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JEWIS AND POLITICS



## Editors' Introduction

Should we, as Jews, involve ourselves in politics, and if so, what form of action should we take? A historical examination of the acquisition of political influence and the effects of Jewish involvement is a prerequisite to the study of the above problems. Has Jewish activity helped or hindered the Jewish cause in the past?

Some believe that in the past political action has harmed the Jews. But, in determining our present and future stands, shall we rely solely on the efficacy of past action? Can today's Jew afford to ignore Zionist political views either in America or in Russia? Can he fail to meet the challenge on the Left? Can he sanction racism and not harm himself? Can he maintain his own security while Israel's is threatened? Can he fail to carefully examine the platforms of this year's Presidential aspirants? WE think not.

We feel it is imperative for the Jew to express himself as a political entity. His forms of action can be diverse. Through organized demonstration for Jewish causes we can respond to modern problems in the mode of today. The public figure can influence our views and the views of other voters and policy-makers. The Rabbi, for example, must present his views judiciously, bearing in mind the extent of his power. And even the individual can wield influence by keeping himself informed and vitally active. We maintain that action spells life.

Supplement Committee  
Debbie Scheraga  
Chairman: Jews and Politics

### Voting—A Privilege and Right

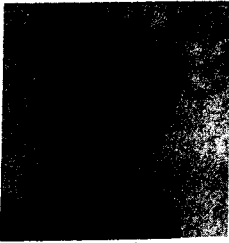
By ELKA SORCHER

Jewish political activity in America assumes basic political freedom and rights. People can be politically active only if they have fundamental political rights such as voting and office holding. In America, Jews have enjoyed these rights ever since the first group of permanent settlers arrived here in 1654.

While we are correct in assuming that the Jews have always enjoyed political rights, this is a surprising fact in examining Jewish status in Europe at the time. In the Old World, the French Revolution brought hints of Jewish political emancipation in Western Europe. Jews were granted the right to citizenship even later in Eastern Europe. Thus, it is necessary to examine the circumstances which allowed the Jews political rights in America more than a century ago before their European brethren.

Conditions in America were close to ideal for Jews fleeing Europe's inquisitorial courts. However, there were many instances of discrimination in laws passed by the colonies long before the first Jewish immigrants' arrival. For example, the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 recognized only those "professing to believe in Jesus Christ" and provided harsh punishment to anyone denying the Trinity. Massachusetts excluded all non-Puritans from citizenship. These laws were not enacted specifically against Jews, who were not yet there. But when Jews did come to settle, they found their rights limited in many instances.

When the St. Charles arrived at New Amsterdam with twenty-three Jewish passengers on board, this small Dutch colony had to contend with the "Jewish question" for the first time. Peter Stuyvesant, director of the colony, was unwilling to allow the Jews to stay, but pressure of influential Jews in Holland in the Dutch West India Company forced Stuyvesant to accept the Jewish immigrants. For three years the Jews in New Amsterdam, under the



Elka Sorcher

activity of the colonial Jew to that of his European brother, says, "In most colonies, it appears, Jews participated in elections with no one pointing an accusing finger. Jews were also entrusted with public office without further ado." Jews served as constables in New York and as representatives in So. Carolina. Blau further states, "The Revolution did not bring about a radical change in the Jewish position in American society." Jews participated in the Revolution. Some were even officers. The Constitution of the United States, by separating Church and State and granting freedom of religion, legalized the existing political status of the Jew, although some state constitutions still contained minor discriminatory clauses.

While it is obvious that Jews would have eventually been granted citizenship, it is significant that they achieved political equality with non-Jews by insisting on political equality.

But while political activity assumes the possession of political rights, the first Jews in America realized that political rights should also imply political activity. They realized the obligations as well as the privilege of political rights. Thus, Asher Levy insisted on being allowed to fight in defense of his colony and on being taxed equally with non-Jews.

It is important for Jews in America today to realize the privileges as well as the obligations that political rights, dating back three centuries, grant them. Today, the overwhelming majority of Jews in America are of East

# The Rabbinical Pulpit: A Political Forum?

By MARK W. KARASICK

In an attempt to find the answer to the question, "Should an Orthodox Rabbi take a political stand; should he be involved?" I questioned several Orthodox leaders.

The majority of those questioned agreed that the opinion of the Rabbi is not merely a personal one. It is a personal opinion based on Halacha. Therefore, the Rabbi is required by Halacha to guide people accordingly to it.

The general opinion was, that according to Halacha, the Rabbi, as head of a synagogue and a community, was definitely required to voice his opinion. The main difference in viewpoint was to what extent and on what issues.

Mr. Moses I. Feurstein, honorary president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America expressed the following opinion: "The Rabbi is responsible, as a *Moré D'Asra*, for his congregation. He is chosen by the people to lead them and it is his duty to do just that. If his actions lend to improvement of the community spiritually or to the solution of a problem which can effect the community spiritually, then he should voice his opinion. Standing by while injustice takes place wounds the community spiritually. He must, therefore, see something done by personal instruction or by arranging for what is necessary."

"If the Biafra situation, for example, represents crime against G-d and man, then to stand by is to participate in evil. The Rabbi or any spiritual leader is obligated to take stands necessary to right the wrong as far as may be within the power of the community to achieve this."

He went so far as to say that if the Rabbi doesn't take careful advantage of his position, he is violating "ba'al tashchi". Opportunities can not be wasted when the spiritual life of the community is involved.

I might add, however, that if a Rabbi finds himself leading a community where the strong likelihood is that the congregants will not pursue further the course involved, the Rabbi should take this into consideration before presenting his viewpoint.

Rabbi Joseph Karasick, president of the UOJCA and Rabbi Dr. Norman Lamm, spiritual leader of the West Side Jewish Center and Professor of Jewish Philosophy at Erna Michael College, concurred that the Rabbi should respond only in the matters of morality and that not every issue should be received as a question of Halacha. Any questions of politics, such as the upcoming Presidential election, are not necessarily considered questions of Halacha and the Rabbi is not expected to express any opinion on these matters. On other issues such as Biafra and drugs, the Rabbi is, however, obligated to inform his community of the Halacha's stand.

It is understood that the Rabbi must utilize a perceptive sense of judgement. For instance, if an issue is clearly beyond the Rabbi's competence, in the realm of economics and politics for example, he should not express any opinion. But, needless to say, a sense of morality requires taking a stand. Most issues, unfortunately, fall somewhere between these two extremes; there the Rabbi must rely on his own judgement.

Rav Aharon Lichtenstein, one of the senior Roshei Yeshiva of Y.U., further stresses the importance of weighing each situation as to what can be gained at last; each situation must be checked as to its moral and religious consequences as well as ties to the attainment of Jewish goals. There is a point, however, beyond which there is an obligation incumbent upon the Rabbi to express his views regardless of consequences to the Jewish community. Again, in this respect, the Rabbi must develop an instinct in judgement — there are no set rules.

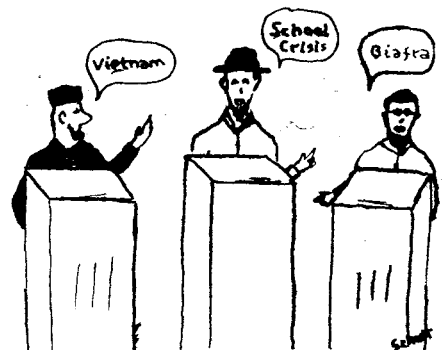
The issue of Vietnam is a halachic issue, a matter of morality, and therefore the Rabbi should express his feelings. Some Orthodox leaders agree that the Vietnam War is immoral and unjust and that the United States doesn't belong in Viet Nam. Others disagree with this stand.

The Presidential election, to take another example, has Jewish implications in that one candidate might appear to be more pro-Jewish than the other. The Rabbi should point this out to the community.

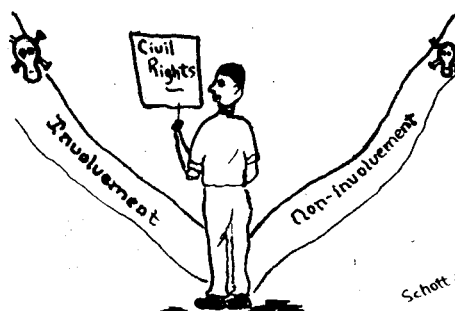
The school strike, although it might not appear so, does affect us personally. Among other problems the strike is causing Jews to go to Catholic private schools; this can easily result in "Shmad". Therefore, the Rabbi in this case has to do all in his power to hasten the settlement of the strike.

Professor Pinchas Peli, Editor-in-Chief of Panim el Panim and Visiting Professor of Hebrew at Yeshiva University, feels that where politics involves a moral issue, the Rabbi should take a stand. Dr. Peli stresses the importance of each rabbi emphasizing that the views he expresses are his personal views and not that of the community.

Whether or not an issue involves morality is often a moot matter. In cases where ethics are definitely pertinent, there is the additional consideration of the effect specified stands may have on the Jewish community. It is thus apparent that the problem of rabbis expressing opinions from the pulpit is a complex one. There are few, if any, mechanical guidelines. He must often depend on his own disgression.



In my opinion, based on Halacha...



Schott

leadership of Asher Levy, successfully resisted attempts by Stuyvesant to deny them political rights. Levy insisted on being allowed the privilege of serving in the Burger Guard and was finally granted citizenship in April, 1657. This president assured the later newcomers to New Amsterdam (later called New York) the privilege denied the Jews in Europe. Of course, test oaths and established churches still remained obstacles to the complete political equality of Jews with non-Jews. And anti-Semitism certainly existed. But Joseph Blau, in the introduction to his *American Jewish History* comparing the political

European origin. Were it not for the long tradition of freedom and democracy in America, millions of Jews may have been forced to stay in Europe instead of establishing the dynamic Jewish community that now exists in America. Jews, who have enjoyed political rights in America longer than anywhere else have a stake in keeping America free and an obligation to use their rights and be active politically. We should not forget that the reason that we can speak about "Jews and political action" is because the first Jews in America insisted on political rights and fulfilled the obligations that these rights imposed.

## Contributors

- Dr. Appel is Professor of Jewish Philosophy at Stern.
- Dr. Dunner is Senior Professor of Political Science at YU.
- Mr. Karasick is a sophomore in RIETS.
- Mr. Luchins graduated YU and is presently in the Semicha program in RIETS.
- Dr. Rosenbloom is Professor of Hebrew Literature at Stern.
- Dr. Schick, Professor of Political Science at City University, is president of the National Jewish Commission on Public Affairs.
- Mr. Solomon, a senior at Y.U., is a Psychology major.
- Miss Sorcher, a senior at Stern is a History major.
- Miss Spiegelman, a sophomore at Stern is a Sociology and English major.
- Miss Urbach, a sophomore at Stern is an Education major.
- Mr. Stein & Mr. Dolinsky are members of the Board of Directors of the Center for Soviet Jewry.
- Miss Schwalm, our cover artist, is a senior at Stern majoring in Biology.

Dr. R. Wischnitzer will moderate a symposium on the paintings of the third century Dura Synagogue in Koch Auditorium on November 6. Professors from Columbia, Brown, Yale, and N.Y.U. will discuss the motives and esthetic manifestations of the Euphrates River Jews of that era.



"My position on Israel and the Middle East is clear. Ever since the creation of the State of Israel, which I enthusiastically supported — both on moral and political grounds — I have felt that a stable peace in the Middle East is a must."

1. The existence of the State of Israel must be accepted by all of its neighbors;
2. The fragile, often-violated truce lines must be transformed into agreed and secure boundaries;
3. The State of Israel must have free navigational rights in all international waters, including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aquaba;
4. The "arms" race, which breeds insecurity as it feeds on hostility, must be finally terminated;
5. The international community must assist the countries immediately concerned in solving the human tragedy posed by the Arab refugees;
6. The resources of the Middle East countries must be used primarily for human and economic development rather than war and destruction.

These views have been fortified by the experience of the June, 1967 war.

I favor active U.S. diplomatic efforts to convince Israel's neighbors — many of whom have been friends of this country for many years — to pursue now a general settlement.

It is in the interest of all the people of the Middle East to engage actively in negotiating agreement among nations in that region.

The cause of peace will not be served by the pursuit of military preponderance by Arab States through arms deliveries from the Soviet Union. Until permanent peace is achieved and the arms race ended, I believe continued U.S. military assistance, including jet planes, to Israel is justified and desirable. I favor it. But, the real answer lies in agreed disarmament.

The U.S. and other developed nations should actively support national and regional economic modernization programs, especially irrigation development and desalinization.

My views are motivated by a sense of justice and concern for all the inhabitants of a region that, through the centuries, has contributed so much to our own spiritual and philosophical development.

Hubert Humphrey

# War and Peace

## HHH, Nixon View Middle East

Since some of us will be voting this November, and any Stern student is cognizant of her political environment, we invited the presidential candidates of the two major parties to offer their views on American policy to Israel — a subject of the utmost importance to the modern Jew. Mr. Nixon and Mr. Humphrey graciously responded — Mr. Nixon with the text of a speech delivered at the B'nai Brith Triennial Convention, and Mr. Humphrey with a formal statement issued last July on his views toward Israel.

Mr. Humphrey's short statement is presented in its entirety. A passage dealing purely with American policy towards the Soviet Union has been deleted from Mr. Nixon's speech.

## Nixon Speaks and Speaks and Speaks to B'nai Brith

Four fundamental facts of life are evident in the Middle East today.

First, the danger of war increases in direct ratio to the confidence of certain Arab leaders that they could win that war.

Second, the Soviet Union has the definite aggressive goal of extending its sphere of influence to include the Middle East.

Third, the United States has a firm and unwavering commitment to the national existence of Israel, repeated by four presidents. And after Inauguration Day next year, it will be repeated by another president.

Fourth, the foundations for a permanent peace will be laid when hunger and disease and human misery have begun to disappear from the Arab world, and the breeding ground of bitterness and envy is removed.

America must look hard at those facts of life to determine how we can change the collision course of the nations of the Middle East and avert a confrontation of the major powers.

**The danger of war increases in direct ratio to the confidence of certain Arab leaders that they could win the war.**

Since the Six-Day War, the Soviet Union has systematically rebuilt the armed forces of the U.A.R. Their goal was not to restore a balance of power; their goal was to further Soviet ambitions.

To a disturbing extent, they have introduced new and more sophisticated weapons. Their Middle Eastern clients are growing more confident that they could win a war of revenge and drive Israel into the sea.

Therefore the free world must act to maintain a balance of power to remove the confidence of would-be aggressors. Certainly, a balance of power is a short-term solution; but when survival is at stake, short-term solutions are necessary.

Israel must possess sufficient military power to deter an attack. As long as the threat of Arab attack remains direct and imminent, sufficient power means the balance must be tipped in Israel's favor. An exact balance of power, which in any case is purely theoretical and not realistic, would run the risk that potential aggressors might miscalculate and would offer them too much of a temptation.

For that reason — to provide Israel a valid self-defense — I support a policy that would give Israel a technological military margin to more than offset her hostile neighbors' numerical superiority. If maintaining that margin should require that the U.S. supply Israel with supersonic

Phantom F-4 jets — we should supply those Phantom jets.

We can hardly ignore the fact that during the past five years of active Soviet penetration, the U.S. government has at times seemed to hide its head in the sands of the Middle East; this administration has failed to come to diplomatic grips with the scope and seriousness of the Soviet threat.

What must we do now? Short-range, we must counter the military buildup, as I have indicated. We must take the initiative for near-term settlements. Looking ahead, we must deal directly with the Soviets on the subject of the Middle East.

Without belligerence, we have to make it crystal clear that the stake of the free world in the Middle East is great; we must impress upon the Soviets the full extent of our determination; and then, and only then, will we cause them to re-examine their own policy to avoid a collision course.

**The United States has a firm and unwavering commitment to the national existence of Israel.**

Some of America's critics abroad say that support for Israel, by American political leaders is purely an election-year exercise. They say it is a device to capture Jewish votes at home.

But these critics don't understand the American point of view. America supports Israel because we believe in the self-determination of nations; America supports Israel because we oppose aggression in every form; America supports Israel because it is threatened by Soviet imperialism; and America supports Israel because its example offers long-range hope to the Middle East.

There is another reason that goes beyond diplomacy: Americans admire a people who can scratch a desert and produce a garden. The Israelis have shown qualities that Americans identify with: guts, patriotism, idealism, and a passion for freedom.

We can justify our firm support on the basis of principle but there is that human element involved as well.

All those reasons taken together add up to why we are not about to abandon Israel. America's word is good. It has cost us enough to prove that.

We recognize Israel's predicament; its enemies can afford to fight a war and lose, and come back to fight again; Israel cannot afford to lose once. America knows that. And America is deterred that Israel is here in the family of nations to stay.

**The foundations for a permanent peace will be laid when hunger and disease and human misery have begun to disappear from the Arab world.**

Some Arab leaders equate America's support of Israel as being "against" them. That is simply not true.

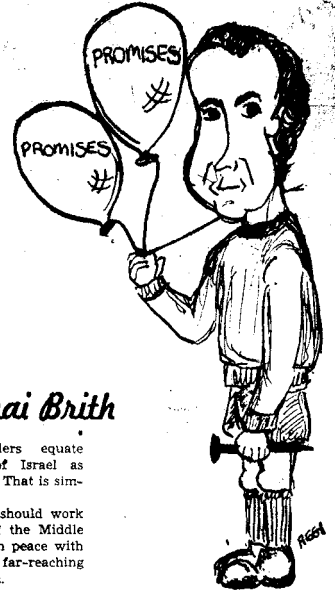
The United States should work with every nation of the Middle East willing to live in peace with its neighbors on a far-reaching development program.

The imaginative Eisenhower plan to bring water — and thus food and employment — to the Middle East is one such proposal. This plan would provide atomic plants for the desalting of sea water — water so desperately needed to irrigate deserts. The first of these plants would produce as much fresh water as the entire Jordan River system does today, opening a new life to hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees. We must explore every avenue to turn the arms race into a race for development.

Right now, the United States must take the lead in forging an acceptable settlement in the Middle East.

Included in the terms of that settlement should be solid guarantees that the currently occupied territories will never again be used as bases of aggression or sanctuaries for terrorism. Access for the ships of all nations through the re-opened Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran should be guaranteed. The settlement should include recognition of Israeli sovereignty, its right to exist in peace, and an end to the state of belligerence.

It is my view for Israel to take formal and final possession of the occupied territories would be a grave mistake; at the same time, it is not realistic to expect Israel to surrender vital bargaining



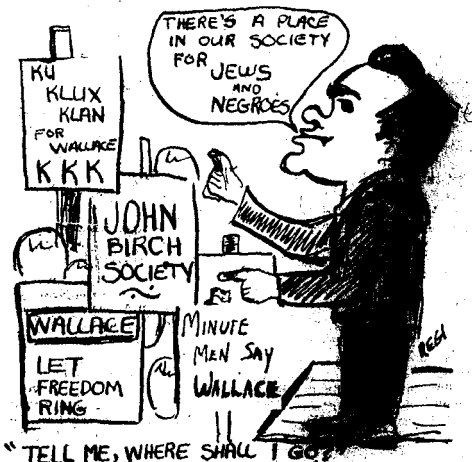
counters in the absence of a genuine peace and effective guarantees.

To find a just peace in an area of the world that has known only armed truces and three major and bitter wars in a generation is not an easy task. But the United States is not without diplomatic and economic resources, and its private and public men are not without cogent ideas to get directly at the underlying problems of refugees and water.

**We should thwart the temptation for aggression by helping Israel to maintain her defenses; we should engage in some direct, hard negotiation with the Soviet Union to remove one underlying cause of the tension; we should encourage some leadership in bringing about talks: first with the moderate Arab leaders, and later with the militants; and we should open up vistas of growth and development that can gradually end the bitterness and envy that exist.**

That's an ambitious task. But the only way to succeed, or even partially to succeed, is to make the effort. Any future Middle East war could bring together in a sudden collision not only the nations of the Mid-East, but the great powers of East and West. We must not allow the cradle of civilization to become its grave.

Richard Nixon



"TELL ME, WHERE SHALL I GO?"

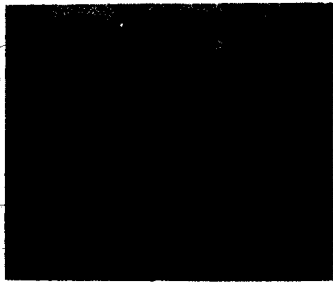


# Physical or Spiritual Annihilation

By DR. GERSHON APPEL

This article will deal briefly with the related phenomena of current political ferment and social activism as they affect the Jewish university student. It is apparent that many Jewish students have been caught up in the vortex of the New Left and radical movements, while some play leading roles in the militant, extremist activities on campus. In view of the ever-increasing polarization of the political forces in the country, to the far left and the far right, this development calls for a consideration of its possible consequences for the Jewish community at large, in respect to its present, real interests and its future position.

The Jew has historically felt an affinity for liberal movements striving for social justice, arising naturally from the Jewish ethical tradition. While this has inspired Jews, on the whole, to join in the continuing struggle for political and economic freedom and the betterment of the lot of humanity, it has also impelled some to rally passionately behind radical socialist and communist standards in the belief that, in instituting their vaunted panaceas, they would draw nigh the messianic era for mankind. The events, past and contemporary, in Russia and on the European continent have demonstrated these hopes to be illusory. The Jew, in particular, has learned from tragic experience that this idealistic world is for him no more than ethereal, and that in its cruel, crazy reality it holds no place for the Jews. Recent events provide ample documentation for the fact, indeed the truism, that radical socialism and communism are no guarantee of human rights and equity for the Jew or of tolerance of his religion.



Dr. G. Appel

In the light of the political polarization to which we have referred, the Jew must soberly ponder the brutal lesson of history — that fascism of the right and totalitarianism of the left equally threaten Jewish existence, either physically as in Nazi Germany or spiritually as in the Soviet Union today. Concomitantly, history also teaches that the Jew lives in relative freedom and equality, with a better chance for the preservation of his religious and cultural heritage, in a democratic society and under a democratic political system. It is a hard fact of life, which the American Jew must realistically face up to, that for his own safety and for the protection of his rights and freedoms, both material and spiritual, he must find his place in the mainstream of American democracy and work for the advancement of American society through its major political parties and traditional institutions.

Our sages have long ago cautioned: "Pray for the peace of the government, since but for the fear thereof, men would swallow each other alive" (Mishnah, Avot 3:2). In these volatile times Jews can ill afford both adventurism in the political arena, as well as social libertinism on the campus or in society at large. The stakes are too high — the fate of American Jewry may well hang in the balance.

### Anti-Semitism in Current Affairs

Anti-Semitism is very much a threat today. It lurks in the background, as in the Justice Fortas case and in the in-pate between the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Board and the Teachers Union, which have marked anti-Semitic overtones. And it plainly rears its ugly head in the present Negro-Jewish confrontation. The latter is particularly painful to Jews, who have morally and materially helped the cause of civil rights and have for years sought to cultivate Negro-Jewish understanding.

The situation today is an explosive one, due to the deliberate contrivance of the Negro extremists, who have singled out the Jew as the prime target upon whom to vent their anger and frustration. The Jew is the convenient scapegoat as a result of the accident of contiguity, and because, by historical pattern, he has served as the hardy pawn of demagogues in their drive for power. Indeed, this scapegoat role is being consciously fostered for us by the black and

white racists and also unwittingly by some respectable representatives of government, as in the reputed attempts of the Lindsay administration to involve Jews and the Jewish community in New York, as such, in responsibility for solution of the Negro problem. This is a role that we must unequivocally reject. Jews did not create the problem and they certainly have no quarrel with the Negro people. They share this problem and the moral responsibility for it and must work for its solution together with all others as individual American citizens.

### Disengage From Negro Community

Our position, it must be emphasized, is a serious one and should not be minimized. Negro extremists, who today hold the Negro community captive, have cast the Jew as the adversary, whom they vow to destroy. This is not an idle threat. No amount of casuistry will explain away the Jewish stores that have been burned out and the Jewish communities and communal institutions already decimated. Unfortunately, under the present conditions of hate and antagonism, neither appeasement nor dialogue will avail. Until the climate changes radically, the prudent course would seem to be one of disengagement from the Negro community to the extent that the circumstances demand, and an alert readiness to protect the Jewish community and its vital interests. American Jewish organizations must realistically re-assess their objectives and programs in the light of these factors.

Militancy on the campus confronts the Jewish community with another serious problem. A disturbing aspect of the social unrest and the revolt against administrative authority in the universities is the backwash of anti-Semitism that it had generated. In the name of freedom of speech and the traditionally liberal sentiments of the academic community, these elements have sought to open the gates to a flood of bigotry, racism, and Jew-hatred of the most despicable sort. Paradoxically, Jews have figured in these developments, as witnessed in the case of Hatchett at N.Y.U., where it was the Jewish student leaders and Jewish trustees who favored his retention, and the advocacy by some Jewish students of the cause of Cleaver and Ferguson, the notorious Black Panther leaders, in support of their political aims and in championing their political aims, and in championing their presumed right to show their racist venom.

The problem, of course, is of a deeper nature and requires further analysis. Suffice it to note here that we are confronted with the phenomenon of liberal but immature students and equally liberal but naive professors, who support the militant elements on campus in their avowed intent to destroy the universities and to tear apart the fabric of a democratic society — on the ground of freedoms which these militants deny to others, and rights which would be lost to all were the anarchy, which they apparently strive for, to prevail. Democracy in America is thus in danger of self-strangulation by the very fibers that have given it its strength and endurance.

### Essence of Democracy

These befuddled liberals are ignorant of the basic fact that the principle of self-government, the essence of democracy, is predicated upon the moral pre-emption (developed by Rousseau and Hegel) that one must differentiate between real, permanent ends, and impulsive, passing desires; it is only the former that reflect the real, concerted will of rational man.

If a free, democratic system cannot find its way out of this dilemma and proves to be impotent in safeguarding itself against these destructive elements, which whether intentionally or not serve the interests of the world communist monolith in its desire to weaken the United States, then we face the calamitous alternative of either communist domination or of a fascist, police state. Again, in this titanic struggle between totalitarianism and democracy, the stakes for the Jewish people are extremely high.

The misguided activities of these assimilationist Jewish students in the current attack on democratic institutions, while paradoxical, is yet understandable. These are Jews in flight from Judaism, even as they turn their backs on the traditional mores of society. Common sense, an intelligent reading of history, and a realistic appraisal of the Jewish position would teach us that Jews, and especially Jewish students committed at all to the preservation of Judaism and the people of Israel, ought to shun such nihilistic elements, despite their liberal and idealistic facade.

Shemaryahu Levine, the brilliant Jewish leader, once put it very aptly: We Jews are acclaimed as "a wise and understanding people." How great we would truly be, if we also evinced a little common sense in meeting the problems that face us as Jews.

# Protest — A New Law?

INTERVIEW WITH DR. NOAH ROSENBLUM

Does protest action help or hinder the cause of Soviet Jewry?

Only a trained diplomat can hope to offer a reasonable answer to this question. The rest of us, including visitors to the Soviet Union, are unqualified to voice any opinion. Any gratuitous advice in this respect may be playing with the life of the Russian Jew.

Have our protests been effective?

Hardly. Great pressure had been exerted on the Soviet Union by American Jewry. The protestors decry that no Jewish religious leader was permitted to visit the American Jewish Community. The Russians proved clever. They permitted Rabbi Levine to visit the U.S., but they muzzled him. He spoke on many occasions but said nothing. The mountain gave birth to a mouse.



Dr. N. Rosenblum

Is Russia not concerned with public opinion aroused in America by such protest?

Anti-Soviet sentiment in the U.S. is meaningless. Russia is not out to please Americans. The sentiments of the American Jew have certainly no effect on Soviet policy. If it were concerned with it, its determined anti-Israel stand would not have been so uncompromising. The treatment of the Russian Jews are to them an internal problem upon which foreign protests have no bearing. Consider for a moment whether the United States would alter its policy due to protests of Russian students.

Why does not Russia permit Jews to leave the country?

For Russia to permit such an emigration would be a tacit admission of anti-Semitism as well as a public announcement of the failure of communism. Nobody leaves Paradise or Hell. We must, however, recognize that even if such an emigration could take place, there is no guarantee that

the Jews would leave. I have met a few Jews in Israel who had emigrated from communist lands and they were disappointed. Some of them were never exposed to the hardships of a competitive society and found it most difficult to adjust. Probably only the youth who have encountered overt anti-Semitism might leave and settle elsewhere.

Does protest action help to raise the morale of Soviet Jewry?

The Russian Jew undoubtedly knows nothing of our protest. Such news would be inconceivable in Soviet press and media. It would perhaps be printed to underscore that the Soviet Jews are linked with the anti-Russian international plot. The significance of such an accusation could cause inestimable harm.

In view of these facts, why is American youth eager to protest?

We all have feelings of guilt, our youth notwithstanding. Today's Jewish youth feels that through protest they will come to ease their Jewish consciences — it will enable them to feel that they have done something for their fellow Jews. It is the cheapest and easiest sacrifice to make. It involves no risk, no money. Should we continue to protest?

We should be advised by national Jewish leadership. They should be made more effective — not sporadic gatherings of boys and girls but a mass rally of one hundred thousand people. Unfortunately, the type of demonstration which often takes place leaves me with the impression of but another hippy or yippy demonstration. We must gear our protest to Russia's present anti-Israel policy, for Israel is in danger of actual annihilation — physical destruction and not spiritual one. What alternative is there to protest?

Protestors are, for the most part, well-intentioned, and feel that something will indeed be accomplished through their efforts. If young Jewish men and women want to do something they should concentrate on "Aliyah" — permanent settlement in Eretz-Yisrael. The state of Israel is faced with the threat of total annihilation by Russia. This threat is more ominous than the internal situation of Soviet Jewry. The Jew in Russia is not threatened with physical destruction as is Israel.

Dr. Rosenblum would like to conclude his remarks by stating that they are based solely on opinions and not based on personal contact.



"Who's afraid of the big bad wolf?" from EL DIARIO, La Paz



# Shechita Controversy Linked with Anti-Semites

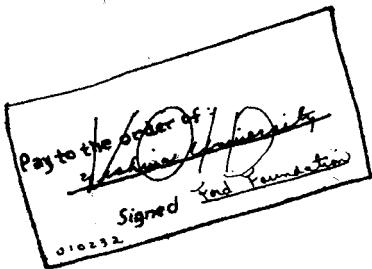
By HELENE URBACH

In view of the Anti-Shechita Bill controversy in New York and recently in California, I would like to point out other Anti-Shechita movements in the past which had similar histories.

At the end of the nineteenth century, many European countries started campaigns to make Shechita (Jewish ritual slaughter) illegal. The first country in which the campaign reached full force was Switzerland. The alleged accusation was that Shechita was cruel. The convulsive movements immediately following the death of the animal was the proof given to support this statement. It is a scientific fact, however, that these motions are of a completely reflexive nature, but anti-Semitism was already deeply rooted in the country. Swiss citizenship was not granted to the Jews before 1874. In that year, the Aarga Society (for the prevention of cruelty to animals) proposed that the animal be stunned before being killed. This put Shechita in a grave predicament, since a blow on the head would damage a membrane of the animal, making it *treif*. It was finally decided that such a bill would interfere with religious worship. The cantons, however, were given permission to pass such laws individually if they wished to. When the Aarga Canton passed an Anti-Shechita Bill, another Anti-Shechita movement reached full force in Switzerland. A close victory for the restriction makes Switzerland the only country to have Anti-Shechita Legislation in their Federal Constitution.

### Proven Humane

During the same era, there was much commotion concerning Shechita in Germany and Russia. Intellectual sentiment, however, took the Jewish point of view. Many studies were done by professors and scientists of the *Loyal Veterinary College* in Berlin, the *Veterinary Colleges of France*, *Academy of Lyons*, and the *University of Warzburg*. All studies approved Shechita as a method of humane slaughter. Dr. Issac Dembo, a member of the special commission picked by the standing Central Committee of the Russian



Societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, made an extensive study of humane slaughter. He concluded that Jewish slaughter was the most humane. With these investigations the cry for Anti-Shechita legislation was temporarily halted.

The Shechita question was brought up in England in 1922 by the *National Veterinary Medical Association of England*. A request was made by the *Shechita Board of London* to investigate the situation before anything else was done. Along with the Shechita complaints, sly remarks concerning Jews and Zionism were made. A *Cambridge University* study concluded that Shechita was a very humane method of slaughter. "The *Veterinary Journal*" also agreed with this. In 1925 the "Royal Association for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" approved the suggestion that a clause protecting Shechita be inserted in the *Humane Slaughter Bill*. With the rise of Nazi Germany and the spread of Anti-Semitism throughout Europe, the call for Anti-Shechita legislation was resumed. Shechita was made illegal in all of Germany. There was a minimum of one month prison term and payment of 1500 reichmarks for anyone who slaughtered animals according to Jewish law. When Italy allied with Germany, she adopted the same policy. When Poland, during World War II, also passed Anti-Shechita legislation, it was a great blow. There were three million traditional Jews living in Poland.

## Protest Brings Results

(Continued from Page 5, Col. 4) the country saw it on television and were, therefore, informed about the pitiable position of Soviet Jews.

Public pressure by picket lines and such methods as "letter-writing campaigns" have gotten many more concessions from the Russian government:

- the visit of Rabbi Yehuda Lei Levin and Cantor David Stiskin, June 17-July 2, 1968;
- the lifting of the *matazah* ban in some cities in Russia;
- a promise that 20 rabbinical students would be able to study in the recently opened and quickly closed *Moscow Kol Jacob Seminary*;
- a vague promise that 25 students would be able to study for the *rabbinate* abroad;
- responding to international protest the Soviet government produced a propaganda film showing the "flourishing"

life of the Jewish Community; the amount of Yiddish books published has increased since protest began: 1948-59—no Yiddish books 1959-65—six books 1964-68—ten Yiddish books; world-wide protest was able to get the Russians to remove the highly anti-semitic *Judaism Without Embellishment*; and after much internal and international pressure, the Soviets have officially recognized the fact that thousands of Russians (including Jews) were murdered at *Babi Yar*. They permitted the serialization of Anatoly Kuznetsov's book *Babi Yar*, which tells of the massacre of Jews, in *Yuzmost*, the Russian Youth Magazine. A plaque was also put up beside the ravine; however, it does not mention the Jewish deaths.

The U.S.S.R. does not officially forbid Shechita, but in 1929 the *Schochtim*, along with the rabbis, were taken to the labor camps.

From this abbreviated history, it is clear that the proposal of Anti-Shechita legislation is always accompanied by assaults of Anti-Semitism. In view of this, when Alice Herrington of the *Friends of Animals* proposed the *Humane Slaughter Bill* which claims Shechita to be inhumane, while she never stepped foot in any slaughter house — Jewish or otherwise. She claims electricity to be the most humane method of slaughter. Does she know that it is very difficult to calculate the needed voltage required to produce unconsciousness? Studies have shown that electrolysis causes pain and many injuries to the animal. The Shechita method of slaughter kills thirty animals a minute, being assured that every animal is dead. In electrolysis, 500 animals are killed a minute. At this fast rate some animals are only injured and not killed, causing the animals much pain.

### Basic to Jewish Belief

Shechita is an act basic to Jewish belief that G-d gave us the privilege of taking life from the animal in order to use its meat for food. Life, even of an animal, is sacred. If this life is to be taken, it must be done in a reverential manner. As responsible Jews, we cannot sit quietly, but must take a stand.

Those listed are but a few of the improvements seen after the rest of the protest movement. A most wonderful sign is the effect our campaigns have had on the spirit of Soviet Jewry. They want our help and for us to remember their existence. Every year they gather by the *Moscow Synagogue* on *Simchat Torah*; over 12,000 Jewish young men and women danced and cried to show the world that they know that they are Jews and want to act like Jews.

It is necessary that every Jew capable helps them to be Jews. No one forces these people out. Politically they would be better off home, but it is a yearning and a need that brings them together every year. We, therefore, as Jews, have the responsibility to protest loudly and clearly the religious genocide being committed for WE ARE OUR BROTHERS' KEEPERS!

This time we won't be silent.

## Challenge from the Left

(Continued from Page 5, Col. 5)

lies in our floundering Jewish leadership. It seems as though the orthodox rabbinate has yet to awaken to some very important facts. One of these is that the psychological alienation of a human being is not simply something to be employed for purposes of discussion at the breakfast table. It is a very real and horrifying emptiness that must be horkion to the very conscience of man. All too often, however, its furthest penetration is a newspaper article depicting death in a village flat.

Secondly, we must realize that the problems of the society-at-large are our problems, if only for the fact that we are part of that society. It is more than public relations that calls upon us to speak out against the inhumanities being perpetrated all about us. And lest this be misinterpreted as apologetic Judaism, it should be said that the best place to start is with Soviet Jewry. At whose behest have we remained silent so long, maintaining a totally unconscionable lethargy?

At this point, it would be relevant to mention a letter which appeared in last semester's final issue of *The Observer*. It was written by a Stern student and expressed, as she put it, her condolences to *Yeshiva University* on the demise of its conscience, whose passing allegedly occurred at the failure of the University to cancel classes on the day of the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I must say that I found her much

belated sympathy rather amusing. Apparently, she felt a conscience anesthetized by unending compromise and a disregard of our brothers' sufferings in Russia, not to mention a disturbing lack of response to the death of the *Skvira Rebbe* (and even an ignorance of who he was), but a neglect to express sympathy over the death of Dr. King was a death blow.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the appalling sufferings of mankind occurring in a world we call civilized, a term Western society in particular seems to throw around with blithe confidence. If Judaism is to show itself relevant to the times, our leaders must come to grips with the burning issues of those times. And, significantly, these are the issues dramatized by the New Left. This would seem easy enough in view of the facts that we are dealing with an intelligent, educated group of human beings and no invention is necessary, merely the uncompromising but dynamic assertion of Torah.

Certainly, it is refreshing to note the encouraging growth of the Jewish day school movement in this country. But that will not save this generation. Its impassioned cry of "NOW!" deserves a sincere and equally impassioned response from Judaism — now! It is high time to cease our haughty, pedantic harangues against long hair and beards and to get down to the nitty-gritty business of saving souls.

## Sin of Racism

(Continued from Page 4, Col. 5)

with the thoughts and actions of our own community, is that in certain key respects it is more tangible than the attitude of other groups. The fused racist image comes more sharply into focus as physical proximity to Negro life increases; that is why the Black Belt of the South has always been most hostile to even basic Negro rights. In the North this means that whites living in the urban centers are more antagonistic to Negroes than those living in suburbia. Orthodox Jewry is, by and large, physically tied to the core of the city, not far from concentrations of Negro population. Religious Jews are forced into many physical and visual contacts with black people. They often know about Negro crime and juvenile delinquency from direct experience, not secondarily from the mass media. They know, because they have felt it, the fear of walking on the streets, of children coming home at night, of going to the park. Unlike Southern whites, they do not possess the social and political power to completely dominate the Negro, nor do they possess the mobility of the secularized Jews and other ethnic groups to escape into the bowels of expanding suburbia.

But because Orthodox Jews have a direct stake in the Negro problem, they must not ignore it in the hope it will go away or out of a sense of despair. Libertarian clichés may not be acceptable; far worse are the obscene suggestions one hears: place all the Negroes in a concentrated area and drop atomic bombs on them. It makes a difference, of course, that none of us really wants that done, but what of the vulgarity of the language? Or of the glee in certain places over the murder of Martin Luther King? We have to face up to this ugly fact: the language employed by a good number of Orthodox Jews when talking about

Negroes is shocking and ignorant.

Nor will an internalized hatred of all black people serve our cause any better: Hatred, paranoia, feeds the psychic fears that already grip many and leads to fantasy-thinking about Negroes: they all loot and control; they have tremendous power and control the city; they are moving in, and so on. Hatred feeds the rumor mill, causing a disintegration of neighborhoods and institutions that have been built at great costs. There is something approaching a death wish within those who hate: they wish that the worst they hear is true; every horrible rumor confirms the mental image they have built up; every report of Negroes buying houses or moving in is thrilling; disappointment results when rumors and reports prove to be false.

Likely, there are no programs or paths to be discovered which will solve the problems of race relations now confronting America. Experience and time bring their own answers; failure itself is a solution. The Negro situation, like life itself, is a dialectical process; good and evil, growth and degradation interact fiercely. There is no single outcome.

But even in the dialectic of history, when there are no solutions, morality and intellect press their claims for compassion and understanding. In the pull of life, events are not equally deserving of support. We may not have answers; we must have judgments. To deny this is to leave no alternative other than some form of nihilism, to say that all life is absurd because some of it is. Possessing neither the strength nor the passion to understand, always knowing that as our solutions are finite, so is our wisdom. Still, our limitations cannot serve as a defense for intellectual and ethical impotence, they are sins of the heart and of the mind.

# Involvement — Moral Obligation

By DAVID LUCHINS

The relationship, if any, of Jewish involvement in areas of social actions and the resulting increase or decrease in anti-Semitic feeling in the community at large does not lend itself to cause and effect description. Anti-Semitism is, by its very nature, a phenomenon that defies easy explanations. The very complex nature of its causes and manifestations makes it all the more difficult to weigh the effect of any one given factor.

Certain patterns, however, are readily distinguishable. The cultural and religious background of our society projects a certain image of the "Jew," which, while often suppressed by our negative normative liberal intentions, still can be brought to the conscious surface when certain nerves are touched.

For example, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League as well as the National Community Relations Council both reported a marked upsurge in anti-Semitic feeling in this country following Israel's victory in last June's Middle East war. Strangely enough, the stunning victories of 1948 and 1956 were not accompanied by similar American reactions.

A study of the hate literature produced by radical groups in America since the war reveals two themes in their message that are peculiar to the '67 crisis; heavy emphasis on the recapture of Jerusalem ("CHRIST CRUCIFIED BY JEWS; TEMPLE DESECRATED") screams a leaflet from the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade out in San Francisco and the fund raising heretics of the American Jewish Community ("The Lord's city sold for 30 million pieces of silver," a broadside informs us).

The image of the Jew as a patron of deicide (though the dictionary dictates an upper case D, that a god can be killed is a contradiction in terms) obviously was reinforced by the rejected people recapturing that which was to be denied them for all time. The active involvement of the American Jewish Community in support of Israel and its right to Jerusalem has given us a role, if not as Christ killers, as accomplices in the crime.

On the second point raised since the June war, the Jews' "image" is once again all too familiar. Silver has long been one of our greatest problems — to hear even our "friends" talk, the entire world financial market is run by Jews. This, we happen to know, is stuff and nonsense; and yet, the well publicized millions of dollars raised in a few days for a beleaguered nation 7,000 miles away had an effect on the old image that can't be underestimated. ("Money changers force their way back into Temple.")

Obviously, we had little choice under the circumstances. Perhaps we shouldn't have ballyhooed the fund-raising abilities of the Israeli Emergency Fund as thoroughly as we did ("Give until you hurt" read the full-page ads in a dozen daily papers). Perhaps we should have worked a little harder at getting broad-based support for Israel in the community at large. As the person who called SNCC on behalf of the North American Jewish Youth Council, I can personally testify that this was not the easiest of chores. Clearly, with the chips down and Israel's back to the sea, we had to act as we did, come what might, in terms of anti-Semitic whiplash at home.

The example of Israel may be an extreme one. I, for one, would feel morally bankrupt if I were so taken up with any one issue as to have no room for concern for Biafra's children, or Cesar Chavez's migrant workers. What is clear to almost all Jews (except for the sorry apologists of the American Council of Judaism) in the case of Israel should be applied, the proponents of Jewish involvement in overall social actions programs feel, to all moral issues as well.

It is true that overt "Jewish" (referring both to the individual and organizational involvement) leadership and participation in almost every liberal cause of the past half-century has given a rallying point to the haters of both extremes. The Jewish activists from the SDS to the NAACP serve as convenient points of reference to which latent anti-Jewish feeling can be easily directed. Doubtlessly our enemies might be a little less organized if we ceased and desisted; and yet one can certainly doubt if they would be converted into our friends through such actions.

On the other hand, powerful Jewish commitments to the cause of Civil Rights (to give only one example) has, despite some of the gloomy attitudes reflected on the editorial page of a Yeshiva University campus paper last month, paid off handsomely. Virtue is its own reward, but one doubts if men such as Baynard Rustin and Whitney Young would be so vocal in their defense of Israel and Jewish causes if we had not helped them in their moments of stress and tribulation.

History records that as each group assimilates its way upward on the social ladder its hatred is

# Dinner advises Jewish America to protect herself

By DR. JOSEPH DUNNER

As you know, I am a political scientist interested in the study of the "political" in man, which I define (in the tradition of Plato and Aristotle) as the polis — or state-building qualities in the human species. I cannot claim more than the most casual acquaintance with theology, and I shall, therefore, refrain from entering any discussion concerning G-d's existence and nature. But I feel entitled to state that a Jew who identifies himself as such thereby invokes a historical and cultural tradition which has endeavored to teach him that man has the potentials to attach himself to values and loyalties which transcend his urge for physical self-preservation; that man, if properly educated, is able to infuse his naturalistic existence with a conscious desire "to establish justice in the gate" and to pursue the kingdom of G-d, not in terms of eschatology, but in the dynamics of his daily earthly life. The authentic Jew, realizing a moral relationship between himself and the Creator of all creation, is not "forlorn," as the existentialists philosophize. Nor will he accept his self-defecation, the ultimate result of the Marxist theory of historical materialism. Instead he knows himself to have a share in a covenant which at times may bring insult and derision upon him but nevertheless gives him the spiritual satisfaction of fulfilling a Divine-ordained mission. It is this religious commitment which caused the authentic Jew to survive the

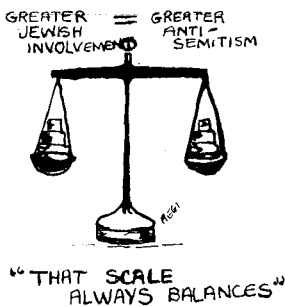
many lures of the Diaspora and to preserve the Zionist ideal, the hope of creating a center of secure and fruitful Jewish group existence in the land of the Bible. I can only repeat here what I have said in several of my books and articles. To me the enterprise of rebuilding the land of Israel represents not only the most significant collective effort of the Jewish people in the close to nineteen hundred years which have passed since the Roman legionnaires destroyed the Second Jewish Commonwealth. It also means to me a challenge to translate the religious message of Judaism into modern socio-political life. The Divine imperative to social justice, so pronounced in our whole tradition, finds expression not only in the Kibbutzim, not only in the positive law, but also in virtually all the foreign policy pronouncements of the government of Israel. While I have always seen in Eretz Israel the physical abode in which the genius of the Jewish people can unfold itself best, I accept the reality of Jewish group existence outside of Israel — particularly in this country, the U.S.A.

American Jews live in the midst of a Christian majority culture which has Jewish roots but is nevertheless different in kind. While this presents certain problems to the observing Jew, thanks to the still prevalent concepts of cultural pluralism, majority rule, and minority protection, the Jews of this country enjoy complete freedom of worship and every possible chance to cultivate their heritage. Unlike the Jews of the Soviet Union and under other Communist regimes — those of the Arab countries included — American Jews are free to visit Israel, free to emigrate to Israel, free to affirm their bonds with the Jews of Israel as well as with their fellow Jews of any other land. But all these blessings are revokable.

Some forty years ago I predicted in my writings that if the government of the Weimar Republic of Germany would not stop the destructive violence of the then still small Hitler party, that party would ultimately usurp political power and destroy not only German Jewry but the whole of German democracy. In this country, I do not hesitate to say, it is the

Communist and anarchist "left" which supported by the Soviet Union and Red China, presents a mortal danger to the political and economic security of American Jewry as well as to the institutions and processes of the whole of American democracy. Using alienated students — some Jews possessed by "self-hate" among them — using chiefly the declassé elements among the Negroes, the instigators of riots and general violence frequently mouth ideals of racial equality and social justice. But any serious analysis of their backgrounds and political connections will demonstrate that the practitioners of the "politics of confrontation," like the Bolsheviks of Russia and Maoists of China, see in the human masses nothing but pawns whom they hope to manipulate at will.

The Jews of this country would be well advised to overhaul their defense organizations which in the past were almost exclusively geared to cope with the threat of ultra-rightist anti-Semitism. Obviously, the very best of political insight and strategy will be needed in the immediate future to make sure that the Jews of America will not suffer a fate similar to that of German and European Jewry. Nothing would be more harmful than for American Jews to fall for the false security engendered by the pat phrase, "it cannot happen here."



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of social actions projects and causes. Assuming that the excesses of Columbia or Lincoln Park do give the American Jewish Community a black eye and give excuse to anti-Semitism to take hold, we certainly are not going to deradicalize our young people by denying the responsible channels of the Jewish community to them and their protest.

The recent introduction of teenagers and young adults into the planning sessions for the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America's forthcoming convention is a welcome sign. Perhaps if we would increase our organizational involvement in social actions causes, more young American Jews would remain within their "adult" bodies denying manpower to the oftener responsible radical groups of a non-sectarian nature and a heavily Jewish membership.

A closing word of caution is in order. While our involvement would seem, from above arguments, to be both morally and pragmatically advisable, methods and techniques used should be thought through with the possible reaction of the community-at-large in mind. Granted that anti-Semitism will exist, and granted that

we should speak out on issues of human welfare despite the possible heightening of these feelings, there is no excuse for senseless aggravation of the sources of hatred and prejudice.

The heckling of the Chief Rabbi of Moscow, with the sorry effect it must have had among our "friends" behind the Iron Curtain, would seem to be a sterling example of well-meaning emotions being allowed to run ahead of cool-headed thinking. Direction and guidance in the area of social actions are needed, and for this our tradition as well as intellectual honesty insist that we turn to Gedolei Yisroel. If decisions must be made that can effect possible

anti-Semitic reactions, they must be consulted. Rabbi Soleveichik's involvement in the Lord Caradan issue at Yeshiva College last spring serves as an excellent example of just such guidance.

Those that criticize Orthodox's lack of "relevance" in the current age are often the very ones least prepared to seek guidance in their social actions undertakings. The halacha remains where it has always been, at the core of Klall Yisroel's existence. It is they, however, who may be tampering with such existence by aggravating anti-Semitic feelings, who have moved away from and ignored its possible contributions to their dilemma.

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