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"For Which We Stand..."

The Newsletter of the Outreach Program of the Republican National Committee

Why Jews Are Becoming Republican

by Rabbi Seymour Siegel

Seymour Siegel is a Ralph Simon Professor of Theology at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City. He is a member of the Republican National Committee's Advisory Council on Human Concerns.

The following article is an excerpt from "Why Jews Are Becoming Republican," which appeared in the Spring 1980 issue of Commonsense, a quarterly journal published by the RNC.

The adoption of such principles is vital to the renewal of American life.

It would certainly be presumptuous to argue that political parties alone definitively shape our domestic and international institutions. I submit, however, that in times of rapid social change marked by the erosion of traditional values, it is the Republican philosophy enunciated by its elected officials that has stood for gradualism and moderation in seeking to balance tradition with accelerating social change.

Unfortunately, Republican opposition to these forces of change has at times been squelched by Democratic majorities in Congress. The result has been an America whose character represents a significant departure from that of the last generation. Our one time bastion of freedom and democracy has been rendered somewhat anaemic. Our basic social structure, which originated with the primacy of the family unit, has now been supplanted by government. In the process, those values and institutions which have sustained the Jewish people throughout 2,000 years of exile and adversity have come under assault. Religious freedom, academic freedom, and freedom of choice have been among the victims of what Irving Kristol has called the philosophy of the "new class."

So, too, has our standing as the pre-eminent world power been tarnished. For Jews in particular the social costs have been enormous, for they've not only watched an erosion of traditional values but have borne witness to those policies which have weakened and undermined our nation's military and, by implication, that of the State of Israel. Therefore, Jews, as many other Americans, are turning to the Republican Party in the realization that through its principles and policies the nation's interests can best be served. This growing awareness should translate itself into a significant

(Continued on page 2)

The Jewish community - at least since the days of the New Deal - has voted preponderantly for the Democrats. The Jewish vote is assumed to be safely in the liberal camp. Regardless of economic class or region, somehow the hand of the Jewish voter becomes paralyzed when it reaches for the Republican lever.

However, there are increasing signs that a shift of opinion is growing in the Jewish community. There is evidence that the Democrats are losing ground among Jewish voters and that large numbers of Jews will vote Republican this year. **Commentary** magazine, the most prestigious journal published under Jewish auspices, recently conducted a symposium on the topic, "Liberalism and the Jews." Most of the contributors - prominent scholars, writers, and rabbis - felt that liberalism had spent itself and that it was time for serious consideration of the alternatives. Even in the Jewish community, it now seems, there are liberals and conservatives.

Why is this shift occurring?

The Jewish voter, like his counterpart in the larger American community, is beginning to realize that Republican principles and policies are better for America, more responsive to Jewish interests, and more in keeping with Jewish teachings.

Broadly speaking, the Republican Party - in its preference for the private sector over and against the public sector, its emphasis on personal initiative rather than government intervention and regulation, and its belief in the free market forces - can better serve the economic interests of all Americans. So, too, can the foreign policy interests of this nation be better served by the Republican Party, which stresses a strong and adequately financed national defense against any possible aggression; strong opposition to Soviet imperialism; strong support for our allies and friends around the world, especially in such strategically crucial areas as the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa. In addition, Republicans are vigorous champions of traditional moral and social values. They emphasize the importance of the family and traditional life-styles and resist trends in our society which would legitimate radical patterns of life and morality.



On The Inside...

In a speech to the B'nai Brith International Convention, in Washington, D.C., Governor Ronald Reagan addressed the issues surrounding the Middle East. He expressed his concern for the ultimate safety of the State of Israel and told the convention that "In defending Israel's right to exist, we defend the very values upon which our nation is built." An introduction to the speech by Albert Spiegel, and an excerpt from Ronald Reagan's speech begins on page 2.

Why Jews Are Becoming Republican

(Continued from page 1)

gain in Jewish support for Republican candidates next November, and beyond.

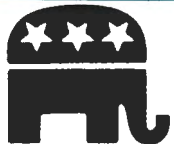
In addition to these considerations, there are specific interests which are of importance to the Jewish voter. Here too, the Republican Party seems, to growing numbers, to be more effective and more attractive than the Democratic Party.

In the international sphere, Jews are naturally concerned about the safety and security of the State of Israel. Since its birth in 1948, Israel has been threatened by its enemies, and has had to fight four wars, losing much in human life and treasure. Certain Carter Administration policies have served to shock many Jewish citizens into the realization that the current occupant of the White House cannot be relied upon to uphold the vital interests of the Jewish state.

In the economic sphere, in addition to the problems of inflation, high taxes, and business recession which all Americans face, there is a special Jewish concern about the maintenance of the idea of "merit" in our nation. Jews have thrived where people are judged not on who they are, but by what they can do and have done. Republican spokesmen have steadfastly opposed legislation which would imply the notion of quotas and reverse discrimination in the guise of a quixotic quest for social egalitarianism. It is now within Jewish interests (and the interests of the whole nation, as well) to elect those who espouse the virtues of individual initiative. Clearly, Jewish interests would be best served by electing Republicans.

The Democratic Party today stands on the foundation of an idea that government can do more for people than they can do for themselves with the result that the American voter is faced with a clear choice between a philosophy of misguided notion of social egalitarianism and neo-isolationism—and that philosophy which stands for the primacy of individuals and the family, and recognizes the costs of freedom. Republican principles strengthen those values which are integral to the Jewish tradition. It is now in the Jewish interest to vote for those candidates who espouse these principles. To do otherwise is to question the very tenets which have sustained and fostered the American Jewish community.

No party is perfect. All human institutions have their weaknesses and their shortcomings. However, it would behoove us to note that Republican principles are most likely to bring more prosperity and liberty to the American people while strengthening our nation so that it can fulfill its role as the protector of freedom in this world. These are the basics to the future of the American people as a whole and to the Jewish community as part of this great nation. These are the fundamental tenets of the Republican Party.



"For Which We Stand..."

The Outreach Program of the
Republican National Committee

310 First St., S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 484-6598

Bill Brock, *Chairman*
Betty Heitman, *Co-Chairman*
H. David Weinstein, *Executive Director*,
Outreach Program
Maryann Dimitrijevic, *Editor*

If you would like more information on the Outreach Program please contact H. David Weinstein. We appreciate and welcome our readers' comments and suggestions. "For Which We Stand..." is printed periodically by the Republican National Committee.



B'nai Brith Convention

Gov. Ronald Reagan on the Middle East

The following is an excerpt from Gov. Reagan's address to the B'nai Brith International Convention in Washington, D.C., on September 3. The introduction is by Albert Spiegel, National Chairman of the B'nai Brith Hillel Commission. Spiegel is also the past President and Chairman of the Jewish Federation of Greater Los Angeles and of the Western Region of the American Friends of Hebrew University. He also serves as national Chairman of the Coalition for Reagan/Bush.

I first met Ronald Reagan in 1967 during my tenure as the General Chairman of Los Angeles' United Welfare Fund Campaign. As the organizer of a public rally in support of Israel at the time of the Six Day War, I extended invitations to many prominent elected officials in California. Only three cared - or dared - to accept our invitation. For a grateful community, let me here and now record their names: Sam Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles, U.S. Senator George Murphy and Ronald Reagan, Governor of the State of California.

Governor Reagan has been consistent in his support for the Jewish community. Ronald Reagan has consistently added his voice to ours. Prior to 1950, long before he became California's Governor, he submitted his resignation from the Lakeside Country Club in Los Angeles. The reason: the club refused to admit a Jew.

In 1971, through his good offices, the California Legislature signed into law a bill authorizing banks and savings institutions to invest in State of Israel bonds. I am told that this was the first such law in the nation and was the model for similar legislation in other states that so dramatically enhanced bond sales in this country. In appreciation, Ambassador Abba Eban presented Governor Reagan with Israel's Medallion of Valor on behalf of the State of Israel. The inscription on the invitation to the event read: "Ronald Reagan, Governor of the State of California, having courageously and consistently called upon all Americans to strengthen the people and the State of Israel as an integral and vital element in the foreign policy of the United States, will be invested with the highest recognition within our power to bestow."

In Governor Reagan's moving speech to the 1980 Republican Convention, his concern was expressed for the plight of Soviet Jewry. Only two weeks before, he had forcefully denounced the infamous resolution on Jerusalem adopted by the United Nation's Security Council. These expressions are not mere campaign rhetoric. The *Los Angeles Times* went out of its way on May 30 of this year to report that Governor Reagan has been pro-Israel since the nation's creation in 1948. I stand witness to the integrity of that statement.

GOV. REAGAN'S ADDRESS

I know it will come as no surprise to you that I have chosen to speak to you tonight about the State of Israel, its importance to our own nation and world peace.

Israel is not only a nation—it is a symbol. During my campaign I have spoken of the values of family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom. I made a commitment to see to it that those values would be at the heart of policy-making in a Reagan Administration. Israel symbolizes those values. What is Israel if not the creation of families, working together to build a place to live and work and prosper in peace and freedom?

In defending Israel's right to exist, we defend the very values upon which our nation is built.

The theme of this convention, "A Covenant with Tomorrow," speaks directly to the question of American interests and the well-being of Israel. Since the rebirth of the State of Israel, there has been an iron-clad bond between that democracy and this one. That bond is a moral imperative. **But the history of relations between states demonstrates that while morality is most frequently given as a motive for actions, the true and abiding motive is self-interest. Well, the touchstone of our relationship with Israel is that a secure, strong Israel is in America's self-interest. Israel is a major strategic asset to America.**

The conduct of this nation's foreign policy in the last four years has been marked by inconsistency and incompetence. We must have a principled, consistent foreign policy which our people can support, our friends understand, and our adversaries respect. Our policies must be based upon close consultation with our allies. As an ally of the United States, Israel must have the means to remain strong and secure.

Because of the weak and confused leadership of Jimmy Carter, we are approaching a flashpoint in this tragic process, with Soviet power now deployed in a manner which directly threatens Iran, the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea; with Soviet forces and proxy forces building up again in the region; with Soviet fleets and air bases emplaced along the sea lanes on which we and our Allies and the entire free world depend.

How we deal with Israel and her neighbors in this period will determine whether we rebuild the peace process or whether we continue to drift. **But let it be clear that the cornerstone of our effort and of our interest is a secure Israel, and our mutual objective is peace. While we can help the nations of that area move toward peace, we should not try to force a settlement on them. Most important, we must rebuild our lost reputation for trustworthiness. We must again become a nation that can be relied upon to live up to its commitments.**

In 1976, Candidate Jimmy Carter said: "I am concerned with the way in which our country, as well as the Soviet Union, Britain and France have poured arms into certain Arab countries—five or six times more than Israel receives."

But it was Mr. Carter who agreed to sell sixty F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia. To get the Congress to go along, he assured these aircraft would not have certain offensive capabilities. Now, the Secretary of Defense tells us he cannot say whether this commitment to Congress will be honored.

It was Mr. Carter who agreed to sell one hundred main battle tanks to Jordan.

It was Mr. Carter who agreed to provide U.S. licensed turbine engines for Iraqi warships.

Meanwhile, Israel is being increasingly isolated by international terrorism and by U.N. resolutions designed to undermine Israel's position in the world while Carter stands by and watches.

I was appalled to see the Carter Administration abstain from voting on, rather than veto, the Resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council two weeks ago, totally disregarding the Democratic Platform promises of 1976 and 1980. As I stated then, that Resolution not only undermines progress toward peace by putting the United Nations on record against Israel and on one side of the sensitive issue of the status of Jerusalem; it also presumes to order other nations—including our Dutch ally—to move their embassies from Jerusalem.

On March 1st, the Carter Administration failed to veto a mischievous U.N. resolution condemning Israel's presence in Jerusalem, calling it an "occupation." That was the position of the Carter Administration on Saturday. Two days later, on a Monday, reacting to the public outcry, Jimmy Carter put the blame for this outrage on his Secretary of State and reversed the position of the Administration.

The man who asks "trust me," zigzags and flip-flops in ever more rapid gyrations, trying to court favor with everyone: Israel, the P.L.O., the voting bloc in the United Nations and the voters at home. On March 1st, it took the Carter Administration three days to switch positions. On August 20th, it took only three minutes. This is the Carter record on the Middle East.

Clear away the debris of the past four years, and the following issues remain to test the good faith of the Arab nations and of Israel, and to challenge our national will and diplomatic skill in helping them to shape a peace.

There is the unresolved question of territorial rights resulting from the 1967 war. There is the status of Jerusalem which is part of the first question. There is the matter of refugees. There is the matter of the P.L.O., which I consider distinct from the matter of the refugees.

The question of territory, putting aside Jerusalem for the moment, must still be decided in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. We will tolerate no effort to supersede those Resolutions.

Jerusalem has been a source of man's spiritual inspiration since King David founded it. Its centrality to Jewish life is known to all. Now it exists as a shared trust. The holy places of all faiths are protected and open to all. **Unlike the days prior to 1967, Jerusalem is now and will continue to be one city, undivided, with continuing free access for all.**

President Carter refuses to brand the P.L.O. as a terrorist organization. I have no hesitation in doing so.

We live in a world in which any band of thugs clever enough to get the word "liberation" into its name can thereupon murder school children and have its deeds considered glamorous and glorious. Terrorists are not guerrillas, or commandos, or freedom-fighters or anything else. They are terrorists and they should be identified as such. If others wish to deal with them, establish diplomatic relations with them, let it be on their heads. And let them be willing to pay the price of appeasement.

The P.L.O. is said to represent the Palestinian refugees. It represents no one but the leaders who established it as a means of organizing aggression against Israel. As for those it purports to represent, when any Palestinian breathes a word about peace with Israel, he is an immediate target for assassination. The P.L.O. has murdered more Palestinians than it has Israelis.

This nation made an agreement with Israel in 1975 concerning its relations with the P.L.O. This Administration has violated that agreement.

Finally, the question of Arab Palestinian refugees. My analysis of this tragic situation begins with the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, May 14, 1948. Let me read the relevant paragraph: "We appeal—in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months—to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and to participate with us in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions."

Tragically, this appeal was rejected. People left their land and their homes confident Israel would be destroyed in a matter of days. Israel was not destroyed and the refugee problem is with us today. **One solution to this refugee problem could be assimilation in Jordan, designated by the U.N. as the Arab Palestinian state.**

In the final analysis, this or some other solution must be found as part of a peace settlement. The Psalms speak to our concerns, for they encompass all that we strive for. They are a vision of our ideals, of the goal to which we strive with constancy, dedication and faith. They embrace our hopes for a just, lasting peace in the Middle East and our hopes that the works of justice and mercy be done at home:

(Continued on page 4)

Jewish Leaders Condemn Carter On U.N. Vote

Leaders of the major Jewish organizations in America have been vocal in condemning the Carter Administration on its latest anti-Israel actions at the United Nations. Following are excerpts of statements made to the press in response to the August Security Council vote against Israel on which the United States abstained. The resolution punished Israel by calling on nations with embassies in Jerusalem to remove them and condemned the Jewish State for the Knesset's action in reaffirming the status of Jerusalem as a united city and the capital of Israel.

Maxwell Greenberg, Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith: The U.S. abstention is "immoral and counterproductive to the cause of peace. . . We are greatly disappointed and disillusioned by the United States' continuing refusal to react firmly against Arab and Soviet connivance in the U.N. . . The abstention can only be described as an act devoid of courage, leadership, loyalty to an ally and unwise because of its corrosive effect on the Camp David process."

Howard Squadron, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations: "Our disappointment at the latest American action is profound. . . Our country's U.N. abstention was a form of punishment directed against Israel." The resolution "is itself a form of sanction and lays the groundwork for additional sanctions."

Charlotte Jacobson, Chairman of the World Zionist Congress-American Section: It was "inconceivable that the U.S. government, while upholding and supporting Israel, has acted in the opposite direction in this case. Consistency with the U.S. government's position and promise to Israel would have definitely called for a veto of this outrageous Security Council act."

Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, President, the American Zionist Federation: ". . . a disgrace. We condemn not only the resolution, which makes a mockery of the Middle East peace initiatives, but also our government's role on this vote." The action "was even more distressing in light of Secretary Muskie's full recognition of the 'unbalanced and unrealistic' nature of the resolution."

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations: ". . . the Carter Administration has reconfirmed its fear of offending the very states that have damned the Camp David process. If Jimmy Carter still believes peace can come to the Middle East by placating na-

tions that refuse to accept Israel's very existence, he has learned nothing about the Arab world or about the process of making peace."

Jack Spitzer, President B'nai Brith: ". . . every other country in the world, including every member of the U.N., decides for itself where its capital shall be. All other nations respect that decision. The U.N. should not be telling Israel where to place its capital. . . The resolution would not only undermine the Camp David accords which have purposely deferred the issue of Jerusalem, but undermine Resolution 242 by prejudging the status of Jerusalem."

Laurence Tisch, President of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, speaking on behalf of the JCRC's 29 member agencies: The New York Jewish Community "is deeply upset by the U.S. abstention, particularly when we find out that, in this instance, there was no 'communication problem' within the administration. In fact, we have been informed that the decision to abstain was made at what was termed 'the very highest levels'; this has engendered dismay, anguish and a deep consternation in our community."

Julius Berman, President, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, in a telegram to President Carter: "The fact that your Administration has failed to veto yet another in a series of virulently anti-Israel resolutions in the Security Council serves only to encourage even more such diatribes in that body, and throws into question the depth of your Administration's support of Israel and her security. . . It is most disturbing that the guardian of world morality refuses to block one-sided and imbalanced resolutions."

Roselle Silberstein, President, American Mizrahi Women: "Israel has always been a faithful friend and ally of the United States and a firm outpost of democracy in a region rife with fanaticism and hatred. One would expect American support and, certainly, a measure of understanding for the centrality of Jerusalem in the hearts and minds of the Jewish people."

Gov. Reagan on the Middle East

(Continued from page 3)

...May our garner be full,

affording every kind of store;

May there be no breach in the walls,

no exile, no outcry in our streets.

Happy the people for whom things are thus;

It is given to us to see that this vision is never lost, its message never forgotten, that the work of peace and justice and freedom goes on, inspired by our values, guided by our faith and made permanent by our commitment.

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