

# *The Voice of Reason*

*Address by Jacob Blaustein, President,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
at the meeting of its Executive Committee,  
April 29, 1950*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
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## *The Voice of Reason*

TONIGHT, I shall first report to you factually on some developments that have taken place since our October Executive Committee meeting relating to Israel itself and the effect of Israel on Jewish life in this country; then I shall give you my appraisal of the latter situation.

### Concerning Israel the State

SINCE our October meeting, we have had conferences with Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGhee, in charge of African and Near Eastern Affairs; Burton Berry, the Director of that department; Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman; the French Ambassador, Roger Garreau, head of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations; Israeli Ambassador Eliahu Elath; Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett; the Hon. Aubrey Eban, Representative of the State of Israel to the United Nations; and others. I am also meeting with President Truman and with Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson within the next week.

These conferences have been in the interest of our Government, of Israel and of peace. Among the problems discussed were: (1) Peace with Jordan and other Arab states; (2) Arms; (3) Arab refugee situation; and (4) Internationalization of Jerusalem.

#### *(1) Peace with Jordan and Other Arab States*

I am advised that while all terms have been arranged with Abdullah for peace—including such major concessions by Israel as a Jordan corridor through Israeli territory to the Mediterranean—Abdullah now refuses to sign. Peace is being delayed because of threats from the other

Arab countries under the supposedly recently strengthened Arab League set-up against Israel. Abdullah is fearful, not of a technical expulsion from the Arab League, but of possible sanctions that might be applied against Jordan by the Arab countries upon which it is now dependent for rice and certain other foodstuffs.

It is believed that this stalemate could be offset if President Truman and Britain would make it more definitely clear to Abdullah and the other Arab leaders that the United States and Britain deem it essential for Jordan and other Arab countries to arrive at separate peace with Israel in the shortest possible time. This is one of the matters I hope to discuss with the President.

## (2) *Arms*

Several months ago I suggested to the State Department that our Government urge Great Britain to discontinue arms shipments to the Arab countries or, in the alternative, grant licenses for export of arms to Israel from here. The State Department, under a seal of confidence which I am not permitted to break, gave me the reasons why this country cannot at this time urge such action on Great Britain.

Our Government is convinced, incidentally, that the Arab leaders, despite their blatant propaganda—intended primarily, it is claimed, for home consumption—definitely do not want another round of war with Israel. The United States Government believes this despite the fact that some jet fighters and heavy tanks are included in the shipments, and that, as I reminded them, propaganda can arouse warlike passions which the Arab leaders may be unable to control.

Our State Department, on the other hand, understands Israel's uneasiness over the continued shipments of arms to the Arab countries and the little, if any, into Israel; and the State Department therefore is giving earnest consideration to recommending that licenses be granted for the export of defense arms from here. Its recommendation, of course, would require the approval of others in government.

There is every reason why, under the circumstances, in the interest of world peace, arms shipments should be promptly permitted from this country to Israel. As a deterrent to a second round of war, the Arab countries should know in advance that, while they are being strengthened with arms, Israel is also being placed in a position to defend itself.

I am exerting efforts in this direction because, as President of the American Jewish Committee, I believe we should do so. As American citizens, we are profoundly interested in world peace; and as Jews, we are concerned lest our brethren, having once found a haven in Israel, be slaughtered in another war. In addition, any military defeat of Israel

would be serious not only for Israel and the Israelis, but for Jews everywhere.

### (3) *Arab Refugees*

We have felt for some time, as has our Government, that the solution of the Arab Refugee problem would have to come through an over-all economic approach rather than a purely political one.

The Report of the United Nations Economic Survey Mission, headed by Gordon W. Clapp, proposes a United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. It calls for an eighteen-month program for the 700,000 refugees from Israeli territory who, for political and economic reasons, cannot return to their former homes. These Arab Refugees are now living in Jordan, Arab Palestine (now incorporated into Jordan), Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and the Gaza Strip.

To help finance this program, the United States will be required to appropriate \$27,450,000.00 to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. This will have to be authorized by Congress. It is our conviction that the resolution covering this appropriation should be approved, and we have so urged the Chairman and the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

## Developments Since Our October Executive Committee Meeting Concerning the Effect of Israel on Jewish Life in this Country

YOU have already been apprised of some of these developments through my October 27, 1949 and March 10, 1950 letters to our members. I hope you have read them. I shall confine myself here largely to subsequent or additional items.

Since October, the various aspects of this question have had the earnest attention of not only your officers but of our Steering Committee and our Administrative Committee in long and thorough sessions.

Either alone or together with Mr. Irving Engel or Dr. Slawson, I have had very frank talks with several Israeli officials, including Ambassador Elath, Foreign Minister Sharett, the Hon. Aubrey Eban, and Mr. Berl Locker, Chairman of the Jerusalem Section of the Jewish Agency.

It was our purpose, which I feel we accomplished, to make unmistakably clear to these gentlemen that our acceptance of the Ben-Gurion clarification could not be interpreted as complacency regarding the basic issues.

## *The American Council for Judaism*

In furtherance of our October Executive Committee resolution, we also had two meetings of several hours each with Mr. Lessing Rosenwald and his associates of the American Council for Judaism in an effort to induce the Council to discontinue the issuance, or sponsoring, of harmful statements in the general press.

In this, we were unsuccessful. In the second conference, it became apparent that while the American Jewish Committee and the Council technically have a common point of view concerning world Jewish nationalism and the disastrous consequences that would result if that concept should be successfully indoctrinated among Jews in America and elsewhere, a vast difference of opinion exists as to what, for example, constitutes a 'nationalistic' statement. To us it appears that the Council's definition is so broad as to be but a rationalization of an extreme and sweeping anti-Israel position. Further, it seems we are also apart on what the American scene is like.

We frankly do not understand what the Council hopes to gain by its particular kind of publicity in the general press. They can hardly expect to influence the statements and actions of Zionists and the Israeli by such attacks. Nor can it be believed that the favor of our fellow-Americans who are not Jews will be so won. On the contrary, the latter may unfortunately be tempted to conclude: a plague on all the Jewish houses.

It is true that for a short period after our talks with the Council, they did refrain from the type of statement in the general press we deplore. But they have since resumed them—the latest ones in connection with the Council's Annual Conference in Cincinnati during the weekend of April 21st.

Thus the following headlines appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES:

April 23: *Ernst Warns Jews of 'Making' Ghetto  
Separatism as 'Reactionary' as  
Anti-Semitism, Lawyer Tells Judaism Council.*

April 24: *Zion Critics Score Exodus to Israel.*

As a matter of fact, it now appears that a policy of intensified publicity in the general press has been decided upon by the Council. Thus one excerpt from the prepared text of Mr. Rosenwald's Presidential Address reads as follows:

'The Council has continued to take public questions to the public that is concerned, rejecting the ghetto diplomacy of haggling in private conferences about public issues.'

## *Zionist and Israeli Statements and Views*

You may recall the meeting your officers had about six months ago with the late Daniel Frisch and a number of leading American Zionists, after which Mr. Frisch issued a statement, which he later several times reiterated, consistent with the position of the American Jewish Committee. He declared that, while having an abiding friendship for the new state and a sincere desire as Americans to aid in its development, Jews of America have no political affiliation with the State of Israel, and there can be no interference by the Government of Israel in the internal affairs of American Jewry. Mr. Frisch also stated that, while he deemed it a duty of his organization to facilitate emigration to Israel, he did not deem it a duty to stimulate such emigration. Finally, he and those of his colleagues who were present agreed with us as to the undesirability of intra-Jewish hostilities in the general press.

Upon the death of Mr. Frisch, Mr. Benjamin Browdy became President of the Zionist Organization of America. The extent to which Mr. Browdy goes along with the above policy is something which we shall try to find out. Meanwhile, we have noted that, in the course of a conference with the general press, he called on the Council for Judaism to dissolve, and his remarks were printed in a few New York newspapers. A prompt rejoinder made by representatives of the Council also received publicity.

It may be that we are now faced with prospects of an intensified battle between the publicity agents of the extreme points of views in Jewish life. Once this battle is joined, it will be all the more important for moderate and reasonable groups to keep their heads, even though the position of such groups will be difficult. In the process, the position of the Jewish community as a whole will be damaged.

Perhaps the worst feature of this new development is that it tends to create permanent feelings of enmity and hatred within the Jewish community. Once a spirit of belligerent fanaticism is let loose, the voice of reason is heard only with difficulty.

Now let us direct our attention to those statements which may presage future programs. Within the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish Press, discussion continues on the whole range of relations between American Jews and Israel.

There is much talk about *chalutzim*, and appeals for increased *chalutzim* are made. It is noteworthy, however, that even those who are sponsoring *chalutzim* are cautious in their expectations. Thus in February, the JTA quoted Yehuda Messinger, the Executive Secretary of the Hechalutz Organization of America, as saying that his movement neither urges nor expects a mass *chalutz* emigration from the U.S. to Israel.

One central reality about American-Israeli Jewish relations seems already to have crystallized: the fact that very few American Jews are emigrating to Israel, or expect to emigrate in the future. All the talk about it, pro and con, seems to have very little effect in changing this reality.

We continue to check on the appearance of Jewish nationalist statements. Between November 1, 1949 and April 15, 1950, the number of such statements appearing in the general press was quite small; but with much greater frequency the Jewish press continues to quote Israeli and Zionist leaders on the 'ingathering of exiles' and as urging mass emigration from the United States.

We have also noted that there are pulls and counter-pulls among Zionist and Israeli leaders themselves. The following statements will give some notion of this divergency:

(a) JTA, April 27, 1950—Rabbi Max Kirshblum, American Miz-rachi member of the Zionist Actions Committee, defended the existence of the various Zionist groups in countries outside of Israel. He repudiated reports in Israel that every Jew abroad considers himself an Israeli citizen.

(b) NEW YORK TIMES, April 21, 1950—Rabbi Israel Goldstein of New York cautioned in Jerusalem against the illusion that Americans of the Jewish faith were 'in the pocket' in the event of another international crisis of Israel. He said that only the Zionist organization, strengthened by daily contact with Israel, could influence and educate non-Zionists. His statement irked the Minister of Labor, Mrs. Golda Myerson, who said that some of the finest Jews in the United States never paid membership in any Zionist organization.

Last Wednesday I conferred at length with Ambassador Elath in Washington. We had a heart-to-heart talk and I was very much encouraged by it because I believe he clearly understands that it would be best for Israel in its own interest, actually to plan for itself in a way that will not run counter to the interest of the Jews of this country.

I told the Ambassador that it is not just a matter of statements that are made by the Israelis and the Zionists which are futile and harmful, but that the problem goes much deeper. His Government needs to clarify its own thinking as to its plan for the future, and this thinking cannot envisage world Jewish nationalism, interference with American Jewry, mass emigration from the United States, or considering American Jews as being in exile.

In addition, I proffered my opinion to Mr. Elath that Israel has need for a good educational job in Israel itself; because it is very important that the Israeli public have a more realistic understanding of the situation in America. Because of the Eastern European background

of many of them, it is understandable that they should have the idea that American Jewry is not safe here and will have to flee to Israel. But the Israelis must be made to understand that that is not the case and further, that if American Jewry fails, Israel will fail.

Mr. Elath agreed with that view and said he would suggest to his Government that it take steps to remedy the situation. I believe the Ambassador sees that there is involved even more than the important questions of continuance of satisfactory contributions to the United Jewish Appeal and private investments in Israel, and the support of the Jews of America in relation to the American Government's activities in behalf of Israel. There is also involved the fundamental fact that, for Israel's own future security, there must be a strong American Jewry which ought not to be embarrassed, offended or hurt by what Israel does. I believe Mr. Elath hopes to accomplish something positive along these lines.

## An Appraisal of the Relationship Between American Jewry and Israeli Jewry: Facts and Realities

WHEN the American Jewish Committee went along with Partition, we realized—and have never ceased to realize—that certain future acts or statements stemming from or related to the new State might from time to time present certain problems. Accordingly, that portion of our 1949 Statement of Views dealing with Israel had a *two-fold* purport. It reaffirmed our support of the new State, toward whose establishment we had cooperated in the conviction that it was the only practicable solution for some hundreds of thousands of the surviving Jews of Europe.

At the same time, in restating the distinction between American and Israeli Jews and in our deliberate inclusion of the phrase '*with all implications*' of that distinction, we registered our realization that certain future acts or statements deriving from or relating to the new State might create problems within the Jewish community in this country, and might affect the position of American Jews vis-a-vis their fellow citizens. The intent was to leave open for future consideration our course of action in relation to specific problems if and when they should arise.

We knew that the very existence of Israel would—as it has—create fundamental and complex problems for which no ready-made solutions are available. An extended period of time will be required before attitudes, policies, and programs can be expected to crystallize in Israel itself, in the Zionist movement outside of Israel, and in the American Jewish community. This period will necessarily be characterized by considerable confusion, with proponents of world Jewish nationalism press-

ing for policies reflecting their ideology, and meeting with resistance on both practical and ideological grounds.

Since Israel now *is* a State, even those who originally opposed it must realize the necessity and desirability of helping to make it a viable, self-supporting State. This, for the good of Israel itself, and the good of the world.

At the same time, with all the desire and intention to help Israel, it must be made clear, as we have continuously aimed to do in the past, that our concurrence with respect to Israel as a whole and the concept of the State of Israel, must not be misunderstood as implying that American Jews can agree with, or be expected to concur blindly in, everything that Israel does in those of its actions and pronouncements which concern us.

I have the greatest admiration for Israel and the Israelis I have seen with my own eyes the miracles that have been performed and the courage and statesmanship they have manifested. But we must, in all friendliness, sound a note of caution to Israel and those in charge of its government. It is this:

Now that the birth pains are over, and even though Israel is undergoing growing pains, it must recognize that the matter of good-will between its citizens and those of other countries is a two-way street: that Israel *also* has a responsibility in this situation—a responsibility in terms of not affecting adversely the sensibilities of the Jewish citizens of other states by what it says or does. And, of course, there can be no *single* spokesman for world Jewry no matter who that spokesman might try to be.

### *The Significance of Israel for Jews Elsewhere*

While Israel has naturally placed some burdens on Jews elsewhere, particularly in America, it has in turn meant much to Jews throughout the world. For hundreds of thousands overseas, it has provided a home in which they can attain their full stature of human dignity for the first time. In all Jews it has inspired pride and admiration, even though in some instances it has caused passing headaches.

There are a few *unthinking* Jewish nationalists who appear to want to assign to Israel the role of 'ingathering' Jews from all over the world, in the false belief that Jewish life outside of Israel—in *exile* as they put it—is without spiritual value, cultural significance, or hope of personal or group security. To them, Israel is important because they consider it stands as a potential refuge for Jews the world over; indeed, in their erroneous thinking, as a refuge for American Jews whenever persecution should drive us from this country.

That, of course, is *not* Israel's importance. A world in which it

would be possible for Jews to be driven by persecution from America obviously would not be a world safe for Israel, either; indeed, it is hard to conceive how it would be a world safe for *any* human being.

### *America Is Our Home*

American Jews—young and old alike, Zionists and non-Zionists alike—are profoundly attached to this, their country. America welcomed our immigrant parents in their need. Under America's free institutions, they and their children have achieved that freedom and sense of security unknown for long centuries of travail. We have truly become Americans; just as have all other oppressed groups that have ever come to these shores.

We repudiate vigorously the suggestion that American Jews are in exile. The future of American Jewry, of our children and of our children's children, is entirely linked with the future of America. We have no alternative; and *we want no alternative*.

Knowing that 'nationalists' are trying to capture the Zionist movement and indoctrinate Jews generally, we propose among other things to make studies from time to time to determine the extent and intensity of 'nationalist' attitudes among American Jews and, on the basis of these studies, to take such measures currently as seem appropriate to counteract these attitudes.

Let me tell you about one investigation that we are making to determine some facts. As you know, we have a Department of Scientific Research which, among other important functions, tests public opinion. It is probably as good as any specialized research group or university department so engaged, in this country or abroad. This department has embarked on a study of attitudes vis-a-vis Israel held by groups of American Jews in a wide variety of social, economic and geographic conditions. Thus far they have completed only one such investigation, which concerned itself with Jews of fairly modest circumstances living in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood in New York City. They have not as yet finished a detailed analysis of the results of this study, but the chief conclusions seem to be of the kind that our own personal observations and common sense would recognize as valid:

*First*, America is home for one's self, one's children and one's grandchildren. America is a land of opportunity, in which it is realistic to look forward to earning a good living and leading a comfortable life.

*Second*, there is a great warmth for Israel. Israel makes one proud of Jewish heroism and devotion. Israel is a country in which Jewish life can develop in a predominantly Jewish environment. One has the duty to contribute financially so that Israel may be able to discharge the

heavy burdens that it has voluntarily assumed for the many persecuted Jews throughout the world.

*Third*, it would be nice to visit Israel on a vacation tour, but there is no question of settling there. Conditions in America are very much better. Jews emigrate only from countries where economic conditions are bad and where Jews are persecuted.

*Fourth*, America is a democratic country. Of course, there is some anti-Semitism and discrimination, but the continued prospects for American democracy are good.

*Fifth*, there is nothing in American life to prevent us from being good Jews, inasmuch as America respects diversity.

*Sixth*, only the American government speaks for American Jews, not the Israeli government. Jews throughout the world do not have political ties with one another. The kinship they feel derives from a number of factors: common tradition, common religion, awareness of persecution and discrimination. The religious and traditional link among Jews is weaker than among Catholics.

All these thoughts, attitudes and moods seem to be very common, and to exist in relative independence of formal membership in any one Jewish organization. In the New York group we surveyed, there was little difference between people who belong to Zionist organizations and people who do not; close adherence to a formal ideology, whether Zionist or Bundist, was rare.

On the whole, we would agree that these are basically sound attitudes, and that we should feel encouraged by their preponderance. While we do not intend to prejudge, most of us, I think, would have a strong hunch that future studies will show much the same attitudes prevalent among Jews throughout the country and in all circumstances of life.

What is particularly to be stressed is the similarity of attitudes that exist quite independently of formal affiliation with ideological groups. It is right and necessary for us to concern ourselves seriously with the statements, wise and unwise, that periodically come from ideologists and leaders of political organizations; but we must always remember that such pronouncements do not necessarily reflect the attitudes of ordinary people, even those who are members of the organizations in question.

And when we concern ourselves with such ideologies, as we properly do, there is another great fact we must remember. Propaganda is not all-powerful. Propaganda makes people receptive to ideologies when the conditions of life are favorable for such receptivity. Without such conditions, propaganda has little effect. In the foreign policy of our country, our wisest leaders have consistently acted on the principle that it is not

propaganda that creates unrest throughout the world, but misery. Remove misery, and the ground is cut away from under the propagandist who would exploit it.

In the 1920's the Jews of Europe did not go in any large numbers to Palestine; indeed, there were years when the emigration from Palestine was greater than the immigration into it. In the 1930's, however, European Jews went to Palestine in enormous numbers. What was the difference between these two decades? Was it Zionist propaganda? Zionist propaganda, the ideology of Zionism, did not change. Conditions changed. In the 1920's there was relative prosperity; in the 1930's there was the Great Depression. In the 1920's there was hope of democracy; in the 1930's there was Hitler. It was fortunate that Palestine was there to receive quite a number of those who fled Hitler then. For the doors of the rest of the world were virtually closed.

It is need then, that determines action, which in turn becomes codified into an ideology. Herzl, an assimilated Jew, came to Zionism through the Dreyfus affair and became a Jewish nationalist. The great masses of East European Jewry came to Zionism as a reaction to the persecution which in 1880 followed a brief period of liberalism in Russia. Before 1880, the most alert minds in East European Jewish life had believed in Enlightenment, with little feeling for Jewish nationalism.

There are in America today proponents for ideologies that well-balanced and well-adjusted Jews consider unwholesome. In addition to Jewish nationalism, there is the ideology of flight—the psychological or physical flight away from Jewish life. What the ideologists say, the invectives they hurl at each other, the hysteria they propagate—all these are very conspicuous. What is not so conspicuous is the failure of these ideologies to take root.

These frightened men do not learn from history that given emancipation, acceptance, and security, Jews and all other groups throughout modern history have readily sought to become an integral part of the countries of their birth or adoption. They forget that it is only anti-Semitism and political and social threats to their security that breeds separatism and nationalism among Jews.

Our appointed task, therefore, is to work for the continued betterment, the broadening and deepening of American democracy, by the removal of discrimination, by the expansion of civil rights for all Americans, and by the continued improvement and enrichment of Jewish individuality and of Jewish communal life. We must not be distracted from this course, pursued so devotedly throughout these years of our existence, by the emotional outcries of those frightened brethren who, casting aside current realities and disregarding the historic perspective,

thrust before our eyes in mammoth type 'Jews of America Choose Your Way of Life Now or the Choice Will be Made for You.'

Let us not lose our sane perspective. When the Prime Minister of Eire asked Americans of Irish extraction to re-emigrate to Ireland, what great harm was done? It was a foolish statement, and it was treated with the indifference it deserved. I venture to say that none of us here entertains feelings toward his neighbors of Irish descent different from what they were before that statement was made.

Similarly, our scientific inquiries point to the characteristic American phenomenon that Americans by and large have very little concern with Israel or the relations and attitudes of American Jews to Israel. In saying this, I do not mean to indicate that it would not be better and wiser to curb statements implying that Jews here are living in exile or should emigrate en masse.

Israel has just celebrated the second anniversary of her independence. We hope and believe that she will have many more. During these two years, through the medium of numerous speeches and articles in the Jewish press, extremists have been importuning American Jews to emigrate to Israel. What has been the response to this propaganda? How many Jews have actually left this country to settle in Israel? A few hundred! If this does not show that American Jews, whether they consider themselves Zionists or not, whether they belong to Zionist organizations or not, are rooted in America, I do not know what can show it.

The American Hechalutz movement exists to prepare Jewish youth to go to Israel, primarily to work in agricultural communes. Since the creation of the state, two years ago, five hundred have gone. About three hundred are now in training camps. The leaders of the movement have set for themselves a maximum goal of five thousand a year. Privately, most of them concede that this figure cannot be attained. Even more important is the negative attitude toward *chalutzim* prevailing among most American Zionists, including probably most Zionist leaders as well, despite some lip service to the idea.

It is not treason to America to leave it. If there are a handful of young people, and a handful of older people, who for reasons of their own and of their own volition, whether through idealism or through their preference for the Israeli kind of Jewish life, desire to leave this country and go to Israel, they are free to do so. The interesting fact is that so very, very few have so desired. Nevertheless we do not want to see a mass emigration campaign to coax them to go. Such a campaign would of course be futile and could in some respects be really harmful.

No other interpretation is possible than that, with practically no exceptions, American Jews have confidence in America, and in the

future of American society and of the American Jewish community. An equally striking proof of this proposition is that the Jewish educators of this country, the majority of whom are sometimes held to be Jewish nationalists, have consistently rejected Israeli urgings to make immigration to Israel a major aim of Jewish education here.

## A Guide for Action by the American Jewish Committee

WHAT are the implications of these facts for the course of conduct that the American Jewish Committee should pursue? They are many, but the spirit behind them is one: we must be guided by a policy of understanding and of patience, we must act constructively and fraternally. We need not engage in polemical warfare. We can, in the main, take a long view, using the process of education and persuasion, because our task is constructive and because the realities of our situation warrant the confidence that makes a long view possible.

That does not mean, however, that short-range aspects should be ignored. To the contrary they, too, must be handled. But, as in the past, they will be dealt with privately, in proper quarters, by persuasion and reason and not by polemics.

Essentially, our future course is an extension and intensification of the things we have been doing, both short-range and long-range. There is no need to discuss here our efforts to promote the well-being of American democracy as a whole. The relevant point in this connection is that healthy Jewish life flourishes in democratic soil.

Our more specifically Jewish communal and educational work is also not new. We have published *Commentary* for years and it is widely recognized as the major organ of Jewish thought and opinion in the English language. Incidentally, it is also considered one of the best publications of its kind in the United States. And we have our more recent program to strengthen and clarify wholesome attitudes about America and American Jewish life. The first publication, "This Is Our Home—The American Pattern," under that program has been given an almost unanimously favorable reception by representatives of every articulate group within the Jewish community, whether rabbis (Orthodox and Reform) or Yiddish journalists, Zionists or those with no political affiliation. The American Jewish Committee should continue this kind of educational work.

There are some communal problems that the Committee as an organization may not deal with directly, if only because there are other

institutions and agencies in the Jewish community that have been created to deal with them specifically. One example is the education of Jewish children. Here is a major responsibility of our members. Members of the American Jewish Committee serve on local boards of Jewish education, on synagogue committees and Center boards. It is in their power to influence the policy of educational institutions consistently with the realities of American Jewish life and with the desires of the vast proportion of American Jews. Our members have a right to look to the Committee for assistance and guidance, and we can promise them that.

In whatever we choose to do, our principle must be inclusiveness, not exclusiveness; fraternity, not hostility. There are many modes of excellence, and many ways of being a good Jew. We shall not make the American Jewish community a clique, nor shall we try to divide it into mutually antagonistic camps. We must not resort to frightening slogans and clichés about an international conspiracy that is engulfing us. We must not mistake symptoms for causes, and we should not expect the results of our educational efforts and those of our colleagues to be immediately manifest. We shall realize that education is founded upon the reality of experience, not upon propaganda; and that reality cannot be manipulated to our heart's desire overnight.

We shall hope and expect much that is good in Israel to influence Jewish life in this country, knowing that throughout Jewish history there has been a fruitful interaction among the various centers of Jewish life. Those centers have successively been shifted to every part of the world.

And just as we shall welcome Israeli influences here, so shall we strive to give the Jewish community of Israel the benefits of our experience as Jews and as free men in this country. It is preposterous for us to speak of shutting out all influences from Israel, in order to be 'good Americans'; concurrently, however, we should exert influence on Israel for it to keep facing Westward and to adopt the American pattern of democracy. In the great market-place of ideas the good drives out the bad, and the varying kinds of good reciprocally affect each other.

We shall not assume that we know all the answers. We know, for example, that some expressions of American Jewish sympathy for Israel are legitimate, while others go beyond the limits of a proper sympathy. The distinction between the two is not yet adequately clear, and while we must consistently strive to define it, we must always remember that time is a great educational force.

Jewish history is rich in prophets, but throughout the ages we have also had our share of false prophets. The greatest sin of the false prophets was haste. Let us not sin by hasty expectation. In Israel now

the main thought, of necessity, is for defense and for a common assumption of sacrifice so that the newcomers may have a bed to sleep in and a crust of bread to eat, after their harrowing experience during the cruelest episode in all of human history. Let us not expect that overnight Israel will have an adequate understanding of American realities, or that everything said there about us will be a model of tact.

These, then, are the qualities we must possess if we are to be true to our obligations of leadership and statesmanship: good-will, patience, courage, a faith in the educational process and the ability to discern what is real and continuing from what is superficial and ephemeral.

### *A Summary*

The situation requires both a proper, non-polemical, short-range approach, and a long-range one.

The short-range program calls for a continued alertness on the part of the American Jewish Committee to do what it properly can to prevent acts, or statements, from whatever source, which we believe to be inimical to the best interests of Jewry, both here and elsewhere.

The long-range program in which the American Jewish Committee can have faith should be based on the following creed:

The American Jewish Committee has confidence in the strength of American ideals and institutions and in the soundness of the attitudes of American Jews.

We shall work with men of good-will to expand American democracy and to make the actual facts of American life more closely resemble the ideal.

We shall work with others to build a Jewish communal life in the United States ever more closely in tune with American ideals and with the vital traditions of Judaism.

We shall give every friendly aid to Israel in its program of adjusting its influx of immigrants to a democratic and constructive way of life.

We shall cooperate in expanding assistance to Jewish communities the world over in their effort to rebuild and to integrate themselves in the land of their choice or birth.

We shall endeavor to help eliminate the strife that exists today within the Jewish community about the Jewish future in the United States and Jewish attitudes towards Israel. Without considering at this time its possible effect on American public opinion as a whole, this controversy is particularly detrimental because, based on assumptions unrelated to the realities of American life, it causes divisiveness and animosity among Jews.

We recognize that education, in all its manifold aspects, is the most

constructive and effective way to dispel ill-advised views resulting from confusion and misinformation. It must be remembered that time itself will be an ally in the crystallization of views during this period of understandable confusion.

We have the conviction that our faith in America and the future of American Jewish life will be fully justified by the course of events to come.