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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/26

TO:

max

FROM: MARI MASENG
Deputy Assistant to the President
and
Director, The Office of Public Liaison

SUBJECT:

The attached is for:

- | | |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Information | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment |
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What do you think? Bad idea,
McCaulley simply does not have
the stature to justify a meeting with
the POTUS. I will try to arrange mtgs
with lesser officials. Max

MIKE EVANS

February 19, 1987

Gary Bauer
Office of Policy Development
2nd Floor - West Wing
White House
Washington, DC 20500

Re: Meeting with President Reagan, Mike Evans, Ray McCauley.

Dear Mr. Bauer:

We were given your name by Herb Ellingwood. He told us that you may be able to help us get a meeting with the President. I am enclosing a bio sheet on Ray McCauley from South Africa. By way of introduction of myself, I am an Evangelist from Bedford, Texas. I serve on the Executive Board of the American Coalition for Traditional Values, which has worked with 110,000 churches assisting President Reagan enormously. I have had several meetings with President Reagan myself.

Ray McCauley is one of the most influential religious leaders in South Africa and I feel that Ray could be an enormous help to the President on the South African issue.

We have been in contact with Max Green from Linas Kojelis' office and he is trying to set up some meetings with other prominent people for me and Ray.

Mr. McCauley will be in the United States the last week of May and the first week of June. We would be most grateful if there is anything you could do for us in setting up this meeting.

Please let me know your thoughts on the subject.

Most sincerely,

Mike Evans ^{bw}
Mike Evans

ME/bw

RAY McCAULEY is founder and Pastor of RHEMA BIBLE CHURCH in Randburg, South Africa.

He was born in South Africa and, before his conversion, he was a professional body-builder. In 1978 he and his wife Lynda moved to America where they attended RHEMA BIBLE TRAINING CENTER in Tulsa, OKLAHOMA. It was there that he was ordained by Dr. Kenneth E. Hagin in the same year.

In 1979 they returned to South Africa to start a church and a bible college along the lines of that of Kenneth Hagin Ministries in U.S.A. They started holding church services in their parent's home in June 1980, with an attendance of 15 people. Now six years later RHEMA Bible Church has a multi-racial membership of 9 000. It has pioneered 120 other churches and graduated 1620 students from the bible college which has 400 full-time students at present. Recently Rhema completed a multi-million rand building that seats 5 000 people which is already packed to capacity on Sunday mornings. 500 monthly decisions for Christ are being recorded at the services.

Pastor Ray McCauley is co-founder of the INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. This is a unique organisation which has brought together five different streams of Christians in South Africa under one banner. There are approximately 200 churches altogether including Spirit-filled baptists, full-gospel, pentecostal and charismatics. IFCC has brought tremendous unity amongst the body of Christ in South Africa.

In 1984 Rhema Bible Church began its home fellowship groups with the help of Christian Community Church in Pretoria. There was such an explosion in this ministry that by the end of this year there will be 300 such groups meeting each week. These groups have been built on caring relationships which have created a strong foundation for the ministry.

The success of this extra-ordinary ministry does not end here, for RHEMA VIDEO has a membership of over 1 000 and distributes video tapes to 32 other countries in seven languages. RHEMA AUDIO TAPE MINISTRY circulates or sells over 10 000 units every month and the RHEMA WHOLESALE DIVISION is probably the largest in the Southern Hemisphere.

Pastor RAY McCAULEY attributes the tremendous growth and the great revival taking place in South Africa, to God's perfect timing. He believes South Africa is a key to reaching Africa for Jesus which will stop other influences from coming in and defeating the church. In the midst of South Africa's problems, people are turning to the Only Solution, knowing that it does not lie in anything else but in Jesus Christ.

Although his main vision is to reach Africa for Jesus, Pastor Ray McCauley ministers at special conventions world-wide.

RHEMA MINISTRIES SOUTH AFRICA has established churches in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Venda, Swaziland, Mauritius, Portugal, England and Scotland.

INTERVIEWS

LOS ANGELES TIMES (MAGAZINE) 22 FEBRUARY 1987 Pg. 6

When Congress concludes debate over the recently proposed defense budget, one of the most quoted documents will have been a 1986 report from the Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management. David Packard, 74, co-founder of Palo Alto-based Hewlett-Packard Co. and a deputy secretary of defense in the Nixon Administration, was the commission's chairman.

Packard's Strategy for Defense

BY DAVID DEVOSS

Q: Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger has asked Congress for a two-year defense appropriation of \$312 billion, an increase that's 3% above inflation. Still, many Democrats believe it's too much, given America's \$169.8-billion deficit. How do you view the Pentagon's proposed budget?

A: I've told the White House that a real increase of 1½% per year would be more realistic. It's closer to what Congress eventually will agree to, and if the department [of Defense] does a careful job of planning within a five-year program, it could maintain an adequate defense capability. Obviously Secretary Weinberger was afraid that [whatever figure] he presented, Congress would cut it back anyway. I'm inclined to think he presented his budget at a higher level than what he anticipated he would eventually get.

Q: Why does Washington keep spending large amounts for weapons if it's generally conceded that smaller defense budgets would be adequate?

A: The [armed] services work with the secretary to get a budget put together, but the secretary is never able to include everything that each wants. Quite often the services will campaign with the Congress. Sometimes they'll get their defense-contractor friends to lobby for things that the secretary didn't even want in the budget. When I was at the Pentagon [1969-71], we decided we didn't need any more Navy A-7s. Well, the A-7 plant was in Congressman George Mahan's [D-Tex.] district, and he always put some A-7s back in the program whether we wanted them or not.

Over the past five or six years, Congress

has passed various types of legislation it hopes will improve defense management, but my observation is that everything Congress has proposed causes more problems than it solves. Instead of a long-term defense strategy that sets appropriate levels of manpower, readiness and modernization, they give us the line-item budget. Trouble is, the line-item budget gives members of the Senate and the Congress an opportunity to pork-barrel for their own community. Congress is one of the big problems, and I don't know how you're going to get them to reform.

Q: What's wrong with the present system of defense budgeting?

A: Major weapons programs require small expenditures during the research-and-development phase. The commitment to spend billions comes when you decide to advance to engineering and production. The problem is that budgets are drawn up on a year-by-year basis, with no consideration given to what happens in the future. Down the line, meaning two or three years later, Congress often won't vote enough money to cover the commitment. So, instead of losing the funds already invested in the weapon, the program is stretched out, adding waste and delay. Instead of juggling the costs of a program each year, development programs should become more orderly, because stability saves money and allows you to do a better job.

Q: Some of the recommendations in the commission's report to the President last summer already have been accepted. What more could be done to increase defense-management efficiency?

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

CONVENTIONAL MISSILE...CONTINUED

tration leaves office). That was the B-1 and MX (Peacekeeper) strategy."

While Weiberger told Congress Feb. 4 the first phase of SDI would be a space-based, kinetic-kill system for destroying Soviets missiles during liftoff from their launch pads, other officials have said there could be more to the first phase.

It may also include a land-based missile-interceptor system using technology similar to that used in the proposed European-based ATM. Such prospects have aroused suspicions of SDI critics that ATM might be used as a practical demonstration of an interceptor to increase support for first phase deployment of space defense.

At the same time, Bennett, like many lawmakers, is not opposed to ATM, according to Cirincione. In fact, there is congressional support for ATM research, and deployment of these defenses around NATO sites would get support in Congress at this point, he said.

However, SDI officials should not try to use ATM as "a Trojan horse" to get phase one of SDI deployed, he said. If SDI intends to use it as a first step to space-based systems, it will lose its support.

"Congress won't buy space-based NATO defense," warned Cirincione. "If you want to get ATM passed, keep it... distinct. You've got support for ATM and you've got support for SDI research. What you don't have support for is SDI deployment."

Another congressional aide was more cautious. He said SDI and ABM for U.S. protection will eat most available money. A third track of ATM for Europe "won't get money thrown at it," he said.

But Bennett's view is diametrically opposed to that of other SDI critics. While the congressman said DoD is trying to move too fast, a Senate staffer said it is not moving fast enough.

"It's not clear to me SDI is working theater applications as hard as they could," a Senate aide said.

A successful test of ATM would drive the Soviets back into their academies to find a response, he said. If the United States does not field an ATM demonstrator, the Soviets will know it has not left the labs and is, therefore, no threat to them.

"Application and fielding is necessary and that point has not been understood," the Senate aide said. "The Soviets are petrified of this stuff. The only game the West can play is to keep the Soviets worrying about what they have. SDI does that... It drives them back into the retrofit shops."

But the likelihood of rapid deployment of ATM may be slim without early agreement from NATO allies.

The NATO supreme allied commander, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers (USA), and other alliance leaders do not want U.S. defense officials deciding how the problem should be addressed.

European defense officials are going to have to identify the threat themselves and then have a significant say in technology that will be developed under the management of the U.S. Army Strategic Defense Command.

"What comes out is going to have to be decided on an allied basis," said a defense official.

One congressional aide said SDI-ATM supporters in Congress will try to sell the U.S.'s NATO allies on ATM first and then have the allies feed it back to U.S. audiences to break down any opposition from the State Department and SDI opponents.

Such objections are only procedural, though, said a senior Pentagon official. There is great interest in ATM among U.S. allies, he said, and pointed to a series of articles by Woerner, the German defense minister.

STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

Bulletin 
of the Atomic Scientists

MARCH 1987 Pg. 13

Dangers of limited SDI

by Gerald E. Marsh

RECENT EFFORTS to redefine the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) are mostly aimed at building support for a system to defend U.S. land-based missiles. This is thought to be a more feasible goal than President Reagan's dream of an impregnable shield to defend the U.S. population against ballistic missiles. But a feasible idea is not necessarily a good one. While chasing the population-defense fantasy would destroy the existing arms control regime and waste the national treasure of money and talent, defending land-based missiles would be dangerous and destabilizing.

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger held fast to the idea of population defense in January, when he told the Senate Armed Services Committee that even early deployments of SDI systems that could be developed in the near future should be "the first phase of a system that would protect the continent." But such statements may reflect the administration's determination to do away with the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty more than its belief that population defense is a reasonable goal.

From the time that Reagan announced SDI in 1983, many in the defense community have believed that it would ultimately be redirected to defend land-based missiles. Substantial efforts to do so only surfaced recently, however. The Senate Armed Services Committee, in its report on the 1987 military spending bill, advocated placing the major SDI emphasis on "developing survivable and cost effective defense options for enhancing the survivability of U.S. retaliatory forces and command, control and communications systems."¹ Similarly, a study directed by James A. Schear and Joseph S. Nye of the Aspen Strategy Group concluded that SDI research should be directed "toward possible defenses for missile and bomber bases and to hedge against Soviet advances."² In a December 16, 1986, article in the *New York Times*, former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski urged the president to "take some of the initial deployment decisions designed to provide for the United States a limited strategic defense capable of protecting America's strategic forces and principal command and control centers." Thomas Schelling speculates on the effort to redirect SDI: "It is not clear . . . whether it is an opportunistic rescue of ground-based missiles under the SDI umbrella, a minimally defensible foot in the door for SDI, a fillip to advanced research, or merely an attempt to rescue the president's image by showing that the concept of SDI, though overblown and oversold, is not quite empty."³

The scientific community has resisted SDI largely because
Gerald E. Marsh is with Argonne National Laboratory.

it is technically infeasible. Even the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser, which was instrumental in initiating SDI, has descended in the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization's order of priorities and may not survive in the long term. Thus, many in the defense community and Congress are embracing, with a sense of relief, the new focus on defending land-based missiles. They believe that the redirection would rescue SDI in a way that would enhance stability: if land-based missiles were less vulnerable, there would be less incentive to launch them on warning of an attack. In this context, Schelling notes: "It was a flaw in the ABM Treaty that 'good' ABM (protecting missiles) was disallowed along with 'bad' (protecting cities)."

Decreasing the vulnerability of land-based missiles is also the motivation for developing the Midgetman—a small, mobile, single-warhead missile—and for the proposal to put the MX on rails. Unfortunately, it is not clear that these missiles would survive an attack even if they were dispersed—especially, in the case of Midgetman, if the proposal to restrict it to the five largest Defense Department reservations were followed. But even if the dispersed missiles were invulnerable, as a December 30, 1986, *New York Times* editorial points out, "to disperse them in a crisis requires warning of an attack. Should warning fail, the missiles would be highly vulnerable. Even with warning, dispersing the missiles could heighten a crisis. Yet failure to disperse might signal a perilous lack of resolve." Indeed, the missiles would have to be dispersed during any serious political crisis, since warning of an attack by submarine-launched ballistic missiles could be as short as six or seven minutes. Thus, mobile missiles that must be dispersed on warning of an attack contribute to crisis instability even though they may be less vulnerable than silo-based missiles.

The only credible explanation for what Schelling describes as the attempt to rescue land-based missiles under an SDI umbrella is that Congress continues to believe in the need for land-based forces. These missiles are valued for their combination of high-yield warheads and great accuracy, which give the best capability to destroy hardened targets such as missile silos and command bunkers. There is widespread belief in Congress that this capability cannot be matched by submarine-launched ballistic missiles. There is a perception that the latter are subject to irremediable communication difficulties and are relatively less accurate. This would prevent them, the argument goes, from being used to attack time-sensitive targets—targets that would need to be destroyed within the first hour of a conflict. This belief is likely to persist after the Trident II missile system is deployed on ballistic missile submarines—a system report-

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

edly comparable to the MX in its ability to destroy hard targets.

I WOULD CONTEND that the Trident II missile, deployed and supported to its fullest potential, could indeed perform the same missions as the land-based missile force. First, however, it is important to understand why defending land-based missiles does not contribute to stability but, on the contrary, is dangerous and destabilizing.

It is true that having a reliable defense for land-based missiles would somewhat reduce the incentive to launch these weapons on warning of an attack. But a defense system that cannot have been tested under full-scale, realistic conditions can hardly be considered reliable, and therefore the incentive to launch on warning would still exist. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, would have to assume that the defense system was at least reliable enough to protect missiles against a ragged, second-strike attack and would therefore have an additional incentive to strike first. The same assessment, moreover, would add to the U.S. incentive to strike first. The idea of protecting land-based missiles, therefore, enhances the attractiveness of preemptive

Many in the defense community and Congress are embracing, with a sense of relief, the new focus on defending land-based missiles.

tive strikes for both sides and escalates instability in a crisis. In addition, to assure itself the capability of penetrating U.S. defenses, the Soviet Union would have to increase the number of attacking warheads. This would have to be countered in turn by the United States in an arms race that would further destabilize the strategic balance.

The best solution to the vulnerability of land-based missiles is to eliminate all ballistic missiles, including submarine-launched ballistic missiles, as President Reagan proposed at Reykjavik. In issuing National Security Decision Directive 250 after the meeting, the president ordered key agencies, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to study the consequences of eliminating all ballistic missiles within 10 years.⁴ The proposal is unlikely to receive serious consideration; the administration began backing away from the proposal almost as soon as it became public. This is unfortunate, because a nuclear deterrent based on bombers and submarine-launched cruise missiles would incorporate few of the instabilities of the current strategic balance.

But if all ballistic missiles cannot be eliminated, strategic stability can best be served by deploying the Trident II missile in such a way as to make use of its full capabilities. Strategic analyst Theodore Postol concludes an extensive analysis of the Trident and strategic stability with the observation that although the Trident II represents an increasingly serious and destabilizing threat to Soviet silo-based

forces, because the Trident could meet any identifiable military objectives for ballistic missiles, the Soviet Union would have no incentive to preemptively attack U.S. land-based missiles. Postol asserts that the Trident II will therefore not significantly contribute to strategic instability, particularly when compared to "the pathological instability created by the deployment of 100 MX missiles in silos at Warren Air Force Base."⁵

The Trident II's capabilities could allow the United States to move toward a more stable strategic balance based on a diad of survivable nuclear forces: strategic missile submarines and a bomber force that, armed with long-range cruise missiles, need not penetrate Soviet air space to carry out most of their missions. Land-based ICBMs would not have to be eliminated immediately, against inevitable institutional and doctrinal opposition; rather, they could be allowed to "age gracefully."

The evolution to a diad would offer a number of advantages:

- Because the Trident II's mission would be identical to that of land-based missiles, the vulnerability of land-based missiles would no longer be a concern.
- Since land-based ICBMs would no longer have special status, and currently carry only about 25 percent of U.S. warheads, there would be much less incentive to launch them on warning.
- Money would not have to be spent to upgrade the aging infrastructure supporting land-based missiles—a cost often overlooked by Congress when considering deploying the MX.
- The decision to evolve toward a diad would not require reciprocal action on the part of the Soviet Union.

Evolving toward a diad would mean basing U.S. defense programs and force structures on strategic considerations. Unfortunately, this is not presently the case. Robert Komer, a former undersecretary of defense for policy, noted in a *Foreign Affairs* article in the summer of 1982: "The professional body to which the Administration would logically turn for advice, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is far less able to reassess strategy than to clamor for more resources." The U.S. force posture, he continues, "tends to be dictated by service parochialism and such domestic considerations as which defense contractors get what."

To those longstanding problems of defense decision making we must now add the pressures of SDI. Whatever the motives of those who advocate redirecting SDI, it is clear that concerns about the vulnerability of land-based missiles could be addressed in more sensible ways. □

1. Senate Committee on Armed Services, *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1987*, Report 99-331, p. 181.

2. Charles W. Corddry, "Star Wars Seen Yielding to 'More Plausible' Plans," *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 28, 1986, p. 1.

3. Thomas C. Schelling, "What Went Wrong with Arms Control," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 64, no. 219 (Winter 1985/1986).

4. Robert C. Toth, "U.S. Orders Study of Plan to Scrap All Ballistic Missiles," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 21, 1986, p. 1.

5. Theodore A. Postol, "The Trident and Strategic Stability," *Oceanus*, vol. 28, no. 45 (1986).

Most-likely given name
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March 12, 1987

Max Green
Room 196
Old Executive Building
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Max:

Once again you and your staff came through with flying colors! The AJCongress and I, personally, thank you for all your efforts on behalf of our delegates to the National Domestic Policy Conference.

The program presented them with an exciting and exhilarating opportunity to experience our nation's capital at work. While the entire event was judged to be one of the finest in recent memory, the session you put together at the White House proved to be a highlight.

We truly appreciate your willingness to help provide the AJCongress with a perspective on some of the issues which will help make them better constituents and participants in the political process.

Most sincerely,

Marc A. Pearl
Washington Representative

MAP:rj

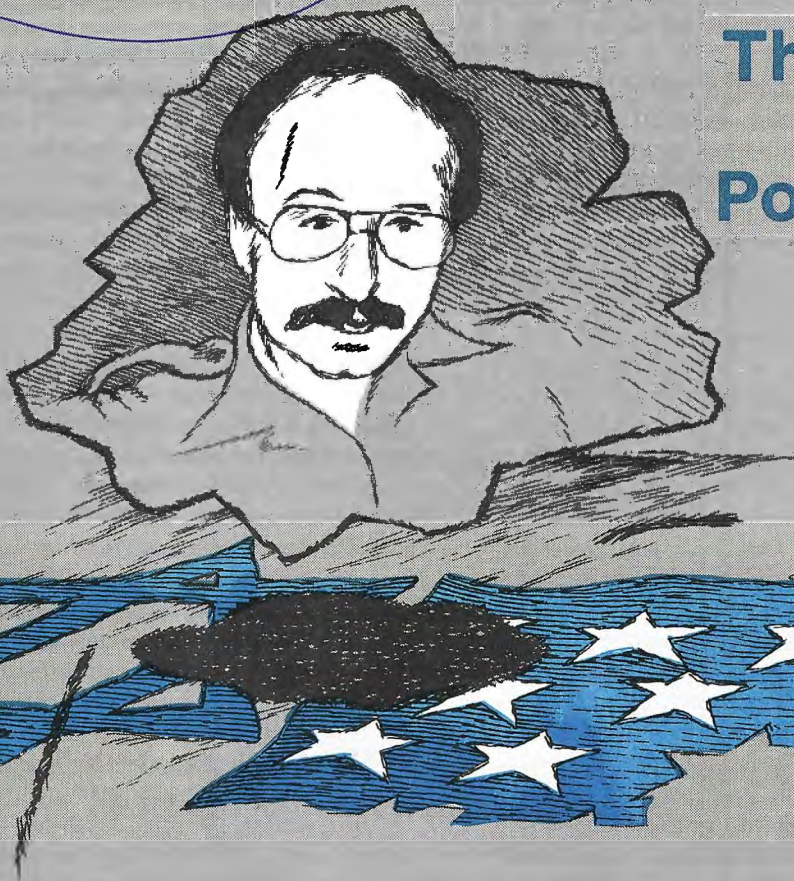
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Helen A. Weinberg

American Jewish
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May/June 1987



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Yosef Goell

America

Distress and Despair in Rural America

Daniel Levitas

**Judaic Studies
as the Third Pillar**

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**The Judaism
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The Lessons of the Pollard Affair

Yosef Goell

THE POLLARD AFFAIR—that is, the spying on behalf of Israel by a Jewish citizen of the U.S., the harsh sentence meted out to the guilty party, and the congeries of painful issues and pained reactions evoked by the unfortunate series of events—continues to reverberate in the U.S. and Israel. It has raised a number of serious questions that deserve further consideration, even at this comparatively late date, when everything that can possibly be said on the matter seems already to have been remarked upon.

The first of these questions has to do with the act of the spying itself. Was there anything really wrong in Israel's spying on the U.S. besides getting caught at it? The fact of the matter is that espionage is conducted not only between enemies, but between friends and even allies, too. Senator David Durenberger of Minnesota, the immediate past chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, was recently reported to have divulged that in 1982 former CIA director William Casey "changed the rules of the game" and authorized a covert operation against Israel. It was said that the CIA had recruited a high-level Israeli army officer to spy for the U.S. against Israel, in connection with Israel's involvement in the Lebanese war. Israel had uncovered the man, who had originally emigrated from the U.S., and reportedly "bumped" him, with no noise being made.

But one really doesn't need reports from such a high and authoritative source as Sen. Durenberger, to know that the U.S. spies on Israel. The U.S.S. *Liberty* was spying on Israel, and intercepting military communications, in the middle of a shooting war, in June 1967, which Israel's leaders believed at the time would be a life-and-death battle against the armies of three of the surrounding Arab countries. The U.S. also maintains a CIA station in Israel, and the roof of the American embassy in Tel Aviv bristles with sophisticated antennas, which are not used only to check on Israeli applicants for U.S. visas.

One could, of course, bring additional examples from the mutual spying practiced between the U.S. and others of its allies. The fact of the matter is, however, that as much as the U.S. and Israel do have a broad gamut of shared interests, they also have interests that conflict. The U.S., as a global and regional superpower, has interests in the Arab world, which in some cases do conflict with Israel's. The U.S. does not share with Israel all the information it obtains on the Arab world, including some intelligence which has a direct bearing on Israel's security. Israel, for its part, does not share all its intelligence on the Arab world with the U.S., in the less frequent cases in which it perceives clear divergences in

interest between itself and the U.S. These differences provide the backdrop for the temptation each side is subject to, to obtain such vital intelligence, that has not been freely shared, from the other.

But it would be both wrong and dangerous to seek to draw the conclusion that Israel may permit itself to do to the U.S. what the U.S. does to Israel. Israeli leaders love to preen themselves with the claim that Israel is an ally of the U.S., and American leaders exhibit a similar tendency to stroke Israeli and American Jewish egos with similar declarations. But it is an unequal relationship, to say the least. As painful as it may be to admit, we must not blind ourselves to the fact that Israel is not only an ally but also a very dependent client-state of the U.S. As patrons go, Israel could not want a nicer one than Uncle Sam; but the true nature of the relationship should never be forgotten.

The upshot of all of the above is that although one should not cluck-cluck too sanctimoniously about allies spying on each other, the decision, by whatever level of Israeli officialdom, to run Pollard as a spy in the heart of the American intelligence community, was a horrendously irresponsible one. It is not at all clear how valuable the intelligence obtained through Pollard's spying was to Israel. But no less a man than Isser Harel, the long-time director of both the Mossad and the Shin Bet internal security service, has declared that no matter how valuable the information obtained might have been, the risk entailed in the threat to relations with the U.S. and to the position of American Jews, was totally unacceptable. William Casey may well have changed the American rules of the game, but Israel's far-reaching dependence on the U.S. means that it must operate under very different rules, whose flouting would be the height of irresponsibility. An interesting point that has been made both in regard to the Pollard affair and to Israel's involvement in the Iran arms deals, is that the professionals of the Mossad were kept at arm's length in both cases. Israel was "represented" in both those affairs by amateurs who were either cronies of the political leaders, or members of competing agencies.

HOW THEN could it have happened? The verdicts of the various fact-finding bodies in Israel are not yet in, and even when they are determined may, very understandably, not be made public. Logically, however, there are only two possibilities, with the conclusions to be drawn from them being only marginally different in their severity. Either, as some commentators would have it, Israel evinced a similar penchant to that of the U.S. administration for letting cowboys run sensitive intelligence operations, with insufficient control on the part of responsible political leaders; or, again, as may be the case with the U.S. administration in regard to

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the Iran affair, the political leaders did know, but were now running for cover and letting their subordinates take the rap.

There is, of course, a difference between the two possibilities when it comes to their impact on U.S.-Israel relations. But there is little difference in regard to the internal Israeli considerations. In either case, Israel's top political leadership was guilty of perilous irresponsibility, on the issue of the utmost importance to the security and well-being of the country: its relationship with the U.S. Nor did the leadership show good judgment in the promotion of Rafi Eitan, Pollard's alleged recruiter, to head up Israel Chemicals Corporation (the country's largest state-owned conglomerate), and of Col. Aviem Sella to the post of commander of Israel's second-largest air base (after his indictment in the U.S. in connection with his role as Pollard's handler). Although Col. Sella subsequently resigned as base commander, purportedly as a result of heavy pressure from senior members of the government, the matter still rankles.

The perception of this irresponsibility at the top has slowly seeped down into the public's awareness, because the Pollard affair came as the climax to a series of other events in which the political leadership acquitted itself very badly. These include last year's scandal around an attempt within the Security Services to cover up knowledge of the true events surrounding a 1984 operation against PLO terrorists, which led to the forced resignation first of the attorney general and then of the director of the Security Services and a number of his associates; the obvious loss of control at the top over the details of the Israeli involvement in the Iran arms deals; the government's digging in of its heels against the implementation of the severe findings of the inquiry commission on the bank shares regulation scandal—which should do for the short list. In Israel, the Pollard affair has taken on the lines of a crisis in the credibility and ability of the country's top political leadership.

THE GROWING realization in Israel of the horrendous implications of the Pollard affair, both for Israel-U.S. relations and for American Jewry, also had a curious twist, in wheeling out the old Zionist-Diaspora debate. American Jewish leaders, who hastened to Israel in the wake of Pollard's sentencing, were accused of overreacting due to their hypersensitivity and insecurity as "typical Diaspora Jews." One could make a good case for such an argument, but given Israel's own hypersensitivity and insecurity in regard to the damage done to its relationship with the U.S., it is doubtful if now was exactly the time to revive that hoary debate. (In the U.S., the fallout from the Pollard conviction also revived the spectre of the dual loyalties of American Jews, securely laid to rest, one would have thought, by the pronouncements on the subject, 60 years ago, of Justice Louis Brandeis, then president of the Zionist Organization of America.)

In past cases, Israelis have rightly resented attempts by American Jewish leaders to volunteer their advice on matters on which the latter were clearly not competent to advise. But in the present case—the Pollard affair, with its uneasy

American ramifications—in which American Jewish leaders are obviously more sensitive to the American situation than are the Israelis, they not only may but are duty-bound to press their advice and criticism on the Israeli leadership.

Still, it is impossible, in writing of the Pollard affair, not to comment on the overreaction of the president of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, who came out in a public statement fully justifying the life sentence meted out to Pollard. Even if one accepts, as I do, that Israel's behavior in the Pollard affair was both a slap in the face to the U.S. and constituted the height of irresponsibility toward American Jewry, the life sentence was not only not justified but could in fact be seen as a travesty of justice. There are spies and there are spies. Secretary of Defense Weinberger made the astonishing assertion that Pollard's spying was the worst case of espionage against the U.S. in recent years, and had done the U.S. greater harm than all other such cases. Since Weinberger's pre-sentencing affidavit is classified and confidential, one cannot know the particular facts on which he relies. Pollard's act of espionage may well have further weakened the position of the U.S. in the Arab world, which after all was the target of his spying efforts. But on the face of it, how is it possible to even begin to compare the harm caused by Pollard's espionage with that of spying against the U.S. for the Soviet Union? U.S. citizen Jonathan Pollard certainly deserved to be imprisoned for his act of treachery, but he undoubtedly was also the victim of some very vicious intra-bureaucratic infighting among the Departments of Defense, Justice, and State. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether the leadership of American Jewry should have taken up the cudgels for the most anti-Israeli side in that internal American fight.

THE MOST IMPORTANT lesson that should be taken to heart from the various aspects of the Pollard affair, is that of the warning signal that it has flashed very clearly in regard to the future of U.S.-Israel relations. A good part of the behavior of the Israeli leadership in that affair derives from its having come to take that extraordinary relationship in its stride, as an axiomatic given. Many Israelis have long felt increasingly uncomfortable with Israel's total dependence on the U.S. The Pollard affair has provided additional evidence of how dangerous that habit can be. It is now more essential than ever that Israel begin on its own initiative to reduce that dependence. Given the continued reality of Arab hostility to Israel's existence, and of a murderously crazy Middle East, it would be foolhardy to counsel that Israel seek to reduce America's support for its security. But in all other areas—and especially in regard to American economic aid—the Israeli leadership must screw up its courage to talk sense into a population that has increasingly been led to tie its personal and public standard of living to the belief that large-scale American aid will always be there. It is perhaps in this area that American Jewish leaders can play a most important role, in familiarizing the Israeli public with American realities.

Distress and Despair in Rural America

Daniel Levitas

AFTER MORE THAN six years of acute economic decline, conditions throughout rural America have become chronic. Indeed, what was initially referred to in relatively simple terms as "the farm crisis" has now acquired all the characteristics of a full-blown economic depression.

Of the 120 banks that failed in 1985, 62 had at least 25 percent of their business in agriculture and in Iowa—one of the states hardest hit by the rural crisis—there has been one bank closed every month since then. Land owned by black Americans is being lost at the rate of approximately 9,000 acres per week and it is estimated that by 1994, there will be no black-owned farms in America. Nationwide, family farms are being lost at the staggering rate of one every eight minutes. And people—once prized as one of rural America's most valuable resources—are leaving in record numbers: an 11.5 percent decline in the farm population since 1980.

With 21 percent of the U.S. work force linked to food production and distribution, the continued loss of the nation's farms will have far-reaching effects beyond the farm gate. The agricultural-implement-manufacturing sector has already been severely impacted, having lost approximately 80,000 jobs from 1981-85. According to Wharton Econometrics, the loss of a mere 10 percent of the nation's farms over the next several years will result in the default of \$25 billion in farm loans, a \$30-\$50 billion cumulative reduction in "real" GNP, and a loss of \$12 billion in personal income by 1993.

A March 1986 report from the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment stated that by the year 2000 almost half of the existing 2.2 million farms in the United States will disappear, and that "of the remaining 1.2 million farms, 50,000 'super farms' will produce 75 percent of the nation's food supply." Without a fundamental reorientation in public policy, this prognosis is quite likely to occur.

Behind these statistics are human lives—individuals struggling to maintain their sense of dignity and self-worth. Of all the extraordinary pressures farmers have endured, perhaps the most debilitating of all has been this "crisis of dignity." As bankruptcies and foreclosures rise, farmers have become prime targets for political and institutional "victim-blaming." Agricultural policymakers have been quick to label farmers whose operations have failed as "bad managers"—the inefficient who can get by in good times but won't survive the current "shakeout." Articles in the farm press contain elaborate prescriptions on "how to survive the tough times ahead," implying that those who don't will have failed to adopt the latest technical fix.

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It is against this backdrop of economic dislocation and distress that far-right, racist, and anti-Semitic organizations have emerged, using a variety of techniques to gain converts to their cause. Unfortunately, there is evidence that this campaign has had some success. Their activity has spread to an ever wider strata of the rural population and has become increasingly sophisticated.

Because it is difficult to develop a strict quantitative analysis of a movement that operates essentially in secret, an exact count of the numbers of individuals involved is difficult to come by. However, according to Leonard Zeskind, research director for the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, the racist and anti-Semitic movement has between 2,000-5,000 hard-core activists in the Great Plains and Midwest, with seven to ten sympathizers for each activist.

Groups like the Posse Comitatus, the Populist Party, and others have brought latent tendencies of hate and scapegoating that have historically inhabited the body politic of America to the forefront. A 1986 Louis Harris poll of rural residents in Iowa and Nebraska, commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League, found that 42 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement that "Jews should stop complaining about what happened to them in Nazi Germany." Forty-three percent believed that, "when it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money." And, in a particularly ominous finding, 27 percent agreed with the statement, "Farmers have always been exploited by international Jewish Bankers." In his analysis of the poll data, Harris referred to the 27 percent who directly implicated Jews in the crisis, saying:

Any phenomenon which affects over one in four respondents must be viewed as a mass phenomenon, even if it is not massive. Put another way, one does not have to venture far into either [Iowa or Nebraska] to find an abundant number of people who are prepared to lay some of the blame for the plight of the farmers on international bankers, and many of these are clearly thought to be Jewish.

The Federal Reserve System is also one of the principal targets of far-right diatribes in the farm belt and the notion that the Fed is a tool of a faceless and shadowy "international Jewish conspiracy" is vigorously promoted. Opposition to the income tax, a belief in the gold standard, and claims that the Holocaust was a hoax are all elements of the belief system promoted by anti-democratic groups throughout rural America.

More recently, however, a wave of negative publicity toward far-right groups—directed by ecumenical agencies, progressive farm organizations, and the media—has forced many of these groups on the defensive and driven some of the grass-roots organizing activity underground. It is important to point out, however, that the success of groups espousing

anti-Semitic and racist beliefs has less to do with whether rural people are "educated" or "informed" and is much more dependent upon the sentiments of disenfranchisement and despair that have taken hold in rural America. Therefore, as economic conditions in the countryside continue to deteriorate, the threat of organized anti-Semitic activity remains very real.

Most of the media attention directed towards the rural crisis itself has been focused on farm foreclosures and the farm-debt crisis. It should be noted, however, that the present \$210 billion in farm debt—greater than the foreign debt of Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina combined—is only symptomatic of a fundamental problem that has faced agricultural producers since the early 1970s: the systematic dismantling of government price-support and production-control mechanisms. Government farm policies over the past decade have been based on the assumption that farmers' problems could be solved, in part, by encouraging "fence-row to fence-row" production. It has only been until relatively recently—against the backdrop of low farm income, falling land values, declining exports, chronic overproduction, and continued farm losses—that a new way of thinking about farm policy is being given a fair hearing.

THIS NEW APPROACH is typified by legislation, introduced on March 5, by Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Representative Richard Gephardt (D-MO). According to recent studies comparing various farm-bill alternatives, produced by Texas A & M and the Food and Agriculture Policy Research Institute of the University of Missouri at Columbia and Iowa State University at Ames (FAPRI), the Family Farm Act (S. 658 and H.S. 1425) would: eliminate an average of \$14.4 billion in costly taxpayer subsidies annually; bring supply in line with demand through production controls; let farmers decide what type of programs they want through a producer referendum; raise annual farm income by \$21 billion more than the current program; target benefits to family-size operations; and provide emergency debt restructuring, targeted emergency loans, and debt-mediation mechanisms.

The act is viewed very favorably in other countries because it provides incentives for the establishment of multinational trade agreements among exporting nations and has the potential of ushering in an era of trade negotiations

rather than trade wars. By raising and stabilizing commodity markets worldwide, proponents argue that the U.S. can make a positive contribution toward the elimination of hunger abroad and the restoration of economic prosperity at home.

Since passage of the Family Farm Act would, according to its supporters, "represent a fundamental reorientation in federal farm policy away from a market that is regulated to serve the interests of agribusiness and corporate capital and towards protection of efficient family farm and ranch producers," it has attracted some powerful opposition. Industry groups such as Cargill and the National Fertilizer Institute lobbied heavily against an earlier version of the bill that was introduced—and defeated—in the 99th Congress. Conservative farm organizations like the American Farm Bureau Federation, and think tanks like the Heritage Foundation that are intent on promoting the withdrawal of government control and regulation in agriculture, have also opposed the bill.

Some liberal agricultural reformers are less than enthusiastic about the Family Farm Act, fearing that it would amount to a "food tax," putting the price of meat, milk, and eggs out of reach for many of the poor. While the act is projected to raise food prices overall approximately 7 percent, it must be noted that the grocery trade takes the largest retail mark-up on dairy products and the second largest mark-up on meat—those commodities projected to experience the greatest retail price increase under the act. Supporters argue that the most appropriate avenue for lowering dairy and meat prices would seem, therefore, to lie in the direction of questioning retail margins, not the potential of paying higher prices to farm producers.

FAPRI economists project that, through 1995, consumer food prices would rise, on average, by only about 1.6 percent more annually than under the current law. And since consumer food spending accounts for only about 1/8th of the overall disposable income of U.S. consumers, the increase in food prices resulting from passage of the act would, on average from 1988 through 1995, add less than 1/4 of 1 percent more to the U.S. inflation rate than the current farm program would.

In addition to the provisions of the act that provide for increases in various world food-aid programs, language has been added incorporating the substance of the Kennedy/Panetta Hunger Relief Act of 1986. Under these provisions the Food Stamp Program, the School Lunch and Breakfast



Programs, the Women, Infants and Children Program (WIC), the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), and several other nutrition and food-aid programs are allotted an additional \$1 billion to restore the losses they sustained over the last six years.

The values, economic interests, and philosophical beliefs of those parties calling for farm-policy reform play an important part in shaping their outlook. As Marty Strange, of the Nebraska-based Center for Rural Affairs, has written: the family farm can survive "if [it] is rebuilt on some of the values with which it is popularly associated: conservation, independence, self-reliance, family, and community. To sustain itself, commercial agriculture will have to reorganize its social and economic structure as well as its technological base and production methods in a way that reinforces these values." And, according to Hal Hamilton, a Kentucky dairy farmer and member of the executive committee of the National Save the Family Farm Coalition, passage of the Family Farm Act "will . . . provide . . . a foundation on which to rebuild the rural infrastructure, provide for re-entry of new farmers, and rekindle faith in the values upon which our struggle is based: respect for the land, appreciation of community, pride in physical labor, and a conviction that farming is an honorable profession."

SOME ELEMENTS of the American Jewish community have been moved to examine those values and take action. The

most innovative program to address the rural crisis is a joint effort by Women's American ORT and the Jewish Community Relations Bureau (JCRB) of Kansas City, Missouri. The JCRB has assigned a full-time "farm-crisis worker" to participate in coalition with various farm, rural, and religious groups and mobilize members of the Jewish community to respond. Last fall the JCRB and ORT were joined by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) in announcing a nationwide petition campaign calling for "a moratorium on farm foreclosures, debt restructuring, emergency relief and higher farm prices." In early April, David Saperstein, of the Religious Action Center of UAHC, testified on behalf of the Family Farm Act in Washington, D.C.

In February, the American Jewish Committee sponsored an interfaith dialogue between Jewish and Christian leaders to discuss the moral and theological implications of the farm crisis. And, in early March, when leaders of the American Jewish Congress met in Washington, D.C., to debate national-policy issues, the farm crisis was high on their agenda.

Whether, and to what extent, the actions of America's Jewish community will affect the farm policy debate remains to be seen. One thing, however, is clear: As minority groups, both Jews and farmers will depend as much upon the good will of friends and allies for their survival as they do upon the pride and independence that they are both noted for.

Judaic Studies as the Third Pillar

Geoffrey Hartman

NOTHING COMES into the world without labor pains. This is true even of such brainchildren as academic disciplines. Art history, English, American studies, Judaic studies—they did not spring spontaneously into existence, intellectually immaculate, and welcomed by the universities as belated revelations. The modern study of English, for example, in the form of a degree program at Cambridge University, arrived only after World War I and benefited from anti-German sentiment. The German model of graduate studies with its positivistic and authoritarian bias was questioned, and a disillusioned postwar generation also turned from Greek and Roman classics toward its own modern and vernacular tradition. English, in other words, already showed some features of ethnic studies, if we accept Jacob Neusner's description of a recently established field ("Jewish Studies and the Academy: Creating a New Ghetto?,"

CONGRESS MONTHLY, March/April 1987). He chastizes a new and burgeoning discipline for substituting the parochial, self-inflating character of ethnic concerns for academic standards and objectivity.

There is an academic stock market, and Judaic studies have had a spectacular rise in the last ten years. It makes me nervous too; but I recall from the 1950s how little interest there was, and the shaky arrangements for a course in Hebrew here and an incursion into Jewish history there. At Yale, Judah Goldin's appointment in the late 50s to teach the Hebrew Bible within its own interpretive tradition was something of a coup. But there was no critical mass, no community of scholars talking and debating, encouraging students and themselves. Today when Moshe Greenberg gives a faculty seminar on the history of Midrash, or Natalie Davis introduces Leon of Modena into a discussion group on "shared texts," more faculty assemble than could be rounded up for a whole year's worth of events in those not-so-distant days.

If the ethnic movement of the 1960s and 70s had a role in the emergence of Judaic studies, it was only because it

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allowed a growing number of scholars to become aware of what they were missing. It showed that the door was not locked, after all; a push, then a shove, and it opened easily enough to reveal treasures. Perhaps, then, some of us are reacting in an overly eager and greedy way: we want too much, too fast, for ourselves and our students. For a time, there may be more enthusiasm than knowledge, and there will always be, as in the case of English, ideological pressures that become part of a vital shakedown from which the discipline should emerge clearer about its aims. Since criticism is better than flattery, Professor Neusner's anxiety about amateurs and a self-affirming, "ethnic" trend in Jewish studies is understandable. But like all anxiety, it hits out indiscriminately and even mistakes allies for enemies.

LET ME indicate where I think we are in the academic study of Judaism. A cultural, religious, literary legacy which is as old—and as complex in its very difference—as the legacy of Greece and Rome, cannot be husbanded by a token junior or senior person on the faculty. A clearly defined program of courses is a matter of self-respect for any major college or university. There is a distributive justice also in intellectual affairs: a corpus of texts as vast and variegated as this should be recognized in the curriculum. My joke in calling classics "pagan studies" was meant to draw attention to the unequal distribution of resources in the universities. The joke was lost on Professor Neusner, who doesn't play around, and who considers newcomers like myself unserious. (Sometimes, struck by what remains to be done in recovering and communicating neglected texts, I wonder whether we are not all *parvenus*.) My point was that if the classics flourish academically without orgies and adepts, we should be able to tolerate Jewish studies without assuming they must serve as an advocate for religiosity.

There are complications, however, precisely because Hebrew is no longer a "dead" language and Judaism is not a discontinued religion. The battles of modernity with orthodoxy enter our very lives, not only our intellectual history. This Jewish modernity has a way of confusing a supposedly neutral discipline. The grim reality of the Holocaust is another disturbing factor. How could we not pay special heed to a culture like Yiddish, now almost gone, or the claim of Israel, as a nation-state, to be the principal heir of Diaspora Judaism?

A second complication arises from the historical fact that classical Hebrew did not influence Western culture during the era we call the Renaissance. There were great writers like Pico and Milton who knew something of the language, but this had no lasting effect on European art.* Secular or non-Jewish students must work harder to find access to Judaic studies because the extraordinary internal continuity (I had almost said, intertextuality) of these studies is accompanied by an external discontinuity, or lack of interaction of the Hebrew originals with Western culture. The impact of Hebrew texts on modern literary thought is still to come.

*See also my remarks in Robert Moynihan, ed., *A Recent Imagining* (Archon Books, 1986), pp. 88-89.

A last complication is the lack of well-trained teachers. The field of Jewish studies is a relative newcomer to the university, and it also suffers from the terrible hiatus left by the Shoah, which laid waste the yeshivot of Eastern Europe and disrupted a remarkable community of German Jewish scholars. Only Israel is a land of plenty, but tends to draw talent away from the Diaspora.

Instead of *ex cathedra* indignation, then, and a simplistic dichotomy (ethnic/academic), it would be more profitable to affirm some general principles governing teaching and research in this area, and then turn to institutional matters. Regarding one of those principles, I agree entirely with Professor Neusner. The academy differs from the seminary: it is not a divinity school, it does not train students for the ministry or rabbinate; in the spirit of the great scholars who created a *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in the last century, it refuses to dismiss rabbinical literature, for example, as if it had no interest except within the faith.

What holds for the scholar also holds for the beginner. Judaism can come alive as a historical religion and a world literature. In that spirit I suggested every student try a page of Talmud. The challenge of that fascinating and difficult text would require a considerable adjustment of our reading habits. Nor can Kabbala be left to the occultists.

AS TO institutional arrangements, they always seem to me pragmatic. Much depends on the configuration of talent in a particular university. At Yale an interdepartmental B.A. program provided the best assurance of quality, chairs being assigned directly to Judaic studies but with each appointment also in an established department (history, religious studies, Near Eastern, comparative literature). This kind of structure leaves the faculty free to devise its own curriculum; indeed, it allows them to raid the whole of the humanities and social sciences. It has worked well at Yale whose faculty had a strong if sometimes latent interest in Jewish history and literature: bringing in a group of specialist scholars added a presence at the center to that richness at the periphery.

The Yale model may not work elsewhere. Nor may the model existing until a few years ago at Brown. Professor Neusner suggests that Judaic studies should find a home in religious studies (or in some ideal version of it) rather than "ghettoizing" themselves—though why an interdepartmental program like Yale's should prove more segregated than a departmentalized one, I don't understand. He depicts Jewish studies as a gilded ghetto surrounded by easy donors and staffed by teachers indulging in self-serving clichés.

That is not my experience. If Judaic studies have an appeal today, it is not because donors have become soft but because the subject justifies itself. It attracts faculty and students in considerable numbers. That most of them (though by no means all) are Jewish is nothing against the discipline and cannot be attributed only to a nostalgic search for roots. It may also indicate a great intellectual hunger, the filling of a lacuna created by the academy itself, which based humanistic studies on two pillars, the Christian and the classic, and neglected the third pillar of Jewish learning. Other pillars may be uncovered in time.

Even in departments of religion, there was, not so long ago, resistance to Jewish traditions as an autonomous subject. The same professors who left divinity school in order to teach rather than preach could not escape the "universalist" ethos of Christian evangelism. Judaism was chiefly taught for its role in the early history of Christianity. There is, in short, no more reason for Judaic studies to affiliate with religion than with history or literature or hermeneutics. Keeping in mind, moreover, the loss of Jewish life and institutions between 1933 and 1945, and the dwindling away of the ancient Sephardi communities in contemporary North Africa, it is hardly surprising that universities should wish to redress their longstanding neglect of the history and civilization of the Jews.

Senior scholars in Judaic studies have a right, even an obligation, to watch over a fledgling field. Yet one wonders

why this attack on a still emerging subject in the name of "shared and public discourse" and "the norms of the academy" mimics a rhetoric of doctrinal squabbles Professor Neusner claims to reject. His bracing and simplistic categories, moreover, reminiscent of populist preaching, pander to the idea of some great American consensus, a National Humanist Common Pursuit, as if a natural alignment of the academy and the public interest lay within easy reach. It is certainly a remarkable twist to argue that what interferes with the extra-mural mission of the academy is the very movement—ethnic studies—that intended to break down those ivory walls and forge a new relation between university and society. Neusner may be correct that ethnic studies run a great danger of becoming self-isolating in their turn, but he does nothing to clarify the underlying democratic issue.

Judging Secular Humanism

Marc D. Stern

JUDGE BREVARD HAND'S decision banning history and "home economics" texts from the Alabama public schools, on the ground that they established the religion of secular humanism, was greeted with widespread derision. Liberals and conservatives alike branded the decision "bizarre" and "incredible," and predicted that it would be quickly reversed. The Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit has already stayed it, putting at least a temporary end to the spectre of books being banned by court order.

Judge Hand's order—he has been dubbed by the wits, Judge Unlearned Hand—is the latest wrinkle in his one-judge campaign to rewrite the First Amendment's Establishment Clause. Several years ago he held, in an earlier incarnation of this lawsuit (a challenge to Alabama's school prayer statutes), that the Establishment Clause did not apply to the states and that even if it did, it did not ban government from favoring religion over non-religion. That decision was overturned by the Supreme Court, which gave short shrift to Judge Hand's "remarkable" reading of the Establishment Clause.

By a stroke of the judicial pen, parents and teachers who had earlier intervened to defend Alabama's efforts to inject religion into its schools were miraculously converted into plaintiffs, complaining that those same schools were not adequately complying with the Constitution's requirement that the public schools be religiously neutral. Two of the defendants, the governor of Alabama and the Mobile School Board,

immediately declared defeat, admitting that secular humanism was a religion that could not be taught in the public schools. Only the State Board of Education and a group of parents and teachers—the latter group aided by People for the American Way, which underwrote a large portion of the expenses of the defense—resisted the law suit.

The plaintiffs originally challenged the entire array of textbooks approved for use in the Alabama schools. The challenge was gradually narrowed to American history and "home economics" texts. (Home economics is no longer a cooking course; it is a course on values and life-styles, and includes citizenship and anti-substance-abuse subjects.) The history texts were criticized because they left out religious history—some ignore the fact that the Pilgrims came to America seeking to freely practice their religion and to create a "city upon a hill." The defendants did not, according to Judge Hand, seriously contest the charge that history texts gave short shrift to religion. Studies sponsored by various groups, including People for the American Way, reached the same conclusion. However, as Judge Hand acknowledged, "poor history" is not unconstitutional—it's just poor history. Nevertheless, he banned these books.

The bulk of the lawsuit centered on the so-called "home economics" texts. Plaintiffs characterized these books as being wholly focused on human decision-making, the generation of pleasure, and the absence of moral absolutes. They believed, no doubt sincerely, that these books attacked traditional Judeo-Christian religion. (Judaism has always placed great emphasis on human responsibility and moral independence. It is wrong to link Judaism with the fun-

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damentalist Christian notion denying human responsibility for ethical choices.)

Judge Hand accepted plaintiffs' arguments. He found that authors of the textbooks are disciples of psychologists and philosophers who were in turn disciples of John Dewey. Dewey was one of the founders of so-called secular humanism. It follows, thought the good judge, that his disciples and granddisciples—including psychologists Abraham Maslow, Carl Rodgers, and Lawrence Kohlberg—were engaged in perpetuating Dewey's secular humanist views in the textbooks. This is guilt-by-association with a vengeance.

BUT is there such a thing as secular humanism? And what is, or ought to be, its constitutional status? In the wake of the decision, many pronounced that there was no such thing. While it is not clear that Judge Hand would know it when he saw it, there is indeed such a doctrine. As early as 1961, the United States Supreme Court, in dicta, cited Secular Humanism as an example of a non-theistic religion. (The example was taken from a brief filed by Leo Pfeffer, who has since publicly stated that, had he known how much mischief the reference would cause, he would have omitted it from his brief.)

Secular humanism, however, in this constitutional sense is not the mere failure to mention religion, which is all that can fairly be charged to the Alabama textbooks. It is the affirmative teaching that the divine has no role to play in human affairs. That doctrine may not be taught in the public schools. As Marvin Frankel, co-chair of the American Jewish Con-

gress's Commission on Law and Social Action, puts it:

The term "secular humanism," as Hand says, is itself ambiguous. Without stopping now to search for the last word, I can see how brands of secular humanism could be deemed "religious." Dewey... tends to equate "militant atheism" with a belief in the supernatural as a species of revealed religion. I agree. The positive (and unprovable) affirmation that there is *no* god is similar in this sense to its opposite. Thus, if secular humanists proclaim that man is all, there's nothing else, there's no need to look further or reserve judgment—I'd say that's a religion. I distinguish my agnosticism, which says "I don't know" and I don't as of now have any idea how to go about finding out. But I'd go further and agree that none of these stances should be taught as correct in a public school.

The challenged textbooks do not make any such statements. While a theologian could point out differences between these texts and orthodox religious views, the statements are themselves neutral or, at worst, ambiguous. Students are unlikely to perceive in them any religious, or anti-religious, message. The case thus reduces itself to the contention that to counterbalance the non-religion taught in the schools, the public schools have a constitutional *duty* to teach religion. That claim is at war with the Establishment Clause.

That the plaintiffs are not entitled to succeed on their constitutional claims does not mean that they have not raised important issues of public policy concerning the role of the schools in teaching values. How does one teach ethics in a society that by fundamental charter is secular, but many of whose citizens themselves believe that ethics have a religious source and content? What values does one teach when there are fundamental disagreements about society's values? Why should government teach values? Given obvious symptoms of moral decay—including the ever-growing Wall Street scandals—can the schools afford not to teach values? These are not inconsequential questions.

The challenged textbooks do not deal intelligently with these or substantive ethical problems. Ethical and moral choices are typically reduced to the most simplistic—silly is a better word—level. Are we not entitled to better than the following, taken from one of the challenged texts:

Shoplifting is a crime. Legal action can be taken against shoplifters. Legal statutes exist in every city, county and state to contain this crime. . . . Whatever your situation, remember that good behavior enhances your well being. Bad behavior can cause guilt feelings and other mental problems. You will have to make your own decisions and live with the consequences.

Paragraphs like these are caused by a "dumbing down" of textbooks, a reaction to the moralizing of earlier texts, an overreaction to the ban on advocating—not teaching about—religion, and, perhaps, a feeling among certain intellectual elites that there are no rights or wrongs, only pragmatic choices.

Those who invoke the slogan of secular humanism seek a return to a simpler era, when one worldview was shared by

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most Americans and when there was no cleavage between religion and society. It is an era which developments in culture, in science, in society, even in religion, have left behind. The Constitution itself forbids the public schools to retreat to Protestant hegemony over the public education. While lawsuits such as the present one are doomed to failure, society cannot afford to ignore the question this suit and others like it raise about American education.

Chop-Chop Justice

Stanley Lichtenstein

ONE OF Saudi Arabia's stellar attractions for tourists and visiting reporters, in the capital city of Riyadh, is popularly known among the natives as "Chop-Chop Square." That's where top-rated beheadings and floggings take place, and where "crime control" is in command.

Foreign correspondent and author David Lamb has been there. He has seen the future, and Law and Order, he reports, is on the rise.

Broadened by much travel, Lamb is more understanding and tolerant of unfamiliar, exotic cultures and their practices than is your average American. He seems to be a spiritual descendant of those earlier broad-minded compatriots who admired Mussolini for making Italy's trains "run on time," and those who saw no need to worry about Hitler's attempted final solution of "the Jewish problem" through extermination.

Lamb's musings about Saudi Arabia's superior civilization—and about the "safe streets" of Arab nations in general—were given startling prominence in the *Washington Post's* Sunday Outlook section early this year, while the same note has been sounded in Lamb's *The Africans* (1982) and in a new book, *The Arabs: Journeys Beyond the Mirage*. The *Post* headlined Lamb's piece, "Saudi Justice Looks Savage to Us, But It Works."

A few weeks later, the *Post* ran a photograph of a Pennsylvania public official committing suicide at a televised press conference. That atrocious editorial decision drew a barrage of protest, but not a word of criticism has the *Post* carried concerning Lamb's provocative article (reprinted from *Nieman Reports*) on the glories of Saudi justice, with its official and public killing, torture, and mutilation. (Was I the only reader to send an indignant letter to the editor?)

Lamb's piece begins with a meticulous description of a double beheading in Riyadh's huge parking lot that serves as the public square. The severed heads of two convicted murderers were dropped onto a piece of cardboard at high noon

in full view of thousands of worshippers pouring out of the Jamia mosque to enjoy the spectacle.

A year before the *Post* weighed in with Lamb's article, another American sojourner in Saudi Arabia wrote with less equanimity about a beheading and two floggings on "Execution Day in Riyadh" (*Commentary*, February 1986). Professor Clifford Hallam reported on these grisly entertainments, the cheering crowd ("God is great, God is great"), and the nervous jokes of university wits about "Johar's Chopping Center," alluding to a commercial mall that affords an excellent view of Saudi justice carried out under *Sharia* (Islamic law). Hallam also noted that it was impossible to ascertain exactly what the accused had done, since the "government-controlled press offered a bare minimum of unverified and unverifiable facts followed by shrill self-justification."

Lamb, however, shows little concern about verifiable or unverifiable facts. He simply asserts that the Saudi system "works very well," citing a few statistics emanating from monarchical officials whose actions are based on divine right and the pretense of infallibility. Lamb swallows the official line completely and even repeats the fatuous claim that if there is "the slightest doubt" about guilt, judges reduce a capital charge to a lesser offense. Where theocracy holds sway, of course, "doubt" about official findings is not encouraged.

Extolling the "crime-free environment" presumably fostered by "public beheadings, amputations, floggings and death by stoning for adulterers and adulteresses," Lamb nevertheless admits—late in his article—that no "firm proof" exists of crime deterrence by "the Saudis' harsh punishment."

And what is worse, he ignores a basic aspect of the question that is touched on by Professor Hallam. Under *Sharia*, all the goings-on in Dira ("Chop-Chop") Square are aimed at ridding the kingdom of "moral pollution"—which means that religious minorities and other dissidents risk criminal indictment if they utter a peep about or make any display of their beliefs. A university student stated the policy succinctly: "If someone believes in another religion, it is not good that he should die, but if he is against Islam then we will surely kill him."

IN HIS most bizarre assertion, Lamb says: "You can walk down the darkest street of any Saudi city and not have to look over your shoulder in fear." What nonsense! Fear is the linchpin of the Saudi system—fear of the thought police, and fear of the torture, mutilation, and death which may be visited on the guilty and innocent alike. The judges, Lamb observes, are "widely respected for their incorruptibility," yet they preside over court proceedings where "no counsel is present" and there is "no jury, no bail, no writ of *habeas corpus*." Lamb even notes, quite serenely, that suspects "can be held for months, even years, while investigations are conducted at a leisurely pace."

A better notion of the dangers facing anyone—native or foreigner—ensnared by the Saudi legal system can be gleaned from John McDonald's book, *Flight from Dharan: The True Experiences of an American Businessman Held Hostage in Saudi Arabia* (1981). McDonald, although he was involved primarily in civil proceedings, was given a taste of Saudi

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jails and was also positioned to observe the painful distance between reality and the myths peddled by apologists for the Saudi criminal system. He had heard, for example, that the penalty for theft (third offense) was loss of the right hand, with the amputation "done in a hospital under surgically clean, supervised conditions." This was not true in the case that he witnessed. On a Dammam street, the "man with the knife . . . [instead] of severing the member with one chop . . . started slowly cutting and slicing away, whacking at the white bone until it snapped," with grating and crackling sounds audible over the noise of the crowd. (I hope readers will forgive me for leaving out the most harrowing details.) When Lamb observes that Saudi justice "combines compassion and harshness," he is only half right.

Another American who found his Saudi Arabian three-

year stay distinctly uncomfortable and certainly not fear-free is Dr. William H. Brown, M.D., who with his wife and 15-year-old daughter encountered treatment that "would not be tolerated in any civilized part of the world. . ." (letter to the editor, *Commentary*, May 1986):

The Saudi rationale, courtesy of David Lamb, makes me wonder whether he is familiar with Charles Lamb's "Dissertation upon Roast Pig." The earlier author Lamb tells of an ancient people who discovered the culinary delicacy when an accidental fire seared some of their pigs. After that they regularly burned their huts down to dine on more roast pig. A similar intelligence inspires Saudi Arabia, pursuing "crime control" while degrading the Saudi people and their society through the bloody circus and the abominations of Chop-Chop square.

The Judaism of Franz Kafka

Ernst Pawel

POOOR KAFKA. He who found it impossible to live must have discovered by now that being dead is no bed of roses, either. The parents from whom he never got away in life are with him still, in the same grave. The works he—albeit ambivalently—wanted destroyed have become the subject of thousands of Ph.D. theses around the world. But the ultimate irony may well be the metamorphosis of the archetypal Prague Jew into a German classic.

This took a concerted effort, pursued with blind persistence and relentless thoroughness. Few have labored harder at this task of teutonization than Hartmut Binder, a 50-year-old German professor with a background in theology and Jungian mystification, who has been exploring Kafka's life and work with an obsessive pedantry bordering on fanaticism. In Germany, the results of his labors—*Motiv und Gestaltung bei Franz Kafka*, *Kafka in Neuer Sicht*, as well as a two-volume *Kafka Handbook* and another two volumes of exegetical commentary—have established him as the "Pope of Kafkology," a rather apt sobriquet for a savant who knows everything and understands nothing.

At issue, however, is not the simplistic reductionism of his literary theories but his portrait of Kafka, the man. For what emerges out of this monstrous mix of contorted sophistry and valuable documentation is the caricature of a neurotic pedant utterly devoid of creative imagination, let alone the subtle intelligence and self-tormenting irony so characteristic of Kafka's art. Binder's creature has the mind and soul of a German pedagogue. And considering how Kafka himself felt about those nightmarish *Gymnasialpauker*, this may be the unkindest cut of all.

ERNST PAWEL is the author of *The Nightmare of Reason: A Life of Franz Kafka*. He is currently at work on a biography of Theodor Herzl.

The heart of the problem, I suspect, is the one fact self-evident, undeniable yet somehow hard to digest: we are dealing here with a man whose life and work were decisively shaped by his being a Jew, a Jew in his time, and most particularly a Jew in Prague.

Resistance to this view is hardly surprising. Without drawing any comparisons, sacrilegious or otherwise, I might point out that the Jewishness of Jesus often elicits similar reactions. Moreover, Kafka in many ways did not fit the stereotype of the Jew as perceived by the Gentile. But to treat his origins as an incidental aspect of his vital statistics—Religion: Mosaic—badly distorts the picture of the man as well as of the artist, because Judaism was not only the key to Kafka's destiny but also the crucial nexus between his life and his work.

This is not, of course, to reduce the vast dimensions of his life and work exclusively to their Judaic parameters or to deny the role of distinctly individual traits—genius first and foremost, and the pathology so inextricably bound up with it. Yet even these were obviously structured by collective history; a Kafka born and raised as a New England WASP might still have become both neurotic and a writer. He would not, however, have been Kafka.

What, then, did it mean to grow up as a Jew in Prague in the 1880s?

It meant, first of all, being afflicted with what I would call a negative identity. An identity, that is, defined *for* rather than *by* him. The Prague Jews in effect found themselves charged with being Jews—a charge to which they had to plead guilty even though they failed to understand the nature of their guilt. Because for most of them—and I'm referring here, of course, to the assimilated middle class, of which the Kafkas were rather typical—Judaism had long since become an empty shell devoid of meaning.

The situation in the Bohemian capital at the periphery of the German-speaking world differed in at least one significant respect from that prevailing at the center. The German—and Viennese—Jews faced a relatively clear-cut dilemma: they had to deal with only one dominant majority, to which they wanted to assimilate. In Kafka's Prague, on the other hand, the problem was considerably more complex. Here, Czechs and Germans were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for supremacy, in which the Jews got caught in the crossfire. The Chosen People were forced into the role of Chosen Enemy by both antagonists, and well before the turn of the century, they found themselves constrained to live in a no-man's land. For all its heartaches, however, their precarious position also proved advantageous in one significant respect: it early on disabused the Jews of Prague of some of the illusions to which most German Jews clung till the 1930s. One may, in fact, consider them pioneers of sorts. For the paradigmatic alienation of Prague's Jews in Kafka's day has, in our own time, become an existential condition endemic throughout the world—one possible explanation for the amazing popularity of Kafka's work in the most remote and unlikely of places, from the hinterlands of Japan to the heartland of America.

THE CHILD KAFKA grew up knowing what he was not. He was not a Czech, he was not a German. This, by subtraction and by the implacable syllogism of Prague politics, made him a Jew. And much of his life as well as much of his work can be read in terms of his search for the meaning of this identity assigned to him by fate and by the unreason of history.

It was a search that yielded its first clues in his now famous encounter with the Yiddish actors in 1911, when he was 28 years old. They were pathetically bad actors, staging mediocre melodramas in a language he must have had no end of trouble understanding, but he perceived them as messengers from a promised land, Jews unselfconsciously Jewish the way the Czechs were Czech and the Germans German, and speaking a language the sound of which seemed much closer to his heart than the one in which he was constrained to express himself. For perhaps the first time in his life he felt something like a sense of belonging. It was a heady experience while it lasted. But of course it didn't last—Kafka was far too keen an intelligence not to realize that this nostalgia for a romanticized *shtetl* offered no cure for what ailed the Western Jew. There was no turning back, as his actor friends were the first to tell him; no one was more eager than they to get out of Kasrilevke as fast and as far away as possible.

Zionism, on the other hand, seemed to point the way to the future. It had already gained strong support among the Jews of Prague—hardly surprising, given the rampant nationalism of the other resident tribes. Kafka was in general sympathy with at least the practical aims of this new secular creed, even though, as usual, he maintained a critical distance. But many of his closest friends were Zionists, he himself supported the cause, studied Hebrew, and, in later years, dreamed of running a little restaurant in Tel Aviv, with Dora Dymant—the 19-year-old companion of his final year—as the cook and himself waiting on tables—the perfect scenario for a

Chaplin comedy.

These points of reference undoubtedly helped to legitimize Kafka's precarious identity in the outside world. But in the inner one, far more real to him and infinitely more difficult, his involvement with Judaism took him way beyond these primitive levels. There are those—Max Brod foremost among them—who see Kafka's whole life as a quest for a God to believe in—Herrmann, his father, having by then lost much of his credibility—and for a faith to live by. As a general statement, this is meaningless enough to be unobjectionable; it covers a multitude of virtues. But about the particulars as interpreted by Max Brod, I tend to have strong reservations. The God that Max himself discovered in his waning years would not have fooled Kafka for a minute. And as to Kafka having made his way back to the ancestral faith. . .

He certainly tried. All his life, Kafka longed for the security, the maternal love, the sense of belonging that he had missed out on in the cradle, missed out on as a child, missed out on as a Jew. But in this quest Kafka—like his fictional heroes—found himself stopped at the open gate. For one thing, he was and remained a child of the Enlightenment, in spite of himself. But even more important was the discovery that Judaism itself turned out to be a *rational faith*. Which is a paradox, an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms, no matter how long and how hard theologians have labored trying to reconcile the antithesis. Judaism, in other words, is no prescription for Peace of Mind.

IN FACT, the turbulent and dynamic tension between faith and reason has always been at the very heart of Judaism, the source of its abiding vitality. Obedience to the Law is the foundation of the Covenant. But the Letter of the Law is infinite in its ambiguities, so that the interpretation of its Spirit became the supreme task of one's life, an ongoing "process"—the *Prozess* of Kafka's novel—to which each generation contributed its share. It engendered an unbroken chain of disputation and exegesis, of commentary piled upon commentary, aimed not at resolving the paradox—which, if Kafka teaches us anything, cannot ever be resolved—but at enabling people to live with it. Kafka's writings form an integral part of that chain, one of the strongest links between his time and ours. As he put it, in one of his journal entries: "I am the end or the beginning." There is no *or*. He was both.

The unresolved paradoxes of his unfinished novels reflect a mind-set, a cultural tradition, a way of life and a way of looking at life that came not out of Kierkegaard or Kleist but out of his own past. It was a world that surrounded him at every step—the Little Mother with Claws, which he forever railed against but never left. That world is dead, preserved today only as a sort of museum. And even for that we have to be grateful. No other comparable monument to Jewish life and learning has survived anywhere else in Europe.

One can argue *ad infinitum* about the sources of Kafka's inspiration. In thinking of him above all as a secular Talmudist, a rational Kabbalist, last of the line and heir to the thousand-year tradition of Prague Jewry, I offer my own understanding of him—as personal and subjective as anyone else's.

As a Jew born and raised in pre-Hitler Germany, I would have a hard time trying to be objective about any attempt to naturalize—or rather denaturalize—Kafka even if I wanted to; there are some forms of *Wiedergutmachung* that we can do without. At the same time, it seems to me that what is involved here transcends my own personal bias. Rather, I see it as a reenactment, on a small scale, of the tragic misunderstanding that poisoned relations between Jews and Germans since the days of Moses Mendelssohn. The assimilation in Germany failed because even the most liberal of Germans—Mommsen

and Lessing come to mind by way of examples—welcomed Jews as their equals only to the extent to which they stopped being Jews.

KAFKA undoubtedly wrote some of the most luminous German prose of this century. This does not make him a German, classic or otherwise. And to blur, to obfuscate his primary and hard-earned identity as a Prague Jew is to vandalize his image and to desecrate his memory. Not to mention that of his family.

MOVIES

Art & Commerce; or Woody Allen, Continued

Phyllis Raphael

Radio Days, the most recent interlocking piece of the jigsaw puzzle forming the Woody Allen oeuvre, and the 22nd film he's written and/or directed and/or appeared in over a 21-year filmmaking career, is in many ways a less ambitious film than the previous *Hannah and Her Sisters*, but it's a lovely movie, a nostalgic voyage back to the days when radio was our most pervasive popular art.

The film is narrated by Woody Allen from the point of view of Joe, a star-struck young boy growing up in Rockaway Beach during the late 1930s and early 40s. Living in the house along with Joe is an extended family consisting of his mother, father, grandfather, Aunt Ceil, Uncle Abe, Cousin Ruthie, and Maiden Aunt Bea (played with haunting loveliness by Diane Wiest). Joe's father is a nice guy but he's never had much *mazel* earning a buck and the entire family yearns for more than they've got.

The most convenient escape from this defective reality is the glamorous, glitzy world of radio and no one makes better use of it than Joe. He learns about the latest Broadway openings each

morning at "Breakfast with Irene and Roger," follows show-business gossip with Sally White (Mia Farrow) on "Sally White and Her Great White Way," and is a devoted fan of "The Masked Avenger" (Wally Shawn), a Green Hornet-type character, who castigates his defeated enemies with "Off to jail with you. I hope you enjoy making license plates." So absorbed is Joe in listening to the radio that his mother fears for his future. "Turn it off," she orders. "Why should I? You listen to it," Joe asks. "That's different," she tells him. "Our lives are ruined anyway."

Joe ferries us back and forth between the world of radio and the Rockaway family, weaving them together with a series of short stories and vignettes from the characters' lives. As such, *Radio Days* is plotless, propelled forward only by the anecdotal adventures of its characters and the fact that the "days" of "radio" are heading toward their inevitable oblivion.

The film is exquisitely photographed and chock-full of vivid, accurate details of time and place. The musical choices are wonderful, almost painfully reminiscent of a lost time, and the performances never less than engaging. Irene and Roger are stylishly homely as the radio couple, and Sally White is eternal, the not-so-dumb blonde who discovers that

the road to her own radio show is paved with diction lessons.

But, the most surprising aspect of *Radio Days* is that it's the first film in the Allen continuum to give more than caricature status to his alter ego's family. For even though the overweight, dumpy family is presented as a quarrelsome bunch who lack the polish and sophistication of the radio folk, they are portrayed with humor and affection. In fact, some of the film's most endearing moments take place in "real life." I think especially of the anniversary dinner where Joe's father gives his mother a new, fur-collared coat; the time when Joe, who has spent the entire film trying to find out what his father does for a living, hails a taxi and discovers him behind the wheel; and Joe's first visit to Radio City Music Hall with Aunt Bea and a suitor—as he ascends the curving staircase, with Frank Sinatra singing in the background, he has clearly entered movie heaven. Finally, at the two New Year's Eve parties that end the film, so sympathetically is the Rockaway family portrayed, that it's a toss-up whether it's preferable to welcome 1944 sipping champagne on the glamorous rooftop with the radio swells, or hugging and kissing at home in Rockaway with Joe, his family, and a bottle of Hoffman soda.

PHYLLIS RAPHAEL, a writer and teacher, reviewed *Hannah and Her Sisters* in the issue of May/June 1986.

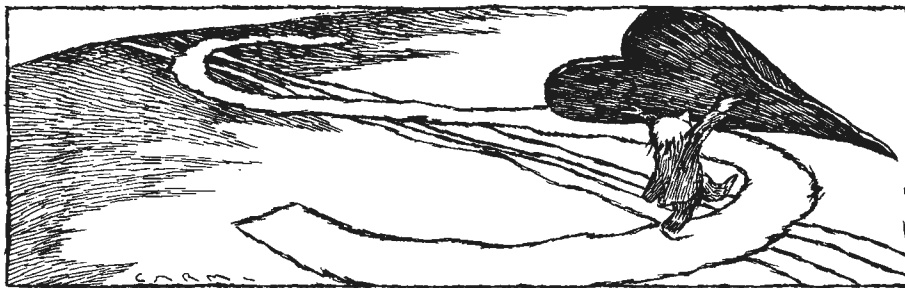
Despite its allure however, *Radio Days* has inspired its share of the low-level discontent Woody Allen "fans" habitually reserve for his films. Although the film was praised by Vincent Canby in the daily *New York Times* and by Janet Maslin in the Sunday edition, grumblings rise from underground. The most frequent complaint directed at not only this film but *Hannah and Her Sisters*, and most Allen efforts since *Manhattan*, is that they "don't go anywhere." They are seductive but "unsatisfying." Woody Allen hasn't "grown as an artist."

Implicit in this appraisal is the notion that there is something Woody Allen is afraid to examine and the suppressed material is responsible for the emotional sterility, the "cut-offness" in his work. Reviewing *Radio Days* in *New York* magazine, David Denby tells us the problem is that Woody Allen knows that "radio and movies . . . aren't enough," and because he's unwilling to confront that, this film is "sadder than he knows." Theoretically, if Allen were to wrestle his demons, would his characters drop their emotional blandness and deepen their range? Maybe his Jewish women would become as lovely as the Gentiles.

BEHIND these gripes looms the idealized spectre of Ingmar Bergman. Not only is Bergman the filmmaker Woody Allen most admires (two of his films, *Interiors* and *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy*, are overt imitations of Bergman), but his work represents the standard to which all serious filmmakers—and Woody Allen is as close to a serious filmmaker as this country has—aspire. There are other similarities. Both men work "novelistically," controlling their own scripts and pursuing their own obsessions, and both employ a "repertory family" of actors, designers, and crew to make all their films. To date however, Woody Allen's critics would argue, he has not produced a film as riveting as any of Bergman's.

Putting aside for a moment whether the critics are "right," or even whether it should have been suggested to Chekhov that he write more like Tolstoy, let's consider the framework within which Woody Allen functions, which is to say, not as an artist, but as a commercial moviemaker without a hand-held camera or grainy black-and-white film in his past. This has always been true of Allen, not only as a filmmaker, but since the dawn of his career. He worked

first as a TV gag writer, then a stand-up comic. He has a commercial orientation. Ever since his first film, *What's New Pussycat?*, which he wrote, appeared in, disliked doing, but was paid for by United Artists in 1966, he has always worked for Hollywood studios where the pressure is away from artistry and toward commerce. Woody Allen is a veteran of making movies that must take that occupational conflict into account.



One tends to forget this because he's taken risks and made films whose appeal is limited to the more cosmopolitan segment of the moviegoing population. And because he's made films for "us," his intellectual sidekicks, fellow analysts, bicoastal New Yorkers, readers of Flaubert and lovers of Gershwin, we've made him our own and forgotten that his "art" is knit from two skeins, invented, as all art is, for self-pleasure, but defined and limited by the boundaries of commercial moviemaking, as the words on this page are defined by the "essay" form, or a poem is framed inside a sonnet.

THIS "marriage" of Woody Allen and Hollywood is a double-edged sword, one which he chafes at, but needs. The limitations a movie studio imposes are one side; the other is its gifts. Both are interwoven with Allen's movies. No other art requires quite as much money as filmmaking. It is possible to move to New Hampshire to paint or write novels, but the audiovisual pleasures of *Annie Hall*, *Manhattan*, and *Hannah and Her Sisters* depend on a level of technical expertise only money can buy. A three-million dollar budget was behind the amber-glowed production values which gave *Radio Days* its distinctive "look."

No one knows this better than Woody Allen. That's why he makes medium-budget films that earn enough money so the studios trust him and are

willing to continue financing him. Were he to take larger risks, "go deeper," this delicate balance might be upset, as it was with two of his more serious and least popular films, *Interiors* and *Stardust Memories*. *Stardust Memories*, incidentally, is about a filmmaker at the end of his rope. His audiences like his "earlier, funnier" films. When he says that he doesn't want to make funny films anymore because there's "too much suffering in the world," he's

told by a studio representative that "Suffering doesn't sell tickets in Kansas City." He's taken to meet a new group of studio heads and is aghast. "Another new group of studio heads," he laments. "I meet a new group of studio heads every six months. Where do they go? It's like the black plague." But of course, Woody Allen knows where they go. And, he knows as well that if Ingmar Bergman tried to make films in this country (rather than in Europe where the climate is more protective toward artists), he'd go with them.

NO. Woody Allen is "mainstream." Beneath the multitude of personalities who compose the alter egos in his films, beneath the neurotic intellectual obsessed with the meaning of life, love, sex, and death—is not F. Scott Fitzgerald, but a nice Jewish boy who wants to succeed. And he has—with the people in his industry who finance his films and vote him Oscars and with the audiences who continue to endorse him at the box office. His genius is to have negotiated a "truce" between "art" and the movie executive and to have invented a personal solution to a dilemma that haunts many of us all our lives. Whatever the flaws of *Radio Days* and its siblings, it's hard to know if they spring from Woody Allen's inability to "grow" as an artist, or the system's inability to tolerate more "art." Depth? Seen alongside most of the computerized films at the local Multiplex, *Radio Days* is oceanic, a Grand Canyon of a movie.

Philip Roth and the Exploration of Self

Review-Essay by HELEN A. WEINBERG

Doctor Spielvogel, this is my life, my only life, and I'm living it in the middle of a Jewish joke! I am the son in the Jewish joke—Only it ain't no joke!

—Philip Roth, *Portnoy's Complaint*

Before *Portnoy's Complaint*, published in 1969, Philip Roth had written *Goodbye, Columbus* (1959), the title novella of which was a Jewish love story in an updated Fitzgeraldian style while most of the other stories of note were pointedly about secular Jews whose behavior was described (comically and satirically) as immoral, unethical, or sexually inappropriate; *Letting Go* (1962), a realistic Chicago novel, in which the hero, Gabe Wallach, resembles the activist hero of Bellow's *Augie March*; and *When She Was Good* (1967), a very boring and well-made novel which was not at all about Jews.

In 1962, Roth had commented in an essay in *Commentary*, "Writing American Fiction," on the loss of subject matter for writers in America: the events reported every day in newspapers outrivaled the imagination and, furthermore, there was an "unfriendliness between the self of the writer and the realities of the culture." But, still, writers like Saul Bellow, Herbert Gold, Grace Paley, William Styron—practitioners of a "bouncy style," urban and hence usually Jewish and immigrant—had found a subject in the self. This essay, written well before the "bouncy" *Portnoy's Complaint*, looks at the problem (which *Letting Go* presents in narrative form) and makes evident Roth's very early conscious struggle as a writer with concepts of self, community, reality, and fantasy:

... that our communal predicament is a distressing one, is a fact that weighs upon the writer no less, and perhaps even more, than his neighbor—for to the writer the community is, properly,

both his subject and his audience. And it may be that when the predicament produces in the writer not only feelings of disgust, rage, and melancholy, but impotence, too, he is apt to lose heart and finally, like his neighbor, turn to other matters, or to other worlds; or to the self, which may, in a variety of ways, become his subject, or even in the impulse for his technique. . . . The sheer fact of self, the vision of self as inviolable, powerful, and nerved, self as the only real thing in an unreal environment, . . . that vision has given to some writers joy, solace, and muscle. . . . However, when survival itself becomes one's *raison d'être* . . . when the self can only be celebrated as it is excluded from society, or as it is exercised and admired in a fantastic one, we then, I think, do not have much reason to be cheery.

Certainly *Portnoy's Complaint* was an exploration of self in a straightforward and traditional (given Freud) way—the conflict between the natural, sexual self and the acculturated self. The family scenes in the novel, set in Jewish Newark, New Jersey, made this exploration seem too close to home, too autobiographical, and too Jewish for many Roth readers, and Roth, having tried to bring a particular community into relevant and realistic relation to a particular novelistic and situational self, was attacked by some Jews as a self-hater and by some Gentiles as parochial.

Three novels—*Our Gang* (1971), about Nixon; *The Breast* (1972), a Kafkaesque exercise; *The Great American Novel* (1973), about baseball—followed; and it began to seem that Roth had given up the self in relation to community as a subject until in 1974, with *My Life as a Man*, he reopened the investigation and has stayed with it more or less ever since. The acculturated self is now the writing self or very specifically the novelist; and while this writer is not so "bouncy" as Alex Portnoy, he is still Jewish, he is still given to comic

exaggeration, flamboyant underlining, the surreality of the actual, the questioning of reality, the black humor of existence, the saying of the outrageously unsayable. Through it all he himself has survived as a writer and become a major American literary voice.

Ironically, not until Roth invents Nathan Zuckerman, in the *Ghost Writer* of 1979, more like himself in fact and history than the other invented heroes of self—Wallach, Portnoy, Tarnopol, *et al.*—does the theme of writerly creation and imagination as paramount emerge. Who is the ghost writer in *The Ghost Writer*? Anne Frank? The older Jewish novelist? The younger Jewish novelist (Nathan)? Henry James, on whose volume Nathan stands to eavesdrop through the ceiling on the other two? Or is it Roth himself? Whoever, *The Ghost Writer* is the first in a series of novels about Nathan Zuckerman's literary history, and *The Counterlife** is the last, or the last so far.

If I were to say what is the large theme of these novels—four in all; or five if one counts the novella *Prague Orgy*, which concludes the first three, *The Ghost Writer*, *Zuckerman Unbound* (1981), and *The Anatomy Lesson* (1983), and binds them together as *Zuckerman Bound* (1985)—I would have to say that it is not only the definition of the writing self, but also and most preeminently the writing self as creative and imaginative and thus capable of retrieving the past, of making Anne Frank, Kafka, other writers, other worlds, other writers in other worlds, live again.

IN *The Counterlife* this activity of the writing self is so sophisticated, refined to such a point, that the novel is a series of narratives about the invented, complete, consummate writerly self, Nathan Zuckerman's, and his family and friends as characters that offer a set of variables, alternative possibilities in the realm of action in the world today, such

*Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 324 pages, \$18.95.

HELEN A. WEINBERG's most recent contribution was a review of Maus: A Survivor's Tale (January 1987).

as it is. The world today is a remnant world, in which one may make a number of choices, relevant or irrelevant. Nathan Zuckerman and his characters in *The Counterlife* only make relevant choices: life, death, love, war. The most important character other than Nathan himself is Henry Zuckerman, Nathan's brother and, in this playing with character-possibilities, his *doppelgänger*.

Henry is a successful dentist who lives with his wife and three children in an expensive suburb of Newark; he has a heart problem which makes him sexually impotent. Nathan is a successful writer who lives alone in Manhattan; he too has a heart problem which makes him sexually impotent. As brothers they share memories of Jewish family life in Newark—neither is a serious Jew, though Henry belongs to a synagogue and Nathan has had problems with the Jewish community because of his sexually explicit novel *Carnovsky*. Each has, or has had, a Gentile mistress named Maria: Henry's Maria is a Swiss-German; Nathan's Maria, English.

Heart problems brought on by, or accented by, romantic involvement with Gentile mistresses with whom Henry and Nathan wish to be potent (powerful) lead to heart operations, and death, in two of the narratives. When Henry dies, Nathan does not do his eulogy and feels an outsider at the funeral. When Nathan dies, Henry does not do his eulogy at the funeral. Alternatively: when Henry does not die after his operation, he goes to Israel and becomes a Zionist activist with an extremist group on the West Bank, leaving his American-Jewish family in the suburbs. When Nathan does not die after his operation, he marries his Maria, who becomes pregnant with his child, but shortly quarrels with her over her English family's anti-Semitism and her inherent passivity about it and the ways of anti-Semitic Christendom, very complacent and apparent in England, in general. Roth's writer, Nathan, has the power to create alternatives and to take each one to a conclusion: the conclusions that hold up are life is better than death, love is better than sex, and to be a Jew in Israel is better than to be a Jew in Christendom.

THERE are qualifications to these conclusions—nothing is easy. However, *The Counterlife* has a Jewish Everyman feeling about it in spite of (perhaps because of) its deconstructivist strategy that breaks the conventional single

narrative down into alternating narratives. If there is a traditional-plot conflict sustained through the various narratives, it is the conflict between the brothers, and at the center of this is Zuckerman's *Carnovsky*, the publication of which shamed the family and made Henry angry with Nathan. After Nathan's funeral, Henry goes to Nathan's apartment and finds his current manuscript (*The Counterlife*): he takes out, and destroys, "Basel," the first chapter, which is about his love affair with the Swiss-German Maria and other things concerning his sexual life. Finding the eulogy for Nathan, delivered by Nathan's editor at the funeral—a eulogy focusing on *Carnovsky* as brilliant, bold fiction—Henry, realizing Nathan wrote the eulogy before he died, renews his anger with his dead brother: "*Carnovsky* wasn't fiction, it was *never* fiction—the fiction and the man were one! Calling it fiction was the biggest fiction of all!" Yet Henry's case against the novelist is not that he tells the truth but that he distorts it.

The conflict between the brothers is

as literary as it is Freudian. Based on *Carnovsky*, it is resolved not in the narrative(s) but outside, in the world of Roth's, not Zuckerman's, novels. If we begin with the son in the Jewish joke in *Portnoy's Complaint*, we end in the concluding chapter of a deconstructed morality tale, "Christendom" in *The Counterlife*:

Circumcision confirms that there is an us, and an us that isn't solely him and me. England's made a Jew of me in only eight weeks, which, on reflection, might be the least painful method. A Jew without Jews, without Judaism, without Zionism, without Jewishness, without a temple or an army or even a pistol, a Jew clearly without a home, just the object itself, like a glass or an apple.

With this novel Philip Roth achieves an earned resolution to any conflict he has had with the Jewish community. He has found a simple truth about being a Jew in modernity, for himself or writer.

Israel & Ishmael

Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land. By David K. Shipler. Times Books. 596 pages. \$22.50.

Reviewed by RAPHAEL DANZIGER

W^{IT}HIN a few months of its publication, *Arab and Jew* had spawned major controversy. Described by some reviewers as "the best and most comprehensive work there is in English on this subject" and as a "thoughtful, well-researched, deeply caring work," it has been denounced by others as a "masterpiece in the Israel-bashing genre" and as the work of a "master of artifice." Does this book deserve the approbation it has won or the opprobrium it has sustained?

Based largely on interviews with Arabs and Jews in Israel and the West Bank that Shipler conducted during his tenure as *New York Times* bureau chief in Jerusalem (1979-84), *Arab and Jew* examines the relationships between the two peoples in three dimensions: the forces on both sides that have given rise

to mutual aversion (war, nationalism, terrorism, and religious absolutism); their images of each other (violent, craven, primitive, alien, etc.); and their varied interactions (cultural mingling, police repression, sexual liaisons, efforts at reconciliation). As indicated in the book's opening sentence, Shipler is neither Arab nor Jew; but he is no outsider either since his wife, Deborah, is Jewish; indeed, his criticisms of Israel, even at their harshest, have the distinct ring of *en famille* admonitions.

Arab and Jew is a severe indictment of both sides. Shipler deplores the obstinate denial by the two communities of the legitimacy of each other's nationalism. He condemns Arab terrorism and its near-universal acceptance among the Palestinians as well as the indiscriminate hatred of all Arabs it has generated among many Jews. He is equally revolted by Arab anti-Semitism and by the anti-Arab rantings of Jewish religious extremists. And he detests the mutual hatred and stereotypes the two groups have enunciated in school textbooks and other writings as well as in conversations and interviews with him.

Although Jews and Arabs mingled culturally since the advent of Islam and Jews fared much better under Islam than under Christianity, most recent

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Arab-Jewish interactions have been negative. Arabs under Israeli control have been severely repressed by the Security Service—the Shin Beth—which Shipler describes as a “secret police in an open society.” Arab citizens of Israel are routinely discriminated against and mistreated, and sexual or marital liaisons between Arabs and Jews are viewed almost as mortal sins. Although an admirer of private groups promoting reconciliation between Arabs and Jews in Israel, Shipler is profoundly pessimistic about their prospects. In the book’s final sentence he describes their efforts as “seed sown in the brass earth.”

TO ITS detractors, *Arab and Jew* is unabashedly anti-Israel. They charge that Shipler’s preferred solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict is a PLO-style “secular democratic state,” blocked only by Israel’s “racist attitudes.” In order to pin the blame on Israel, they assert, Shipler seeks to blemish Israel’s moral standing through a variety of stratagems: To portray the Arabs as the underdog he reduces the conflict to one between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs (instead of the entire Arab world). His rhetorical strategy is to make his own criticisms appear mild by reciting extreme condemnations of Israel by Israeli leftists. He stacks his sources by describing detractors of Israel in positive terms while denigrating its defenders. His basic method is the portrayal of a “mirror image” between Israelis and Arabs, which, given the fundamental asymmetry of the conflict, is an anti-Israel deception.

The worst instance of “spurious balance,” the critics contend, pertains to terrorism. Despite the obvious imbalance, Shipler represents the Israelis as being at least as guilty as the Arabs, in fact devoting *more* space to Jewish terrorism against Arabs than to Arab terrorism against Jews. Even when describing instances of Arab terror, he evokes anger *against* Israel by describing the Jewish crowd’s angry reactions in greater detail than the terrorist act itself. Another egregious portrayal of a “mirror image” concerns literature, when in fact Israeli-Jewish literature has been harshly critical of Zionism while self-criticism is entirely absent in Arab literature. Similarly, in describing the 1948 war Shipler devotes far more space to alleged Israeli excesses against Arabs than to Arab atrocities against Jews. Worst of all, the critics charge, he

even makes an analogy between Israelis and Nazis.

While none of the other reviewers accuse Shipler of harboring an anti-Israeli bias, most of their criticisms as well refer to instances in which he is supposedly too hard on Israel. There is, they argue, a certain “moral fussiness” in his complaint that Arabs passing through Ben-Gurion Airport undergo humiliating searches when there is a real danger of being blown out of the sky, as there is in Shipler’s disapproval of Jews who were reluctant to check into Arab hospitals during an Israeli doctors’ strike, when even the Arabs themselves trust Jewish hospitals more than their own. And when the IDF seized the PLO archives in Beirut, rather than trying to “steal the Palestinians’ past and identity,” the Israelis had good reasons to examine the information about them the PLO had collected. Furthermore, there is no justification for Shipler’s uncritical, lengthy recitation of Palestinian descriptions of alleged torture by the Shin Beth when elsewhere in the book he himself concedes that Arabs tend to overstate their agony.

In this reviewer’s opinion, many of these criticisms are well-founded. While it is incorrect that Shipler equates Jews with Nazis, blames the conflict on racist Israeli attitudes, or espouses a PLO-style state, he indeed tends to come down much harder on Israel than on the Arabs and to “turn the emotional tables” on it. So his moral judgments, whether explicit or implicit, warrant circumspection. But does this mean that Shipler is an enemy of Israel, as suggested by some of his critics?

IT SEEMS that the key to Shipler’s thinking lies in his professional credo (as printed in his entry in *Who’s Who in America*):

I have been guided professionally by the conviction that an open society needs open examination of itself to survive. Defining problems, inspecting blemishes, probing wounds, and exposing injustices are the required pastimes of a free people.

Since to Shipler Israeli Jews are the “most open and candid . . . people” he has “met anywhere in the world”—a characteristic he certainly does not ascribe to the Arabs—it seems that far from wishing to harm Israel, his foremost objective is to prod it into confronting and addressing its “blemishes” in order to make it a better and, in the

long run, sturdier nation. The overly harsh, and occasionally, gratuitous criticisms of Israel appear to have been intended to serve as a kind of shock treatment of some of that country’s very real and very serious ills.

In pursuing his professional credo, Shipler may well have departed at times from the journalist’s solemn obligation to uphold strict standards of balance, fairness, and proper perspective. Furthermore, friends of Israel may reasonably question the efficacy of Shipler’s apparent quest to “save Israel in spite of herself.” Since *Arab and Jew* was originally published in the United States (a Hebrew translation is still under negotiation), the book is far more likely to hurt Israel’s standing in U.S. public opinion than to have positive effects on Israeli society.

Nonetheless, one cannot help but be impressed with the admirable, yet remarkably unassuming and realistic, goal Shipler seeks to promote. Wisely recognizing that the “pluralistic, integrationist approach that has been the standard of American society has no relevance” in Israel—or anywhere else in the area—he pleads for “good-neighborly relations, a middle course between the extremes of integration and apartheid.” If the book—whether in its English or in its future Hebrew version—can help further this worthy objective, its likely public-relations cost would be well worthwhile to the Israelis.

PARADOXICALLY, then, *Arab and Jew* deserves both the opprobrium and the approbation it has drawn. Its outwardly balanced treatment of Arabs and Jews appears to veil an underlying tilt against Israel—yet Shipler seems fundamentally to identify with the Israelis and to seek to ameliorate their situation, and his book’s net effect may yet prove beneficial to Israel. *Arab and Jew* clearly reflects the “moral fussiness” of a liberal American piqued at Israel’s inability to meet his own country’s exalted standards of religious and ethnic pluralism—yet he concedes that these standards are out of place in the Middle East and contents himself with recommending better relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel. And while Shipler’s unfamiliarity with the area’s history, culture, and languages has inevitably precluded the book from attaining true scholarly depth, his superb journalistic skills have turned out a highly perceptive, incisive, infor-

mative, factually accurate, and readable book. In short, *Arab and Jew* needs to be taken with more than a grain of salt, but is eminently worth reading.

Still Howling

Collected Poems 1947-1980. By Allen Ginsberg. Harper & Row. 837 pages. \$27.50

Howl. By Allen Ginsberg. Original Draft Facsimile, Transcript & Variant Versions, Fully Annotated by the Author, with Contemporaneous Correspondence, Account of First Public Reading, Legal Skirmishes, Precursor Texts & Bibliography. Edited by Barry Miles. Harper & Row. 194 pages. \$22.50.

Reviewed by BENJAMIN IVRY

The appearance within two years of both the *Collected Poems* and a deluxe facsimile edition of *Howl* naturally suggests an assessment of the Beat poet Allen Ginsberg's work is due. *Howl*, written in 1955-56, moved a generation of young rebellious spirits in its free-flowing Whitmanesque elegiac format, mourning the "best minds" of a generation destroyed by drugs, drink, and political mishaps. At the time the message struck home, but 30 years later, somehow, things seem quite different.

What is the purpose of a facsimile edition, apart from flattery of a poet? The most celebrated recent example, *The Waste Land*, was full of all sorts of thorny editorial questions that were resolved when the facsimile appeared. Moreover, T.S. Eliot's poem in typescript showed how indebted the work was to the judicious editing of Ezra Pound. So, not only was the text itself amplified, but the creative process was clarified in the appearance of the facsimile *Waste Land*.

By contrast, the *Howl* facsimile is mostly an exercise in nostalgia. There are lots of photos of Ginsberg's friends, by now familiar from the scholarly industry centered around the Beat writers. There are the expected photos of youthful Jack Kerouac, Peter Orlovsky,

Neal Cassady, and others. Interestingly, as the critical studies on the Beats multiply (usually written by academics in very un-Beat tenured positions), the real literary reputations of the circle seems to decline. Ginsberg may be partly responsible for this, in his open-heartedly generous way of treating his friends, which is admirable, and his own work, which is less appealing. Ginsberg has always tried to mythologize Kerouac, Cassady, Orlovsky, and the rest, with whom he had deep emotional relationships that did not exclude the sexual. However, the works of all these writers can hardly be said to be tinged with the same interest now attached to their lives, often brief and full of incident, even if rather pointless, self-destructive incident.

MOST poets at 60 have a right to the retrospective air that engenders a collected volume of their works. However, responsible writers make an effort to separate the wheat from the chaff. To cite merely two examples, W.H. Auden and Marianne Moore often omitted famous poems wholesale from their collected volumes, in a hypercritical mood. Ginsberg goes to the other

extreme. The *Collected Poems* has everything inside it, without discrimination. The reader feels like a child with one day to spend at the circus, who stuffs himself with so much cotton candy, peanuts, popcorn, and hot dogs that nausea results.

Ginsberg's talent was and is very real, it should be stressed. Yet the talent is surely as much for performance as for writing words on a page. The poet was notably "discovered" and recorded in performance of his self-composed harmonium songs only recently by record producer John Hammond, great initiator of the musical careers of performers from Bessie Smith to Bruce Springsteen. This element of performance is indistinguishable from what the poet writes, as any audience member at Ginsberg's frequent readings will testify to. A poem that seems on the face of it a rather rapacious attempt to seduce a teenage boy will, as spoken by Ginsberg, acquire the all-American hominess of baseball player Tom Seaver discussing his last year's pitching ERA. Some may say, why should we separate the poet from the poem? After all, Homer's *Odyssey* also loses a lot on the printed page. Yes, but what remains is convin-



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cally great poetry, unadorned by a physical presence. With much of the output in *Collected Poems*, this is unfortunately not true.

There are, of course, high points that enable us to understand, even if we did not live through the Beat 1950s, what all the fuss was about. While *Howl* may seem skeletal and only half-formed,* the slightly later *Kaddish*, an elegy for the poet's mother, is emotionally convincing. A true portrait, lasting in its concrete detail, is created of Naomi Ginsberg, with her stays in mental asylums, and her body scars. Here Ginsberg's uncontained verbiage has a power that climbs from the surface of the page to involve the reader. *Kaddish* is no two-dimensional text waiting for performance. Its accomplishment, and particularly Jewish viewpoint on life and death, make it worth every reader's attention.

GINSBERG'S ethnic Judaism has been an important element in his career, despite his avowal of Buddhist and other religious views. Whereas other American Jewish poets are more "Jewish" certainly, none is more famous than Ginsberg, and welcome to rarefied circles. The recent *Harvard Anthology of Contemporary Poetry* has the air of an "exclusive" country club of a few years back. Perhaps unconsciously, many prominent Jewish poets are excluded from this high-toned selection, including eminent names like Richard Howard and John Hollander. Yet there is room for Allen Ginsberg. Why should this be so?

Doubtless Ginsberg's life-style—homosexuality, drugs, past insanity—telegraphs a certain message to the critics of academe. Essentially, a bohemian life of his sort says, "Ignore me at your own peril. I may be another Van Gogh or Rimbaud," thought mad by contemporaries, only to be revered by later generations. The fact that such a wild life could emerge from a rather ordinary New Jersey Jewish youth may

be part of what delights the poet's numerous admirers. Ginsberg's father, Louis, was a poet in strict, old-fashioned meters. Louis Ginsberg's inculcating Hebrew traditions into the young Allen would be a wonderful subject for a large narrative painting, if such items were still in fashion. Ginsberg absorbed certain elements of the lore, to be sure, and feels them wholeheartedly. Yet he is like a football receiver who runs with the ball, and instead of stopping at the end-zone, continues with the ball out into the street.

Allen Ginsberg may well be remembered as the author of *Kaddish* and a few short poems. One of the most charming of the latter describes a grubby old man in a California supermarket, "eyeing the delivery boys," whom the poet identifies as Walt Whitman. As Ginsberg himself approaches the age of his own Whitmanesque character, it is appropriate to be grateful for the genuine poetry he has given us. His stamina and staying-power are certainly astonishing, as are the cultural syntheses he evolved, starting with a Hebrew school education in Paterson. This freedom of thought, even if it resulted in a lot of less appealing work, is an integral part of Ginsberg's life and work. Without it, he wouldn't be the Allen Ginsberg we all know and (some of us) admire.

Terrorist Balance Sheet

The Financing of Terror. By James Adams. Simon & Schuster. 293 pages. \$18.95.

Reviewed by WILL MASLOW

James Adams, a British journalist, believes that current efforts all over the world to cope with terrorists are ineffectual. His thesis is that only by depriving these armed bands of the money that keeps them alive will the civilized world be able to choke off the use of terror for political ends. Mr. Adams does not seek to regale us with accounts of terrorist conspiracies or cloak-and-dagger stories of the mysterious terrorist leaders. Instead he concentrates on—as the book's subtitles

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declare—"How the groups that are terrorizing the world get the money to do it" and "Behind the PLO, IRA, Red Brigades and M-19 stand the paymasters."

We can check his thesis best by his reports on PLO and Irish IRA finances. Prior to 1982, when the Israelis invaded Lebanon in an effort to smash the PLO's home base, the PLO had forged a financial empire that was earning from \$200 to \$300 million a year. Originally it had relied on the yearly donations promised it by the wealthier Arab nations—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya—but as these gifts were not always forthcoming even when these rich states could afford them, the PLO searched for other sources of income. It established a Palestinian National Fund (PNF), which functioned as its Ministry of Finance. The PNF availed itself of the 300,000 Palestinians in the Lebanon refugee camps to create a labor force, established small factories, and put them to work. SAMED, the PLO's industrial conglomerate, began by producing clothes, uniforms, blankets, and shoes. By 1986 it operated 35 factories in Lebanon and a large number of businesses located outside of Lebanon, which resulted in an annual turnover of \$45 million. Its agricultural division operated large farms in half a dozen black African countries. Much of SAMED was destroyed in 1982, but it has relocated in Algeria, Tunisia, and Syria (continuing its basic structure) and still operates a \$30 million enterprise in Lebanon.

OTHER sources of income are the "voluntary" contributions made to the PLO by rich Arab supporters and the 5 percent "tax" levied on the Palestinians working in Arab lands. This tax is collected by the various governments and remitted to the PLO. Finally, the PLO earns a return on its capital funds of at least \$100 million a year. There are at least four different estimates of the size of this capital fund but the lowest puts it at \$1.6 billion.

The PLO functions as a sort of state with diplomatic offices, health and educational services, pensions for the families of its "martyrs," and an "army" that costs \$160 million a year. The capital assets of the PLO are on deposit in the Arab Bank Ltd., originally located in Lebanon and then moved to Jordan, which is reputed to be one of the largest banks in the world. During the 1982 Israeli attack, the PLO quickly moved

*Lionel Trilling, Allen Ginsberg's teacher at Columbia, to whom Ginsberg sent a copy of his first volume, *Howl and Other Poems*, replied as follows (May 29, 1956): "I'm afraid I have to tell you that I don't like the poems at all. . . . They are not like Whitman—they are prose, all rhetoric, without any music. . . . As for the doctrinal element of the poems, apart from the fact that I of course reject it, it seems to me that I heard it very long ago and that you give it to me in all its orthodoxy, with nothing new added."

\$400 million from the bank to Switzerland.

In a book that lays such stress upon PLO finances, Mr. Adams never bothers to give any evidence to support his fantastic estimates. He states that the PLO's investments around the world amount to \$5 billion, which he says provide it with an annual income of \$1.25 billion. But surely a 25 percent return is incredible, particularly by a group as shadowy as the PLO. Nor does Mr. Adams attempt to draw up a yearly statement of the PLO's income and expenditures. From estimates in the *Economist*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *Forbes*, I have constructed what amounts to a current PLO budget as follows:

Income	(in millions)
Return on investments	\$100
Saudi Arabia & Kuwait support	100
Voluntary contributions	15
Taxes from Palestinians	40
SAMED income	50
	<hr/> \$305

Expenditures	(in millions)
Palestinian Liberation Army	\$100
Palestine Martyrs Fund	40
Palestinian universities & housing subsidies	90
Red Crescent & health services	20
Diplomatic missions	50
Tunis headquarters	10
	<hr/> \$310

Granting Adams's thesis that the best way to undermine the PLO is to deprive it of its financial base, he makes no suggestion on how this is to be done by Israel, the United States, or any other country seeking to cope with terrorists. How does one seize the PLO deposits in the Arab Bank Ltd. or persuade Arab nations to stop subsidizing the PLO or prevent it from establishing lawful commercial enterprises?

The IRA, the Irish Republican Army, provides a better example for Adams's thesis. For one thing, according to British estimates, the IRA consists of no more than 300 men and women, although aided by several thousand sympathizers. To pay its gunmen and support a growing political base in Northern Ireland, the IRA needs only \$7 million a year. Although the British government, according to Adams, is spending about \$6 million a day in countering the IRA, it is making little headway against Irish terrorism.

IRA's funds until recently came from monies collected more or less openly in the United States from Irish-Americans who contributed to Irish Northern Aid (Noraid), headquartered in New York City but with 92 chapters throughout the U.S. Noraid claimed the support of 113 U.S. Congressmen but in 1977 the four most prominent Irish-Americans—Senator Edward Kennedy, Speaker Thomas O'Neill, Senator Daniel Moynihan, and Governor Hugh Carey—publicly condemned support for the IRA. Thereafter the amount of money Noraid could collect was drastically reduced.

Noraid is registered in the U.S. as a foreign agent, required to report its income and expenditures. When rumors began that Noraid was also supplying arms to the IRA, the FBI began investigations that drastically reduced the supply of arms to the IRA. Its financial support weakened by the events in the U.S., the IRA turned to illegal commercial enterprises such as smuggling, selling "protection," and even moving into the taxi business after first muscling out the competition. Nor did the IRA stop robbing banks or extorting funds by kidnapping.

In 1985, in a rare example of binational cooperation, President Reagan amended the current extradition treaty with Great Britain to provide that terrorists should not be immune from extradition because they claimed to be seeking political objectives. Adams describes the campaign against Noraid as "the first and best illustration of coordinated international moves that concentrate on the financing of terrorism." Yet the IRA continues to harass the British and manages to raise the comparatively small sums needed to keep it alive.

In another chapter, Adams maintains his thesis more effectively. He describes the alliance between drugs and terrorists in Colombia. When narco-terrorists can offer a \$300,000 bounty for any U.S. narcotics agent, dead or alive, and even \$5 billion to the Colombian government in exchange for total amnesty, we see the final result of terrorists with unlimited capital.

Nevertheless, Adams concludes that terrorism in general has been "remarkably unsuccessful," a view that seems strange when the mightiest power on earth is shown as powerless when dealing with Iranian terrorists. Only when the weak-willed industrial countries

begin in earnest to cooperate in a global assault on terrorism and those giving asylum to terrorists, is there any hope of ending this scourge.

A New Worldview

Judaic Ethics for a Lawless World. By Robert Gordis. *Jewish Theological Seminary*. 194 pages. \$20.00.

Reviewed by JACK RIEMER

In his latest book, Robert Gordis sets himself two tasks: the first is to describe the malaise that characterizes much of modern life and to explain its source; and the second is to propose a worldview and a basis for morality that will be more effective in dealing with the malaise than the tools currently being employed. He does well at both efforts.

Gordis argues that the insights of Darwin, Marx, and Freud—or to be more accurate, the exaggerations and distortions perpetrated by their disciples and interpreters—have had a devastating effect on the sense of self-worth and on the morale of Western man. Darwin's "survival of the fittest," for example, has been turned into a license for greed and cruelty, although this was not what he had in mind at all. Darwin was not the militant secularist that simple-minded followers and simple-minded critics have made him out to be. On the contrary, his *Origin of the Species* ends with a passage that speaks with awe and wonder about the glory and mystery that is at the heart of the universe; it is a veritable hymn to the Creator. As for Marx's "class struggle," this has been made the ideological rationale for the creation of a cruel state totalitarianism that is worlds away from anything that he had in mind. And finally, Freud's stress upon the importance of the subconscious has become the basis for an understanding of the human being as the helpless victim of irrational drives, an understanding very different from what Freud himself had in mind.

The net result of these distortions has been a desacralization of life and a demoralization of man. What is needed

JACK RIEMER is the rabbi of Congregation Beth David in Miami.

now, Gordis proposes, if we are to overcome the prevalent cynicism and despair, is nothing less than the creation of a new worldview that will restore to human beings a sense of self-worth. Most specifically, the resources of Jewish ethical tradition can be invoked to bring about an achievement of this goal.

It is within the first chapter of Genesis—the very chapter that the disciples of Darwin rejected so firmly—that Gordis finds the basis for a universal ethic. He does this, not with a foolish fundamentalism and literalism of the kind that can only offend modern readers, but by focusing on the ethical truths that emerge from the Creation saga. That the world is one world, that it has plan and purpose, that the human being is responsible for the rest of creation, that the human being is made in the image of God, that man and woman are equal, and that life is good—these are the truths that Gordis finds in

Genesis I. And these are the bases upon which he believes that a moral code can be constructed that will be cogent, persuasive, and universal.

GORDIS explains what is to him real religion and what is real science, and he argues that both are necessary for a worldview that is complete. He then takes up some of the issues that beset contemporary society, such as the misuse of the earth's resources, the threats to democracy, the diminution of the right to dissent, and the danger of nuclear war and seeks to show the relevance of the biblical and the rabbinic tradition to these issues. At the heart of his argument is the doctrine of natural law, by which he means a system of ethics derived from an understanding of human nature, verifiable by reason, and that adheres to the standards of justice.

This kind of a book is important to have nowadays because we are witness-

ing a revival of religious concern that is separate from concern with ethics. We see a kind of piety becoming popular among both Jews and Christians that focuses on prayer and personal purity and that withdraws from concern with the welfare of the world. This book comes to do battle with that kind of mentality. It breathes a different spirit. It focuses on how to make this world a better, cleaner, safer world, and not on how to escape from it.

Not everyone will be convinced by Gordis's revival of the doctrine of natural law. But it is good to have a book like this that is so life-affirming, so full of concern with how to improve the state of society, and so replete with examples of how the Jewish ethical tradition still has the power to speak to the issues of our time. For his cogency in stating the case for a living and pertinent Judaism, Robert Gordis is to be thanked, and his book is to be studied.

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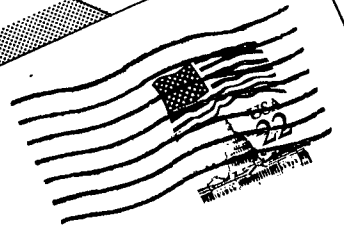


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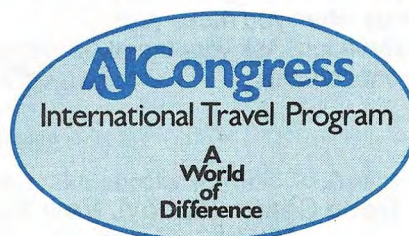


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Remembering Bayard Rustin

David Evanier

American Jewish

CONGRESS MONTHLY

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The Rise and Fall of the Lavi

Yosef Goell

New Birth Technologies The Jewish View

Fred Rosner



Case of Leah Shakdiel

ertok



Bellow Talking

Helen A. Weinberg



Resolution on the Middle East Peace Process

A Statement by the American Jewish Congress

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Cover photo: the Lavi jet (courtesy, Israel Aircraft Industries). Page 4, drawing by Mark Podwal.

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VIEWPOINT

The Jewish Roots of the Constitution

Theodore R. Mann

The 200th anniversary of the American Constitution, now being celebrated, affords an opportunity to reflect on the Jewish people's role in the history of that great document and the events that led up to it. As living people, Jews, to be sure, played a minor role, at best, in the Reformation, in the origins of the United States, the American Revolution, and the writing of the Constitution. But what Christians call the "Old Testament"—that is, the Hebrew Bible—played a decisive role in all of those momentous events.

It has been said that the Reformation would never have amounted to more than a monkish quarrel had it not been for Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in 1455. What was printed thereafter, in enormous profusion, was Bibles, as literacy regained its foothold in the Western world. And it was the "Old Testament" in particular that gripped the imagination of this new reading public. The Jewish Holy Scriptures once again began to influence world events, in some ways more profoundly than they had 2,000 years earlier.

By the time the Puritans came to Virginia in 1607 and Massachusetts in 1620, they were thoroughly imbued with Scripture. They believed, with a depth of conviction modern man finds strange and disconcerting, that England, like ancient Israel, was a covenant nation which would suffer God's wrath

for its sins and His beneficence for its good works. Above all they believed that idolatry must be abolished, immediately, that between the Word of God and the individual there should be no intervening human agency, and that there was no such thing as the divine right of kings but only the divine right of prophets to chastise and condemn kings. These were the basic "Old Testament" concepts that led ultimately to a new conception of society and, through some twists and turns, to religious toleration, and to freedom and democracy.

These were revolutionary ideas—not revolutionary as in "new," for though long submerged in Christendom they were 3,000 years old, but revolutionary in the sense that they inevitably led to the overthrow of the old order. In a society of such believers, no despot could feel secure, as King George III among others would later learn to his great regret. In a society of such believers, the Church was anathema because belief in the Pope's infallibility was, in the Puritan view, idolatry.

They percolated in both the Old and the New Worlds, these "Old Testament" ideas. The Puritans were not known for their tolerance. Perhaps it never occurred to them that if there were no dominant authority, such as a Pope, many different religious views would flourish, not only theirs. In Oliver Cromwell's 17th-century England, the concept that there may be no intervening human agency between the Word of God and the individual, led to the conclusion—unplanned but, in retrospect, inevitable—that it is better for

(Continued on page 21)

THEODORE R. MANN, a Philadelphia attorney, is the president of the American Jewish Congress.

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Resolution on the Middle East Process

The following resolution, issued to wide attention, was adopted by the Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress at its meeting on September 21, 1987. The resolution, noting "the wrenching debate and painful self-reflection taking place within Israel in an effort to define and implement a prudent and just course towards peace," speaks out of "concern for the well-being and safety of the people of Israel . . . a matter of paramount importance to American Jews and Jews throughout the world. . . ." The resolution further observes: "Because of our deep engagement with the people of Israel and their fate, we think it appropriate and necessary in the present stalemate to participate in the current historic debate."

CONCERN for the well-being and safety of the people of Israel is a matter of paramount importance to American Jews and Jews throughout the world. That urgent concern motivates this resolution.

Quite properly, American Jews are reluctant to differ publicly with the Government of Israel on issues relating to the physical security of Israel. The primary rationale for such restraint is that the costs and consequences of Middle East policies fall most heavily upon those who reside in Israel and have invested their lives in the creation and maintenance of the State of Israel. For them, choices as to how to pursue peace are existential: literally and directly such choices affect the terms of their existence.

While American Jews, 6,000 to 9,000 miles away, are not similarly at risk, in a profound sense the choices are likewise existential for us. The identities of most American Jews are so tightly intertwined with the reemergence in our time of the Third Jewish Commonwealth, that Israel's destruction as a Jewish, democratic, independent state, would skew beyond recognition our own identities and those of our progeny. It would extinguish much of the meaning of our lives.

When a decision concerning the peace process is clearly enunciated by an Israeli government, the case for restraint by Jews elsewhere is compelling. It is less compelling, however, when—as now—the Government of Israel is itself divided and deadlocked over how to approach the peace process.

Israel currently confronts a series of complex and difficult decisions. We know the wrenching debate and painful self-reflection taking place within Israel in an effort to define and implement a prudent and just course towards peace. Because of our deep engagement with the people of Israel and with their fate, we think it appropriate and necessary in the present stalemate to participate in the current historic debate.

The Current Situation

For the past twenty years, Israel has administered the territories in the West Bank and Gaza, an area now popu-

ulated by 1.5 million Palestinian Arabs. The occupation has been relatively benign: certainly Palestinian Arabs in these territories enjoy a degree of personal and communal freedom virtually unknown elsewhere in the Arab world, and a level of economic prosperity unattainable under Jordanian rule.

However, the authoritarian and repressive political cultures of the Arab world are hardly the standard to which Israel should aspire. Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza are perceived as hostile occupiers. And continued Israeli rule of a resentful Arab population must lead to repressive measures that, in the long run, cannot but distort and corrupt the values we associate with a Jewish state.

Judaism holds that humankind was fashioned in the image of our Creator and is endowed with infinite worth and dignity. The Jewish commitment to personal dignity, to human freedom, to social justice, and to the rule of law all argue against the permanent governance of another people by a Jewish state. As the prophets of Israel declared with such passion and pathos, the abandonment of Jewish values leads not to strength and tranquility but to national disintegration and exile.

The Demographic Problem

Recent studies indicate that Arab population growth will rapidly transform "Greater Israel"—Israel plus the West Bank and Gaza—into a de-facto binational state, politically and culturally. The most reliable projections by Israeli demographers conclude that an Israeli child born today can expect to enter high school in a land in which the Arab population virtually equals the Jewish population—it is that soon. If no significant political adjustments are effected, the demographic imperatives will force Israel at that time, if not before, to choose between becoming a non-Jewish state or a non-democratic state. Neither choice is acceptable.

The proposal that the Arabs of the occupied territories be granted full Israeli citizenship is both unrealistic and impractical. It is simply not practical for a Jewish state to grant full citizenship to an Arab population that in two

decades may equal or surpass Israel's Jewish population. Jews would become a minority in their own land, and the vision of a Jewish state would be rendered meaningless.

Those who accept either permanent disenfranchisement of a large alien population within an enlarged Jewish state, or the "transfer" of that population out of the West Bank and Gaza, are clearly out of touch both with democratic and Jewish values.

The commitment which motivates our concern is not only to Israel as a place of sanctuary and refuge for Jews, but to Israel as a democratic Jewish state where the aspirations and ideals of the Jewish people can be embodied and made real. At a minimum, such a commitment entails that—with due regard for its security—Israel pursue every opportunity to create a just governance for all its residents.

The Quest for Peace

The quest for peace has been a constant of Jewish life and tradition. The success of that quest in the Middle East has been hampered by Arab intransigence and obdurate refusal to accept the legitimacy of a Jewish state in the area. But the fact of that refusal must never become a reason for abandoning or diminishing our own pursuit of peace.

Large numbers of Israeli and American Jews are convinced that there are realistic alternatives to the status quo that would enhance Israel's security and would avoid the demographic and other dangers of continuing an unavoidably hostile occupation. A position that calls for maintaining the status quo or the annexation of the occupied territories severely hampers the development of such alternatives.

International Peace Conference

We believe the proposal for an International Peace Conference deserves much more serious consideration.

We understand and agree with the preference of many Israeli leaders for bilateral negotiations with Jordan under the aegis of the United States pursuant to the Camp David process. That approach has many advantages over the proposed International Peace Conference, and if it were available as a political reality it would be the preferable course to follow. Unfortunately, King Hussein has made it clear that he requires an international "imprimatur" to protect him from PLO extremists—and will engage in direct

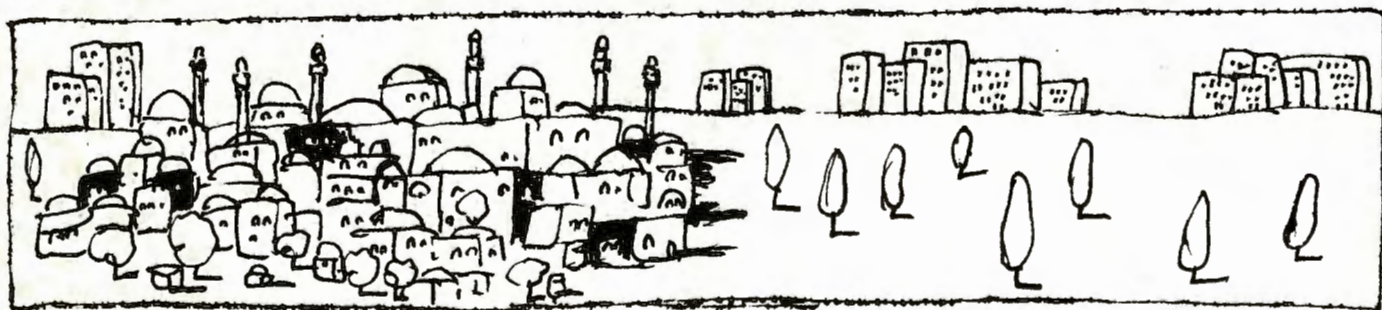
negotiations with Israel only in the context of an international forum sponsored by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, and China.

On the other hand, the written understandings reached between Foreign Minister Peres and King Hussein and the safeguards they contain have not been adequately stressed or acknowledged. *These understandings propose that as a prerequisite all prospective conveners will be obliged to recognize Israel; that it will be made unequivocally clear from the start that the essential purpose of the conference is to legitimate direct negotiations between and among the most interested parties; and that referral to the conveners of any issue for resolution will require the consent of all parties to the direct negotiations. In addition, Israel has made clear that as a prerequisite for participation the Soviet Union will be obliged to restore diplomatic relations and liberalize Jewish emigration.*

If these conditions can reasonably be assured, we believe that the international conference satisfies in sufficient measure Israel's insistence over the past 39 years that peace can be achieved only in direct, face-to-face negotiations. In order to initiate a move toward peace, and end the pervasive and tragic belligerency in the Middle East, we believe that achieving these conditions and the subsequent convening of such a conference should be energetically pursued.

If the International Peace Conference is convened on these terms, then the risks to be evaluated are risks of having to leave the conference table and suffer condemnation as the party that broke up the conference. These risks may be public-relations risks; but they are not security risks and they do not outweigh the substantial benefits that direct negotiations even under an international conference might bring: namely, genuine movement toward peace, the crafting of a consensual set of compromises, whether territorial or functional, that would remove the stigma and opprobrium suffered by an embattled occupier, and the relief of Israel and its supporters from the anguish involved in the daunting choice between a non-democratic repressive state and a non-Jewish binational state.

We offer our views with a sense of modesty appropriate to our awareness that we are not as directly accountable as are Jews in Israel. Nevertheless, we are persuaded that the risks, both to Israel and to ourselves, of announcing our views are far less than the risks of remaining silent and external to this historic debate.



Mark Podwal

Remembering Bayard Rustin

David Evanier

TO KNOW HIM at all was to perceive his greatness. It was that transcendent quality to be found in his comrades Nathan Perlmutter (who died six weeks before him), Golda Meir, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. A powerful, wide-ranging intellect that included politics but was not submerged by it, without an ounce of arrogance. A touch of the thespian (he sang to support his college education with Leadbelly and Josh White)—you could bump into him on the street in a tuxedo and ruffles and a cane, and it was the same Bayard.

Robert Penn Warren wrote of him that his appearance was "a strange mixture of strength and sensitivity."

He loved black people. And he loved Jewish people. His attitude toward the Jews was partly a personal commitment, based on both biblical reasons and his friendships with Jews. But it was also political: the Jews were for him a key element of the civil-rights coalition. He wrote, "Blacks and Jews are members in good standing of the international party to human rights. We know better than most others the meaning of human rights, for we have experienced their denial. Inextricably linked in a world often hostile to the interests of all mankind, we share a vision of a truly just society. . . ."

He continued to the end to adhere to the basic strategy of a broad-based civil-rights coalition encompassing the mainstream black community, the labor movement, and the major religious groupings. Evidence that he personified the very coalition he believed in could be found in the scores of obituary announcements in the *New York Times* mourning him. They came from mainstream black organizations, the trade-union movement, and in overwhelming numbers, the Jewish community.

Early on and consistently he was the major black figure who championed the cause of Israel. In 1975 he organized Black Americans to Support Israel Committee (BASIC). He was a passionate, rational advocate. He wrote, "Since Israel is a democratic state surrounded by essentially undemocratic states which have sworn her destruction, those interested in democracy everywhere must support Israel's existence." National chairman of Social Democrats, U.S.A., he was a stalwart on behalf of Israel in the Socialist International and a member of its key subcom-

mittees on the Middle East conflict. For many years his comrade-in-arms (and close friend) was Golda Meir. From the earliest days—before the formation of the National Conference for Soviet Jewry—he was active in the movement for Soviet Jews.

He scorned black racism, separatism, and preferential treatment, because of his high regard for himself and his people. To him these were expressions of retreat, isolation, and defeat. Arguing against black-studies departments in universities, he said that black people know "that 'separate but equal' shall always be a form of exploitation and degradation. And it shall continue to be such, whether it is demanded by whites out of malicious intent or by blacks out of the poignant need, born of fear and insecurity, to withdraw from competition with the larger society." About black nationalism, he wrote in 1969: "Mahatma Gandhi, the great revolutionary of this century, who led India to independence, often said, 'One becomes the thing he hates.' And there is disturbing evidence that some black youth today have begun to accept the very worst ideas and concepts that were employed by Southern white racists to brutalize and emasculate black people."

When I interviewed him in 1984, he spoke of the sergeant's test which was given to New York policemen. Blacks and Hispanics had not fared as well as whites, and then claimed the results were discriminatory. He asked me: "Did you ever hear of anything so ridiculous? . . . An exam cannot be discriminatory. And nobody—no black person—was saying the examination was unfair. Then I could listen. But to say the results were unfair! Furthermore, I would not want to downgrade blacks. We are so bloody stupid that if we don't pass the exam, people have to act as if we passed it?"

A member of the Young Communist League in the 1930s, Rustin broke with the organization when the Communist Party reversed its "peace" line as a result of Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. The league became superpatriotic, and ordered him to scrap his campaign to end racial discrimination in the military. Rustin became a youth organizer for A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington movement, the first mass organized protest of blacks against racial and economic oppression. He was the first field secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1942. A Quaker, he was imprisoned as a conscientious objector to World War II in 1943 (he would later acknowledge he had been wrong to oppose a war against Nazism). In 1947 he organized the first Freedom Ride and was sentenced to a chain gang in a North Carolina prison camp. After his death, Ralph Abernathy said, "This was a man who was there when it was mean and really rough, and who did not hesitate to put himself on the line."

A disciple of Gandhi who actually sat at Gandhi's feet when he was young, Rustin brought back the doctrine of nonviolence and civil disobedience that became the philosophical and theoretical underpinning of the civil-rights revolution. The concept that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. used so well came from Rustin, who learned it from Gandhi. He worked closely with Dr. King in the Mont-

DAVID EVANIER, a research specialist with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, is the author of the novel *The One-Star Jew*. A new novel by him, *The Prince of Progressive Humanity*, is forthcoming.

gomery, Alabama, bus boycott, and served as an advisor to Dr. King from 1955 to 1960. He was deputy director and overall tactician of the historic 1963 March on Washington.

In recent years he traveled all over the world aiding refugees from Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Laos. He served as director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, countering black nationalist and separatist tendencies in the labor movement and working for the full integration and equality of blacks in trade unions. He told me in 1984: "Today the trade-union movement is more important than any other mode of black mobilization. Because the problems blacks now face are not black problems. . . . Go up to Harlem tomorrow and turn all the black youth there white.

There's not going to be jobs for them, not more hospital care. It's a class problem. And to state it in black terms is a mistake."

I last saw him at a 75th birthday celebration in March of this year at the New York Hilton. There were tributes from John Lewis, Leo Cherne, Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, Lane Kirkland, and Elie Wiesel. Then it was Bayard's turn. The audience waited for his speech. He turned to the pianist in the orchestra on his right, and much to the musician's surprise, said, "Key of A, brother." And Bayard sang several Negro spirituals in his sweet, lovely voice that caressed his friends.

It was the right key.

The Rise and Fall of the Lavi

Yosef Goell

OF THE WORLD'S 30 or so functioning Western-type democracies, Israel is by far the most politicized. Considerations of party politics intrude into, and are often decisive, in the myriad aspects of life, from the selections of chief rabbis, in the field of religion, to sports, where nearly all clubs and federations are politically affiliated—and to nearly everything else in between. The recent decision by the Israel government to stop the development and production of the Israeli-made jet fighter plane, the Lavi, provided a disquieting precedent of an unabashed extension of such party politics into the arena of military-economic issues, from which they had been largely excluded in the past.

The idea of Israel's developing and producing its own state-of-the-art jet fighter has been around since the late 1970s. But it only took off when Moshe Arens, while serving as ambassador to the U.S. in the early 80s, succeeded in winning U.S. Congressional approval for Israel to divert several hundred million dollars a year from U.S. military aid to Israel, for the development of the Lavi. Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), which had previously succeeded in producing an Israeli version of the French Mirage fighter in the form of the Kfir, took on the technologically daunting challenge and by the end of 1986 succeeded in having the first Lavi prototype take to the air. By that time, however, leading members of Israel's political, military, and economic establishments were having second thoughts. As exhilarating as the idea of an Israeli-developed fighter jet was, it had become clear that the level of U.S. aid diverted

to it would be several hundred million dollars a year short of what was needed to complete development and begin production. The U.S. had in the meantime made it clear that it would not increase the level of its aid to the Lavi. (The American defense establishment, headed by Secretary Weinberger, was opposed all along to the idea of Israel producing its own fighter jet.) The Israeli leadership could thus no longer avoid facing up to the grim reality that those sums would have to be diverted from the sorely strained defense budget, which had already been cut to dangerous levels in the previous two years, or from an inflationary increase in the overall state budget.

What confronted the Israeli leadership at this stage was a difficult choice between the objective military and economic pros and cons of continuing or cancelling the prestigious project. In the spring of 1987, however, the by-now frantic backers of the Lavi, led by Minister Without Portfolio Moshe Arens, pushed through a decision in the Herut Party convention, by which the party adopted the continuation of the Lavi as a plank in its political platform. As the issue, which had previously been debated behind closed doors, came out into the open, the heads of the Israel Aircraft Industries union also joined the battle with the reminder that the IAI's 20,000 employees and their families were worth several Knesset seats. They threatened that they would not hesitate to mobilize that vote against any party which dared shoot down the Lavi. Such threats to resort to electoral vengeance around a clear defense issue had never before been sounded, even in the everything-goes, no-holds-barred Israeli political scene.

Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin had been dithering over the problem for the previous two years. What finally brought him down openly on the side of the opponents of the Lavi was the installation in April of a new army chief of

YOSEF GOELL, who reports regularly on Israeli affairs in these pages, is a member of the editorial staff of the Jerusalem Post.

general staff, Dan Shomron. The new CGS confronted the generals on the General Staff with the stark reality that the Lavi could only be continued at the expense of the essential development and procurement needs of the rest of the army—including the air force itself. In that situation, the entire General Staff, including the outgoing commander of the air force, and the man slated to succeed him, joined the opponents of the Lavi. At that point, Rabin permitted and possibly even encouraged the generals to go public with their opposition.

Following the Likud's defeat in the cabinet vote, Prime Minister Shamir used the venue of a Herut central-committee meeting in the West Bank town of Ariel to lash out at the chief of staff and the members of the General Staff for permitting themselves to become involved in what was a political issue. Although he soon hastened to mollify Rav Aluf Dan Shomron—and it was Shamir himself and the Likud who had been the ones to turn what should have been a painful and complex military and economic problem, on which the army's advice was crucial, into a political one—Shamir had put his finger on a serious problem. For once the issue did become a political one, there is no doubt that Rabin's permission to the General Staff to go public with their opposition to the Lavi had involved the army in politics. The real problem, in this regard, however, had begun much earlier, when prime ministers had begun inviting army chiefs of staff and heads of military intelligence to participate in cabinet meetings. Under Menachem Begin that practice had become nearly institutionalized, and was often a reflection of the politicians' flinching from taking difficult defense-linked decisions on their own.

The cabinet continued to be divided over the issue throughout the spring and summer, but the pros and antis were not yet totally divided along stark Likud vs. Labor Party lines. Most important of all, the positions of the two party leaders, Likud Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Labor Vice Premier Shimon Peres, were not yet clear. Such a party alignment, for or against the Lavi, finally jelled in July and August. Shamir was not ready to break with Arens (and with Ariel Sharon) in the Likud, and Peres was not prepared to buck Rabin in Labor. The apparent fifty-fifty split in the cabinet led to a number of postponements of a final decision. In the end, however, Shamir pressured Likud Minister of Justice Avraham Sharir to toe the Likud pro-Lavi party line (and Sharir openly admitted the application of pressure on the part of the prime minister to change his vote). That open admission enabled Peres to apply similar pressure on Lavi supporter Minister of Health Shoshana Arbelli-Almoslino to abstain, which made possible the clinching 12-11 vote for the cessation of the project.

The decision to halt the development of the Lavi was undoubtedly a difficult one, made all the more painful by the prospect that 3-4,000 highly trained engineers and technicians, who had been working on the project, would have to be laid off. The split along party lines on the issue,

however, constituted additional evidence of the basic difference between the largely pragmatic approach to issues on the part of the left-of-center Labor and the emphasis on the politics of symbolism on the part of the Likud and the more radical right. Once the IDF General Staff came out against the continuation of the project, it was no longer possible to argue in its favor on its merits. The Likud and the right thus wheeled out the argument of the damage that cessation of the project would inflict on national morale, in general, and the more specific hurt that the laying off of several thousand engineers and technicians would do to the morale of younger people. An interesting comment on the cavalier attitude to mere monetary considerations that had developed in this part of the Israel political community was evinced in the reply to the argument that going on with the Lavi would cost the country \$2 billion more than the alternative of purchasing F-16s from the U.S. To counter that argument, the \$2 billion estimate was first denied—in general, both sides to the dispute floated scandalously tendentious figures and calculations—and then the assertion was put forward that the Lavi would *only cost \$1 billion more* than the alternatives proposed.

Labor Party leader Shimon Peres had also backed the continuation of the Lavi project until quite late in the day. As the Israeli politician who was instrumental in founding the Israel Aircraft Industries (and also the Military Industries and the nuclear-research program), Peres found it excruciating to order a stop to the technologically prestigious Lavi project. But when confronted with the incontrovertible evidence of what the cost of continuing it would be, he came around to opposing it, obviously with a heavy

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heart. Typically of Peres, was his attempt at camouflaging his shift in position by proposing to soften the blow to the IAI by continuing development work—but not production—on an even more advanced version of the Lavi. But in the end, Peres dropped that non-starter and again proved himself the master political manipulator that he is, in marshalling the majority needed in the cabinet to stop the Lavi, when Shamir was lulled into finally calling for a vote.

The Likud's infatuation with a politics of symbolism in the case of the Lavi was a reprise of its stance on the only two major issues which had been dealt with effectively by the otherwise hapless government of national unity: the withdrawal of the army from Lebanon, three years and 650 casualties after the original incursion in June 1982; and the adoption of an economic reform program in July 1985, which put an end to six years of three-digit annual inflation which the Likud had brought on as the price for its populist economic policies. In the former case, Housing Minister David Levy, responding to the growing sensitivity of his Sephardic constituency to the mounting casualties in Lebanon, had broken with his Likud colleagues and had given Peres and Rabin the majority in the inner cabinet for withdrawal from Lebanon. In the case of the economic reform, the Likud's Minister of Finance Yitzhak Moda'i had played a similar role in teaming up with Peres in imposing the reform against the determined opposition of the rest of the Likud.

The basic difference in approach between the Likud's emphasis on the symbolic, and on "national morale," as against Labor's more pragmatic sense of the objective limitations on Israel's ability to do all things at once, regardless of cost, could also be seen in the earlier, sorry case of the Med-Dead Sea Canal. The idea of channelling water in a canal and tunnel across the northern Negev desert from the Mediterranean Sea to the mountains above the Dead Sea and there exploiting the significant difference in heights between the levels of the two seas to generate hydroelectric power, had been around for decades. But there had never been the funds to do anything about it. Begin was apparently entranced by the idea and its putative beneficial effects on national morale. By the early 1980s donations to finance the project were already being raised from U.S. Jewry, even before preliminary studies as to its technological and economic feasibility under the conditions of the 1980s had been completed. Despite the fact that these studies eventually indicated that the project would not be feasible on both counts, the Likud—led by Moda'i, who was then energy minister—refused to put a stop to it. Given the attitude quoted above to the paltry difference between one and two billion dollars in the case of the Lavi, the \$100 million that had gone down the drain on the Med-Dead Seas project was clearly small change.

The man who filled David Levi's and Yitzhak Moda'i's previous maverick roles in the case of the Lavi, proved to be the Likud's Minister of Finance Moshe Nissim, who in the end was the only Likud minister to vote against the Lavi's

continuation. Rabin's and Peres's opposition was largely based on their reading of the damage the continued diversion of such large sums to the Lavi would do to the military budget; Nissim's opposition stemmed from his perception of the impact it would have on undermining the beneficial effects of the economic reform, stewardship of which he had inherited from Peres and Moda'i. One of the interesting and heartening developments in the Israel of the mid-1980s is the fact that Nissim stuck to his guns to the end. In this, he provided a welcome contrast to a previous Likud finance minister, Yigal Cohen-Orgad, who in 1983 had introduced a much-belated deflationary policy—following the bank-shares collapse scandal—but gave in to party demands to abandon it, in order to ensure a Likud victory in the 1984 elections. There was some talk of political retaliation against Nissim following the Lavi vote, but this was soon dropped. There are those who see in Prime Minister Shamir's defense of Nissim, despite his vote, an indication of his own acceptance of the military and economic arguments against the Lavi at a time when he could not bring himself to vote those beliefs, given his shaky position in the ferocious internal competition of the Herut party leadership.

One of the elements that had an undeniable impact on marshalling opposition to the continuation of the Lavi project was a report by the state controller that had lambasted the confused decision-making process that had led from the original concept of the local production of a relatively small jet fighter that Israel could possibly have pulled off, to the major, state-of-the-art plane that proved to be beyond her capacities. All along the line, according to that report, the Lavi had not developed as the result of a rational decision-making process, but seemed to have "just grown." The crucial turning point seems to have been the decision on incorporating a much larger jet engine, that would have turned the Lavi from one type of plane into another. Then Prime Minister Menachem Begin is reported to have disregarded strong objections to the change in engines and in the plane's configuration from both military and economic sources and ordered the change, saying: "If that's what the Aluf (the general commander of the air force) wants, that's what he'll get." The irony of it all is that today it is not even clear if that bigger Lavi was what the commander of the air force had really wanted. But that is the intuitive manner in which decisions were taken.

Former National Religious Party MK—and former Deputy Foreign Minister—Yehuda Ben-Meir, who is also a lecturer in psychology at Bar-Ilan university, recently published an extremely critical study of the ambience of Israeli decision-making at the top in the 1980s, as seen by an academic who was also a policy-making insider. In a public seminar devoted to a consideration of Ben-Meir's contentions, three serving and former cabinet secretaries—Elyakim Rubinstein, Yossi Beilin, and Dan Meridor—joined with academics in decrying the "primitive nature" of the Israel government's decision-making process at the top. Meridor did put in a good word for the "intuitive

leadership" provided by national leaders like Begin on major issues. But the general tenor was one of depression over the "primitive" level of performance of all recent Israeli governments. In this regard, it should be noted that whatever difference there may be between Labor and Likud governments and ministers is primarily one of degree rather than of kind. Israeli politicians, of all parties, have an ingrained suspicion of experts and of orderly staff work as a precondition for major decisions. It is when one realizes this fact, that it is possible to obtain deeper insight into what also went wrong in the Pollard and Iran arms-sales affairs.

Following the cabinet decision to stop work on the Lavi, the IAI works committee organized several weeks of mass demonstrations throughout the country, some of which turned nasty and violent. Despite earlier predictions, however, there was little, if any, popular resonance to those demonstrations. Popular feelings seemed to reflect the perception that the IAI workers, who are among the best-paid workers in the economy and whose salaries and perks went far beyond that of other workers in defense-linked and high-tech industries, were behaving like spoiled brats. The argument that the massive budgets diverted to the Lavi had been a major cause of unemployment in those other industries, whose defense-linked budgets had been slashed to the bone, also had its effect. All in all, despite the Likud's

attempt to turn the issue into a profoundly symbolic confrontation between a self-confident, the-sky's-the-limit Israel, and the "defeatist bad-mouthers of Israel" on the left, the broader public seemed to take the decision in its stride. The violent IAI demonstrations, and the Likud's attempt to make electoral hay out of the issue, would seem, however, to presage a very dirty electoral campaign in the coming 1988 election year, with all polls showing the Likud to be trailing significantly behind Labor.

Some commentators saw in the Lavi decision an end to the Israeli megalomania that had begun in the heady days following the Six-Day War of June 1967. Some even said that Israel had finally been cut down to its real size. I believe those are wild exaggerations. What Israel is suffering from is dinosaurism, not megalomania. The growth in the power and sophistication of the Israel armed forces, and in the country's scientific and technological capacities, have been very real, and far from imaginary. The main lesson to be drawn from the seven years of the Lavi project and its sorry, but unavoidable end, is that the quality of Israel's political leadership has not kept pace with its impressive growth in nearly all other areas. The danger confronting Israel, that has been highlighted by the Lavi story, is that a formidable social, economic, and military body is being commanded from a pygmy political brain.

New Birth Technologies: The Jewish View

Fred Rosner

THE RECENT custody battle in the state of New Jersey over "Baby M" generated nationwide debate on the ethical, moral, and legal aspects of surrogate motherhood. The biological father of "Baby M," it will be recalled, is William Stern, whose wife Elizabeth, a pediatrician suffering from mild multiple sclerosis, was advised not to become pregnant lest her disease worsen. The surrogate mother, Mary Beth Whitehead, was artificially inseminated with Mr. Stern's sperm and agreed to be paid \$10,000 plus medical expenses to have the baby for the Sterns. But after the child was born, Whitehead decided she wanted to keep the baby, fled to Florida with the baby, and was finally

found and returned to New Jersey where the custody battle was fought in the courts. Currently, no state has a law expressly forbidding or endorsing surrogate parenthood although several states, including California and New York, are considering legislation to regulate this practice and to protect the best interests of the parties concerned, including the baby.

In 1978, Louise Brown, the world's first "test tube" baby was born as a result of *in vitro* fertilization, the process of mixing an egg with some sperm in a petri dish to achieve fertilization, then transferring the early embryo to a woman's uterus with the hope that it will successfully implant and lead to the birth of a healthy child. Since 1978, there have been several hundred thousand births resulting from this technique, characterized by some as science at its best and by others as immoral meddling because scientists are now replacing God in creating life. This technology also involves the freezing and storage of eggs and embryos, the donation or sale of gametes or embryos, early gender selec-

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tion, early diagnosis of genetic or chromosomal abnormalities, and embryo research.

What are the legal, moral, ethical, social, and religious questions posed by these new procedures of reproductive biology? The major parties involved in artificial insemination are the husband, the wife, the child, the physician, the donor, and the donor's wife. Can the husband sue for divorce on the grounds of adultery following artificial insemination of his wife where donor sperm was used? Can the physician and/or donor also be implicated as having participated in the adultery? Would the question of adultery vanish if the husband made the injection? Is the doctor responsible if a defective child is born? What is the donor's responsibility for (knowingly?) giving defective sperm? Should all sperm donors be screened for genetic defects? How about a sperm donor with AIDS? Is the doctor guilty of perjury when he signs the birth certificate, since he knows that the biologic father is not the one named on the birth certificate? Is the child considered legitimate? What are his/her rights concerning inheritance, support, and custody? Can he/she sue for the donor's estate? Can the mother sue the donor for support of the child? Can the donor sue for custody of the child? What is the donor's responsibility concerning the provision of support for his offspring? Should the husband legally adopt the child when his wife gives birth? How do adoption laws apply here, if at all? If insemination is performed without the woman's consent, is it considered rape? If so, by whom—the physician, the donor, or the husband?

Some further questions: Does one tell the child born of a surrogate mother and/or following *in vitro* fertilization of the circumstances surrounding its birth? What does the surrogate mother tell her own children or friends and neighbors or colleagues at work about the "loss" of the baby if she surrenders it to the adoptive parents? Should she lie, saying the baby had died? What if the adoptive parents die or get divorced before the birth of the child, or decide they do not want the baby after all? What if the child is born defective? Is it proper for surrogates to have children to be turned over to single people or homosexual couples? Does the impregnation of the surrogate mother with a married man's sperm amount to adultery? Does the impregnation of a woman with her brother-in-law's sperm constitute a type of incest? What if the surrogate mother decides to have an abortion or to keep the baby? If a surrogate mother receives a fee, is she being paid for her baby? Should the surrogate be married or single; have other children or have no children? Should the adoptive parents (including the biological father) meet the surrogate?

Regarding the Jewish view of this matter, the exploration begins with a cardinal principle in Judaism, that life is of infinite value and that each moment of life is equal to 70 years thereof. In Jewish law, all biblical and rabbinic commandments are set aside for the overriding consideration of saving a life. It is, therefore, for example, permitted and even mandated to desecrate the Sabbath to save the life of someone who may only live for a short while and certainly

for a patient who may recover from illness or traumatic injuries.

A second fundamental principle of Judaism concerns the sanctity of human life. Man was created in the image of God and, hence, human beings are holy and must be treated with dignity and respect, in life and after death. Our bodies are God-given, and we are commanded to care for our physical and mental well-being and to preserve and hallow our health and our lives. Only God gives and takes life.

Are we, therefore, tampering with life itself when we perform *in vitro* fertilization? Are we interfering with the divine plan for humanity? If God's will is for a man and/or a woman to be infertile, who are we to undertake test-tube fertilization and embryo reimplantation into the natural or genetic mother, or into a host or surrogate mother, to overcome the infertility problem?

There exists a considerable body of rabbinic writings devoted to artificial insemination, and many of the principles cited therein apply equally to *in vitro* fertilization. In brief, there is near unanimity of opinion that the use of semen from the husband is permissible if no other method is possible for the wife to become pregnant. The insemination should not be performed during the wife's period of ritual impurity. Artificial insemination using the semen of a donor other than the husband is considered by most rabbinic opinion to be an abomination and strictly prohibited for a variety of reasons, including the possibility of incest (the child born of such insemination may later marry a sibling, unknowingly), lack of genealogy (the father's identity is unknown), and the problems of inheritance (does the child inherit from the real father, the adopted father, or both?). A few rabbis regard such insemination as adultery, requiring the husband to divorce his wife and her forfeiture of the marriage settlement (*ketubah*). Most rabbinic opinion, however, states that without a sexual act involved, the woman is not guilty of adultery and is not prohibited from cohabiting with her husband.

Regarding the status of the child, rabbinic opinion is divided. Most authorities consider the offspring to be legitimate, as was the ancient sage Ben Sira, the product of conception *sine concubito*; a small minority of rabbis consider the child illegitimate, and at least two authorities take a middle view. Considerable rabbinic opinion regards the child (legitimate or illegitimate) to be the offspring of the donor in all respects (i.e., inheritance, support, custody, incest, levirate marriage, and the like). Some regard the child to be the donor's offspring only in some respects but not others. Some rabbis state that although the child is considered the donor's offspring in all respects, the donor has not fulfilled the commandment of procreation. A minority of rabbinic opinion asserts that the child is not considered the donor's offspring at all.

It is permitted by most rabbis to obtain sperm for the husband both for analysis and for insemination, but difference of opinion exists as to the method to be used in the procurement of it. Masturbation should be avoided if at all

possible, and *coitus interruptus*, retrieval of sperm from the vagina, or the use of a condom seem to be the preferred methods.

In a situation in which the husband produces far too few sperm with each ejaculate to impregnate his wife or where a woman is unable to move the egg from the ovary into the uterus because of blocked Fallopian tubes, the former Israeli Chief Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef gave his qualified approval to the *in vitro* fertilization of the woman's egg with the husband's sperm and the reimplantation of the fertilized zygote or tiny embryo into the same woman's womb. Another former Chief Rabbi, Shlomo Goren, asserted that conception in this manner is morally repugnant but legally unobjectionable. This situation represents a type of barrenness akin to physical illness and, therefore, justifies acts which entail a small amount of risk, such as the procurement of eggs from the mother's ovary by laparoscopy, a minor surgical procedure.

The case of host motherhood in Jewish law concerns the implantation of a fertilized egg or tiny embryo into the womb of a woman other than the donor of the egg, perhaps because the true mother is unable to carry a fetus to term. The host mother thus serves as a surrogate and "incubates" the fetus for the true mother. The fetus can either be transplanted from one mother to another or the egg and sperm are united *in vitro* in a test tube and directly implanted into the host mother. Another recent development is called adoptive pregnancy, in which a woman is artificially inseminated and within a week after conception, the embryo is flushed from her womb and transferred to another woman who carries it to term and "becomes the mother." There is a serious question in Jewish law whether or not the biological mother is allowed to give up her child for transplantation into another "womb" and whether or not the host mother is allowed to accept it. What is the legal parenthood of the child? If a married woman becomes a host mother, would Jewish law require her to abstain from sexual relations with her husband for 90 days, in order to ensure that the child is not his, that is to say, that she did not miscarry the implanted fetus and become pregnant by her husband?

Regarding the permissibility of host motherhood in Judaism, the Federations' Committee on Medical Ethics states that such procedures are only permissible in the absence of an alternative and may not be resorted to by fertile parents who prefer the services of a host mother. While the use of surrogate mothers for the convenience of couples able to have children cannot be condoned, an infertile couple may have recourse to a surrogate mother in the absence of alternatives "to save a marriage or bring happiness to the depressed." There should, of course, be absolute assurance that the surrogate is participating without coercion and with fully informed consent, and that the arrangement is protected by all necessary legal and social safeguards.

According to Britain's Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, to abort a mother's naturally fertilized egg and to reimplant it in a host mother for reasons of "convenience for women

who seek the gift of a child without the encumbrance and disfigurement of pregnancy is offensive to moral susceptibilities." Furthermore, says Jakobovits, "to use another person as an 'incubator' and then take from her the child she carried and delivered for a fee is a revolting degradation of maternity and an affront to human dignity."

Since many important legal and moral considerations which cannot be enunciated in the presentation of general principles may weigh heavily upon the verdict in any given situation, it seems advisable to submit each individual case to rabbinic judgment, which, in turn, will be based upon expert medical advice and other prevailing circumstances.

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The Case of Leah Shakdiel

Haim Chertok

FOR MORE than a year she has been at the vortex of a complex controversy that impinges upon two interrelated matters whose resolution may help define the very nature of the Israeli state. Both on refining the line between religious and secular authority and in raising the more submerged issue of the repression of Israeli women, 35-year-old Leah Shakdiel—a Sabra mother of three, married to an American-born psychologist—defies any real pigeonholing. Since 1984 a member of the town council of the remote Negev outpost of Yeroham, she is one of that rarest of all current Israeli political finds: a flourishing Ashkenzi-Labor Party bloom in the Likud-tinted, overwhelmingly Sephardi, development-town hinterland. Moreover, any amateur semiotician hip to the message of Israeli headgear would at once identify this attractive teacher of Jewish studies, hair largely concealed by a telltale kerchief, as a *dosi*—religiously observant. Indeed, Leah Shakdiel is the youngest of four daughters of Moshe Zvi Shakdiel, the former director of religious education of the World Mizrahi Movement.

She arrived in Yeroham in 1978 as a member of Mashmia Shalom, a predominantly American settlement group that chose to take root in Yeroham primarily because it sits without fanfare within those faded post-1967 Green Lines. Since then she has been an active member of dovish Netivot Shalom and of Israel's Association of Civil Rights. She has sparked actions such as a protest vigil at an outdoor appearance of Meir Kahane on Yeroham's main plaza. Hers is the address nearby Bedouin know to steer their Peugeot pickups for help whenever they are hassled by the rough-riders of the Green Patrol. In short, Leah Shakdiel can hardly be accused of riding to notoriety on the wings of nascent anti-Arab sentiment.

In the past two years, as a member of the Yeroham town council, her major concerns have been education and improving the local community center. "My chief success here," she has observed, "would be if the town council were run more professionally, according to established procedures. So far, I cannot claim to have succeeded in this."

HAIM CHERTOK is an American-born writer living in Israel since 1976. He is the recipient of both the Simon Rickover Award (1986) and the Smolar Award (1987) for excellence in Jewish journalism, and his book *Stealing Home: Israel Bound and Rebound* (Fordham University Press) has just appeared.

Such involvements, however laudable, would scarcely have propelled Shakdiel to the national limelight. But the combination of women's rights and religious coercion has proven little short of explosive.

From the third week September 1986 and up to the present, the photo of smiling Leah Shakdiel of unlikely Yeroham has many times graced every Israeli newspaper; her "case" has been cited repeatedly in editorials (only *Hatzofeh*, the organ of the National Religious Party, has been critical); she has appeared on Israel's prime television interview programs; and public demonstrations on her behalf have been featured on the evening news. The chair reaction shows no sign of ebbing: a debate on her case has been scheduled for the Knesset; the *New York Times* correspondent in Israel found her story fit for print; American Jewish publications have zeroed in on her like bears to honey; the American-based New Israel Fund flew her to New York and Washington so that she could clarify her situation for their constituency; and the Israel Supreme Court has accepted her case for eventual adjudication.

A close examination of the Shakdiel affair discloses a fascinating panorama of the grittier depths of Israeli politics, revealing not only a highly competent, well-spoken, ambitious young *politika* who has absorbed her lessons with remarkable thoroughness, but also some of the fossils that can be found still deeply imbedded in Israel's political depths.

Exactly what happened began innocuously enough. In January 1986, the Yeroham town council elected four members to serve on the town's religious council: three men and councilwoman Leah Shakdiel. Though twice before in Israel women have been elected to this post, twice before have they withdrawn their names from consideration. The pressure from within the religious community on topplers of the status quo can be overwhelming. No woman, in fact, has ever served on a religious council. Still, in the swirl of Yeroham's more pressing urgencies, the precedent-breaking step of electing a woman to serve on such a body was at the time barely noted. The four names were dispatched in early February to the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jerusalem for routine confirmation. For six months nothing happened, and there the matter seemed to rest, until the September eruption.

What underlay the situation, however, was a labyrinthine interplay of politics and religion that repays recounting. First, it must be understood that a religious council is, in reality, not really a religious body per se. It is

an administrative apparatus that was originated in 1936 when the Jewish Agency, in line with its centralizing policy for all spheres of activity in the *yishuv*, placed the variety of local agencies which supplied religious services—such as burial, marriage, ritual slaughter, and *mikveh*—under a single authority. Nominations to each religious council were submitted by the chief rabbi of each city or town. From its inception, then, the religious council has been a creature of a Zionist rather than a religious impulse. It is invested with no power whatsoever to make halachic decisions.

In 1949, the religious councils were reorganized into a national religious system, but things changed fundamentally only in 1963 when the local rabbis were divested of their control over these bodies. It was then decided that the number of persons on each religious council should equal the number on its municipality's city council, and that only 10 percent should be nominated by local rabbis. Half the 90 percent were to be appointed by the town and city councils, the other half by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jerusalem.

For Yeroham, with its nine-person town council, this would seem to mean that the local authority nominate four members to its religious council, the Ministry four more, and the local rabbinate just one. But Israeli ward politicians are every bit as inviolable as, say, Bayonne's or Chicago's. In Yeroham, the non-paying position of chairman of the religious council has been held as long as anyone can remember by Moshe Peretz, one-time mayor of the town, a National Religious Party (NRP) stalwart, who now sits on the opposition of the town council. In Yeroham the religious council never convenes. A modest hyperbole: rather is it at least a dozen years since anyone can recall its last meeting. Indeed, the very names of the nine persons who at one time were supposed to comprise this public body are vaped in uncertainty. (Shakdiel's lawyer is currently trying to track down this supposedly public knowledge.)

Although the Yeroham religious council disdains to meet, and despite its cavalier neglect of the principle of public accountability, in subterranean ways it does function. It is, in fact, a minor fiefdom of the local branch of the NRP: budget requests for matters such as keeping the town *mikveh* in reasonable repair do get submitted, some funds do get allocated and are, somehow or other, spent or misspent. For many years, however, in the absence of any functioning board, all this has issued from the person of Moshe Peretz, who knows fully well that if the new slate elected in January 1986 were to receive confirmation, his unofficial reign as chairman-for-life of the religious council would draw to a swift close. It may be safely conjectured that he has pulled all the national strings at his disposal in this matter.

Another brief detour: Predating Israel's national coalition government by several months, the Yeroham town council has for over three years been run by a Labor-Likud coalition alliance of five. The opposing four consist of two members representing Mapam (in Yeroham, the power-

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base of the 1,500-strong Indian community) and the NRP. When the town council decided to elect its mandated 45 percent of the representatives to serve on the religious council, Leah Shakdiel suddenly realized that it could elect no one without her support. She immediately decided to force the hand of her dumbfounded fellow councilmen.

"The opportunity came my way," she explained. "I realized that it could be a historical, even revolutionary, moment. Still, I really thought that it likely would somehow be aborted in an early stage at some administrative level. Even after seven months of stalling tactics in Jerusalem, even after I finally gave the Association of Civil Rights in Israel my approval to go public with my case, still I thought it would all blow over in a day or so. I never dreamed just how much interest this would generate, how important the issue would be to so many people. I'm not so sure that this altogether benefits me, but frankly, the high degree of public interest pleases me. I hope it is significant, a sign that the time is ripe for this particular battle to be waged."

Of course no one really expected the then Minister of Religious Affairs, the NRP's Yosef Burg (who subsequently resigned), to enthuse over the precedent-making appointment of a woman to a post that in any way, manner, or form trespasses religious matters. Although Israeli women have,

of course, served in the cabinet and, need it be added, higher still—the selfsame Dr. Burg manfully overcame his scruples to serve in Golda Meir's cabinet—given the astringent religious climate in the country in recent years, the innovative breeze out of the Negev was not exactly hailed at the Ministry. But oddly enough, the main reason Yosef Burg pointedly ignored the Shakdiel nomination to Yeroham's religious council lay in a little understood, behind-the-scenes struggle for spoils that has much complicated the whole matter.

It appears that a patronage dispute between the NRP and the Sephardi Orthodox Party (Shas) over representation on these local bodies has been underway for over a year. Although the ultra-Orthodox constituency of Shas does not even recognize the authority of the institution of a religious council, it demands, nevertheless, what it considers its fair share of Jerusalem's 45 percent of the appointments for their own people. Burg, therefore, coyly sat for seven months not merely on Yeroham's nominations but also on those of 22 other local religious-council slates. Not one person has been appointed in all this period.

Let it be noted that the Israeli system of checks and balances is not entirely hostage to the weight of a single minister's thumb on the scale of equity. Provision exists that, short of appeal to the Supreme Court, a higher body theoretically may intervene: in this case, the special, three-person committee would consist of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Interior, and—yes—the Minister of Religious Affairs, i.e., a troika currently consisting of Yitzhak Shamir, Yitzhak Peretz (Shas), and Zevulun Hammer (NRP). With such shining prospects, Shakdiel finally did give the nod to the Association for Civil Rights to take her case before the media. “I realized that only public pressure would make a difference. Still,” she noted, “I have been astonished at the interest this situation has generated. Here in town, schoolchildren who have seen me on television now stare at me in wonder. I have gotten a lot of support from the secular community. My fellow members of the town council have been very supportive. And I hear from one of my sisters every day.” She paused for a charged moment. “Of course, one of my other sisters has not called even once.”

Leah Shakdiel's present path to change chugs along on Israeli Route Catch-22. If, as she avers, her main present concern “is to return religious Zionism to its proper moorings, to creatively meet the challenge of modernity,” it is highly debatable how useful for her is the highly visible support of non-religious organizations such as the Association of Civil Rights, which is often in the forefront of court battles against “religious coercion,” or of Histadrut's secular Na'amat, a woman's organization which has the best record for fighting for raising the status of Israeli women.

The only minister who to date has publicly supported her is Labor's Gad Yakobi (who does not sit on the Knesset's Religious Affairs Committee). Endorsements have also come from Rabbi Menachem Ha-Cohen (MK,

Labor), anathema to the religious establishment, and from militant secularists like Mordecai Virshubski (MK, Shinui), either one of which would have sufficed as a kiss of death among the more traditional elements of the religious community, the people whose minds Leah Shakdiel is purportedly trying to change. As for the American-based New Israel Fund, which financed Shakdiel's lecture trip to the United States, it also supports projects and people in Israel who could fairly be labeled anti-religious.

Yet, what choice has Shakdiel but to gather her support where she may? “Especially here within Israel, you have no idea how hard it is to persuade more open-minded rabbis to speak on this kind of issue in public. Still,” she noted with satisfaction, “several prominent religious personages have spoken out. One is Rabbi Safrai, a professor of Jewish history at Hebrew University. A second is Rabbi Bar Mocha, the chief rabbi of a town near Haifa who is also the deputy chairman of the Association of Israeli Rabbis and the deputy chairman of the Association of Religious Councils in Israel.”

And religious women? Shakdiel grimaced. “Emunah, the National Religious women's organization, has backed off from the issue. They are, I think, for me in principle, but could not support me, they say, because of the way I am proceeding. But there has been invaluable help from Professor Alice Shalvi of Jerusalem who has led the effort to maintain public attention on the issue.” Finally, Shakdiel cited the support from a rather obscure group within the NRP that seeks its party's renewal through a restoration of original principles, prominent among which, Shakdiel pointed out, was—of all things—improvement of the status of women. “It's astonishing to realize today that over 80 years ago the Mizrachi movement was in the forefront of the suffragette movement in Eastern Europe. The NRP once even ran and elected women to the Knesset. After the Six-Day War, however, the party lost its open orientation toward the modern world.”

Shakdiel is most at ease when citing supportive rabbinic opinions, such as a responsum of a Rabbi Hirschenson, who once served in Hoboken, New Jersey, in the 1930s, and a 1919 opinion of a Rabbi Zlotnik, the secretary of Polish Mizrachi. “Do you know that back in 1944 Rav Uziel, the Sephardi chief rabbi of Jerusalem, wrote in a responsum that women may be nominated for and vote for any public office? But especially meaningful to me,” she added, “was hearing from Rabbi Moshe Stiglitz, an old, old friend of my father's, who reassured me that Judaism has always had its great women, and that he knew I was one of them. It was very touching.”

Still, one gets the impression that Shakdiel is all too aware that the immediate battle will be fought neither on sentimental terrain nor on theoretical turf, where one rabbinic opinion tends to cancel out the other. Indeed, noting that Israel's present chief rabbis have taken no public position, Shakdiel said that she thought them wise. “It goes, in a way, to the heart of the issue. After all, they should not be ruling in an area of public life that is fundamentally secular.”

What in the long run does Shakdiel hope to accomplish by her struggle to get appointed to a relatively insignificant post on Yeroham's religious council? What will it finally signify?

As Leah Shakdiel herself put it: "This is, I realize, a particularly complex issue, because it deals both with the separation of religious and public authority and with the role of women within Judaism. I am convinced, however, that there is a sizable body of quiet opinion within so-called Orthodoxy which is sympathetic to my viewpoint. My intent is to work to force the recognized Jewish authority to address this issue. You see, I firmly believe that the monopolistic claim of the ultra-Orthodox to speak for authentic Judaism must be challenged."

Just how sizable is that force *within* Orthodoxy who actually support Shakdiel is open to question. For example, the sum total of "activists" in the politically dovish, predominantly religious Netivat Shalom movement probably numbers, in all of Israel, no more than 300-400.

This is, however, not the first time that Leah Shakdiel has stepped out from the crowd. She is one of among a tiny handful of religiously observant women in Israel who upon marriage decided to retain their unhyphenated maiden names. "You might say that it began as a joke during our courtship," she explained, "but jokes are, of course, usually more than jokes. It was important to me that my husband Moshe [Landsman] left the matter of *my* name to

me. I had to file a special request with the Ministry of Interior about it, because it automatically assumes that a woman will gladly change her name. So in fact my name was changed from Shakdiel to Landsman and back to Shakdiel. But the key thing to me is that people should participate in and have as much control as possible over the fundamental decisions of their lives. I strongly believe in that."

The young town-council member from Yeroham certainly packs a potentially potent political crosshatch of markings: Laborite, feminist, religiously observant, civil-rights activist, development-town resident, and, in her own, birthright name, widespread public recognition. Has she any national ambitions? What about a spot on a future Labor list for the Knesset? She scoffed at the very suggestion: "I am now on sabbatical doing graduate study in Jewish history at Ben-Gurion University. That, my family, and this unfinished business with the religious council are quite enough to occupy me."

Such may be the case, but there are those who sense that Leah Shakdiel, who is now a much-in-demand, highly forceful, and effective speaker at academic and political gatherings, who is the first Israeli public figure to leapfrog from (non-) appointment to the "inconsequential" religious council to national prominence, will remain on the larger scene for some time to come. She has become, in fact, one of the Labor Party's very few distaffers to rise to national prominence in recent years.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Bellow Talking: An American Jewish Modernist

Review-Essay by HELEN A. WEINBERG

Crankier and crankier, Saul Bellow indulges himself in the contemplation of American life and world-ideas. There is nothing reassuring in such contemplation. It frequently appears to those of us who are paying attention in the 1980s that money values have usurped the field. No one who counts in America cares about anything other than money, it seems. Some blame the Republicans. More seriously-involved students of Jewish law might call it idolatry and blame godlessness. (Ivan Boesky is reading

Torah.) Whoever or whatever is to blame, the fact is that the West, as the East, has fallen on crass materialist times—hard times for philosophers. With *More Die of Heartbreak*,* his tenth novel, Saul Bellow insists that the West in the 20th century is enslaved as much by obsessive ideas about freedom and desire as the East (Russia especially) is by the repression of those ideas through totalitarian means. This case seems to me especially cranky and self-indulgent; however, I like it because I like almost everything Saul Bellow has written.

Since I read Saul Bellow for the first time—actually belatedly in 1955 (*The Adventures of Augie March* was first published in 1953, and two novels, *Dangling Man* and *The Victim*, preceded it)—I have been entirely seduced,

enthralled, won over, and persuaded by the Bellovian voice and character. The voice is highly literary, in spite of the natural style of conversation between, say, an Augie and a Min-touchian or, in *More Die of Heartbreak*, between Benn Crader, the plant-clairvoyant botanist, the central figure in the novel, and his nephew, Kenneth Trachtenberg. Augie's speech is more Chicago street talk than anything in *More Die of Heartbreak*, but the sense of speech is still here. Bellow's literary style is high but never Eliotic, never Joycean. It is an American kind of modernist style, and it has always seemed to me that it was—and is—a Jewish kind of modernist style. Inten-

HELEN A. WEINBERG, most recently in CONGRESS MONTHLY, wrote on "Philip Roth and the Exploration of Self" (May/June).

*Morrow. 335 pages. \$17.95.

tionally or not, Bellow has given American Jews something to read that has meaning for them in this particular moment of Jewish history when it has met the history of the others most strikingly and most tragically—that is, in the era of the Holocaust, the destruction of European Jewry.

The voice speaks to Jewish readers; and the Bellovian character develops from Augie to Benn Crader and Kenneth Trachtenberg in ways that American Jews have in fact matured from the 50s to the 80s. These Jews are at home in America—at least in the great cities like Chicago. They do not address the issues, nor does Bellow address the issues, that are of concern to the traditional Jewish community or to the Jewish press; they wish to know how to live after the Holocaust and with what meaning or significance they can inform their lives: they are American Jews but they are serious Jews.

I LIKE to think of Saul Bellow as the Jewish man's Ernest Hemingway. After the First World War Hemingway mourned the lost Church, and its spiritual values (according to Robert Penn Warren's New Critical reading), and in his novels he replaced it with the bullfight and other dangerous games where life-and-death was immediate but also formalized by ritual. This idea was not, according to Warren, available in Hemingway's work through direct statement but became apparent through the textual analysis of a new-critical approach. Bellow, too, though he seems to defy the old methods of interpretation that Warren and his colleagues used, by avoiding symbol, metaphor, and imagery of a certain type, can be understood by the way he does not look at loss but rather embodies in his narrative possible alternatives for what has been lost. After the Second World War, Bellow mourned—and continues to mourn—the lost Jews of Europe, and their civilization; and he tries to replace them with the imperatives of surviving selfhood seen in such characters as Augie and Herzog, starting with a kind of optimistic, affirmative tone but becoming more uncertain about American possibilities for Jews (and others as well) as he progresses.

Bellow was, and is, talkier than Hemingway, and on the first page of his first novel, *Dangling Man* (1944), he announces his intention to be talky—and, I think, to be talkier than Hemingway specifically:

There was a time when people were in the habit of addressing themselves frequently and felt no shame at making a journal of their inward transactions. But to keep a journal nowadays is considered a kind of self-indulgence . . . For this is the era of hardboiled-dom. Today, the code of the athlete, of the tough boy . . . is stronger than ever. . . . Most serious matters are closed to the hardboiled. They are unpracticed in introspection, and therefore badly equipped to deal with opponents whom they cannot shoot like big game. . . . If you have difficulties, grapple with them silently, goes one of their commandments. To hell with that! I intend to talk about mine, and if I had as many mouths as Siva has arms and kept them going all the time, I still could not do myself justice.

Joseph, the journal-keeper and center-of-consciousness of *Dangling Man*, a novel composed of journal entries, continues: "In my present state of demoralization, it has become necessary for me to keep a journal—that is, to talk to myself—and I do not feel guilty of self-indulgence in the least. The hard-boiled are compensated for their silence; they fly planes or fight bulls or catch tarpon, whereas I rarely leave my room."

WITH *More Die of Heartbreak* ("More die of heartbreak than nuclear radiation," Benn Crader observes), Saul Bellow has come full circle with a hero and narrator, an uncle and a nephew, who talk to one another as if they were talking to themselves. They seldom leave their rooms—and their rooms are rooms indeed, though Uncle Benn, a Nobel Prize-class botanist, travels around the world to lecture on lichen, and leaves his small apartment to marry and live in his new young wife's parents' luxurious apartment; and Kenneth Trachtenberg has come from Paris, where he was raised by a cosmopolitan father and mother, to travel back to the novel's Midwestern city, clearly Chicago, to find his American room. Benn's move from his private rooms to the larger world of his wife's family proves a disaster. The moral of the most recent Bellovian tale of a self-indulgent talker then may be: Do not leave your room. Do not desire more than you have. Do not cheerfully, or optimistically, think that you are free to explore the possibilities of self in the great world, for the great world is now America, and America has become the land of lust, anger, and greed, which is

still better than Paris, now fluff. While serious, Benn Crader's story has its comic side; and the whole exchange between the heroic scholar-teacher, Benn, and his nephew Kenneth, a student of Russian mysticism, is brilliant in its commentary on Western civilization.

If one likes reading Bellow, this is pure Bellow—Bellow talking. What *More Die of Heartbreak* does not have is very much plot. Plot is negligible, as are the two love stories that make the plot such as it is. Love is important but unattainable in the world of modernist sensibility. Benn hopes to live with the rich and beautiful Matilda Layamon, the daughter of a successful gynecologist, in a marriage of "love and kindness," but having married her finds that Matilda has ambitions beyond sweet domesticity, and schemes with her parents to persuade Benn to recapture wealth stolen from his mother by his greedy real-estate developer relative (yet another kind of uncle, but loved in a way by Benn because he is in the family). Kenneth loves a masochistic girl who cannot love him because he is too kind. Even what minimal action there is in the novel is muted, or described in conversations. A kind of courtroom scene in which Benn confronts his greedy and powerful relative, for example, is not really a courtroom situation, though it has all the accoutrements, realistically, exquisitely observed.

The climax of the narrative, which depends more upon the dialogue between Benn and Kenneth than on any plot activity, is the moment when Benn realizes he has lost his plant-clairvoyancy. While in residency at the Layamons he had been communing with an azalea plant in his mother-in-law's study, believing it to be a healthy vibrant living thing nourishing to his inner self, only to find that it was in fact an artificial plant fabricated of silk. Benn and Kenneth are both nature-mystics of a sort—Benn, as a botanist with "strange" ideas: "Sap is a temptation because sap is passionless. . . . Blood is that in which the Self lives." Kenneth is a mystic on another level, but Swedenborgian notions interest him: "A tree is not merely a natural object, it is a Sign. There are correspondences." Kenneth is more at home with humankind than plant life: "Inner communication with the great human reality was my true occupation. . . . It was a field without much competition. . . . I did it out of a conviction that it was

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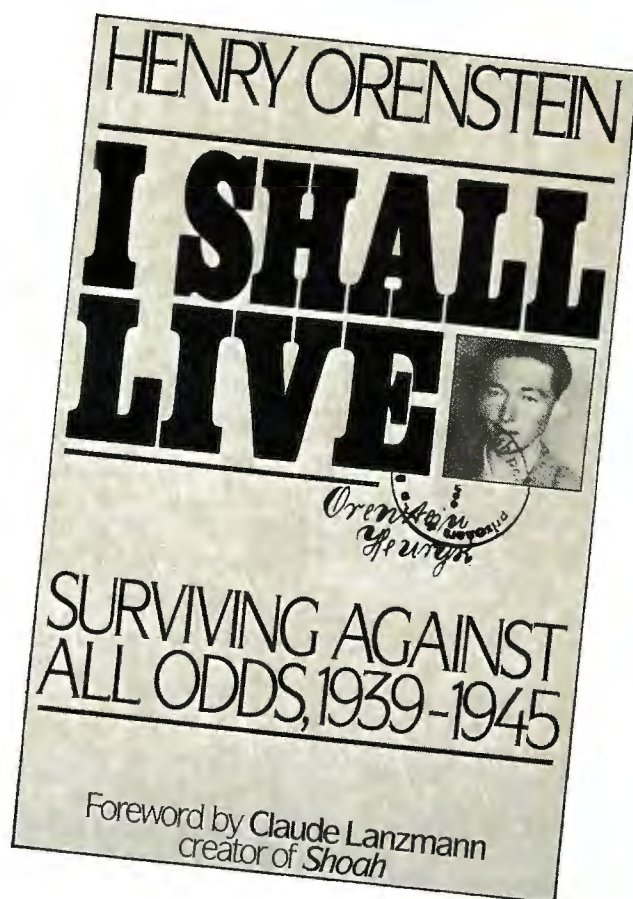
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"... An important contribution to bring out the facts about the cruelty of Nazi Germany, of the heroic efforts for the survival of our brethren."

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Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)

"Riveting. Because the book is innocent of the affectations and devices of fiction, it is so overwhelming an experience that half a century later you are there, experiencing the fears and, remarkably, experiencing the will to live. Orenstein prevails as did Jewry and, reading him, we do too."



Lucy S. Dawidowicz:

(Author of *The War Against the Jews*)

"This is a stirring account of a struggle for life against all odds. Once you begin this book, you won't be able to put it down."

Allan A. Ryan, Jr.:

(Former director of the Office of Special Investigations
of the Justice Department)

"*I Shall Live* is a poignant and deeply moving testament to the human spirit, and to ferocious courage in the face of hopelessness... No reader can be left untouched by it."

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the only worthwhile enterprise around . . . unless you made your life a turning point, there was no reason for existing. Only you didn't *make*, you *found* the turning point that was the crying need . . . of humankind. I was just beginning to admit that I myself had meant to do . . . for human subjects what Uncle Benn did for the algal phycobionts of the lichens."

Kenneth's interests are listed by him: what Americans are, what Russians are, what Jews—"since I am one of them"—are, what a Citizen of Eternity is. (Kenneth thinks Benn, along with Moses, Socrates, Blake, *et al.*, may be, or may be becoming, a Citizen of Eternity.) Benn and Kenneth, their family, wives, and most of their friends are Jews; and the consideration of what Jews are alongside the consideration of what the others are is a natural, and attractive, aspect of the Bellowian style. In spite of the fact that Bellow has frequently disavowed any deliberate affiliation with Jewish thought or community—and indeed he has not embraced the thought as Cynthia Ozick has, or the community as Philip Roth (in angry hug) has, he has nevertheless been what he is in life when he writes his own kind of realistic prose: a thoughtful and intellectual Jew in America after the Holocaust. His inevitable insights into the self are conditioned by the fact of his Jewishness whether he talks directly about established Jewish issues or not.

OFTEN in *More Die of Heartbreak* contemporary Jewish character is compared, usually to contrast it, to Greek character. (Looking at his uncle, Kenneth asks: "Did he have pagan tastes? Was he erotically motivated in the old Greek sense, was he a Dionysiac? Well, to begin with, he was Jewish, a Russian-looking Jew. I suppose there have been Jews like him forever. And like Dad. Like me too, skinny dark ones, keen to get to the bottom of things, mixing candor with slyness.") Or, to Roman character. (Kenneth, again: "I don't actually in my heart of hearts care much for this Roman stuff—i.e., Roman law, Roman political organization, Roman citizenship. Remember that from obstinate motives of their own, the Jews alone in the ancient world rejected the imperial offer of citizenship.") Or, to historic Jewish character itself. ("As to Jews, for centuries they combined antiquity with modernity. You could almost see the archaic man in a contemporary Jew. But America

has broken all that down.")

The Jews are seen, honestly and accurately, as an ancient race, bearers of truth, morality, prophecy, and mystical insights significant to all of civilization, wiped out in Europe, surviving in confusion in contemporary America. Kenneth, speaking of Benn's plants and his own humankind, says, ". . . lichens can get nutrients from the air when they have to—like the mythical air-eating creatures. Jews are tempted to think of themselves in that way sometimes—accepting assignments of such difficulty. In the Old Country they didn't actually make it. I see where there are only seventy or eighty Jews left in Venice, and almost none in Saloniki and other Greek communities where mystical studies were pursued under the Ottomans. All that is gone." Gone, and lost. In America we are all hybrids or barbarians, having lost our traditional standards. To live in a time not one's own means, and meant, "you had opted out." The Jews had done that. "The Jews, insofar as they had lived in isolation within their ancient code, had done that for millennia, back into the fossil ages. But then they began to come voluntarily into the present epoch, and later they were forcibly dragged into history, riding into it by the millions in cattle cars, thus becoming aware (those who had the time to be aware) that for them there was no genteel option to declare that they stood clear of contemporary civilization."

In America, Jews, like other hybrids, must be original. Kenneth says, "... few countries have welcomed originality more warmly, and never before has it been a mass phenomenon." In *The Adventures of Augie March*, Augie is an orphan and an American Jew who must create through the activist process of living and choosing an ideal self that he has dreamed for himself. What Augie attempts—which I have always thought was the creation of a surviving self to affirm life by replacing what had been lost—is (in that novel) possible in America, if elusive. The last lines of *Augie March* are full of the affirmation of American possibility:

That's the *animal ridens* in me, the laughing creature, forever rising up. What's so laughable, that a Jacqueline, for instance, as hard used as that by rough forces, will still refuse to lead a disappointed life? Or is the laugh at nature—including eternity—that it thinks it can win over us and the power of hope? Nah, nah! I think. It never

will. But that probably is the joke, on one or the other, and laughing is an enigma that includes both. Look at me, going everywhere! Why, I am a sort of Columbus of those near-at-hand and believe you can come to them in this immediate *terra incognita* that spreads out in every gaze. I may well be a flop at this line of endeavor. Columbus too thought he was a flop, probably. When they sent him back in chains. Which didn't prove there was no America.

These lines are the lyrical coda for Augie's open-ended narrative.

Except for *The Victim*, *Seize the Day*, and many of the short stories, Bellow's fictive narratives are all open-ended, and not self-contained or cleverly plotted. They are about ideas, ideas embodied in action or gesture or (increasingly) in conversations between two characters. In order to conclude the narrative, Bellow provides a lyrical coda such as the one from *Augie March* quoted above. As time has progressed, these codas have been less lyrical—less singing a song of good cheer and hope in the face of disappointment or disenchantment—till at the end of *More Die of Heartbreak* the finalizing coda is formal and flat, without music. Benn withdraws to Arctic cold and solitude, running away from his marriage to the beautiful but cold and calculating Matilda and from her family; and he leaves a message for his faithful nephew and interpreter, Kenneth. Before he leaves the message with which the book concludes, Benn explains to Kenneth: "... nothing but ice and night will help me now. Night so that I can't see myself. Ice as a corrective. Ice for the rigor. And also because there'll be no plants to see, except the lichens. Because if there's no rapport, if the rapport is dead, I'm better off in plant-free surroundings." (Recall, if you will, the failed relationship with the azalea.)

The message is described in this last paragraph:

The envelope contained, neatly printed in his scientific hand, the unfamiliar name of the research group and the addresses of a Finnish prof in Helsinki (home and office), plus the box number of an incomprehensible location in reindeer country, far out on the tundra. Probably near Novaya Zemlya. Even that was not remote enough.

THERE is no Israel in *More Die of Heartbreak*. The only refuge is that of night and ice and "no plants to see,

except the lichens." Remoteness, not the near-at-hand. Israel is appropriately absent from this contemplation of the contemporary world where love and spirituality are no more and where the East is oppressed by political materialism and the West oppressed by mass desire for material goods, money, pop culture, and by mindlessness. The West becomes, because of its freedom and democracy, a dumping ground for the best and the worst—for everything left over—and the ordinary citizen, not the Citizen of Eternity, is kept busy choosing or is simply living in the muck of Hitchcock movies.

The bleakness of this picture would be unalleviated if Benn were not always making choices and Kenneth explaining them. The explanatory mode is somewhat comic, but not in the Beckett way of *Godot* or *Endgame* as some critics have suggested. Bellow's explanatory mode seems to be Bellow's way of showing that commentaries may hold back meaninglessness and save us from despair. They are something, and they are real. This in itself may be a comic idea, but Bellow clearly does not think so, yet. He may not be as hopeful about humankind as he once was, but he is as ever reluctant to despair.

Italian Jewry

The Italians and the Holocaust. By Susan Zuccotti. Basic Books. 334 pages. \$19.95.

Memoirs of a Fortunate Jew. By Dan Vittorio Segre. Adler and Adler. 273 pages. \$16.95.

Reviewed by LOTHAR KAHN

If it were not for Giorgio Bassani's *Garden of the Finzi-Continis* and Primo Levi's recollections of his days in Nazi camps, it would be easy to imagine that the Holocaust had passed Italy by. There are several reasons for this. Italian Jewry could be overlooked for its size alone—a mere 47,000 Jews on the eve of Mussolini's racial laws of 1938. Secondly, Italian Jewry was wholly assimilated and barely distinguishable from most other Italians.

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Thirdly, the transition from the ghettos (which emptied late in Italian history) to emancipation had been incredibly fast and smooth. Mussolini had no anti-Jewish obsessions à la Hitler and in his recorded conversations with Emil Ludwig had presented himself as essentially friendly to Jews. His anti-Semitism was not the result of doctrine or even conviction but a political tool to ingratiate himself with Hitler. The Western nations had turned their backs on him after his Ethiopian "victory," and Mussolini did not cherish isolation. Though the laws of 1938 hit Italian Jews hard and foreign Jews in Italy even harder, the real Holocaust began only with Mussolini's fall and the occupation of much of Italy by the Nazis in late 1943.

What happened in the 10 months that followed the occupation—when frustrated Italian Fascists and SS troops combined to ferret out Jews from their homes and hiding-places—forms the bulk of historian Susan Zuccotti's thorough, balanced, and readable investigation into the Jewish tragedy in Italy. She provides the background for each of the transports that took Jews from Italy to the camps in the East. She

shows the increasingly desperate measures of Mussolini's dwindling forces and their Nazi superiors as the inevitable end to their terror became ever more apparent. Yet, as Zuccotti makes clear, in spite of deportations and murders in cellars of public buildings, the survival rate of the Italian Jews was among the highest in Europe. About 8,000 fell victim to the killers.

Two questions—opposite sides of the same coin—are probed by Zuccotti. Why did 15 percent of the Jews in Italy die? But also, why did 85 percent manage to survive? Zuccotti is scrupulous about not covering over blemishes in the conduct of either Jews or Italians. Some Jews, she charges, were simply not fast and flexible enough to move in time to seek out new homes. Some trusted excessively the good will of the Italian monarchy of which nearly all had been staunch adherents. Some even failed to realize that Mussolini had changed, especially those Jews—not insignificant in number—who had joined his movement and were ruthlessly abandoned by Il Duce in 1938. In Rome, Jews were too willing to count on the proximity of the silent Vatican.

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Zuccotti analyzes the Pontiff's motives with restraint. Far worse than the politically motivated decisions of Pius XII was the greed of some Italians who willingly betrayed Jewish neighbors for money. The author is justly critical of Swiss border guards who sometimes turned back Italian Jews after the latter's harrowing trips across the Alps. There were also others who used what latitude they had to admit Jews to an often inhospitable Switzerland.

The answer to why so many managed to survive yields humane, glorious, and even heroic commentaries on the people and the times. The bulk of Italian Jewry, we are told, were mobile, enterprising, sought refuge in mountains, obscure villages, monasteries, and convents. At one time the village priests had been as responsible as anyone in Italy for sporadic anti-Jewish expressions. Now these same priests came to the rescue of Jews, acquitting themselves nobly and risking their own freedom and lives to offer protection to Jews who sought it.

The number of average Italians who helped foreign and native Jews was impressive and Zuccotti's account of individual stories offers an insight into the plain human motivation of simple but decent people. Ironically—especially from the standpoint of the racial laws—Jews were also helped by their Mediterranean physiognomy, which enabled them to blend into the Italian landscape. Perhaps most helpful of all was the willingness of many officials, even lukewarm Fascists, and private individuals to falsify some lists, destroy others, and circulate timely warnings about a proposed roundup; they also helped conceal some Jews and actually escorted others to temporary refuge. While the betrayals of some constitute an irrefutable part of the record, the treacheries seem overshadowed by the expressions of solidarity and humanity of many others.

IN retrospect, we may still wonder about the number of leading Italian Jews who served Mussolini in key positions in pre-Axis days. Zuccotti explains the phenomenon in terms of the middle-class need to control workers and unions, of extreme nationalist loyalties, of dreams of heroism in an age of bourgeois boredom, of admiration for a strong and powerful and then still responsible leader. All of this is confirmed by Dan Vittorio Segre's *Memoirs of a Fortunate Jew*. Segre spent the first 16 years

of his life in a Fascist home and in frequent touch with an uncle who was a Fascist bigwig and a cousin who believed to the moment of his death in 1944 that, by proving himself an exemplary Fascist, he and other Jews—whom he was willing to betray—would resume their former place of honor and respectability. Alas, this cousin too, and his entire family were ruthlessly murdered in 1944.

As for Segre himself, his father retained enough wisdom to send his 16-year-old son to Palestine before the horrors came to a climax. While the first part of Segre's memoir focuses on the assimilated life of Italian Jewry, especially its Fascist wing, the remainder deals, often humorously and with ironic detachment, with the adjustment to primitive Palestinian life of this romantic youth from Italy's upper social strata. Today Segre is a distinguished professor of Zionism and Jewish thought at Haifa University, an academic career he embraced after service in Israel's diplomatic corps and as director of its Overseas Broadcasting Service. As one who arrived in Palestine in 1938 without any knowledge of Hebrew, Judaism, or even fundamental Jewish observances, Segre clearly belonged to that group of upwardly mobile and intellectually astute Italians of whom Zuccotti takes note in her book.

Not since Arthur Koestler's account of his 1930s experience in pre-state Palestine, has there been a book as rich in observations of the nascent Jewish society as Segre's scintillating memoir. Segre has the talent to command identification with the situation he depicts—his helplessness upon arrival in Palestine, his problems with the lack of privacy on the kibbutz, his reactions to an alien society that, with difficulty, he comes to understand. He offers an incisive, though hardly worshipful, portrait of fellow-Italian immigrant, Enzo Sereni, one of the Palestinian heroes who led a parachute drop on Nazi-controlled territory, in the hope of organizing resistance and helping Jews. Sereni himself was captured in Italy and shot.

Whether Segre offers his thoughts at an Italian burial site, or the character of British colonial officials, or the value of religious Orthodoxy, or on the debate between different approaches to Zionism or the Arabs, his commentaries are always compelling. His literary talent is considerable and his style sparkling and distinctive. Indeed

this memoir—which the author himself translated from the Italian original—is to be considered among the more remarkable autobiographical works of our time. Read, especially, in conjunction with the more sober history of Susan Zuccotti, it serves to illuminate the 20th-century experience of a small but significant segment of European Jewry, in all its grandeur and doom.

Orthodoxy

Studies in Contemporary Jewry.
Volume 2. Edited by Peter Y. Medding.
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Reviewed by JACK RIEMER

Many people have the stereotype that the Orthodox are parochial and provincial. Perhaps they are, but if that is true, it is also true that many of us are just as parochial and provincial, for most of us have almost no knowledge of or contact with what goes on in their world. The fact is that Orthodox Jewry is composed of many many different worlds that run the range in thought and in practice, and that within these communities a great many things are going on that those who profess to be knowledgeable about Jewish life ought to be aware of.

The most recent volume in the *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* series that the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University has just published can do much to help the non-Orthodox Jewish community gain some understanding of what is going on within Orthodoxy. I found in it at least three essays that gave me fresh perspective on movements that I knew little about before. And so I recommend this book to others who, like me, may not have had much contact with, or knowledge of, some segments of this important part of the Jewish people.

One essay deals with the ways in which the halachic authorities of Egypt and Syria responded to the challenges

JACK RIEMER is the rabbi of Congregation Beth David in Miami.

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December 3, 1987

The Honorable Peter Kostmayer
123 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Kostmayer:

We are pleased to respond to your request for the American Jewish Congress' position on the "Grassley Amendment" which seeks to close the Washington and New York PLO offices. Please note that this letter reflects the position of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations as well.

We applaud the initiative taken by those Senators and Congressmen who introduced legislation to close the PLO offices in the United States. Their diligence in pursuing this objective brought the issue to a head, culminating in the recent State Department directive mandating the closing of the Washington PLO office.

Just yesterday, that directive was upheld in the Federal District Court in the District of Columbia and is now proceeding through the appellate process.

We believe that process is sending a clear message to the nations of the world that, in the opinion of the United States, the PLO is not another political entity but is an unabashed instrument of international terrorism whose presence in any guise is not welcome in this country.

Since this is the case, we are not at the present time pressing for the enactment of legislation to achieve that same goal. We believe the legislation now pending in the Congress is well-conceived, well-intended and in complete consonance with constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression. But, for the present, we do not believe its adoption is necessary to establish the clear recognition that the PLO is a terrorist body unacceptable in this country.

Please feel free to contact us if we can answer any further questions.

Respectfully,



Phil Baum
Associate Executive Director



Mark J. Pelavin
Acting Washington Representative