. Politically, this involves support for enterprise zones in blighted areas rather than such standard liberal options as the public housing projects. These housing projects are themselves in urgent need of "privatization" (under an appropriate, non-Thatcher label). Cooperative residents' ownership should replace monolithic subsidized tenancy.

The black community has already demonstrated that its priorities are for school stability and student achievement, including employment potentialities, rather than for the social engineering proposals of busing and quotas administered over long periods by the judiciary. There is increasing evidence of the deep residue of support within the black community for family values and for the work ethic as guidelines for policy rather than the continuation of the support systems envisaged in the welfare state. In any such shaping of priorities, the perception, determination and political will of black leadership is primary.

There is an interesting irony in this possible redirection of the black community's political position. In such a redirection, the current policy approach of the Democratic Party toward black social and economic progress will be rejected. There is one interesting causal factor in this change of direction. The decision of several African nations, following the lead of successful Asian nations and influenced by the policy reversal in China, to pursue the incentive-opportunity

model for economic development rather than some Marxist model, has had an important impact on the black community in the United States. The African reversal also runs directly counter to the Third World ideologies that were closely linked to the Jesse Jackson candidacy.

Jewish initiatives for restoration of the Black-Jewish coalition, unfortunately, are not oriented toward this kind of rethinking of the liberal orthodoxy within the black community. In any event, it is only after the black leadership has resolved its own dilemma of future direction that there could be a basis for a forum for Black-Jewish cooperation or interaction.

Christian-Jewish Relations. A second factor that blocked the realignment of the Jewish electorate toward the Republican Party—many would say *the* most critical factor—was the prominence ascribed to the Moral Majority as a perceived threat to the rights and equality of the Jewish community. Grassroot sentiments of concern were widespread and intense. It was not even necessary for the pro-Mondale leadership within the Jewish community to keep its finger pressed to the panic button. Significantly, there was no bipartisan communal undertaking for the sake of the Christian-Jewish relationship—highlighting patterns of reconciliation and cooperation developed between evangelical Christians and the Jewish community—to counter this concern. Since the election, the issue of Jewish-Christian relations in a pluralist society has become, like the Black-Jewish relationship, a special topic for re-examination as a legacy of the campaign.

Many major groups within the Jewish community (excepting notably a part of the religiously Orthodox community) have long advocated the separation of church and state in terms of the Kant-Rousseau model of the relationship between the private citizen and the public domain. In that model, religious beliefs and practices are the private affair of the individual. Only the “civic religion” can have a place in the public domain.

Such separation theoretically ensures that the public domain will be a neutral space in which all the citizens of the plural religious groups of the society can function without religious discrimination or prejudice. Thus, the neutrality of the public domain involves the complete exclusion of religious symbols and the denial of support for religion in any governmental activity.

In practice, the line between the private and public domains has been continuously redrawn in American history. The changing boundaries of the civic religion and the shifting evaluation of the secular public purposes of some religious activities, for example, the chaplaincy, have guaranteed the need for perennial re-evaluation.

The pluralist model of American democracy, in contrast to the classical Kant-Rousseau paradigm, also provides a basis for a different approach to church and state separation. In that model, democracy is a negotiation of consent among competing interest groups. The interest groups of American society, as de Toqueville stressed, include a great number of secondary voluntary associations, many

of which occupy an intermediate sphere between private enterprise and governmental agency. In that context, the public space will not exclude all religions as private. It will contain, by negotiated consent, some of the symbols of the plural religious groups, for example, the plural religious benedictions at the presidential inauguration.

From the perspective of the first model, the rhetoric of the religious Right would seem to be a breach in the wall of separation between religion and the state. From the perspective of a pluralist model or of historical practice, it appears more as an argument for drawing the line in accordance with the pattern of the 1950s rather than the 1970s. There is clearly much room for continuing discussion between the Jewish community and the Christian fundamentalist religious groups on the pros and cons of these alternative approaches that are both based in American history.

The much publicized statements of some evangelical leaders in favor of a "Christian" America is an obvious item for such discussion. In one sense, this aspiration implies an anti-pluralist position. In context, it can be interpreted as expressing a concern about "pagan" America, where the correlative of Christian is not other religious groups and perhaps not even "secular humanists" as much as the hedonistic "lifestyle" revolution of the 1960s.

The proliferation of "soft core" pornography, the acceptance of "soft" drug use, changes in the guidelines on public expression of obscenity, and the conventionalization of alternative sexual morality are ubiquitous facts of the last two decades. It would have been surprising indeed if there had been no reaction to these changes from the religious community, whether Jewish or Christian.

Any ongoing forum with the religious Right would suggest potential alliance partners in the Jewish community on specified issues. There have already been common approaches adopted by the Jewish religious Orthodox groups and the more traditional Christian ministries. A parallel illustration is the combined suit of the Catholic Archdiocese, the Salvation Army, and *Agudat Israel* regarding the acceptability of homosexuality among religious workers in New York City. A more piquant illustration is the commonality of interest between the Moral Majority view on pornography and the more militant direct action campaign against pornography of radical feminist groups.

The most significant common ground between the religious Right and the Jewish community is support for Israel. The crucial aspect of this shared policy is that the mainstream Christian denominations, through their bureaucracy in the National Council of Churches, have consistently adopted ideological positions advocating the aims of the PLO—among other revolutionary Third World movements. These positions fall within the left-wing spectrum of the Democratic Party and are similar to those held by Jesse Jackson and his faction.

It is sometimes objected that fundamentalist support for Israel is derived from a Christian apocalyptic vision of Jewish conversion after the ingathering of the exiles in Israel as prelude to Christ's second coming. Manasseh Ben Israel, the

noted rabbi of Amsterdam, petitioned Oliver Cromwell successfully in 1654 for the right of Jews to enter England. His argument included the claim that Christ's second coming could not take place, in the Christian view, until the Jews were returned from their dispersion among all the nations of the earth. England's bar to Jewish immigrants must then be lifted on pain of blocking the eschatological proceedings. There is no record of protest by Jewish immigrants or refugees to England of this appeal to Christian beliefs.

In any event, several steps in the process of building bridges between the Jewish community and the evangelical community have already taken place. The Zionist and Jewish Orthodox constituencies have been actively involved in these. There is little doubt that further steps in this process will alleviate some of the tensions generated during the recent election campaign and may also reorient Jewish perceptions with an impact on future political behavior.

Image Projection and Policy. A third factor that prevented the realignment of the Jewish electorate was the signal projected to the Jewish community by the selection of the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. Walter Mondale symbolized—in origins and style—the centrist Humphrey tradition of the Democratic Party. Geraldine Ferraro, despite the novelty of a woman candidate for Vice-President, represented the tradition of ticket balancing with a more conservative Italian member of the urban ethnic spectrum.

Of course, the Ferraro nomination can be perceived as ticket-balancing only in a parochial regional framework. From the perspective of national politics or even national Democratic Party politics, her selection heightened the ideological imbalance. It confirmed once more the triumph of McGovern-like foreign policy views, with the sole exception of the stand on Israel, at the top of the Democratic Party ticket.

In the context of competing image projection, the Republican Administration had transmitted signals that were disturbing to the Jewish electorate. So, even though the record of the Administration, on balance, compared favorably with predecessor Democratic administrations, there was a basis for a lack of enthusiasm. Several items could be catalogued here ranging from the rhetoric on the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia near the beginning of Reagan's presidency, to the Haig resignation during the Lebanon War, or even the appearance of insensitivity of the prayer breakfast at the Republican Convention.

Yet, this review of the record has not weakened the central thesis of the "politics of nostalgia" approach. That thesis is that there has been a growing divergence between the policies of the Democratic Party and the real and long-term public interest of the American Jewish community. The corollary of that thesis is that this divergence was masked in the past election campaign by a refusal to recognize the new realities of the Black-Jewish relationship; by a misinterpretation of the potential areas of agreement between Christian evangelicals and the Jewish community; as well as by the residual symbols and ties deriving from a long history of Jewish participation in the Democratic Party. If

the thesis is correct, then the reality principle will lead to the delayed realignment in the near future.

II. *The Jewish Community and the "New Class."* The preceding account of the way in which the Jewish community has avoided facing up to the need to move toward a more realistic political expression of its interests can find a degree of confirmation in the social attitudes and political behavior of many grass roots constituencies within that community, particularly among the more intensely pro-Israel, more ethnic and more Orthodox religious sectors. This account faces a significant challenge, however, in light of the empirical observation of the attitudes of leadership groups and of many broadly based membership organizations throughout the Jewish community.

Jewish Democratic voters hardly fit representation as a retrospective group locked in nostalgia for a traditional Democratic Party. They articulate an assertive self-consciousness in their support of the substantive positions, not only the slogans and symbolism of the Mondale-Ferraro campaign. This is true precisely of those positions that endorse the major elements of the McGovernite vision of the world. The security needs of Israel are excepted from a general view which does not perceive a threat of Soviet aggression or of subversion independent of American military "excess" or the "indigenous revolutionary forces" of the underdeveloped nations of the Third World. The simple version, then, is that many Jews voted for the party which Ambassador Kirkpatrick correctly identified as the "San Francisco Democrats" because they believe in the views of that party.

Had the Jewish community been searching for ways to abandon an outmoded historic loyalty, the unexpected unfolding of the Ferraro and Jackson episodes provided an extraordinarily opportune occasion.

It required a very strong exercise of denial for the large Jewish community in New York to avoid realizing the details of transactions of the real estate firm of which Mrs. Ferraro was an officer and major owner. A large portion of the funds that were borrowed from the assets under conservatorship of an elderly New York widow in a transaction that seems to provide the neglected basis for an indictment under misdemeanor charges of commingling of funds and self-dealing, were used as a deposit on apartment buildings in a neighborhood largely having as tenants elderly Jewish residents. The political route to the conservatorship between the Congresswoman's office and the Queens court house, that went virtually unnoticed in the mass media isolation of Ferraro from her husband's affairs, was a commonplace in local New York City neighborhood political awareness.

Similarly, a decision was required during the campaign on which of two competing stimuli—Jesse Jackson or the Moral Majority—would receive a reflexive reaction. The decision of the majority was to over-react to the alleged threat to religious pluralism while charging others with fostering over-reaction to

Jesse Jackson's Libyan connection, Farrakhan's anti-Semitism or Walter Mondale's hesitation in the condemnation of anti-Semitism and of Jesse Jackson's actions.

The selectivity exercised by the Jewish community in its perception of Geraldine Ferraro and of the Jackson campaign testify to the depth and strength of its underlying pro-Democratic Party attitudes. The uniqueness of the Jewish electorate among the relevant peer groups of other white urban ethnics or suburban affluent voters proves the point.

In this view, the Jewish vote is to be compared with other constituencies that voted in disproportionate numbers for Senator McGovern in 1972 and for Walter Mondale in 1984. Prominent among these are the faculties of the elitist university and the journalists and editors of the prestige media. Not only statistical correlation, but direct observations, indicate that the majority of the Jewish electorate share the views and identifies with the attitudes of these groups that constitute the so-called New Class in American political society. The self-image of the Jewish community as a vanguard moral group is reinforced by its identification with these trend-setting elites.

In my view, the reasons for this identification are traceable to the patterns of the Jewish community's transition to modernity, but the development of that argument is not germane to the present discussion. It is relevant to note that the New Class is an ethnically-transcending group just as liberal attitudes within the Jewish community correlate with transcendence of ethnicity and departure from traditionalist Orthodoxy.

Jewish support for the Mondale-Ferraro candidacy is consistent with its identification with the views of the New Class and not with the lagging survival of its involvement with the coalition Democratic Party. This support, in fact, marks a distinction between the Jewish community and other Democratic Party loyalists such as the Southern Democratic Party member and the Mid-West farmer or trade unionist who vote Democratic without sharing or identifying with New Class attitudes or perceptions.

There may be some shifts in Jewish voting behavior toward the Republican Party. These could come from the demographic strengthening of the Orthodox group within the Jewish community. The more intensely committed pro-Israel or pro-Soviet-Jewry constituencies, including Israeli and Soviet immigrants, may seek a greater degree of coherence in Jewish communal policies. Conceivably, though not necessarily, the Republican Administration will develop policies that are not only compatible with, but supportive of these views, on the common ground of a strong defense against the threat of Soviet aggression in the Middle East and elsewhere. Further, the historically small base of communication between the Republican Party and the Jewish community lends itself readily to expansion in the ordinary course of the public relations activities of an administration in power. The recent formation of a Jewish Republican national organization virtually guarantees some measure of political realignment.

In this view, however, the majority of the Jewish community is not prepared to reverse its political partisanship on the basis of a perceived divergence of interest with a McGovernized Democratic Party. That majority apparently views its interests in terms of its moral image in the contest of a liberal ideology that is attuned to the adversary culture of the New Class. The condition of that commitment is that the Democratic Party repudiate anti-Israel positions that derive from its general Left foreign policy orientation, and that it lend moral support to the cause of the Soviet Jewish community.

In this view, then, a realignment of the Jewish community's political position would only follow upon changes in the relationship between the New Class and the Administration. In a recent issue of *Encounter*, Paul Johnson argued that the Reagan presidency had regained from the media the power of setting the political agenda. In Johnson's earlier account, in his book *Modern Times*, the media had been able to assert this power through its effective exploitation of the complex "construct" of "Watergate" as the basis for its successful "media *putsch*" against the presidency.

There is evidence in support of Johnson's view of the restored ability of the Administration to fix the vocabulary of political debate, but only *after the event*. The success of the government's economic policies during its first term has brought to an end the use of "Reaganomics" as a synonym for "voodoo economics." The intense Soviet response to the promise of a Strategic Defense Initiative may soon lead to the withdrawal of derisory label of "Star Wars."

Yet, where political success is necessarily long drawn out, from the defense build-up to Central American policy, the power to set the framework of the political debate remains contested. An examination of the discussion in major public forums of Administration views on the "opportunity society" or of the nature of the American commitment as a responsible ally to small anti-Soviet nations would probably show that the adversary culture has retained its power to set the terms of the political debate, as distinct from the ability to decide policy.

The Reagan Administration's ability to govern effectively in its second term will depend in many ways on its ability to regain the degree of control of the terms of the debate of the public agenda that is legitimate and normative in democratic society. It needs to be recalled that in a democracy the power to set the political agenda is vested in the government because the government faces periodic elections. In contrast, the prestige adversary media that have sought to set the agenda through advocacy journalism and convergent selectivity of focus on particular issues have no significant competitive media opposition group and few mechanisms of accountability.

The outcome of the continuing contest between the New Class and the Administration on determining the agenda of public debate will critically affect the future pattern of Jewish political behavior. The effect of that contest, however, goes far beyond the realignment issue. A successful resolution by the Administration of its power, within the framework and appropriate limitations of

American democracy, to assert the executive authority's traditional role in setting up policy debates, would lead to a far wider realignment.

The Democratic Party would probably then be required to undergo a transformation into a true opposition party, that is, a party capable of governing the country and pursuing the national interest, rather than a series of ideological constituencies closely linked to the adversary counter-culture while retaining some of the voting groups of the historic Democratic Party. In such a restructuring of the Democratic Party, the position the Jewish community would take is not clear on the basis of the vote in 1984.

Nathan Perlmutter

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ESTIMATES of the Jewish vote for the Presidency range from a 70/30 gulf to a narrowing 60/40 split, with Mondale prevailing in both cases. More interestingly than curiously, politically liberal Jewish pulse takers found the larger variance while their politically conservative co-religionists found the closer margin. Neither set of figures, let alone the accommodating popular wisdom of a two-to-one Mondale margin, warrants either the liberals' feelings of vindication or the conservatives' embarrassment. To understand the significance of 1984's Jewish voting patterns, requires an earlier base point, without which comparison is impossible and evaluation, a game of blindman's buff.

Over the short term, using 1980 as the base for comparison, liberals are understandably gladdened and conservatives rightly disappointed. After all, only four years ago, for the first time in modern history a Democratic candidate for the Presidency failed to garner a majority of Jewish votes. Jimmy Carter secured but 44 percent of their votes and to compound the indignity, Ronald Reagan from way out in right field (alien if not chilly, country for Jews) won fully 39 percent. Given Reagan's high marks on Israel in the intervening four years, the very issue on which Carter lost credibility among Jews, how not, if one is a political liberal, feel gratified by Republican slippage and Democratic recoupments among Jewish voters? After all, Jews, it would seem, in 1984 confounded the pundits and came home.

Or did they? If we take as our base point the 1960's, their graph's voting line tracks a wider perspective, and the 1980-1984 section reads more like a pause than a turnaround. In 1960, Kennedy received 82 percent of the Jewish vote; Nixon, 18 percent. In 1964, Johnson ran over Goldwater 90 percent to 10 percent among Jews. In 1968, 83 percent of the Jewish vote was Humphrey's; 16 percent, Nixon's.

The 1970's however ushered in a significant change in Jewish voting patterns with Richard Nixon better than doubling his percentage of the Jewish vote, albeit more thanks to George McGovern and his politic of quotas domestically and appeasement abroad than to Nixon himself. In 1976, Ford, Carter's debits not yet in evidence, nonetheless retained 28 percent of the Jewish vote. To be sure, Reagan's 1980 score of 39 percent among Jews fell off fractionally in 1984, but over the longer term, the plain arithmetic is that in a score of years the percentage of Jews voting for a Republican candidate for the Presidency has doubled.

Still, what happened in 1984? Why, given the generally benign regard for Reagan in the Jewish community, did the tracking line of Jewish voting pause, take a step back?

In the spring of 1984 the American Jewish Committee commissioned a "National Survey of American Jews" in which one thousand Jewish respondents were asked, among other questions, who they voted for in 1980 and then, "Knowing what you do now, whom would you rather have seen elected in 1980, Reagan or Carter?" Forty-four percent answered that they had voted for Carter and 39 percent for Reagan. (Fifteen percent had voted for Anderson.)

Interestingly, in response to the second question, while 47 percent would, retroactively, have preferred Carter's victory, 53 percent, a first time Jewish majority, answered Reagan. And so, what indeed did happen in the months leading to November?

TIMING, religion in politics, and appreciation of an old, comfortable shoe happened all at once.

Timing: Had Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party's opportunistic insouciance been an autumn rather than a summer story, and the Separation of Church and State, summer rather than autumn headlines, that 53 percent figure would likely have been a more nearly realized omen. Surely, if presidential candidates, their long record an open book, can nonetheless make it or break it in one pre-election television debate, small wonder that Jesse Jackson's summer antics and Mondale's glazed view of them, cooled in November's memory. Among Jews that was Mondale's gain, Reagan's loss.

Religion in politics: In the election stretch-run, this issue, more than any other, troubled Jews. American Jews, so many of whose parents and grandparents fled religious persecution, have more in common with each other in their shared wariness of True Believers than they do in their modes of religious observance. No matter that some who invoked "Christian" values in their political rhetoric intended it as a synonym for uncontroversial moral values, it was heard by many Jews as the language of separatism. Anti-Semitism for many centuries was propounded by religious zealots in the accents of Christian conceit. In 1984, a large number of Jews reacted tropistically—in their polling booths they fled. Again, Mondale's gain and Reagan's loss. {

The old, comfortable shoe: Walter Mondale is the quintessential liberal; Jews, traditionally, have been liberal or perhaps it's liberalism that has been their tradition, but whichever, Mondale's sermons on Compassion, Fairness and Peace "sounded Jewish" and, it sometimes being easier to misgivingly stay with one's own than to abruptly break away, Jews remained in the range of their 1980 vote. It was an inertia facilitated by the mischievous quota system having been camouflaged by the Democrats as "verifiable measurements," by Israel not being in issue, and because the Democrats' willful failure to condemn anti-Semitism in San Francisco had been overshadowed by the Republicans' willful courting of Christians *qua* Christians in Dallas. And so on November 6, familiar Walter Mondale and the remembered Democratic Party of their youth seemed more congenial—safer—than those Dallas Republicans, a still-new neighborhood for many Jews.

There is, of course, a vulnerability to positing the Jewish vote as if Jews were a monolithic entity. They aren't, anymore than other American groups, and in their parts Jews often reflect the American electorate. So it is that in the Southwest, Reagan country, Texas' Jews also favored Reagan over Mondale, 64 percent to 36 percent. Boro Park in Brooklyn is home for thousands of Chasidim, ultra-orthodox Jewish sects and as did Christian fundamentalists, they too favored Reagan, 61 percent to 34 percent. And Jews had their own gender gap. *The Washington Post*—ABC News poll reported Mondale prevailing over Reagan among Jews, 69 percent to 31 percent, but the survey also found that among Jewish males Mondale lost eight percentage points, with President Reagan gaining as many.

What does all this Jewish voting esoterica mean for, and how important is it to, 1988's presidential aspirants?

Whatever they may be, the likelihood is that they will run a closer race than did Reagan and Mondale. In races in which the popular vote is close, electoral votes gain weight. Given the residential deployment of Jews in major states, and the earnestness with which they exercise their suffragism, their vote in 1988 is likely to have more leveraged significance than in 1984. What the 1970's suggested and what the 1980's have confirmed is that Democrats may no longer take the Jewish vote for granted and that Republicans need no longer write off the Jewish vote.

And while Jews are butchers and bakers and candlestick makers, each individually responsive to his own mix of social, economic and personal dispositions when exercising his franchise, broadly speaking, what will Jews as Jews be looking for in 1988? A Democratic Party which in its commendable sensitivity to American pluralism doesn't sacrifice individual rights on the voting altar of group preference, the other side of whose coin is reverse discrimination; and they will be looking for a Republican Party which in its commendable sensitivity to moral majorities does not seem inhospitable to no less moral minorities.

Nathan Glazer

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THERE is one principal reason why it is worth discussing the Jewish role in the 1984 elections: because the expected continuation of the drift, or shift, to the Republican candidate didn't occur. Indeed, and to general surprise, fewer Jews voted for Reagan in 1984 than in 1980, according to exit polls.

There has been some argument as to whether this is really true. Elliott Abrams has pointed out that exit polls are not conducted in areas of dense Jewish concentration, but in ethnically mixed areas where Jews are likely to be more prosperous, more assimilated, and, he argues, more liberal.

The irony and paradox of this situation should not be unnoted. For decades Jews have voted against their apparent economic interests. With fewer and fewer of them workers, and more and more of them businessmen and professionals (concentrated in free professions such as law and medicine), one would expect Jews to vote Republican, like other businessmen and professionals. It seemed to be only a matter of time before their economic interests would wear down the nostalgic heritage of the past, when Jews voted Socialist, and then for liberal Democrats, and their voting would come into line with their economic interests. The 1984 election was to be the conclusion of that process. It wasn't. And the argument is now made that it was because poor Jews were not sufficiently sampled! So Jews remain exceptional: they are a group where you have to sample the poor to find the Republicans.

I think, by the way, Abrams is right: I suspect that poorer Jews, more Orthodox Jews, Jews that live in Jewish neighborhoods, and are more fully committed to Jewish interests, probably voted more for the Republicans than did upper-middle class Jews.

Neither were voting their class interest primarily, though Jews, like everyone else, are of course affected by their economic position when they vote. But Jewish voting has been exceptional in the degree to which economic interest is submerged by other interests. These other interests prevailed in 1984, as they have prevailed in other years; and they swung Jewish voters against Republicans.

What are the non-economic interests of Jews? Crudely, they may be defined as cultural and/or ideological. It has long been argued by analysts of Jewish political behavior (particularly but not only Jewish analysts) that Jews are more altruistic, public-minded, civic-minded, and social-minded, than other Americans. They are more supportive of civil rights, of civil liberties, and of American assistance to developing nations (though the latter may have changed in the last decade or so). The facts are hardly in dispute: even when Jewish defense organizations were in the forefront of the fight against quotas in affirmative

action, more Jews supported this key interest of blacks than other white Americans. Even when there was an uproar over Jesse Jackson's statements in support of the PLO and his alleged anti-Semitic remarks, more Jews supported him than did other whites. The interpretation of this anomaly, however, is disputable: is it that Jews self-sacrificingly support positions they believe are right and best for all? Or do we find an underlying explanation, which is another kind of interest than simple economic interest, but an interest nevertheless?

I incline toward the latter explanation: Jews, an often persecuted minority, have strong security interests which they express when voting. These security interests can for convenience be divided into two parts: the security of Israel abroad; and protection against anti-Semitism at home. What was surprising about the 1984 election is that it was not the security of Israel, but, because of a number of perhaps purely adventitious developments, concern about the security of Jews in the United States that became the marginally determining force in Jewish voting.

Domestic anti-Semitism has not been a major force affecting Jewish voting in the United States—except for very occasional local elections—for decades. If the issue of anti-Semitism is raised in an election, it enters in the most roundabout way. Not by way of any expression of anti-Semitism by a candidate; nor by one candidate accusing another candidate of being anti-Semitic even if he doesn't express it, which would be considered an outrageously improper tactic; but by one candidate accusing another candidate of not being sufficiently critical of someone else's alleged anti-Semitism! This is the way the issue initially entered the 1984 campaign: would Jesse Jackson reject Farrakhan, and would other Democratic presidential candidates attack Jackson for *not* rejecting Farrakhan? That charge was raised by Vice President Bush in one speech against the Democratic Party; even that was considered going very far indeed. It was expected that the compromises patched up at the Democratic Convention over the various issues Rev. Jackson had raised would antagonize Jews, and undoubtedly many were antagonized. But the security concerns over Jackson got transferred subsequently to the Republicans because of the militant fundamentalist Christian element in the Republican coalition.

All parties are of course coalitions. The last open anti-Semites in American politics were some Southern Democrats of the party Jews supported in such overwhelming numbers in the 1930's and 1940's. Immigrants and Catholics and Jews and socialists and blacks lived together in a party under Roosevelt, one of whose major elements harbored ex-Klu Kluxers and other enemies of immigrants, Jews, Catholics, socialists, and blacks. That, in a two-party system, is not a contradiction. What happened in 1984 is that the passionate commitment of militant Christians to the Republicans, because of such issues as abortion and prayers in schools, began to worry many Jews. That worry took sharper form when the peculiar story about Armageddon broke, and President Reagan took such a mild and uncritical line in responding to a question about it.

Just what is going on here, Jews asked? It has been argued that Jews had no reason to be alarmed at the Moral Majority and other fundamentalist Christian supporters of President Reagan: after all, they also supported Israel, opposed Communism and the Soviet Union, and supported the arms build-up. Regardless of how they got to that position, it coincided with the position of most Jews: the defense of Israel. The Armageddon story threw a garish light on the sources of that support. In the most influential version, which appears in the *New York Times*, one could read that the final battle would be in Israel; that millions of Jews would be wiped out (there are only three million in Israel), and the rest would be converted. And President Reagan's response did not indicate that such was only the thinking of a very minor enclave among the supporters of the Republican candidate: it might have been, but it received a sympathetic hearing at the top.

The strong Democratic showing among the Jews, it may thus be argued, was an accident. But it is an accident that keeps on happening, despite the fact that Jewish economic interests have been out of line with their political choices for thirty years. I suspect it will keep on happening for a long time to come. The Republicans are the party of white, Protestant America. It is not an America Jews understand very well. They settled for the most part in the great cities. Their neighbors were Catholic immigrants and other East European immigrants. They lived cheek by jowl with the expanding black population. There were severe conflicts with both. When Father Coughlin was at his height, attacks on Jews in New York and Boston by Irish Catholic youths were common, and we all know about the more recent tensions between Jews and blacks. Nevertheless, at the presidential level, all could inhabit the same party.

It will be harder and take longer for Jews to live at ease with white Protestant America, and particularly with that part of it which makes up the new fundamentalist surge. It is not a form of Christianity that many Jews have direct experience of, or can easily understand. It is a tendency that makes them jittery. The Republicans are as trusted as the Democrats—perhaps more so—on Israel; but when it comes to life at home, there is that somewhat strange element, foreign to Jewish experience, that seems to have settled in the Republican Party, with support at the top. While that goes on, Jews will be uneasy voting Republican.

Leon Wieseltier

Literary Editor, *The New Republic*

THE Jews of America have made work for the neoconservative heresiologists. The neoconservative pain is rather poignant; it is still another example of their surprise that nobody was listening when they were talking mainly to

themselves. For some the pain is so great it has induced denial; more congenial numbers are desperately sought, and like many things desperately sought, they are found. The truth, however, is incontrovertible: by a margin of about 2 to 1, the Jews rejected Reagan. This has produced a small orgy of liberal triumphalism. (Nothing else about the election could have.) Why did the Jews do it? There has been a great deal of rodomontade about the lasting influence on American Jewish behavior of the Biblical, prophetic, and/or rabbinic traditions. This is a little ridiculous. The small number of Jews who really are familiar with the Biblical, prophetic, and/or rabbinic traditions voted for Reagan. (I mean the Orthodox.) I understand that Judaism is enjoying a revival among professional Jews; but the strong feeling of liberal Democrats for the Midrash Rabba has yet to be demonstrated. Moreover, it is arguable that the canonical texts of Judaism, the rabbinic texts in particular, aid and abet the prejudices of conservatives more than they aid and abet the prejudices of liberals. It would be best, then, to banish their religion from the discussion of Jewish behavior at the polls, as most Jews have overwhelmingly banished it from their behavior everywhere else a long time ago. Nobody derives their view of the Sandinistas from Rabbi Tarfan anyway.

A better explanation is the explanation from self-interest. But what exactly about the Democrats conformed to the Jewish interest, and what about the Republicans did not? Writing in *The New York Review of Books*, Arthur Hertzberg observed confidently that the Jewish interest lies in "social peace and justice in America and the world". I hope my fellow Jews had something a little more specific in mind when they voted for Mondale. Furthermore, there are in the ranks of the Democrats demagogues as divisive as the demagogues in the ranks of the Republicans. Still further, while it is true that a majority of Jews appeared, for example, to favor a nuclear freeze, that tells nothing about whether they were right to do so. The popularity of a position has nothing to do with its merit. I happen to think that this majority of Jews was wrong; and that neither they nor the Democratic Party should congratulate themselves for this particular reason for rejecting Reagan.

The Jews of America were probably correct to repudiate the recommendations of their neoconservative leaders. From the standpoint of support for Israel, the election of 1984 was an embarrassment of riches for Jews; both Mondale and Reagan could be trusted and could be reached. Still, Jesse Jackson notwithstanding, the political culture of the Democratic Party remains more responsive to the Israel interest than the political culture of the Republican Party. And the same may be said of most of the other issues of concern to Jews. I have never understood exactly where that Republican paradise for Jews of which conservatives speak is to be found. I do not see Zionism in the boardrooms of the corporations. I do not see tolerance and unconditional respect in the churches of the fundamentalists. (Their respect for the Jews is conditional upon the tarrying of the end of days, at which point Gog and Magog will get Irving Kristol, too.)

Still, those who believe that the Democratic Party as it is presently constituted

is the natural home of the Jewish community, do neither Jews nor Democrats a service. The truth is that the Jewish community of America is more or less homeless. There does not exist an American political party in which it may feel completely comfortable. The critical difference is that there is less work for Jews to do among the Democrats than among the Republicans. But not a whole lot less; the matters of defense spending and affirmative action, for example, remain to trouble an American Jew's sleep. The Jews were right to vote for the Democrats, but not enthusiastically. And having cast their lot with them, they must now help to reform them. In 1949, in a bout of what may be called premature neoliberalism, Lionel Trilling wrote that "it has always seemed to me that a criticism which has at heart the interests of liberalism might find its most useful work not in confirming liberalism in its sense of general rightness but rather in putting under some degree of pressure the liberal ideas and assumptions of the present time." The Jews' agenda, exactly; and not only the Jews'.

In sum: Republicans need not apply. Democrats need sit up and listen. For the Jews are, for the first time in their American history, whether they know it or not, whether they like it or not, independents. *That* is the present state of the Jewish interest in American politics.

H. J. Kaplan

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IT is Christmas morning, and I have a spooky feeling that something more purposeful than chance has contrived to deliver your little note today, although it is dated December 14 and has been languishing, apparently, in the stack of mail that has been growing against my neighbor's door. Now, neighbor having foreshortened her holiday, your letter has been delivered at a most propitious moment—a moment bathed in the glorious Christian music which has been resounding in my study: Bach, Handel and Scarlatti, and the famous Nine Lessons from the great gothic Chapel of King's College, unfolding a story I know and have known since childhood. Angels *pro tem* (the children in the Cambridge choirs) sing hymns that I too, although not so melodiously, could sing.

You are surveying the reactions of Jews to the 1984 elections, an interesting and important project—but this morning I'm not inclined to turn off the music. It reminds me that we live in Christendom, and that the message of this day is one of peace to men of good will. Besides, the title of your excellent quarterly implies that it is published by and for people whose concern with this world

proceeds from some sense of another one, whether it be supernaturally ordained or simply a deeper and less contingent dimension of the human enterprise as such. So let's put politics—with a small "p"—aside for the moment and address your question in the spirit of this day and *This World*.

Before we do that, however, it is only fair that I declare my bias. I voted for Ronald Reagan, and for the usual reasons: the solutions he proposed and the coalition of ideas and interests he represented seemed to me to be preferable, on the whole, to those offered by his opponent. Does this mean, in the words of an editorial I read in *The New Republic* a few weeks ago, that—in contrast to the majority of my fellow Jews—I was voting my interests instead of my values? A stupid question is said to call for a stupid answer but in this case the dichotomy proposed by *The New Republic* is *profoundly* stupid, *i.e.*, it packs an enormous density of misconception (about the relation of values to interests, about how and why people vote) and preconception (about which Jews voted for whom, and — why) into a single lapidary phrase. So, while your illustrious confrère deserves a niche in *Consumer's Report* for having produced the most egregious bit of political idiocy in a highly competitive market, it is also to be congratulated for bringing us up short, so to speak, and forcing us to confront this question of why we voted as we did.

Now, I might on some other day have pursued this line of thought by discussing Jewish concerns with respect to this or that specific issue: our foreign policy, for example, especially in the Middle East. Although we do not normally expect in our system that any presidential candidate or any political coalition will ever precisely represent our own judgement on every problem or that, in any event, the candidate and tendency we have chosen will be able to bring to pass precisely what they have proposed, the fact remains that on such matters as the national defense, the economy, and the role of the federal government, the Reagan approach (once again, on the whole) seems to me sounder and better—for me, for my family, for Jews, Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, of all sexes, colors, conditions and sizes. In our society it is properly presumed that groups, regions and individuals have their particular agendas, and that there is nothing infamous in that, and that—despite the deterioration of civility since the Sixties—it would be incumbent on each of us to make our case in terms of the common weal.

Today, however, with the Nine Lessons from the King's College Chapel still ringing in my ears, the Reagan approach to this or that issue strikes me as less important than the opposition he at least symbolizes to what Peter Berger called, a few years ago, the *aggressive secularization of our society*—a phrase that covers a multitude of sins about which there is little a President can do except (but is this an essential exception?) proclaim from his pulpit, *urbi et orbi*, who and what we are and would be as a people. Indeed, if any single proposition could motivate so complicated a choice I would be inclined to say that mine was for the general reassertion of the conservative and yes, the *religious* temper of our

society—the very factor that is alleged to have so vexed and worried my fellow Jews that a majority of them, in the manner of *The New Republic*, “held their noses and voted for Mondale,” or “voted their values instead of their interests,” depending on which page you read . . . But did they, really?

It is not implausible. History leaves people stuck with anachronistic notions, and the American chapter of Jewish history began only a moment or so ago, at the end of a very long book. It was as an effect of the Enlightenment, and under its influence, that the Jews moved out of the European ghettos and into the mainstream of the western world. In Europe the Enlightenment was largely and actively anti-religious, which was not at all the situation in America, as de Tocqueville noted; and most Jews were or thought they would be safer and freer as the secular power of the Churches declined. That turned out to be untrue, or no longer true, in the twentieth century, and those who continue—after the experience of Bolshevism and Nazism—to believe it to be true are simply victims of cultural lag.

Plausible or not, this explanation has the advantage of exonerating the Jews of an ancient accusation, namely, that they are more intelligent than other people. If it was the religious (or Christian) element in the Reagan coalition that alarmed them—more than, say, the Third Worldism of the Democrats—then they were voting neither their interests nor their values. They were voting their memories, which is like arming to fight the last war.

THE French have a saying to the effect that a scalded cat fears cold water, and this would appear to be what happened to many of my fellow Jews in the weeks preceding November 6. They were alarmed and affronted by that dimension of the conservative movement which proclaims itself Christian, reveres the Bible, and asserts the relevance and authority of the old ethical imperatives not merely because they are socially useful but because they are ordained by God. That all this should strike them as dangerous is doubly paradoxical—first because the religiosity in question is largely compatible with their own, not in theological detail, of course, but in its general tonality and inspiration, and secondly because post-Enlightenment Christendom in America remains firmly anchored in the intention clearly expressed by our Founding Fathers, that there be no established church in this nation, which would nevertheless be free “under God,” as I used to recite (together with the Lord’s Prayer, by the way) in the classroom of my public school,—and would always provide a safe haven for nay-sayers, Jewish or not, political or religious, something that can hardly be said of the great secular movements that have made a charnel house of Europe since World War I.

But a haven, in the case of the Jews, is not quite the right word. Although Christendom and Western civilization have not been precisely synonymous, they have been historically essential to each other. And in this sense I think it fair to say that the Jews have not merely found refuge in America—not always a

comfortable one, God knows—they have also been a constituent element of it; charter members, as it were. Without their ambivalence, their marginality, their refusal to submerge themselves in the mass, who can say that the special vocation of Christendom in America—the stubborn assertion of pluralism and of the freedom and autonomy of the individual—would have achieved the character (for better or worse!) that sets us off from all other peoples?

Not I. But of course I have an interest, as *The New Republic* says. In any event, it could scarcely have escaped me, having somehow survived through much of this cruel and bloody century, that we Jews have fared better in countries that remained true to their traditional moral order as it has evolved through self-scrutiny and reform, fidelity and change, in the manner of the West, than in those that have undertaken—in the name of class or race or social engineering or whatever—to create the New Man who was to come, Nietzsche *dixit*, after the Death of God. So the religious, indeed the Christian, dimension of Reagan's conservative coalition is hardly likely to put me off. On the contrary. As a Jew of the diaspora I have a proprietary interest in Christendom, having helped to shape it. And surely—you can see that I am not feeling very *stiff-necked* this morning—it has had some part in shaping me.

Marshall J. Breger

Special Assistant to President Reagan for Public Liaison

THE weeks since the election have seen continuing debate over the statistics reflecting the Jewish vote. The exit polls conducted by the *Washington Post* and ABC News, the *New York Times* and CBS News, and NBC News showed Jews favoring Walter Mondale over Ronald Reagan by two to one, with Mondale winning 69 percent, 66 percent, and 65 percent of the Jewish vote, respectively. The exit poll of the American Jewish Congress showed a 70/30 split in favor of Mondale.

On the other hand, a nationwide exit poll commissioned by the National Jewish Coalition for Reagan-Bush showed Reagan winning 40.6 percent of the Jewish vote. Similarly, New York's Jewish Community Relations Council found that 38 percent of New York City's Jews backed the President.

It is almost impossible for a layman to enter fruitfully this fray over percentages. Statistical analysis is best left to the experts who, it appears, are still battling over methodology and interpretation. I will just briefly note that there is substantial evidence the networks' exit polls failed to capture the overwhelmingly Republican vote of the orthodox Jewish community and, therefore, may have underestimated the actual Jewish vote for the President.

A number of issues played a role in shaping the Jewish vote. I would like to explore the four most important of these in an effort to illumine the various forces currently acting on the American Jewish Community: the role of Israel; the legacy of liberalism; the role of anti-Semitism; and the impact of the fundamentalist Christian movement.

First, this year's campaign was unique in that Israel does not appear to have been a major issue. This does not mean, however, that American Jews were not concerned about Israel's future. The fact is that in 1981, 76 percent of those polled felt Jews should not vote for candidates unfriendly to Israel, and there is no intimation that the intervening years have changed this opinion. Indeed, many Jews have argued that a strong America is a predicate for a strong Israel and have charged the neo-isolationist strain in the Democratic coalition with an obstinate refusal to recognize that the fate of Israel is bound up with the fate of the Free World. These commentators see a parallel between the Reagan Administration's global geopolitics and long-term capacity of America to support her allies abroad—Israel in particular.

Nevertheless, November 6 showed that most Jews did not perceive their vote as a choice between geopolitical strategies with clear impact on Israel's destiny. They separated Mondale the man from the leftward-leaning views of the Democratic Party itself.

A second observation is that while figures show the majority of Jews still pull the Democratic lever, the Jewish vote is no longer monolithic. Throughout the 1960's, from 80 to 90 percent of the Jewish vote consistently went to Democratic Presidential candidates. Even in 1972, when only 38 percent of the popular vote went to George McGovern, 65 percent of Jewish voters supported him. Then again, in 1976, with neither Carter nor Ford perceived as particularly good or bad on Jewish issues, the "traditional" 3-to-1 vote in favor of the Democratic candidate was cast.

In 1980, when 40 percent of Jews voted Republican, there was a strong negative feeling toward Carter's reelection. But in 1984 the Democrats had a particularly attractive candidate. Walter Mondale was a known commodity to the Jewish community and its leaders. Nevertheless, the Jewish prodigal return to the Democratic fold was partial only; around a 2-to-1 split instead of the traditional 3- or 4-to-1. Milton Himmelfarb of the American Jewish Committee has suggested: "I think it is possible to interpret 1984 as showing a new Democratic norm among Jews that is lower than the old Democratic norm . . . Whereas the Jewish vote for the Republicans was formerly about one-quarter, it is now about one-third." These results all suggest the beginning of a two-party system within the American Jewish community.

This gradual movement toward a two-party affiliation is even more clearly reflected in attitudinal surveys. In the early 1970's, George Gallup found that 51 percent of Jews interviewed called themselves "liberal." In 1980, a CBS-*New York Times* poll found only 38 percent of Jews so identifying themselves. Dr.

Steven M. Cohen has directed a "National Survey of American Jews" for the American Jewish Committee each year since 1981. His 1981 figures show that an even lower 32 percent of Jews were self-described liberals, while 16 percent called themselves conservatives and 49 percent were "moderates." And in 1984, Cohen found liberals constituting 35 percent of respondents, up 3 percent over 1981, nearly 25 percent identifying themselves as conservative, up almost 9 percent, with only 37 percent middle-of-the-road. The same right-ward shift has occurred in the general populace, though Jews are still left of Americans generally.

While age group statistics are not yet available, there is some evidence that the vote of the Jewish elderly may have focused on domestic economic policy more than that of Jews in general. Florida retirement communities like Century Village in Boca Raton registered a 10 percent increase in Democratic votes over 1980, and the vote in the elderly neighborhood of Brighton Beach in New York went 4-to-1 for Mondale. This overwhelmingly Democratic vote may stem from deeply ingrained voting patterns: our grandparents have voted Democratic for decades and could be reliving old battles. Also, the immediacy of financial difficulties and fear over Social Security may have played a major role.

While Jews are still considerably more liberal than non-Jews, they no longer see their tradition and fate as indissolubly bound to liberalism, nor does such a Jewish "reflex" adequately account for the Jewish vote. The importance of this partial realignment cannot be overemphasized. It opens up a dialogue in the Jewish community regarding communal ends as well as communal means. Until recently, a Republican vote by Jews was deemed by Jewish leaders to be a vote for selfishness. A Democratic vote was understood to be a vote for "moral passion in fighting for others." Yet, in 1984 only 11.7 percent of Jewish Mondale voters cited "social related" policies as the main reason for their vote. While it may seem naive to classify a call for self-interest as necessarily ignoble (after all, cannot one's self-interest coincide, at least in part, with the public interest?), the fact is that the two-party voting pattern confirmed by this election reflects two alternate visions of the Jewish polity and its place in American life. These visions have yet to play themselves out.

THE *third factor—the role of anti-Semitism—was not only one of the most surprising, but also potentially the most significant.* This was perhaps the first election in recent memory where the charge of anti-Semitism was levelled against a presidential primary contender from one of the major parties. That the candidate at issue was also the first black contender for the nomination of a major party made the response to these charges even more difficult. Ironically, this anti-Semitic sensitivity resurfaced at the same time Jews began to feel comfortable about both parties' commitment to Israel.

However, the degree to which Jesse Jackson affected the vote for Reagan is difficult to quantify. Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee has

suggested that had the election taken place in July 1984, before the Republican Convention and the heat-up of the Church/State issue, "the vote may well have been fifty-fifty." Jackson's presence certainly affected the debate within the Jewish community—as a review of Jewish newspaper accounts would make clear. Further, it likely reinforced the commitment to Reagan by those who were otherwise well-disposed. For many, however, the black/Jewish alliance—a cornerstone of Democratic Party politics since 1948—was already frayed, torn by differences over quotas and an arguable increase in black anti-Semitism and Third World-style rhetoric. Nevertheless, by the time of the election other issues came to occupy center stage. The exit polls did not even ask respondents about "the Jackson factor." For, as *The New Republic* put it: "in the end, Jewish voters decided that the specter of Jerry Falwell, and the vision of a Christian America . . . frightened them more than the specter of Jesse Jackson."

This brings me to my final point: the effect of fundamentalist Christianity on the 1984 Jewish vote. Certainly, the emergence of fundamentalist Christians as a political force has provoked a strong reaction from the Jewish Community. Even the fundamentalists' staunch support for Israel and Zionism has been greeted, as Irving Kristol has noted, with embarrassment in many Jewish quarters.

There are three reasons for this response. One is the fact that this support derives, at least in part, from a theological view of Israel and the role Jews are seen to play in bringing the Messiah. Thus, the very notion of friendship with evangelicals makes many Jews uncomfortable. Gestures of goodwill are often taken to be preludes to proselytizing.

Second, one cannot deny that anti-Semitism has theological roots in traditional Christianity. Historically, theological tolerance was perceived to exist in inverse proportion to Christian orthodoxy. It was liberal Christianity that desired ecumenical dialogue with Jewish groups.

However, the recent involvement of many liberal Christian groups with "liberation theology" and revolutionary movements has changed this equation. There is clearly an element of role reversal in the fact that the fundamentalist community is offering solid support for Israel at the same time the liberal Christian community, particularly in its more radical manifestations, is tilting away from Israel and toward friendship with Third World anti-Zionist nations.

The domestic social and political agenda of the fundamentalists also generates controversy among Jews. To return to Dr. Cohen's study, 70 percent of the respondents to his survey oppose even silent meditation in public schools, and 63 percent are opposed to tuition tax credits. As noted before, 87 percent are in favor of "gay rights" and 80 percent support federally funded abortion. Each of these positions runs counter to the vigorous efforts of, for example, Reverend Falwell and his Moral Majority.

The third and perhaps major source of tension is a difference of view regarding the proper relation between Church and State generally. There can be

no doubt that the Jewish community's emotion regarding the Church/State issue runs deep. The fears concerning the "Christianization" of America were so intense during the campaign as to have apocalyptic overtones.

American Jews have, for many years, felt public expression of authentic religious doctrine (as opposed to popular religious sentiment) to be dangerous. Many seem to feel that calling attention to particularities will erode toleration and undermine pluralism. It is this fear, I think, which animates today's Jewish reaction to Christian revivalism. Even when we praise the fact that many Jews are turning back to our own tradition, we find ourselves uncomfortable with similar trends among Christian groups.

Despite this, we must work to reduce the temperature of the Church/State debate. Efforts must be made to develop a dialogue with the Christian fundamentalist community which is, after all, some 50 million strong. Such a dialogue has more than theological significance. It can impact on the foreign as well as domestic interests of American Jews. Indeed, I believe it is potentially the most explosive political problem for American Jewry in the domestic arena today.

THIS review of the recent election has, of necessity, been speculative. Beyond the four fundamental factors I have discussed, a number of specific practical observations may be made.

One: There appears to have already been a political "realignment" among Orthodox Jews. Voting statistics from religious Jewish districts like Boro Park and Williamsburg show two-to-one support for Reagan. The reasons for this are many and complex. The traditional Jewish community is more sensitive to the plea for traditional values and more supportive of expanded rights for the religious. Also, observant Jews, urban in geography and most exposed to black-Jewish tensions, were strongly sensitive to the Jackson factor.

Two: The view that a strong America is a predicate for a strong Israel is reaching real acceptance in the Jewish community.

Three: Anti-Semitism is no longer perceived to be the solitary preserve of the Right (i.e., conservatives).

Four: There is now a "critical mass" of Republican Jews. Four out of 8 Jewish Senators are Republican, as are 6 out of 30 Jewish Representatives, some from districts without a heavily Jewish population. And there exists an institutionalized Republican presence in the Jewish community, the Republican Jewish Coalition, which will continue this party-building process over the next four years.

Five: We now have an opportunity for Jews and blacks desiring rapprochement to come together publicly and privately to heal the rifts exacerbated during the campaign. This will require that both sides maturely take into account legitimate differences. Among other things, we must try to overcome the misperceptions that opposition to quotas is opposition to civil rights, and that support for developing nations requires obeisance to Third World anti-Zionism.

Six: The Church/State issue continues to be one of extreme sensitivity in the Jewish community. Myths and stereotypes still abound, often reflecting deeply ingrained fears rather than a careful analysis of the subject. Still, there is no doubt that this is a volatile issue for the Jewish community and one which Republicans must deal with sensitively if they want more Jewish support.

The Jewish vote can no longer be viewed, either internally or externally, as monolithic. No major party can take the Jewish vote for granted. Such two-party competition is a good thing for the Jewish community and for the political parties. It shows that Jews are neither a single-issue nor a single-party constituency. Jews can best maximize their influence on the political process when it is recognized that they must be assiduously courted by both parties.

Richard D. Zelin

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SINCE the election, the press has focused some attention on a row between prominent Jewish leaders over the size of the Jewish vote for President Reagan. Stories about this controversy have appeared in major newspapers throughout the country. This has made for fascinating copy, if only because of the important political implications involved, but there can be no argument about the overwhelming Jewish support for Walter Mondale. Exit polls—the most reliable and accurate measure of election returns now available—showed that he carried the Jewish community by a margin of two to one.

Something far more interesting has been overlooked in all this: the Jewish community's continuing commitment to liberalism. Notwithstanding many political commentators' hopes or expectations to the contrary, a recent survey commissioned by the American Jewish Committee during the 1984 presidential campaign shows that a major Jewish shift to the political right has not come to pass. Indeed, it indicates that while there has been some decline in support for the Democratic Party and a modest shift toward the right, the Jewish community continues to be, relative to the nation at large, on the left of the political spectrum. This is reflected in the responses on political ideology. Of the 959 Jews included in the sample, one percent considered themselves as radical or socialist, 35 percent as liberal, 38 percent as middle-of-the-road, 24 percent as conservative, and one percent as very conservative. It is also evidenced by the figures on party identification. When asked which party they most closely identified with, 12 percent identified themselves as Republicans, 57 percent as Democrats, and 31 percent as independents. (By way of comparison, a *New York Times*-CBS poll conducted at the same time reported that 39 percent of the American public

identified themselves as Republicans, 50 percent as Democrats, and 11 percent as independents.)

In addition to providing a general picture of the political outlook of American Jews, the survey also includes some interesting data on their attitudes on a variety of domestic and foreign policy issues. It reveals that a majority of those polled expressed the following opinions:

—They oppose the imposition of job quotas but favor other forms of affirmative action to promote equal opportunities for minorities.

—They support the goals and philosophy of social welfare programs but question the efficiency and effectiveness of such programs.

—They favor the separation of church and state in relation to tuition tax credits for parochial schools and silent meditation in public schools but are nearly divided over the importance of religion in matters of public morality.

—They support a “dovish” or “detentist” approach in the United States’ dealings with the Soviet Union.

—They would like to see less spending for the United States military but favor strong military backing of Israel.

I could continue to go on, but suffice it to say that on these and several other timely issues, most but not all of those surveyed came down on the liberal side of the questions. This is remarkable, given that the survey was designed in such a way as to give them an opportunity to reject liberal positions by juxtaposing them with stands favoring a more narrow conception of group interest. It’s even more remarkable considering the increasing affluence and assimilation of the Jewish community, the upsurge of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in certain quarters of the left, and the more recent controversy sparked by presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and his follower Minister Louis Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam.

Indeed, the findings of the survey run counter to everything we know about ethnic and religious group politics. As groups become wealthier and better educated, they tend to become more conservative and shift their loyalty to the Republican Party. This has certainly been the experience of most if not all white ethnic and religious groups in America; the only exception has been, and continues to be, the Jews.

What accounts for this? How does one explain the Jewish community’s commitment to liberalism in the face of pressures pushing them in a more conservative direction? Despite having “made it,” Jews still feel very anxious and insecure about their place in American society. While deeply troubled by threats to their so-called interests from various radical groups on the left, Jews perceive an equal if not far greater danger posed by the rise of Christian fundamentalists. Indeed, Reagan’s embrace of the Christian right probably more than anything else turned the Jewish community against him. Had the election taken place before the Dallas convention, I am certain he would have gotten more Jewish votes.

This concern about church-state matters was not only a major factor in the presidential election; it also came into play in the key U.S. Senate race in Illinois between Charles Percy and Paul Simon. Granted, Percy was not liked because of his views on the Middle East, but his vociferous support of school prayer alienated many Jewish voters otherwise sympathetic to him. Not surprisingly, exit polls showed that Percy's support from Jews declined considerably. In 1978, he received 55 percent of their vote, and in 1984, roughly 20 percent. This drop in support was one among a number of factors that contributed to his defeat.

The Jewish community is not opposed to religion, or to religiously grounded values in the public arena. Far from it. Like other Americans, Jews are deeply concerned about the breakdown of traditional values in recent years. But they strongly oppose government getting into the business of promoting particular religious beliefs. They believe that, if successful, efforts to "Christianize" America would put an end to Jewish life in the United States as they have known it.

This, of course, does not mean that the Jewish community should become complacent about its enemies on the left; what it means is that in the years ahead it must brace itself against attacks from *both* extremes of the political spectrum.

Paul Gottfried

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FOR those who had hoped for a Jewish turn to the Right, the 1984 Presidential election was a rude disappointment. Despite the strident anti-Semitism of a leading powerbroker of the Democratic Party (identified with its left wing) and despite the presence of Jewish neoconservatives among President Reagan's advisors, close to 70 percent of American Jewish voters opted for Walter Mondale. Reagan's share of the Jewish vote was lower in 1984 than in 1980. The "gender gap" on social issues, which had worried the President during his campaign, turned out to be a Jewish female issue. Jewish women were more critical of the Reagan Administration than were other women for ignoring the feminist agenda. Jewish political preferences in 1984 should have surprised neoconservatives least of all. Survey material published by the American Enterprise Institute last year showed that Jews were generally further to the left on social and economic questions than any other major religious group in America.

Jewish conservatives and neoconservatives find it difficult, and indeed embarrassing, to explain this situation. They point to what they consider compelling evidence that American Jews *should* be on the political-intellectual Right. They stress the Jewish concern with educational excellence, Jewish professional and

commercial achievements, and the derivation of the Moral Majority's social ethics from the quintessentially Jewish Old Testament. Jewish conservatives long expected an eruption of anti-Communism from their coreligionists as the anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish policies of the Soviet Union became better known. Yet, the general Jewish reaction to Soviet anti-Semitism has been to protest this evil without supporting military and other initiatives intended to counter Soviet power.

In a spirited response to his leftist Jewish critics (recently published in *Commentary*), Irving Kristol expressed what may be the angry frustration of other Jewish conservatives. He scolded Jewish liberals for their anachronistic and destructive fear of devout Christians. This fear led them into denouncing even Philosemitic Christian conservatives, while fawning on the (pseudo-) Christian Left, despite its support for Third World anti-Semitism.

Jewish conservatives, I believe, are genuinely mystified by the way the majority of American Jews remain on the left. Having wrongly predicted massive Jewish movement in their own direction, Jewish conservatives now deny the facts of the case (by creating more extensive timetables for the predicted change of heart), or else brood over the unwillingness of their coreligionists to think clearly or traditionally.

Jewish conservatives can and should follow a third course; it is the one that I recommend for consideration. They should accept the fact that most American Jews think differently from themselves—and in all likelihood will do so for at least the foreseeable future. Outside of religiously orthodox circles which have little contact with the dominant Western culture, only a minority of American Jews consider themselves conservative. This minority enjoys exemplary relations with their Christian fellow-Americans and occupy the historically-privileged position of seeing the values common to Jewish tradition and Western Christian civilization. Most American Jews do not perceive the existence of such a community of spiritual and ethical values. No matter how knowledgeably or sternly Jewish conservatives react to the anti-Christian siege mentality of the Jewish Left (best exemplified in the debate over school prayer), it is doubtful that conservatives will change many minds. They are dealing with garbled folk memories which leftist Jewish organizations (that are often genuinely anti-religious as well as anti-Christian) have brilliantly exploited.

Moreover, the guilt-ridden self-doubt which organized Christianity shows may have deepened Jewish distrust of Christians. If Christians have been as wicked as the National Council of Churches would have us believe, then why should non-Christians trust them? I have always believed that if Christians behave with self-respect as well as tolerance, even liberal Jews will feel more respect for them.

I am certainly not proposing that all the idiosyncracies of American Jewish politics are traceable to the fear of Christians. In fact some of these quirks

strike me as utterly baffling. Why do American Jewish women, perhaps the most fortunate and most pampered group in human history, bewail their fate as members of an oppressed class? Even more bemusing are the husbands of such women who treat their wives' implausible complaints as deep truths. Nor can I find *Jewish* reasons why Jews, in increasing numbers, advocate gay rights. Such a stand, as Seymour Siegel and Jakob Petuchowski have reminded us, is totally incompatible with the teachings of biblical and Rabbinic Judaism. What Jewish liberals deny in their attempt to legitimate perverse social behavior is the universalist aspect of Jewish ethics. It is the Jewish Right which insists on applying the Noahic Commandments; these commandments given in *Genesis* to all the descendants of Noah prescribe the laws of social decency incumbent on Gentiles as well as Jews. The Moral Majority's campaign against raising the political status of gays should be a Jewish battle, not only a Christian one. Yet, Jewish religious organizations, save for Orthodox ones, have taken emphatic positions against discrimination in any form on the basis of "sexual preference."

Perhaps one may be able to explain the otherwise puzzling distaste among Jewish liberals for capitalism by examining certain aspects of Jewish social ethics. Although the Jewish tradition, Rabbinic or normative, takes a generally positive view of wealth, Judaism has never been as individualistic as Protestantism in its view of man's relationship to God. Jews are required to live and pray among other Jews. The commandments through which they must earn their salvation are, for the most part, to be carried out *batzibur*, in a communal setting. Eastern European Jewry, from which most American Jews are descended, aimed at being a ritually and culturally unified community. Although this ethic of communal authority was certainly not egalitarian or secularist, it nonetheless did not prepare Jews to be capitalists in spirit. It may also have left its imprint on Jewish socialists, however much they rebelled against Rabbinical authorities in Eastern Europe and in America.

The Israeli sociologist Aryei Fishmann has written extensively on the specifically Jewish understanding of economic modernization. Fishmann accepts Werner Sombart's view of a strong modernizing impulse in Rabbinic Judaism. But like the later Sombart (not the earlier one who wrote *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*), Fishmann argues that the Jewish modernizing impulse is tied to collective rather than individual forms of activity. Jews have usually been capitalists *faute de mieux*, where the opportunity for material improvement in a form consistent with their religious-ethical values has simply not existed.

I realize that Fishmann's views conflict with those I myself defended in this journal. But there may be reason for at least qualifying the correlation which I tried to demonstrate between normative Judaism and capitalism. Perhaps, like Sombart, I inferred too much about Jewish culture in general from the progressive commercial practices of ancient Babylonian Jewry, and the critical role of Sephardic (and some German) Jews in creating the finance capitalism of early modern Europe. One should note that Sombart, who used such findings to

draw his picture of Jews as individualistic capitalists, later revised his own characterization. In *Proletarian Socialism* Sombart suggests that the Jewish approach to economic modernization is fully consistent with socialism.

No doubt Sombart was impressed by the overwhelming support that Jews gave to the socialist movement in Germany and Austria. Jewish merchants and professionals had voted for the socialists in Imperial Germany, even against candidates who were less anti-Semitic and who favored their economic interests. In America the Jewish Left combines extreme permissiveness in moral-social matters with economic collectivism. Its public support of moral agnosticism reflects a fear of traditional Christians; its economic stand may be an attempt to translate Jewish communal values into antiseptically secular politics.

I make these observations entirely without pleasure. I deeply hope that my view of the basic ineradicability of the leftist mindset among American Jews proves to be untrue. But if fear of Heaven is the beginning of spiritual wisdom, then sober realism may be the precondition for understanding society. Jewish conservatives at this time may need realism even more than fear of Heaven.

Seymour Siegel

Executive Director, United States Holocaust Memorial Council

NOTWITHSTANDING the historic Reagan-Bush sweep of the 1984 elections, two groups stood out as supporters of the Mondale-Ferraro ticket: the Blacks and the Jews. While there is doubt as to the extent of the Jewish vote for the Democrats (some say 70 percent; others assert that it was 60 percent) there is no doubt that the Jewish voter was not part of the national outpouring for President Reagan. This was not due to a lack of effort. There was a well-financed and well-staffed Jewish effort on behalf of the Republican ticket. Still the Jews, alone among white ethnic groups, stuck with their traditional democratic leanings.

The question is why? What can be done about it?

It seems from the plethora of comment on the results of the elections that the Jewish voter was swayed by two main factors: the "compassion" issue and the perception that Reagan had somehow launched an attack on the "separation of church and state."

Jews, notwithstanding their economic status, are swayed by assertions that one candidate is "against the poor". Whether it be a result of their prophetic tradition or some other factor, the Jewish voter likes to see himself as one who backs those who care about the disadvantaged. The Democrats succeeded in painting their adversary as one who was insensitive to the needs of the poor and the lower

strata of our society. This assertion holds much weight for the average Jewish voter—though he himself is far from being on the lowest rung of the economic or social ladder. The Jewish community was unimpressed with the arguments of the Republican national campaign that the efforts to lower inflation have been a boon to the poor, and that while unessential programs may have been slashed, essential programs have not been touched. The failure to respond positively to the Reagan claims is the result of clever and apparently effective propaganda on behalf of the Mondale-Ferraro team. But it also points out the need for the Republican Party to dispel the image of a hard-hearted, well-to-do group which doesn't care for the poor.

The Church-State controversy is more complicated. The Jewish voter sees shades of anti-semitism in a strong assertion of Christian influence. It is a throw-back to the lamentable experiences Jews have had with most branches of Christianity, especially in the pre-Holocaust era. Jews have not been convinced, by and large, that Christianity is friendly to Judaism and to Jewish interests. Witness the impressive outpouring of sympathy and support for the state of Israel among the non-Jewish, especially fundamentalist Christian, elements of our society, which has so far failed to persuade Jews of its benign intent. It is ironic and even a little sad that the Jewish community, which is above all a religiously committed group, should see in the resurgence of a sister faith a threat—even a danger. The fact is that the policies of such well known groups as the Moral Majority coincide with basic traditional Jewish values. The picture of a strong family emphasis on life and anti-communism is reflective of Jewish interest.

Somehow, the Jewish leadership has come to believe that any government friendliness toward religion is a breach of the establishment doctrine. This is not accurate. On the contrary, emphasis on the religious roots of our culture can only help Judaic culture and make it stronger. This obvious fact has not been convincing to the Jewish voter, hence his remaining strong support for Mondale and the Democrats.

What can be done? First of all, there has to be a strong educational effort directed toward the community explaining the dimensions of the issue. Second, there has to be stronger personal contacts between Jews and more conservative Christians. This will serve to dispel the feelings that evangelical Christians are basically anti-Jewish. And the Republican Party has to intensify its efforts to reach the Jewish voter and defeat the pernicious myth that Reagan supporters are made up mostly of country club types who, deep down, dislike Jews and the poor.

These are big tasks. But it would be wrong to overlook the progress that has been made. The President got close to 40 percent of the Jewish vote. This in itself is a fact of striking significance in light of the miniscule support past Republican presidential candidates received from the Jewish community.

Murray Friedman

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JEWES are the prototypical liberal group. As the saying goes, they have incomes like Episcopalians but vote like Puerto Ricans.

In a period often characterized as increasingly conservative, they have remained determinedly liberal. Exit polls released by the *New York Times*–CBS News, *Washington Post*–ABC News and NBC News showed Reagan receiving 32, 31 and 35 percent of the Jewish vote respectively last November. While the National Jewish Coalition, a conservative, Jewish group, has disputed these figures claiming that this vote was 40 percent or better in the last two national elections, Jews, along with Blacks and Hispanics, stood in splendid isolation from the national political consensus. If one looks at local elections in recent years, and the public policy positions Jews take on nuclear disarmament, defense and urban issues, the liberal character of Jewish voting patterns is even more pronounced.

The durable nature of Jewish liberalism over the years is perhaps its most distinguishing feature. When most Jews were immigrant workers and small businessmen, they supported socialists. Then, as “a rising but economically insecure middle class,” they aligned themselves with Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. After World War II, as part of the “new class” of highly educated professionals, they helped to build the reform wing of the Democratic Party and the liberal-Left critique of American society. “Far from undermining liberal commitments,” Steven M. Cohen writes, “Jews’ changing class character has, in fact, harmonized with liberalism’s changing style and content in recent decades.”

Jews seem to defy all the well known rules of American politics. Most religio-ethnic groups tend to become more conservative as they become more integrated and more affluent. Irish, Polish and Italian Catholics, for example, have begun to move away from their normally Democratic moorings. Even though more Orthodox and lower-middle class Jews have responded more conservatively in recent years, for Jews, it would appear, the richer they get, the more liberal they become.

It is interesting to speculate on why this should be so. Some argue it is due to the biblical and prophetic tradition which, it is said, has put Jews historically on the side of the discriminated against and disadvantaged in society. Undoubtedly, there is much truth to this.

My own best explanation is that a certain degree of utopianism characterizes Jewish political thought and behaviour. Few groups in society are willing to set aside their own group interests on behalf of what they deem to be the common good. Writing more than twenty years ago, political scientists Edward C.

Banfield and James Q. Wilson concluded "their political ethos is such that a politics of ethnic appeal strikes them . . . as uninteresting and even immoral." Since the French Revolution, Jews have hitched their star to whatever politics has promised to create a better world or better society. This is probably closely linked to their bitter history of persecution. In her diary, Anne Frank wrote that "if we bear all this suffering and there are still Jews left when it is over, then Jews . . . will be held up as an example. Who knows, it might even be our religion from which the world and all people learn good . . ."

It is only when Jews feel a direct and immediate threat to their sense of safety and security, as when Israel is endangered or in the matter of the use of racial quotas in affirmative action programs, that they grow more conservative. Even so this is less than other Americans. (Jews still support quotas more than most.) My guess is that 50 percent or better of the Jewish vote would have gone for Reagan this summer when Jesse Jackson and his close supporter Louis Farrakhan were making their outrageous remarks were it not for the emergence of the Christian Right as a greater worry. In the final analysis, the election reflected a choice of fear. Jews were more troubled about the Rev. Jerry Falwell than Jackson. Like their utopianism, Jewish anxieties can never be underestimated either.

Despite this, there is reason to believe that a respectable, Jewish conservative movement has now emerged for the first time. No matter which set of figures one uses on how Jews voted in 1984, it would appear that between one out of every three and two out of every five Jewish voters in the last two national elections pulled the lever for Reagan. This is considerably greater than the normal Jewish vote for a Republican candidate. The intellectual basis for a conservative, Jewish movement has also been laid. In recent years, a number of well known and respected Jewish writers have broken with the Left and spoken out favorably on such materials as the beneficent values of capitalism, a strong national defense, and the importance of countering the serious threat of Marxist-Leninist expansion around the world. The rise of religious Orthodoxy, whose members often have large families, and their growing activism, is also a force of increasing political significance. An invigorated National Jewish Coalition has given an organizational basis for some of these trends through a campaign that reached into the twelve states where most Jews live. Its computerized mailing lists will provide a leg-up for right-of-center candidates in 1988. Flashpoints of controversy between Blacks and Jews exist that periodically are ignited. On the horizon is the New York City mayoralty campaign in which Ed Koch will seek reelection. Political conservatism still has a long way to go before it can capture a majority of Jews, but 1984 suggests a start has been made.