The 1985 AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, the eighty-fifth in the series, continues to offer a unique chronicle of developments in areas of concern to Jews around the world.


Articles focusing on Jewish life in the United States include Murray Friedman's "Intergroup Relations"; George Gruen's "The United States, Israel, and the Middle East"; Barry Chiswick's "The Labor Market Status of American Jews: Patterns and Determinants"; and Gary Tobin and Alvin Chenkin's "Recent Jewish Community Population Studies: A Roundup." Alvin Chenkin provides revised U.S. Jewish population estimates.

Jewish life around the world is reported on in a series of articles examining Israel, Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany, East Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and the Middle East. Estimates for the world Jewish population are given.

(Continued on back flap)

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Carefully compiled directories of national Jewish organizations, periodicals, and federations and welfare funds, as well as religious calendars and obituary articles and notices, round out the 1985 AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK.

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Special Articles
Latin American Jewry Today

by JUDITH LAIKIN ELKIN

The chief obstacle to an understanding of Latin American Jewry is the difficulty in obtaining reliable information. Coverage of the area by United States media is thin. Until the administration of President Ronald Reagan dispatched military advisers to El Salvador, news from Central America was practically nil. The countries of South America fare no better; Argentina surfaced in the American media only when it invaded the Falklands/Malvinas Islands. Major stories—the possibility of debt repudiation by Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico; the eruption of Maoist insurgency in Peru; a threatened war between Chile and Argentina—go almost unreported. Within this inadequately understood area, Jews are scarcely mentioned at all. An outbreak of antisemitism may be reported, but the event will be treated in isolation, making it very difficult to interpret. For example, the case of Jacobo Timerman, the most widely reported incident concerning Jews to come out of Latin America in years, became the subject of intense disagreement, partly for lack of contextual information.

As might be expected, the Jewish press in the United States is more attentive to Latin American Jewish communities. However, even in this quarter, coverage is inadequate. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency has not had a correspondent in Latin America in years. An examination of its daily news bulletins turns up a few scattered items dealing with the relationship of Latin American Jewry to the rest of the world—the appointment of a new Israeli ambassador or the death of a community leader involved in world Jewish organizations. With the exception of incidents of antisemitism, nothing showing the Jewish communities of Latin America interacting with their own societies is reported. Developments within the communities themselves go entirely unnoticed.

American Jewish newspapers supplement Jewish Telegraphic Agency reports with the notes of recent travellers to Latin America. However, the newspapers are plagued by tunnel vision—if a situation is not directly applicable to Jews, it is not reported. As a consequence, when an event that is clearly relevant to Jews is reported, the reader lacks the proper context.
in which to place it. Evaluating reports of atrocities committed against Argentine Jews in the 1970's proved impossible for anyone who was unaware of the scope of the civil war that had engulfed the entire nation.

Scholarly writing on Latin American Jewry is in even shorter supply. Neither Latin Americanists nor scholars of Jewish history have been attracted in large numbers to this population; consequently, there are many characteristics of its presence which are simply unknown. The perspective of scholars who are themselves Latin American is shaped more by the corporate, monolithic vision fostered by Spanish culture than by the cultural pluralism which characterizes the north. In Hispanic cultures, ethnicity is not perceived as an important subject; indeed, Jews and Judaism are likely to be regarded as an irritating departure from the norm.

Until quite recently, little material relating to the actual historical situation of Jews in the Latin American republics was produced by local Jewish scholars. Speculation as to why this should be so has focused on a supposed lack of historical perspective and a failure to appreciate the importance of recording Jewish history. This explanation, however, cannot really be applied to intellectuals who read and write history. Some factor appears to inhibit their writing about their own experience, save in the most superficial terms.

Perhaps the major impediment to an understanding of Latin American Jewry is the policy of silence adopted by the various Jewish communities themselves. For the most part, data on their fundamental characteristics are lacking. Many of the organized communities are disinclined to assemble the data or to permit qualified researchers to do so. Even the size and demographic characteristics of the Jewish communities must be extrapolated from official data that were generated with other purposes in mind. The only other route available is personal observation, which is likely to be influenced by the predilections and prejudices of the observer.

The defensive posture of the Jewish community leaders is reinforced by the Jewish press of the continent, which intentionally maintains a bland facade concealing more than it reveals. Almost every organized community sustains at least one weekly newspaper. Content analysis over a period of years shows that the bulk of space is allotted to news about Israel and the condition of Soviet Jewry. Then there are reports about diplomatic activities and ceremonial occasions, many featuring the Israeli ambassador to the country in question. The fraction of space allotted to local news consists mainly of articles and advertisements occasioned by weddings, bar and bat mitzvot, and yahrzeits of deceased members of the community. Some Argentine periodicals do offer a more sophisticated perspective on Jewish life during periods when political conditions allow press freedom.

To a greater or lesser extent, political circumstances—overt censorship or self-imposed censorship derived from a fear of government repression—
operate to limit the development and dissemination of information about Jews. The degree of inhibition varies between countries and, within countries, between administrations; but it is clear that over time there has been a diminution of political commentary in the Jewish press from its heyday in the 1930's to today.

The silent record, which makes Latin American Jewry so difficult a subject of study, can also provide a clue to its comprehension. The way to understand variations in the behavior of Jews in different countries is to see these as adaptations to the dominant gentile community. Understanding the defensive posture typical of communal leaders will bring us closer to an understanding of Jewish life on the continent and its place in Hispanic American society, for their behavior constitutes their adaptation to the environment. Silence is at the nexus of Jewish need and Latin American toleration.

It should be clear that a full picture of contemporary Latin American Jewry cannot be presented at this time. One must also bear in mind that political conditions prevailing in Argentina from 1976 to 1983 were hardly conducive to meaningful research. Thus, the present article does not follow in the path of earlier studies, which focused primarily on Argentina, home of the largest Latin American Jewish community. Instead, information developed in other countries has been employed as the basis of the work. Use has also been made of the growing body of scholarly literature in Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, and English on the Latin American Jewish communities. Numerous interviews were carried out in the United States, Mexico, and Israel. Finally, colleagues in the field (all members of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association) provided valuable information.


2Among those who aided the author were Rabbi Clifford Kulwin, Associação Religiosa Israelita de Rio de Janeiro; Egon Friedler, Montevideo; Rabbi Peter E. Tarlow, formerly Circulo Israelita, Santiago; Rabbi Heszel Klepfisz, Congregación Bet El, Panama; Ana Portnay de Berner, Monterrey, Mexico; and David Jacob Philip Arrias, Paramaribo, Suriname. I thank these individuals for supplying me with information that is more current than any
While readers of Jewish history may be familiar with its major themes, there is less familiarity with the themes that animate Latin American history. Yet some understanding of these matters is necessary in order to enter into the experience of Latin American Jews, since they determine the historic space which Jews are allowed to occupy.

The themes identified here by no means exhaust the repertoire of historical experience that enriches Latin American life and accounts for its complexity. Only those themes that constrain the Jewish presence are dealt with here, and only insofar as they affect the lives of Jews. It should not be thought that these factors operate at the same level of constraint in all lands at all times. They are put forward merely to indicate the nature of the societies in which Jews settled, and why these environments differed from others in which Jews made their homes.

The conquest of the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as Spain was just emerging from the middle ages. That conquest took place a full three centuries earlier in the south than in the north, and to a considerable extent represented the transfer of the wars against the Moors to a new locale, with the indios now playing the role of the infidel. Military and religious conquest proceeded hand in hand, and ended with the imposition of the entire Spanish apparatus of government, including the union of crown and church. Throughout the centuries of colonial rule, Jews remained under their medieval stigma; they and their descendants (even if converted to Catholicism) were legally prohibited from settling in the Spanish and Portuguese domains. That there was clandestine migration by conversos does not alter the fact that Jews, as such, were not allowed to become a part of the concept of the good society. Here, then, is the core of the distinction between Jewish settlement in South America and North America. The latter area, reflecting the values of the Age of Enlightenment, was built on dissidence and non-conformism. Latin America, in contrast, was established by true believers.

The existence of the Catholic church as an institution which predated the formation of the nation state, set behavioral norms for entire societies, and placed a determinative stamp on all legislation relating to civil status. Nineteenth-century Jewish immigrants to Latin America entered societies which not so long before had been subject to the Inquisition. Legislation derived from church teachings initially made it impossible for Jews to register births or bury the dead save through baptism, or to marry outside the Catholic church. Education was permeated with Catholic dogma.
The interminable bloody wars which raged across the continent for a century after the Latin American republics had nominally gained their independence turned to a considerable extent on the position of the Catholic church. The struggle was between anti-clerical elements who wanted to separate church and state and conservatives who wished to maintain the church in its preeminent moral and material position. Immigration policy entered into this struggle, since the admission of large numbers of non-Catholic immigrants had the potential of altering the social equilibrium inherited from colonial times. Jews, by and large, immigrated to those nations, such as Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, which separated church and state in practice, if not constitutionally. Even so, early Jewish arrivals in Argentina had to fight for the right to determine their civil status without recourse to church law. It was only in 1860 that Jews in Argentina won the right to marry; in 1877 a Jewish father went to court to force the authorities to register his children without having them baptized. These battles did not have to be fought in the United States, where separation of church and state was an established reality before large numbers of Jews arrived. In Latin America the entry of Jews into society became part of the struggle between those who favored retaining Catholic norms and those who had a secular vision. In all of Latin America today, there is only one country (Chile) whose constitution does not specify that the president must be a Roman Catholic. Freedom of conscience is a right that non-conformists and dissidents (whether religious or political) had to wrest from society over a long period of time and against tremendous resistance.

The Spanish concept of a Regimen de Castas (society of castes), in which groups of people, distinguished from one another by their racial origins, are arranged in a hierarchy of merit. The civilization that the Spanish and Portuguese created in the New World reflected the hierarchic, estate-based, corporate society of medieval Castile. To be sure, there is great variation in the degree to which the Regimen de Castas left its mark on the different Latin American nations. However, throughout the continent, among some sectors of the population, it is not at all agreed that Jews are a legitimate part of the nation, or that they reside in the various countries by right. During the recent Argentine elections, for example, a noted educator was quoted as saying, “The Jews ought to avoid showing themselves too much. They should avoid sticking out—meddling in Argentine politics as a community. This offends. This irritates.” Since the majority of Argentine Jews are native-born, the reference to “Argentine politics” clearly shows that the speaker regarded Jews as outside the body politic. This sentiment would be recognized in most precincts of Latin America.

The tradition of authoritarian rule, rooted in both Spanish peninsular politics and the indigenous societies which the Spaniards overthrew. In Latin
America, authoritarian rule is the given and democracy the learned response. Democratic rule has to be fought for over and over again by groups of people animated by ideals similar to those of North Americans, but who, historically, have been a minority in their own countries. Attachment to an authoritarian style of government is most deeply embedded in those nations that were at the heart of the Spanish empire and that were (and are) the home of large populations of *indios*—Mexico, the countries of Central America, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay. Where Spanish rule was more tenuous, and frontier techniques of survival had to be learned—Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay—there was more room for exercising a democratic impulse.

The imitative quality of Latin American politics, which led to the adoption of democratic constitutions in the nineteenth century, despite the absence of the requisite economic and social elements that make democracy possible. The Latin American republics gained their independence in the Napoleonic period, and the constitutions they adopted reflected the attitudes of the Age of Reason and the principles embodied in the French and American revolutions. It needs to be stressed, however, that, with the exception of Argentina, the colonies declared their independence under conservative guidance, out of a fear that otherwise the lower classes would take over. Once independent, many nations chose to copy the liberal constitutions that were then in vogue. The social reality behind them, however, was race war (most particularly in Venezuela and Mexico), unbridgeable differences between the descendants of the conquerors and the descendants of the conquered or enslaved, and the institutional momentum of the Catholic church, which had never reformed itself and was prepared to fight to retain its privileges. This was hardly promising soil for the growth of democracy, whatever the constitutions might say.

The absence of powerful nationalizing forces during the formative years of the republics. Throughout the nineteenth century, the social, racial, and economic divisions which prevented the development of democracy combined with Latin America’s difficult topography to retard the formation of strong national identities. Prior to invention of the airplane, transportation and communication were obstructed by the difficult terrain. Public school education—the great homogenizer of immigrants in the United States—was slighted everywhere but in Argentina, reflecting the bias of the elite against educating the masses. National armies functioned as praetorian guards to keep the people in line. Industrialization was slowed by global economic forces which had the effect of keeping Latin America provincial far longer than was the case in the north. The nineteenth century was a time of civil war all over the continent, and until the anarchy subsided, recognizable nationalities could not emerge. In the meantime, the only unifying factor
was the commonality of Catholic belief. To many Latins, communion in the church and membership in the nation were synonymous.

In those places where the Catholic church continues to define the scope of people's mentality, Jews are still perceived as strange and aberrant—either as deicides or as witnesses to Christian truth. This is a far different attitude than that generated by a strong concept of nationhood, which, per force, makes citizens of all people who live within the jurisdiction of the nation. Paying taxes and serving in the army validate citizenship, whereas membership in the church comes about through belief and baptism. In countries where Catholic belief continues to define nationality, Jews have great difficulty in being accepted. To date, cultural pluralism has barely begun to be debated in Latin America, save in Argentina and Uruguay, where the battle rages.

These are the themes which pervade Latin American history. Without doubt, they have had a profound effect in determining the course of Jewish settlement on the continent. Jews stayed away from Mexico and the Andean republics until they became indispensable as places of refuge. By far the largest number of Jews migrated to Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile, where secular norms were developing by the beginning of the twentieth century (although Chile did not actually disestablish the church until 1925) and strong nation-states were emerging. Jews felt that it would be easier to adapt to secular societies, and it was there that they settled.

It would be well to keep in mind the themes outlined here in turning to an analysis of contemporary Latin American Jewish life, especially as they suggest cultural milieus very different from those of North America. Even so, among the Latin American nations allowances must be made for changes over time, for differences generated by unique national histories, and for variations emerging from different ethnic mixes.

THE STRUCTURE OF JEWISH LIFE

Demography

While the best estimates place the number of Jews currently residing in Latin America at around one-half million, there is no way of arriving at a precise figure. When, on rare occasions, questions concerning religion are included in national censuses, they tend to be evaded. The organized Jewish communities characteristically resist censuses, so that there are very few

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reliable studies available. Most of the latter were carried out in Argentina during the 1960's. However, this promising development was cut short by the coming to power of the military junta, creating conditions which were unfavorable for any project relying on voluntary responses. The Jewish community of São Paulo authorized a census in 1968–1969, which was subsequently published. Several attempts at census-taking in Chile during the 1970's foundered on the rock of communal resistance. Despite a determined initiative in 1982, a census of the Mexican Jewish community failed to materialize. Still, based on existing data and anecdotal information, some trends can be observed.

Latin American Jews today are almost exclusively an urbanized population. The largest numbers are to be found in the principal cities, especially Buenos Aires (with possibly half the total Jewish population of Latin America), São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, Montevideo, and Santiago. There are smaller communities in the secondary cities of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Mexico, as well as in the capitals of each of the remaining nations. As a result of specific demographic characteristics, emigration, and out-marriage, the Jewish communities are shrinking.

The birth rate of Jews in each of the countries for which data are available is just half that of non-Jewish populations: one or two among the Ashkenazim, two or three among the Sephardim. In Buenos Aires one-third of the general population is under age 15, while just one-fifth of the Jews are below that age. Jews show very low rates of infant mortality, in contrast to general trends. The life expectancy of Jews (68 years for men, 74 years for women) is about the same as that of the general populations in Argentina, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Jews, however, retain these rates of longevity even in those precincts of the continent, such as Central America, where average life expectancy is closer to 50. Enjoying a longer life span and being less encumbered by dependents, Jews are able to provide better than average opportunities for their children.

The birth rate of Latin American Jews is insufficient to replenish the parent generation. As a result the Jewish population is aging. Mortality rates have overtaken birth rates in several communities, including Buenos Aires. There is no sign of a reversal of this trend.

The negative balance between immigration and emigration is another factor making for a shrinking population. The major waves of immigrants arrived in Latin America in the decades preceding and following World War I. According to the Argentine national census of 1960, fewer than three per cent of Jews aged 65 and over had been born in the country. On the other hand, 98 per cent of Jews under 14 years of age were native Argentines. Clearly, this is a relatively new Jewish community; third and fourth generation Argentine Jews exist, but they are a rarity. The last substantial
wave of Jewish immigration to the continent took place in 1957, when Brazil received some 25,000 refugees from Egypt. All the Latin American countries now have restrictive immigration laws. Moreover, even those nations that are open to immigration favor persons of Latin and Catholic culture.

While Jewish immigration to Latin America has dwindled, emigration is draining the communities. A large but unknown number of Latin American Jews presently reside in the United States, including a significant number of Cuban Jews in the greater Miami area. In recent years, substantial numbers of Argentine Jews, fleeing their nation's civil war, have also sought refuge in the United States. They were preceded by exiles from Allende's Chile and the Chile of the junta that overthrew Allende, Nicaraguan Jews anticipating the fall of Somoza, Colombian Jews fleeing the drug wars in their homeland, and Mexican Jews alarmed by government nationalization of the banks. Of course, millions of non-Jewish Latin Americans fled their countries for the same reasons. However, Jewish emigration proceeds from a substantially smaller population base, and a major upheaval, such as the one occurring in El Salvador at present, has the potential to deplete a community entirely.

Since World War II, the Latin American Jewish communities have become increasingly fluid, with population shifts occurring as economic conditions change. Governments that nationalize private property—Cuba in the 1960's, Chile in the 1970's—have seen large numbers of their Jewish citizens depart. Nations in which free enterprise flourishes have attracted Jews. Thus, Venezuela and Ecuador experienced Jewish in-migration during the oil boom years of the 1970's. As the Brazilian government set about developing a mature capitalist economy, Jews stayed in place and flourished, despite the political repression prevailing in the country. The evidence of the past 30 years is that capitalist economies attract and retain Jews, while nationalized economies repel them.

The one emigré population for whom good data exist consists of those who made aliyah to Israel. According to figures supplied by the Jewish Agency, 109,865 Latin Americans were living in Israel in 1982. One-third of these olim were aged 18 to 29 when they made aliyah, thus taking their reproductive capacity with them.

The departure of influential members of the communities brings about the departure of other individuals who take their cue from the former. Furthermore, the departure of wealthy community members triggers the collapse of communal institutions which depended on their contributions, thus encouraging still other Jews to consider emigrating. The flight into exile of university students and political activists so reduces the number of potential mates that parents encourage other children to leave. The result
is not just a decrease in numbers, but an impoverishment of Jewish intellectual life.

The rate of intermarriage has always been high in Latin America. It is a curious anomaly that non-Jewish Latin Americans accuse Jews of sticking together and of adopting a defensive attitude toward non-Jews, while Jewish community leaders lament the high rate of intermarriage and the subsequent loss of children to the Jewish people. Assimilation through intermarriage—"the white pogrom"—occupies a higher place on communal agendas than does antisemitism. Thus far, however, the communities have not reoriented traditional thought patterns so as to accommodate Jews involved in mixed marriages, as well as their spouses or children. As one Mexican correspondent notes: "Any relationship with semi-Jewish elements is minimal, because we have no contact with the descendants of mixed marriages. The general attitude is to try to avoid inter-married couples and not to receive the couple or their descendants, in order to set an example to young persons to avoid this type of marriage."

The trend toward intermarriage is accelerating. Research has shown that the most likely candidates are young Jews who are native-born, urban, and who have a university education. University life brings Jewish young people into contact with attractive potential mates who are non-Jews. Higher education is the route to economic and social advancement which, in turn, increases the likelihood of intermarriage. Since young Jews are attending universities in increasing numbers, the intermarriage rate should continue to climb.

The combined effect of low fertility, emigration, and intermarriage is shrinkage of the Jewish community, although the precise extent of the shrinkage cannot be determined. Thus far, the communities have not been able to retain the allegiance of university-educated Jewish youth who are attracted to the larger society. Still, shrinkage of the Jewish population does not necessarily imply a comparable reduction of Jewish elements in society at large. Except for those who emigrate, Jews who sever their ties with the organized Jewish community continue to contribute, and have contributed substantially, to the social, economic, cultural, and political development of their native lands. In every Latin American country, there are persons of Jewish descent who function productively in general society, with or without reference to their Jewish heritage.

The Organized Communities

The imported traditions of Latin American Jews vary widely in detail, depending on the ethnic origins of the immigrants and the periods of their immigration. Polish Jewish artisans who arrived in Cuba in 1924 were not the same people as the German Jews who came to Buenos Aires in 1880
or the Moroccan Jews who settled in Caracas after 1900. Still, despite variations stemming from origin and period of migration, it is possible to say that part of the cultural baggage of all Jewish immigrant groups was a recognizable system of community organization. The institutions which Jewish immigrants founded in the New World resembled those they had left behind in the Old. However, they were not exact replicas, since the novel environment of Latin America determined the social space that Jews were permitted to occupy. Today’s communities, being Latin as well as Jewish, exhibit characteristics of both.

Jewish organizations arose in Latin America as a counterpoise to the Catholic church. Cemeteries were needed for burial of the Jewish dead; social welfare agencies were needed to provide services that the Catholic poor obtained from their parish churches; schools were needed both to transmit Jewish tradition and to provide basic education in an atmosphere free of Catholic dogma. The burial society was usually established first, with schools, hospitals, credit unions, orphanages, homes for the aged, and synagogues following soon after. Because of language differences among the immigrants and the desire to form compatible social relationships, the Jewish institutions were bounded by the ethnic groups which formed them. In this, they were similar to the landsmenschaften on the North American scene. However, the Jewish institutions of Latin America operated in a different environment. In the pluralistic society to the north, the landsmenschaften functioned as halfway houses for immigrants who were moving toward integration into the larger society. In South America this was not at all the case. The perception of Jews as a separate race, with a destiny different from that of the Mexicans, Argentines, or Bolivians, raised barriers to their integration and reinforced the tendency of the landsmenschaften to turn inward. The more society resisted the integration of non-Catholics and non-Latinos, the more Jews organized to provide for themselves the needed economic, social, and educational services. The landsmenschaften, and the ethnic divisions underlying them, remain at the base of Latin American Jewish life today because they have not been eroded by nationalizing forces generated by the host societies.

Once communal institutions came into being, it became apparent that some kind of unifying factor was needed. Here, the East European kehillah offered a model, and most Latin American Jewish communities attempted to copy it. However, the Latin American kehillot are voluntary in nature and lack the power to tax. Moreover, almost all of them have an ethnic descriptor attached to their names—the Ashkenazic kehillah, the alapeña or Sephardic kehillah, etc. While the kehillot serve to bring together people of a particular ethnic background, they separate one ethnic group from another. The Latin American kehillot have been described as follows:
The Latin American communities are . . . “indirectly” or “de facto” recognized communities since they generally try to emulate, at least externally and partly, the structure and programs of the old European communities—but without obtaining, or even seeking, formal recognition by the authorities as organizations based on public law and empowered to levy taxes, and impose other obligations on their members. On the other hand, official authorities, Jewish international organizations and communities generally grant the Latin American community organizations de facto recognition—i.e., the right to represent the Jews of Latin America. This is political rather than legal recognition and is typical of Jewish organizational representation throughout the Latin American continent. In practice, the significance of this de facto recognition is more than purely academic. The Latin American communities exist as consolidated organized units whose existence and competence are generally acknowledged, internally and externally.

In briefly describing some of the Latin American Jewish communities, the aim is not to be comprehensive. Rather, it is to indicate some of the ways in which a general pattern has emerged. The obvious omission of Argentina is explained by political circumstances which ruled out a current survey.

With perhaps 90 per cent of Chilean Jews living in Santiago, the city's Jewish life is organized around several “synagogue communities” and the sports club. The two main Ashkenazic groups, Círculo Israelita and Kehillah Ashkenazi, which had substantial overlapping membership, merged in 1982. B'nei Yisroel brings together German Jews, who are relatively more numerous in Chile than in other countries. Maguen David is the community of the Sephardic Jews, while the Hungarians are grouped in Masje. Recently, with the arrival of religious Jews from Argentina and Israel, a hasidic community has come into being. There is also a non-ethnic synagogue at the Estadio Israelita, the Jewish sports club, which functions on the high holy days and for weddings, and bar and bat mitzvahs. The Estadio Israelita, an impressive facility, is the true center of Jewish life, offering the types of services usually associated with Jewish community centers.

The Santiago Jewish community maintains a day school, two weekly newspapers, two cemeteries, a burial society, a home for the aged, a home for needy children, and a B'nai B'rith center. The Valparaiso-Viña del Mar community has a day school, synagogue, and sports club.

Santiago's Kehillah Ashkenazi, headed by Gil Sinai, controls 50 per cent of the newspaper La Palabra Israelita and 90 per cent of the largest cemetery. Building on his power base in Kehillah Ashkenazi, Sinai held the presidency of the Comité Representativo de la Colectividad Israelita for 30 years—from 1953 to 1983. The election of Werner Apt as president of the Comité signalled a split within the Ashkenazic community.

*Nathan Lerner, “Jewish Organization in Latin America,” David Horowitz Institute for Research on Developing Countries, Tel Aviv University, 1974, pp. 4–5.*
In Montevideo, Uruguay, Rabbi Nehemia Berman leads the Ashkenazic community, Rabbi Fritz Winter the German community, Schalom Edery the Sephardic community, and Rabbi Beck the small hasidic community. Overall synagogue attendance is appreciable only during the high holy days. The issue of conversion to Judaism is a divisive one, with Berman, who is Orthodox, being strongly opposed, and Winter, who is Conservative, taking a more open approach. All of the congregations are represented in the Comité Central Israelita, a political grouping which speaks in the name of Uruguayan Jewry. The Comité sponsors a symposium series, Círculo de Reflexión Judía, which offers sophisticated discussions of Jewish issues.

There are 18 synagogues in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, all but one of them Orthodox, and each representing a specific ethnic group. Several synagogues run their own religious schools and are closely identified with particular social clubs, thus constituting "synagogue communities." The rabbi of União Israelita Shel Gemilut Hassadim, a congregation of 320 Sephardic families, is Moroccan-born Abraham Anidjar, who has lived in Brazil for many years. Rabbi Herz Torenheim, who was born in Poland and speaks Yiddish, leads Sinagoga Beit Aharon. The most emphatically religious community is Bar Ilan, which imports its rabbis from Israel. Other Orthodox synagogues are Associação Religiosa Krasnik, Centro do Grande Templo Israelita, Sinagoga Agudat Israel, União Israel, Beit Aharon, Talmud Torah Hertzlia, Monte Sinai, Beit Yacov, União Beneficente Maghen David, Sociedade Israelita Templo Sidon, Sociedade Beirutense, Centro Israelita de Niterói, Israelita Brasileira, and Yeshiva Colegial Machane Israel.

The single Reform temple in Rio de Janeiro is the Associação Religiosa Israeli, which was founded in 1942 by refugees from Nazism. Affiliated with the World Union for Progressive Judaism, it follows the German Liberal tradition. Associação Religiosa Israeli's rabbis, Roberto Graetz and Clifford Kulwin, were trained at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The temple's membership of 950 families makes it the largest congregation in Rio.

There are three "synagogue communities" in Panama. Shevet Ajim, comprised of Arabic-speaking Jews, is Orthodox; its rabbi, Sion Levy, is Moroccan-born. Also Orthodox, but Ashkenazic, is Congregation Bet El, which is led by Polish-born Rabbi Heszel Klepfisz. Congregación Kol Shearit Israel, which celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1976, is Reform; its rabbi, Alejandro Granat, comes from Hungary.

Though Dutch in culture, Suriname is included here because of its location in Latin America. Paramaribo has two congregations but no rabbi. The Nederlands Portugees Israelietische Gemeente (originally Sephardic) and the Nederlands Israelietische Gemeente (originally Ashkenazic) have become indistinguishable from one another due to marriage across ethnic lines.
and common use of the Sephardic rite. Both are Orthodox, although few individual members adhere to the halakhah. Each congregation maintains its own cemetery. One cantor serves both congregations; there is no shochet and, consequently, no kosher meat. A Jewish doctor performs circumcisions.

During 1982–1983, the Ashkenazic synagogue, Neve Salom, was restored with funds provided by the Surinamese and Dutch governments. Restoration of the Sephardic synagogue, Sedek ve Salom, remains to be carried out. Religious services, which until 1980 were held alternately in the two synagogues, are currently being held only at Neve Salom. There also exists in Suriname the ruins of the old synagogue at Jodensavanna, constructed in 1685.

In Mexico City the pattern of Jewish communal life has been particularly resistant to change. The largest group is Nidje Israel, the Ashkenazic kehillah, founded in 1922. Nidje Israel maintains a cemetery, a teachers seminary, a home for the aged, and three schools of differing ideological orientations—Hebrew-Zionist, Yiddish-Bundist, and Orthodox. The proceedings of the kehillah are conducted in Yiddish, while the organization’s governing council is elected along Israeli party lines. Despite regular elections, the same individuals continue to hold office for decades.

La Union Sefaradi, comprised originally of Turkish Jews, came into being in 1923. Although the organization was founded on Orthodox premises, it has since adopted many elements of Reform Judaism. It has been reported that Ashkenazim who object to the use of Yiddish at Nidje Israel are apt to join the Union. The organization claims only half as many members as Nidje Israel, but is reputed to have more than that number. While a larger reported membership would enable the Union to ask for greater representation on the Comité Central (see below), it would also lay the group open to a demand for an augmented financial assessment.

Alianza Monte Sinai was founded in 1912 by Arabic-speaking Jews from Damascus. The group maintains a cemetery, three synagogues, a school, and a battery of religious personnel. In 1938 some members of Alianza Monte Sinai who originated in Aleppo broke away to form Sedaka y Marpe. The latter organization maintains its own schools and synagogues.

Aging and marriage across ethnic lines have brought about the disappearance of two communities in recent years—the German Tikvah-Menorah and the Hungarian Emunah.

Two “synagogue communities,” Beth El and Beth Israel, are not ethnically based. The former, a Conservative congregation, was founded in the 1950’s by native-born Mexican Jews who did not feel at home in the older, immigrant-dominated congregations. The founding of Beth El was also an expression of rebellion against the entrenched communal leadership.
Today, Beth El exhibits a vitality that is absent in the older congregations. At one Friday night service in 1983, fully half the congregation of approximately 500 people were children; the service was capably led by high school students. The Beth Israel Community Center, founded in 1953, represents a different adaptation to the Mexican environment. While officially Conservative, it appears to be closer to Reform in its prayer service. English is the language in general use in this multi-ethnic congregation. Beth Israel's spiritual leader, Rabbi Semuel Lerer, is actively engaged in outreach to the Mexican population, and has performed numerous conversions of persons who have little or no claim to Jewish ancestry, including indios and mestizos.

Despite talk about merging the various Mexico City communities, the obstacles are generally regarded as insurmountable. The schools, for example, are dominated by distinct ideologies, and compromise on a value-free educational system is not even considered. Another obstacle is the relative autonomy of the communities, with each one maintaining its own budget and formulating its own policies. On a wider scale, the ethnic communities remain, now as in the past, separated by bitter animosities. Individuals freely express their lack of esteem for one another, invoking crude racial stereotypes. Only in the younger congregations and in the Centro Deportivo (Sports Center) are these divisions being left behind. The Centro Deportivo is the only Mexican Jewish organization that does not suffer a chronic shortfall of funds, which is eloquent testimony to the secular lifestyle of Mexican Jews.

The diverse communities act together through the Comité Central Israelita, the political arm of the Mexican Jewish community. Nidje Israel has six representatives on the Comité; Union Sefaradi, Alianza Monte Sinai, and Sedaka y Marpe have three each. The Consejo de Mujeres (National Council of Jewish Women) also has three representatives. Beth El, Beth Israel, and the Sports Club have one each. A respected elder of Tikvah-Emunah also retains a seat. The number of representatives that each group has on the Comité determines the size of the financial contribution that it is expected to make. The officers generally belong to the younger generation and are arguably more responsive to the times. The Comité is oriented to external relations and has no authority over the internal affairs of its member communities.

The Jewish community of Monterrey, Mexico maintains one synagogue, which is predominately Ashkenazic but has attracted the few Sephardic families in town as well. Although weekly attendance is sparse, the major holidays attract substantial numbers of worshipers. Yiddish-speaking Moises Kaiman, who came to Monterrey from Russia more than 40 years ago, functions as rabbi, cantor, mohel, and shochet; he is strongly opposed
to intermarriage. Kaiman is also the community spokesman in dealing with the Catholic church and the government.

The Guadalajara, Mexico Jewish community, consisting of some 140 families, may be unique in that it was established through a cooperative effort between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. To accommodate the Sephardim, the use of Yiddish in the curriculum of the Jewish day school was abandoned soon after its founding in 1928. The community supports a Conservative synagogue, although a rabbi is not always present. The Club Deportivo Macabi is the social center of Jewish life.

A survey of the kehillot shows that they share many elements in common, the most important being that they are voluntary associations. Having no guaranteed source of revenue, they have financed their activities by taxing access to the cemetery. The burial society is at the heart of each kehillah, with the sales of plots and services generating as much as 90 per cent of community income. However, the practice of basing membership in the Jewish people on the purchase of a burial plot is quite problematic. Increasingly, where the purchase of a burial plot is required of couples desiring to be married by a rabbi, the decision is made to marry under civil law. The withdrawal of consent to be taxed by increasing numbers of potential constituents has greatly weakened the power of communal leadership. Interestingly, the use of access to the cemetery in order to impose conformity is a cultural pattern that proceeds directly from the Catholic church, which also denies burial to non-conformists.

Another important characteristic of the communities is their governance by authoritarian methods. A high proportion of community leaders are in their seventies or even eighties and have held office for decades. A frequently heard pleasant is that "Paraguay has its General Stroessner, and we have our..." (Alfredo Stroessner, dictator of Paraguay, came to power in 1954 and is still firmly in control of the government.) The president of one major Jewish umbrella organization led his community for 30 years. In 1983 the membership split when an attempt was made to limit the tenure of the president to "only" nine consecutive terms in office. Characteristically, the split reflected ethnic strains, with Ashkenazim and Germans on one side, and Sephardim and members of the Sports Club on the other. An attempted reconciliation through a national convention ended in a fistfight, duplicating in miniature the street violence that was then occurring outside as the government maneuvered to keep itself in power by subverting the constitution. There are now two rival Jewish kehillot functioning, a result that has been hailed as a victory for communal integration, since the two largest ethnic groups did indeed merge, retaining "the Jewish Stroessner" as their president and keeping control over the cemetery.

Only two of the communities surveyed here—Montevideo and Rio—have undergone a renewal of leadership, with second-generation Latin
Americans assuming important positions. Elsewhere, there is extreme recalcitrance at bringing in new leaders. Women are seldom inducted into leadership roles, save as representatives of gender-distinct groups.

The operation of the *kehilloth* must be assessed within the context of the overall political scene. No Latin American political system functions on the principle of a peaceful alternation of power between opposing factions. Elections are widely regarded as a form of manipulation of the popular will, alongside the mass media, foreign exchange controls, organized street demonstrations, and the secret police. One does not have in Latin America what analysts of United States politics call a "democratic mold"—a social construct that creates an expectation of democracy in all the component units of society. Despite the electoral apparatus with which the body politic is bedecked, there have been very few windows of opportunity for democracy in Latin America—Uruguay in the 1930's and 1940's, Chile in the 1950's and 1960's, Argentina briefly in the 1960's and again in 1984. In Latin America the social construct is authoritarian, and many citizen organizations adopt the same style. Thus, it is not surprising that the *kehilloth* do not function in a democratic fashion. Elections are held, but, with some important exceptions, power does not pass from the incumbents. Within the *kehilloth*, as within society at large, the breakdown of authoritarian control does not lead to the spontaneous birth of democracy. Rather, there is anarchy, followed by the reimposition of control.

Why, then, trouble with elections at all? The question as it relates to the larger society has been addressed by many scholars of Latin America, who, as noted above, identify a certain imitative quality in Latin American political behavior. Mimesis likewise characterizes the behavior of the *kehilloth*, but in this case the model is Israel. The party designations and lists of candidates in communal elections follow Israeli party lines; the Buenos Aires voter faces the same political choices as does the voter in Tel Aviv. This element of unreality helps to account for the diminishing number of Jews who take part in *kehillah* elections.

Every Latin American Jewish community passed through a period of bitter confrontation between Zionists and Communists. The Zionists won out, and today all the *kehilloth* are Zionist in orientation. (In some places the Bund, the Jewish socialist party, retains a foothold.) Historically, Latin American Jews have contributed proportionately more funds and personnel to Israel than have Jews in the United States.

Today, Israel is the focus of attention of the Latin American Jewish communities, and is often the only unifying element among the various ethnic groups. The United Israel Campaign provides the major occasion for cooperation among competing factions. Israeli diplomats, personifying the ideal of Jewish unity and Jewish power, are accorded great deference. An Israeli ambassador is widely regarded as a leader of the local Jewish community.
For the kehillah leaders themselves, immersion in communal politics serves as an outlet for political energies that are stifled on the national political scene. Being excluded from the central decision-making bodies of society—the church, the army, the landowning jockey club set, the labor unions, etc.—they have no other arena in which they can exercise political skills and give expression to political ideologies.

Nowhere in Latin America are there sufficient numbers of Jews to enable them to function as a political interest group. In fact, any such organized Jewish participation in national politics would probably be severely criticized. The kehillot strive mightily to maintain neutrality in national politics, the goal being to get along with whatever government is in power. This motivation fortifies the drive for Jewish unity, which will always be preferred over a generous display of democratic pluralism. There is a conservative bias inherent in Jewish communal conduct, since any misstep might lead to severe negative consequences. Characteristically, when under pressure, the kehillot have not hesitated to jettison radical elements within the Jewish community.

Ideological tolerance, legal protection for dissent and dissenters, and a willingness to compromise are not qualities for which Latin American politics is noted. In societies riven by class and racial divisions, the issues appear too important to be resolved by compromise. Under these circumstances, the Latin American kehillot continue to follow the pattern established in Europe, where survival required a united front in the face of host societies which were always potentially hostile. The fluidity of Latin American politics and the frequency with which Jews are forced into zero-sum games persuade community leaders that this is the only reasonable course of action.

Understandably, the defensive posture of the kehillot is not attractive to Jewish youth, who are increasingly drawn to the political arena of the university. Being far more politicized in Latin America than in the United States, the universities offer a challenge that is both dangerous and potentially rewarding. The issues which engage students have to do with national concerns—economic development, political reform, redistribution of wealth, and identification with the Third World. Ultimately, this may mean alignment with the Arabs and antagonism toward Israel.

In Latin America as elsewhere, successive generations of left-wing Jewish intellectuals have made important contributions to their national societies, without regard to their Jewish origins. Zionism tends to become irrelevant for these people when they place their ideals at the service of general society. Individuals whose political formation took place in Hashomer Hatzair, the left-wing Zionist movement, have gone on to assume positions in left-wing governments in Chile, Cuba, and Mexico, while dropping their associations
with the Jewish people. A most notable example is Velodia Teitelboim, who
designed the land reform program put into effect by the Allende govern-
ment in Chile. In the case of Cuba, Jews have played a role in political
organizations and the government since the beginning of the Castro regime.
These Jews have no contact with the small organized Jewish community
that remains on the island. "They are apart from us, they never come here,"
says an affiliated Jew. "So if somebody tells you that in the Jewish commu-
nity everybody is to the right—there are no leftists in the community—I
say, 'you know why? Because leftists don’t come here, that’s all.'"

Argentine Jewish leftists, exiled in Mexico, did not seek to establish ties
with the Jewish community, nor did the community encourage them to do
so. The alienation of Jewish intellectuals is graphically illustrated in the fact
that Jewish exiles often chose Mexico or Spain, rather than Israel, as their
place of refuge. Indeed, some Argentine Jewish leftists, faced with the
option of deportation to Israel or continued incarceration in Argentina,
chose to remain in jail. Jewish leftists regard the kehillot as hopelessly
reactionary, tied to the "imperialist" politics of Israel and the United States.

As a result of some of the factors just mentioned, an unknown number
of persons who are ethnically Jewish do not affiliate with the organized
Jewish community. In earlier generations it was the isolated Jew—the
peddler in Bolivia, the rubber tapper in the Amazon—who drifted out of
contact with the Jewish people. Today's assimilator is likely to be an urban-
dwelling, university-educated professional who ignores Jewish institutional
life and joins the national mainstream. In Latin America, moreso than in
other sectors of the Diaspora, it appears that a choice must be made between
being in or out of the Jewish community. As in national life, there seems
to be little room for compromise.

In order to fully understand Jewish experience in Latin America, it is
necessary to know more about the lives of Jews who are outside the kehillot.
Unfortunately, however, little or no information is available. Still, it is
probably fair to say that the unaffiliated account for at least half the poten-
tial population of Jews.

Religious Life

From the very beginning, the Latin American Jewish communities were
characterized by a strong secular bent. During the period of heaviest migra-
tion, European rabbis condemned those Jews who opted to go to South
America, arguing that they would quickly assimilate. In part, at least, this
proved to be correct. Given the absence of organized community life, Jews
who settled in small towns in the interior nearly always married non-Jewish
women, saw their children raised as Catholics, and disappeared as Jews.
Likewise, in the cosmopolitan centers, where a nascent middle class was
emerging, Jews tended to adopt the ways of anti-clerical, non-practicing Catholics—an important element of the urban population. Small wonder, then, that by 1917 a qualified observer could estimate the Jewish population of Latin America at 150,000, with missing or assimilated Jews numbering between 50,000 and 60,000.¹

Those Jews who continued to identify as such most often cast their Jewishness in a secular mold. Zionist organizations appeared on the scene prior to religious congregations, and attracted more members. Schools, social welfare agencies, and mutual aid societies absorbed and generated tremendous organizational talent, while minyanim were often ad hoc affairs brought into being by an individual’s need to say kaddish. Synagogues were established without a financial base, and even today few assess annual dues. Instead, fees are solicited for services rendered, a system which does not provide an assured annual income and encourages competition between synagogues.

Since the rabbis who inveighed against Jewish migration to Latin America did not themselves go there, a shortage of religious leaders prevailed from the start; there has always been a need to import religious personnel, including rabbis, cantors, shochetim, and mohelim. Compounding the problem was the lack of a pool of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking individuals on which to draw, considering that there had been no Jews in the Iberian peninsula since the fifteenth century. Present estimates of the number of rabbis serving Latin American Jewry range between 30 and 50. Some of these men are quite old.

Among the laity, the scarcity of rabbis finds its parallel in scanty synagogue attendance. The AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK estimated that only 13,000 of the 225,000 Jews in Buenos Aires attended Rosh Hashanah services in 1978. A rabbi in Rio de Janeiro estimates that only one-fifth of that city’s Jews are affiliated with synagogues. A recent survey conducted by the World Jewish Congress’ Institute of Jewish Affairs found that only 143 out of 510 Jewish faculty members at Mexican universities belonged to a synagogue. In striking contrast, 406 professors contributed to the United Israel Appeal. Zionism, in short, is the religion of Latin American Jews.

Despite the fact that only a minority of Latin American Jews are moved by a religious sensibility, and even fewer observe the halakhah in daily life, Latin American synagogues are, with few exceptions, Orthodox in form. Rabbis are hired by congregations to suit the most observant members, and even secular Jews seem more comfortable with Jewish rites that are traditional. The role of the rabbi in the Latin American Jewish communities is more that of a religious functionary than a spiritual guide. In general, Latin

American rabbis have not seen themselves as leaders. Thus, the election of Salvador Allende to the presidency in Chile precipitated a flight by all the rabbis who were able to travel. Only in recent years have individual rabbis in Argentina and Brazil (all of them educated in the United States) emerged as true leaders of their congregations in any but the narrowest sense.

The most important development in decades in the religious sphere was the founding of the Conservative Seminario Rabinico in Buenos Aires, under the patronage of the World Council of Synagogues. This institution, the first of its kind in South America, came into being in 1962 mainly through the effort of Rabbi Marshall Meyer, a Connecticut yankee trained at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Columbia University. The Seminario enrolls some 300 high school and college students for Hebrew study four nights a week. At any one time, about 30 students are passing through the eight-year program of rabbinical training. Thus, for the first time, Latin American congregations are able to secure rabbis who are native Spanish speakers. Graduates of the Seminario are now serving in pulpits in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia. The Seminario also supports an extensive translation program; more than 60 major Jewish works have appeared in Spanish, making them accessible to Argentine readers.

The origins of Progressive Judaism in Latin America date back to the 1930's, when refugees from Nazi Germany arrived on the continent. Akin to Reform in the United States, Progressive Judaism is not always clearly differentiated from Conservative Judaism on the Latin American scene. Whether closer to Reform or Conservatism, however, the Progressive movement is beginning to develop options that appeal to a modern religious sensibility.

In Brazil the notable Progressive congregations are São Paulo's Congregação Israelita Paulista, led by Rabbi Henry Sobel, and Rio de Janeiro's Associação Religiosa Israeliita, led by Rabbi Roberto Graetz and his associate Clifford Kulwin. All three men are graduates of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and are members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Temple Emanu-El in Buenos Aires, led by Rabbi Nissenboim, a graduate of the Seminario Rabinico, is the only Reform synagogue in Argentina. The Conservative congregation, Comunidad Bet El, led by Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer, is in the forefront of efforts to revive Judaism in the country. Other Progressive synagogues in Buenos Aires include Culto Israelita de Belgrano and Lamroth Hakol. Kol Shearith Israel in Panama and Mikve-Israel-Emmanuel in Curasão follow the Reform path. Círculo Israelita in Santiago has engaged both a Conservative and a Reform rabbi; the former, Angel Kreiman, is an Argentine, while the latter, Peter Tarlow, is a North American.
The Progressive synagogues utilize Spanish/Portuguese as well as Hebrew in their services. Few, however, permit mixed seating. In sharp contrast to the Orthodox synagogues, the Progressive congregations reach out actively to young people through youth groups and summer camps. Most importantly, they convert non-Jews who wish to marry Jews, thus reversing a process that has been carrying off the intermarried and their offspring for the past century. These conversions are not recognized by the Orthodox rabbinate.

It is among the Progressive rabbis that Latin American Jews are beginning to find new leaders. Rabbi Meyer, in particular, breathed life into Judaism as a system of ethics by dealing with the Argentine military regime on the matter of Jewish prisoners. His courage in a difficult situation gave meaning and dignity to the role of religion in Jewish life.

It is reasonable to speculate that the secularism of Latin American Jews has reached a dead end. In those places where nationality is circumscribed by Catholic norms—e.g., Mexico, or the Argentina of the junta—Jews remain outside the nation as a suspect “race.” However, in such countries as Chile, Peru, and Ecuador, Judaism finds a recognized, if subordinate, place as a tolerated religion. It is not the secular solution favored by Jews in the United States, but it works under the prevailing conditions.

Sephardic Jews long ago made this adjustment. For them, the religious attraction has generally been stronger than the Zionist tie—one of the principal ways in which they differ from Ashkenazim. The latter have been less than successful in integrating themselves into Latin American societies through various secular strategies. Zionism, the strongest unifying element among the Ashkenazim, functioned effectively only so long as it focused on an idealized country that was far away. Once the State of Israel came into being and entered the Western hemisphere as an active participant in its politics, it necessarily became an element of contention. Jewish socialism (the Bund) kept yiddishkeit alive for a generation and more, but had little attraction for native-born youth who spoke Spanish and Portuguese.

With the growth of Progressive Judaism, the principle of choice has been introduced into Jewish religious life. Increasing numbers of congregations are likely to exercise that choice, bringing about a religious renaissance among Latin American Jewry. Both believers and nonbelievers will contribute to the process of redefining Jews as a religious, rather than a secular, group.

Jewish Education

Jewish schools in Latin America reflect the ethnic and ideological divisions within the communities. Over the years, they have developed as independent entities, frequently in competition with one another for pupils.
and funds. Many major cities operate boards of Jewish education to bring the competition under control and regularize the fundraising process. However, the boards do not determine the curricula of Jewish schools.

In those countries that have been relatively open to the integration of Jews into the civic culture—Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile—Jewish schools have been only minimally effective. Schools have been most successful in those parts of the continent where Jews stand at the margin of society, e.g., Mexico, Ecuador, and Peru.6

Ninety-five per cent of Jewish children in Lima, Peru attend the Colegio Leon Pinelo, a Jewish integral school offering a comprehensive Jewish and general curriculum. Ninety-two per cent of Jewish children in Cali, Colombia attend the Jorge Isaacs Jewish integral school. In San José, Costa Rica, 90 per cent of Jewish children attend the Instituto Jaim Weizman Jewish integral school. In 1983 all but two of the Jewish children in Monterrey, Mexico were enrolled in the Hatikva Jewish day school.

Uruguay reports 2,200 students in three Jewish schools—Ariel, Escuela Integral Hebreo-Uruguayaya, and Yavne. An additional 500 children are enrolled in the ORT-sponsored Institute of Technical Studies. Taken together, these students comprise less than one quarter of the total Jewish school-age population.

Recent data for Argentina are not available, but 1967 figures show 2,450 students enrolled in Jewish integral schools and another 320 enrolled in three-day supplementary schools. In total, 8,900 Jewish children were receiving some sort of Jewish education. This figure comprised no more than 19 per cent of Jewish children of school age believed to be living in Argentina at the time. A breakdown of the figures shows steadily diminishing enrollment by age; the 1,885 children entering the first grade had dwindled to 798 by the sixth and 126 by the twelfth.

The overarching reason for the abandonment of Jewish schooling is the existence of an acceptable alternative. This is clearly illustrated in the case of Chile, which has an excellent system of private and public secular schools. The Jewish community of Santiago maintains the Instituto Hebreo, a school which fuses all religious tendencies, is Zionist oriented, and emphasizes the acquisition of Hebrew language skills. The school is housed on a large campus, and enrolls more than a thousand students in grades one through twelve. In addition, there are several supplementary schools in

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6The literature on Jewish education in Latin America is large, but extremely uneven. A review of the subject will be found in chapter 7 of Elkin, Jews of the Latin American Republics, op. cit. Two papers delivered at the second research conference on the Jewish experience in Latin America, held at the University of New Mexico in March 1984, are highly relevant: David Schers, "Culture, Identity, and Community Institutions of Latin American Jewry" and Daniel Levy, "Jewish Education in Latin America."
Santiago which offer instruction toward bar and bat mitzvah. Still, if the Chilean Jewish population is anywhere near the 30,000 figure usually cited, it is apparent that most Jewish children are not receiving any Jewish education at all.

In some countries the popularity of private schools among upwardly mobile, middle-class families has placed Jewish schools in a strong competitive position to attract non-Jews. This seems to be the case in Panama, where the two Jewish integral schools, La Academia Hebreo and Instituto Alberto Einstein, are said to attract 100 per cent attendance by Jewish children. The schools also attract substantial numbers of non-Jewish Panamanians, including the children of General Omar Torrijos, former president of the republic. The same phenomenon is also evident in various cities of Colombia. The outstanding example, however, is Brazil. In that country, where worldly ambition has acquired the status of a patriotic virtue, it is widely recognized that professional success requires a good education, something which Jewish schools offer. As a consequence, in 1978 there were nearly as many non-Jews as Jews enrolled in schools bearing the names of Max Nordau, Scholem Aleichem, and Eliezer Steinberg.

In the Jewish integral schools, individuals who teach subjects required by the state must have the necessary pedagogy certificates. Teachers of Jewish subjects have varied educational backgrounds, ranging from casual to intense. In Buenos Aires the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina supports several normal schools: a teachers’ seminary, which offers a twelfth-grade course; a school for teachers and technicians in institutional work, which functions at a higher level; and a Hebrew Academy, which graduates prospective teachers who complete their studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The Seminario Rabinico also trains teachers. Graduates of these programs are to be found in most of the Jewish school systems on the continent. Indeed, it is common to find in any one school a mixture of local, Argentine, and Israeli faculty.

There is a teacher-training institute in Mexico, the Seminario Idish-Hebreo de Maestros. One hundred and six of the 148 teachers currently found in Mexican Jewish schools are graduates of the program. Their formidable linguistic skills are a tribute to the quality of instruction at the Seminario. Unfortunately, since knowledge of Yiddish is a prerequisite for entry, Sephardic applicants are handicapped. On the other hand, many of the Ashkenazic graduates take positions in Sephardic schools.

See "Brazilian Jewry: The Jewish School System in Rio de Janeiro," David Horowitz Institute for Research on Developing Countries, Tel Aviv University, 1980.

The Jewish enrollment figure in the integral schools was 4,059, approximately 46 per cent of the total Jewish school-age population. Rio also has an ORT technical high school with some 280 students.
In Brazil a large proportion of the teachers of Jewish subjects have university degrees, although not always in the areas they are teaching. Their salaries match those of teachers of general subjects.

Outreach by Israeli agencies, both governmental and semi-private, is emerging as a crucial factor in sustaining Jewish education in Latin America. Zionism has always been a major dynamic of Jewish communal life in Latin America, and Israeli teachers who epitomize the Zionist ideal are welcome collaborators in the school systems. Numerous Israeli agencies offer direct assistance to Latin American Jewish schools. However, there is no effort at coordination, either in Israel or in the recipient countries.

The department of education and culture of the Jewish Agency had 88 teachers working in eight Latin American countries in 1977. More than half—12 in Uruguay, ten in Argentina, eight in Chile, two in Paraguay, and 14 in Brazil—were paid either in full or part by the Israeli government. The department for Torah education fielded 55 Israeli teachers in Latin America in 1977, almost all of them paid in full by the Israeli government. Other Israeli agencies provided technical assistance to Latin American Jewish schools and youth movements. These programs have been important in raising the level of instruction in several school systems.

Israel has also been an important center for the training of teachers destined to teach in Latin America. Haim Greenberg College (operated by the department of education and culture) and Gold College (sponsored by the Torah education department), both in Jerusalem, have trained hundreds of teachers since the 1950's.

The problems of Jewish schools in Latin America are many, but they are hardly unrecognizable to those familiar with Jewish educational systems elsewhere. Low salaries and low status serve to keep well-qualified individuals, particularly men, out of the teaching profession. Schools rely heavily on female teachers, who are sometimes poorly trained, and usually inadequately compensated, particularly those women who are well qualified. Economic difficulty in any particular country rather quickly translates into diminished support for Jewish schools, since they rely on voluntary contributions or subventions from communal agencies.

There is widespread agreement that Jewish schools serve as an excellent launching pad for entry into universities and professional careers. There is less agreement about their ability to transmit Jewish knowledge and values. On the whole, negative assessments are more common than favorable ones. In the opinion of one former communal official in Chile: "Jewish teachers tend to be underpaid, overworked, and not terribly effective. So much so, that during local camp sessions, those Jewish youth who receive no Jewish education have been found to have a greater loyalty to Judaism than those who attend the Instituto. One almost senses an inverse ratio between Jewish
education and loyalty to Judaism.” A correspondent from Uruguay observes: “There have been no real studies of effectiveness [of the school system]. I am afraid that if such a study were undertaken, the results would be disappointing.” From Mexico comes the comment: “With respect to Jewish education, I fear there are deficiencies and the youngsters are ignorant of the essence of Judaism. They are totally unacquainted with some important aspects, above all the differences between Judaism and Christianity.”

The Position of Women

The first clue to the unique situation of Jewish women in Latin America is that their demographic characteristics run counter to those of women in the surrounding populations. Rates of birth, infant mortality, family size, and longevity all distinguish Jewish from non-Jewish women, although there are variations between countries, as well as between social classes.

Jewish women, relative to all other women in Latin American societies, have fewer children and are preoccupied with child care for fewer years. They are less likely to be devastated by the loss of “angelitos,” infants destined to die at an early age. Jewish women have broken the link between sex and reproduction, thus freeing themselves from the biological servitude which is the lot of most Latin American women. This single fact sets them apart from the majority of women on the continent and groups them with non-Jewish middle-class women in the major urban centers.

In Latin America, as elsewhere, literacy correlates positively with late marriage and limited births, while illiteracy correlates with early marriage and multiple births. Jewish community surveys establish that there is universal literacy among Jewish Latins, male and female, while illiteracy continues to be rampant in most of Latin America—e.g., 40 per cent in Brazil and 35 per cent in Mexico—with female rates running considerably higher than those of males. Moreover, the education of Jewish women does not stop with basic literacy. In 1960, 21 per cent of Argentine Jewish women aged 20–24 were either in college or had already graduated from college. In Brazil in 1969, 52 per cent of Jewish women aged 20–24 were attending college, a figure that has almost certainly grown in the intervening years. In contrast, only 3.3 per cent of the general population of Brazil attended institutions of higher education.

The ability of Jewish women to limit their births and their high levels of education have combined to create occupational opportunities that are far superior to those enjoyed by most non-Jewish women. The single country for which occupational data are available is Argentina. These derive from an analysis of the 1960 census, in which 119,425 Jewish women aged 14 and
over were identified. Out of the total, 69 per cent were classified as homemakers, while 20 per cent (23,560 individuals) were in the work force; the remaining 11 per cent comprised students, retired people, and institutionalized persons. Three-quarters of the women workers were white collar, while one-quarter was blue collar, a distribution similar to that prevailing among Jewish men. The distribution, however, differed markedly from that of the general population of Argentina, in which more than half of all working women were in blue-collar occupations.

Among Argentine Jewish working women, 4,731 were classified as members of the free professions, with about half being teachers. Lesser numbers were in the higher-status professions—medicine, engineering, architecture, etc.—which Jewish men favor. Some 5,720 Jewish women were office employees, while another 5,155 worked as proprietors of wholesale or retail stores, saleswomen, and so forth. Over 5,000 Argentine Jewish women held blue-collar jobs—3,334 as factory workers and 2,014 as household employees (maids, cooks, etc.). An additional 2,510 Jewish women worked as peddlers or operators of street kiosks.

In a survey conducted in 1963, contact was made with 221 university graduates, including 61 women, living in the city of Tucumán. One-third of the women had taken degrees in biochemistry or pharmacy; another third held degrees from one of the faculties of philosophy and letters at the University of Tucumán, but their fields were not specified. The fact that the researchers did not identify the occupations of the women while doing so for the men suggests that breadwinning was still very much in the hands of the latter when the survey was conducted.

It is clear that there is a considerable number of Jewish women professionals in Argentina, although there are Jewish proletarian women and penny capitalists as well. A researcher who was studying Buenos Aires women engaged in stereotypically masculine occupations found that one-third of the sample was Jewish. Observation confirms that there are Jewish women pharmacists, college professors, dentists, physicians, and psychoanalysts throughout Latin America.

Jewish women, like their non-Jewish counterparts, benefit from the availability of cheap domestic labor. Combining marriage, children, and a career.

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The information in this and the following paragraphs is derived from U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *The Demography of the Jews of Argentina and Other Countries of Latin America* (Tel Aviv, 1974), in Hebrew.


is made easier by the presence in the household of extra hands to cook, clean, and drive the car. A 1969 study of São Paulo Jews found that only 20 per cent of Jewish families were without domestic help in the home. Nearly 12 per cent of the families had two domestic employees, and approximately two per cent had even more than that.12

Two cultural hallmarks distinguish Jewish from non-Jewish women in Latin America. One is the attitude toward women's education. The other is the response to machismo. The education which facilitates the entry of Jewish women into business and professional life issues directly from the Jewish tradition of respect for learning and the learned, a tradition which may initially have been confined to males, but which long ago spread to encompass females as well. In this regard, Jewish women emerge from a different cultural matrix than Catholic women. Historically, Catholic women of intellect needed to take vows of sexual abstinence and seek shelter in a cloister in order to gain the freedom to use their minds. Jewish women, on the other hand, have not had to abjure family life and isolate themselves from society in order to be intellectually active.

Machismo, a powerful force in Latin American life, has been defined as "exaggerated aggressiveness and intransigence in male-to-male relationships and arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-female relationships."13 Given the realities of the Latin American situation—the juxtaposition of great wealth with great poverty, a long history of racial exploitation and miscegenation, and a lack of opportunity for most disadvantaged women—large numbers of women enter into liaisons with married men who derive status from the luxuries they bestow on their mistresses. Married women, it is said, gain strength by identifying with the spiritual superiority of the Virgin Mary. Thus, the male aggressor is matched by the female defender; sexual aggression confirms that "men will be men" and offers women the opportunity to prove their greater spirituality.

Jewish culture has been devoid of both machismo and marianismo, its feminine counterpart. Traditional Jewish culture exalted intellectual and spiritual pursuits, not male aggression. It has been observed: "The absence of the macho mystique . . . freed Jewish men and women—until they assimilated into modern Western societies—from the sharpest differentiation of gender characteristics: the strong, emotionally controlled, yet potentially violent male versus the weak, emotional, and tender female. Jewish

culture ‘permitted’ men to be gentle and emotionally expressive, and women to be strong. . . .”

Jews in Latin America experience a jarring disjuncture in sexual mores, since the machismo/marianismo syndrome presents contradictions which men resolve more easily than women. The education of Jewish women, the culture in which they are raised, and their access to meaningful employment work against the development of an attitude of submissiveness to men. For Jewish men, however, machismo may prove so attractive that they will be increasingly drawn to non-Jewish women who have been socialized to accept it. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is in fact taking place in countries such as Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico. Jewish women in these countries are caught in the contradiction between machista Latin society and the categorical monogamy of Judaism as practiced since the twelfth century.

**Catholic-Jewish Relations**

The age-old involvement of the Catholic church in the teaching of anti-semitism was implicitly acknowledged and explicitly renounced at the second Vatican council in 1965, which issued the following statement as a part of the declaration *Nostra Aetate*: “Remembering, then, her common heritage with the Jews and moved not by any political consideration but solely by the religious motivation of Christian charity, she deplores all hatreds, persecutions, displays of antisemitism leveled at any time or from any source against the Jews.” The guidelines issued for the implementation of *Nostra Aetate* were even more explicit: “The spiritual bonds and historical links binding the church to Judaism condemn, as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity, all forms of antisemitism and discrimination, which in any case the dignity of the human person suffices to condemn.”

The Catholic church in Latin America has chosen to disregard Vatican II’s teachings about Jews and Judaism, even as it has undergone a process of renewal and liberalization. The liberalizing spirit first manifested itself at the Conference of Latin American Bishops, which was convened by Pope Paul VI at Medellín in 1968, with the aim of implementing Vatican II. Medellín has since become a code word for the emergence of a group of radical priests and theologians, influenced by philosophies allied to Marxism, who sought to use the evangelical message of Christianity to promote social change. The more extreme among the proponents of “liberation theology,” as this trend came to be called, have been prepared to bring their

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message to the people at the point of a gun, by joining various guerrilla movements.

Liberation theology is Latin America's major contribution to Catholic thought, a contribution which has recently been rejected by the papacy. It is rooted in the book of Exodus, which liberation theologians interpret as containing an injunction to struggle against misery and exploitation in order to build a just society. Oddly enough, while liberation theologians have become involved in revolutionary movements in Nicaragua, Peru, El Salvador, Colombia, and Guatemala, as well as other Third World nations, they have taken no position on the original liberation movement—that of the Jews. About Zionism and antisemitism they have been silent.

A session of the Conference of Latin American Bishops, convened at Puebla by Pope Paul VI in 1977 and reconvened two years later by John Paul II, became the scene of a confrontation between followers of liberation theology and the intensely conservative hierarchy of the church, which stressed the need for national security, interpreted as the right of governments to suppress subversion by the use of armed force. The final draft of the Puebla document, some 240 pages long, criticized the exploitation of the poor by the rich, and the exploitation of developing nations by multinational corporations. An early draft of the conference resolutions, prepared by Msgr. Jorge Mejia of Argentina, included a statement on the church's relationship to the Jews, referring to "the permanent values of Judaism" and deploring the persistence of antisemitic attitudes. However, this statement was omitted from the final declaration.

In the absence of official condemnation of antisemitism, traditional church teachings continue to color popular attitudes, sometimes outlasting the willingness of church leaders to defend them. Thus, in February 1978, toward the end of the war of extermination against political dissidents, the Argentine military government established a national register of religious sects, requiring all groups except the Roman Catholic church to register within 90 days. The purpose, as stated in the decree, was to establish "effective control" over non-Catholic religions. At the time, the junta had already banned the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Hare Krishna, and the Divine Light Mission on grounds that they were "conspiring against the constitution." Under the new law, any group of believers (except Roman Catholics) considered "injurious to the public order, national security, morality, or good practices" of Argentine society could be prevented from practicing their religion. The most remarkable fact about the register was that it was assigned to the ministry of foreign relations. The implication was clear: to

be non-Roman Catholic was to be non-Argentine. All this, as both the Buenos Aires Herald and La Prensa pointed out, was in direct contravention of the Argentine constitution.

The heightened identification between Roman Catholicism and Argentine nationality was reinforced the following year, when the ministry of culture and education issued guidelines for a new course on "moral and civic development" that was to be required of all junior high school students. The new course imposed a curriculum that was totally christological in nature, including papal encyclicals and pastoral letters. According to La Luz, a Jewish periodical, the works of notorious antisemites were also included in the program. Jews, Protestants, and even Roman Catholic spokesmen made representations to the government to have the course withdrawn on grounds that it violated the constitution as well as the education law of 1870, which prescribed lay education for all children. The Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA), the representative body of Argentine Jewry, issued a formal protest that the course would inculcate religious concepts alien to Jewish students, thereby violating their freedom of conscience and introducing a divisive factor into Argentine society. As a consequence of the various protests, the government modified the decree by revising the curriculum to exclude "confessional elements" and to include books by Jewish philosophers and political thinkers.

The nature of the groups that favored retention of the "moral and civic development" course in its original form can be gathered from press comments at the time. According to Cabildo, an admirer of the fascist right, "only the corrupt and the corruptors could feel themselves violated by this law. Falange de Fe labelled the DAIA's protest irreverent and disrespectful. A statement issued by Catholic lay institutions attacked the DAIA for asserting that the teaching of Catholic morality could be divisive, noting instead: "Weakening the [Catholic] identity [of the state] is betraying the national being."

Elsewhere on the continent, ecumenical feelings are beginning to stir. There have been denunciations of antisemitism by individual bishops, interfaith Passover celebrations, and discussions of Catholic-Jewish relations in the bulletin of the Conference of Latin American Bishops. Cardinal Silva Henriquez of Chile, a strong proponent of human rights and a major supporter of the victims of the political struggle in Chile, maintains friendly relations with Jews. A Jewish representative was invited to attend the third general assembly of the Conference of Latin American Bishops held at Puebla. Cardinal Ernesto Corripio Ahumada, archbishop primate of Mexico, has made several statements on Jewish-Christian relations that are in

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16 This incident is the subject of an unpublished paper by Roberta J. Astroff.
harmony with the second Vatican council. In 1982 Corripio Ahumada made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he was received by Israeli president Chaim Herzog and Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem. The pilgrimage was widely covered by the Mexican press and established a foundation for Christian-Jewish dialogue.

If a trend can be observed in these events, it is in the direction of a willingness on the part of some traditionally conservative elements in the church hierarchy to open a dialogue with Jews, despite their failure to openly endorse the teachings of Vatican II on the matter. On the other hand, those who espouse liberation theology reflect a prevalent left-wing attitude in overlooking the situation of the Jews and in failing to classify attacks against them as human rights infractions. The same observation holds true for the American-based church organizations that are involved in the Latin American liberation movements. The Maryknoll Order, for example, which has made a major effort to promote human rights in Central America, has no record when it comes to the Jews. Overall it can be stated that, with some honorable exceptions, neither the church nor the counter-church have risen to the challenge of redefining the humanity of the Jews in the light of Vatican II.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Latin American Jews and the United States

In the minds of many Latin Americans, it is international capitalism which supplies the link between Jews and the United States. Indeed, it has been said that the very word "Jew" has become an ideograph for capitalism. How did this situation come about?

For deep-rooted cultural reasons, capitalism was not the mode of production in Latin America when Jews settled there during the nineteenth century. The traditional sources of wealth were land ownership, the administration of church affairs, and control of the government and the government patronage system, none of which were accessible to Jews. Jewish immigrants entering the Latin American scene found it difficult to get a foothold in any of the traditional occupations. However, being literate and experienced in commerce and industry, they established a role for themselves in the local economies. Jews became peddlers, carrying combs, tableware, clothing, and religious artifacts into the homes of people who did not have the money or the shoes to enter a respectable store. Jews also started cottage industries, manufacturing socks, underwear, buttons, and all the other homely items that the poor had never been able to afford. By way of their own labor and savings, some Jews succeeded in establishing permanent retail stores and factories. Some were in a position to fill domestic
needs when World War I closed down the shipping lanes, cutting off the supply of imported consumer goods on which the Latin American market had previously relied. Jews became the initiators of “import substitution” industries in textiles, aluminum, plumbing materials, wood pulp for paper, shoes, and ready-made clothing. Today, as a result of having entered on the ground floor, Jews are owners of important commercial and industrial facilities throughout Latin America. Not all Latin American Jews are wealthy, but some belong to a class of entrepreneurs—the majority of them non-Jews—who have become rich through their activities in the industrial sector.17

Throughout the Third World, capitalist pursuits lead entrepreneurs to identify with the United States, the bulwark of the capitalist system. On the ideological level, it is a matter of sharing the same value system, one based on achievement rather than ascribed status. On the practical level, entrepreneurial activity brings the United States into play as the major market for raw materials and as a prime source of manufactured goods and investment capital. On the personal level, middle-class people simply enjoy spending time in the United States. All of these factors apply directly in the case of Jews. Beyond that, many Latin Jews regard New York as the worldwide center of Jewish life.

As a system for the production of wealth, capitalism has been responsible for considerable development in Latin America. However, Latin Americans have observed that the greater the development, the greater the underdevelopment; increased prosperity for the few has been accompanied by increased poverty for the many. The free enterprise system is all too often experienced in Latin America as a form of international piracy, one that arouses anger in those who believe they have been robbed.18 Thus, while alignment with the United States has come naturally to Jews, it has had the result of making them targets of those groups that are anti-American.

Latin American Jews and Israel

Latin American Jews identified with the Jewish homeland from the start. Indeed, in the absence of a strong religious core, Zionism became the central Jewish passion. Thus, a Hovevei Zion group was formed in Buenos Aires in 1897, even though there were only a few thousand Jews in the city at the time. The Balfour Declaration was publicly hailed in communities such as

18See Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein, The Colonial Heritage of Latin America (New York, 1970); and Andre Gunder Frank, Development and Underdevelopment in Latin America.
Santiago, where there were no regular religious services and where Jews usually kept a low profile. The Jewish national movement provided an emotional focus for immigrants who were having difficulty feeling their way into their new countries of residence. The Zionist cause also served as an outlet for political activity for individuals who could at best play marginal roles in Latin American political life.

The "melting pot" psychology that was long dominant in the United States can be said to have taken root only in Uruguay, of all the Latin American countries. It was more characteristic of immigrants to Latin America to retain their identification with their countries of origin for several generations. Jews, however, showed no such attachment, and this circumstance aroused suspicion, activating the myth of the Wandering Jew. The creation of the State of Israel brought this situation to an end, and to a certain extent legitimated Jewish existence.

The Zionist orientation of the organized Jewish communities was reinforced by an internal struggle against Communist elements, an ideological battle that was waged between the two world wars and in the immediate post-World War II period. The Zionists won the battle for control of the kehillot in every country of Latin America, and they continue to dominate the organized communities today. Life within the kehillot typically revolves around Zionist activities—sale of Israel bonds, celebration of Israel Independence Day, etc. Other activities focus on a world that is gone, e.g., the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto. Few activities link the kehillot with their specific national environments. Indeed, one Mexican synagogue group reported that "the Mexicans" would not look favorably on Jews celebrating Mexican Independence Day.

To a certain extent, Latin American Jews live vicariously through Israel. They shared in the worldwide euphoria at the creation of the state. Moreover, Israel's smashing victory in the Six Day War enhanced Jewish status in Latin America as elsewhere. At various times, Israeli technical assistance has reaped goodwill for the Jewish community in countries as disparate as Cuba and Peru. Occasionally, Israel has extricated Jews who have fallen out of favor with the powers that be; Jacobo Timerman, the Argentine journalist, was not the first individual to be released to the custody of an Israeli consul.

The other side of the coin is that Jewish stock has fallen when Israeli actions have proved unpopular. The kidnapping of Adolph Eichmann from a street in Buenos Aires touched off a wave of antisemitism. Anti-Israel as well as anti-Jewish demonstrations took place all over Latin America in the summer of 1982 in the wake of the Sabra and Shattila massacres. Newspapers formerly known for their pro-Israel stance began to question Israel's actions, and indeed its right to exist. Phrases such as "Nazi-Zionism" and
“the Palestinian holocaust” surfaced in respectable Mexican and Brazilian newspapers. Relations between the Arab and Jewish communities, traditionally benign in Latin America, became inflamed to a troublesome degree. In certain sectors of Latin American society, the distinction between “israeli” (a citizen of Israel) and “israelita” (a Spanish term for “Jew”) was completely lost. Thus, Roberto Ottalagano, former rector of the University of Buenos Aires, stated: “So far as I am concerned, a Jew is an Israeli and an Israeli is a Jew.” Acting on this confused premise, a Peruvian government official called in the leaders of the Lima Jewish community to warn them that if Israel failed to sell Peru the same Kfir fighter planes it had sold Ecuador, the government could not be held responsible for the enraged reaction of the populace. Unqualified support of Israel, combined with confusion about the difference between “Jew” and “Israeli,” has led to a situation in which Jews have become hostage to Israel’s foreign policy.

What is Israeli foreign policy in Latin America? Prior to creation of the state, and during Israel’s early years, the objective was to gain Latin American support in the United Nations and other international forums. This support, however, became less decisive over the years, as a result of the expansion of United Nations membership. While the Latin American states comprised more than a third of the original membership, 20 years later they constituted less than a fifth. During this period, Israel was providing technical assistance to every country of Latin America, most of it in the form of Peace Corps-style programs in hydrogeology, agricultural development, and other such things. The programs brought hundreds of Israelis face-to-face with Latin American government officials, union leaders, and members of youth movements, while Latin Americans, in turn, were trained in Israel.

The goodwill generated by Israeli technical assistance proved to be insufficient to stem the tide when anti-Israel feeling began to emerge. Latin Americans, after all, had for centuries only been distant observers of the European scene. The great events of modern Jewish history—the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel—took place far away and did not engage everyone’s attention. “Their passions run on a different plane,” one Argentine Jewish scholar has observed. As the 1960’s unfolded, many Latin Americans found themselves aroused by a quite different historic trend—the rise of the Third World. Latin American governments at this time were also declaring their independence from United States foreign policy. The logic of opposition to United States “imperialism” in Latin America and the Near East called for fraternal relations with the Arab “freedom fighters” and negation of the claims of Jewish nationalism.

Cuba’s increasing conformity to Soviet foreign policy positions and Fidel Castro’s bid for leadership of the Third World brought an end to the unanimous support that Israel had previously enjoyed among the Latin
American governments. Cuba initiated fraternal relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the first conference of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which was held in Havana in 1966. Breaking relations with Israel in 1973, the Cuban government licensed the opening in Havana of a PLO office with diplomatic status. (Cuba’s anti-Israel stance, however, was not accompanied by antisemitic manifestations against Cuban Jews.) Shortly thereafter, the Cuban government began training PLO military and intelligence cadres at camps in North Africa, Iraq, and the USSR. In turn, the PLO trained Nicaraguan, Brazilian, and Argentine guerrillas in its camps in Lebanon, South Yemen, and Libya. (A large number of Nicaraguans, taken in Lebanon by the Israelis in the summer of 1982, were quietly returned to their homeland.)

In the 1970’s the PLO established links with revolutionary groups all over Latin America, including the Montoneros in Argentina, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the FDR-FMLN in El Salvador, and the URNG in Guatemala. In addition, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine developed ties with Chile’s MIR and other revolutionary groups. Most important of all was the climate of approbation that grew up around the PLO and the coupling of Latin America’s struggle against American imperialism with the Arab world’s struggle against Israel.

The coupling of Arab and Latin American nationalism was most clearly manifested in Nicaragua. In the guerrilla war led by the Sandinistas against dictator Anastasio Somoza, the rebels had the support of the PLO from 1970 on, while Somoza, who had always been on good terms with Israel and the local Jewish community (consisting of some 65 families), retained the support of the United States and Israel to the bitter end. The Jewish community was largely engaged in industry and commerce, and prospered economically under Somoza. Nicaragua continued to support Israel at the United Nations even as other Latin American votes were melting away. By the late 1970’s Israel was exporting arms to Nicaragua, which were used by Somoza to put down opposition to his regime. When, in 1978, the Carter administration in Washington embargoed arms sales to Somoza, Israel became Nicaragua’s chief supplier, sending shipments until just two weeks before the dictator’s fall.

The fall of Somoza led to the departure from the country of those who had supported him, including the Jews, and the expropriation of their property. Anti-Israel sentiment surfaced at that time. “We do not forget,”

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20See “O.L.P.-Victima o Verdugo?” a supplement prepared by the American Jewish Committee for distribution by La Nacion and other Argentine newspapers on October 1, 1982.
one Sandinista stated, "that when we were fighting for our lives, the weapon in the hands of our enemy was an Uzi." On July 20, 1980 the revolutionary government of Nicaragua extended diplomatic recognition to the PLO and authorized it to open an office in Managua.

From 1973 on, the Arab states exerted increasing pressure on Latin American governments to abandon their historic support for Israel and recognize the PLO. These efforts began to bear fruit when oil prices quadrupled, placing the Latin American economies in jeopardy. Representatives of the Arab League were in a position to promise that no underdeveloped country which backed the Arab cause would suffer from an energy shortage.

Taking advantage of an increasing tilt in their direction, Arab representatives meeting in Tunis in 1979 decided to concentrate their efforts on Latin America, aiming to oust the Israelis from the region, as they had previously been ousted from Africa. According to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Arabs also decided to "unleash an antisemitic campaign designed to undermine the status of Jews in Latin America [in order] to nullify the political and economic support which the Latin American Jewish communities provided Israel."21

The chief impediment to gains by the PLO in official circles in Latin America was fear that the group would import terrorism to the continent. The hardline military dictatorships in Chile and Argentina rebuffed PLO overtures. Brazil's military government waffled, recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, but refusing to authorize the opening of a PLO office in Brasilia. Toward the end of its tenure in October 1982, the Argentine junta permitted press distribution of a pictorial supplement prepared by the Latin American division of the American Jewish Committee, which dramatized PLO terrorist activities and the group's links with terrorist elements in Argentina.

PLO propaganda proved effective where governments cooperated. In Bolivia the left-wing government that took office in 1982 welcomed to its inaugural ceremonies not only the usual official delegations, but also "fraternal delegates" from Eritrea, Cuba, Nicaragua, and the PLO. Scrapping protocol, the fraternal delegates were admitted first, ahead of officially accredited ambassadors. The American and Israeli ambassadors were hissed by the throng, to the accompaniment of chants of "PLO! PLO!" In the Dominican Republic, a country that had been most hospitable to Jews in the past, vicious anti-Israel propaganda occasioned by the Lebanon war spilled over into antisemitic statements in some opposition newspapers. The national legislature adopted two resolutions condemning Israel, although it rejected a proposal to break diplomatic relations with the Jewish state.

The activation of the PLO had severe consequences for Israel. In 1980, 13 countries had embassies in Jerusalem, and 12 of them were Latin American nations. Two years later, the Latin Americans had all moved to Tel Aviv, withdrawing their acknowledgment of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

At the same time that Israel was losing ground on the political front in Latin America, it was expanding the dimensions of its trade with the continent. Israel exported $180.4 million worth of goods to Latin America in 1981, and doubled that amount in the following ten months. Some of this was in straight sales, while some was in barter, with Israeli industrial products being traded for needed raw materials, e.g., aircraft exchanged for Ecuadorean oil. Israel had a huge trade imbalance with Mexico, which, to the chagrin of Mexican leftists, supplied about 40 per cent of Israel's oil. There was also an increase in joint Mexico-Israel investments in agriculture, electronics, solar energy, and construction. Israeli banks entered Latin America in strength, with the number of branches located in Uruguay, Mexico, Panama, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile increasing from three in 1977 to 25 in 1982. Israeli agribusinesses started up in several locations in the Caribbean, including fish-farms in the Dominican Republic.

The nature of Israel's trade with Latin America has changed substantially over the years. Armaments long ago surpassed Jordan River water as the principal export. Originally, small arms made up most of Israel's weapons exports; the Uzi machine gun was sold to various countries, and large orders were filled for the Galil rifle, which became standard in the Guatemalan army. By 1981 Israel was exporting the Gabriel ship-to-ship missile, the Merkava tank, the Reshef patrol boat, and the Kfir C-2 fighter plane. In 1982 the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reported the following Israeli arms sales: Argentina—22 Nesher fighter planes; Brazil—8 205 UH-ID helicopters; Columbia—12 Kfir C-2 fighter planes; and Ecuador—12 Kfir fighter planes. In the same year, the Latin America Weekly Report mentioned other sales: Honduras—Kfirs, RBY armored cars, missiles, captured PLO tanks, self-propelled guns, and rocket launchers; and Venezuela—25 multiple artillery rocket launchers. According to an analysis published in the journal of the radical North American Conference of Latin Americanists, Israel has supplied variants of the US-made AIM90/G and AIM9/L guided air-to-air missiles, called the Sharir, to Argentina and Chile. Israel's Westwind executive jet, which can also serve as a military air reconnaissance plane, has been exported to several Latin American states.

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American countries. Described as Israel’s most successful export is the Arava, a short take-off and landing (STOL) craft that functions effectively in rough terrain. About 50 have been sold to Guatemala, El Salvador, Ecuador, and Colombia.

Israel has been selling French Mystere combat jets to Honduras since 1977, making that nation the strongest air power in Central America. In September 1982 it was revealed that Israel was training Honduran pilots in techniques for countering the SA-6 surface-to-air missile system that the Soviet Union had supplied to neighboring Nicaragua. A visit to Honduras by Israel Defense Force chief Ariel Sharon in December 1982 led a correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor to assert that Israel was playing “a growing role as United States arms broker and proxy in crisis-ridden Central America.” Six months later, the Reagan administration confirmed that Israel was supplying weapons captured from the PLO to Honduras for eventual use by Nicaraguan rebels. A New York Times correspondent observed that “Israel’s coordination with the Americans marks a departure from its previous activities in Central America as an independent supplier of arms. The new role brings Israel closer to acting as a surrogate for the United States... American officials, in confirming Israel’s cooperation in Central America, said it was a factor in the recent improvement of Israeli—United States relations.”

Increasingly, Israel has been joining forces with the United States and conservative Latin American governments in an attempt to quell leftist uprisings and guerrilla movements. Of course, there is a trade-off, in that Israel has inherited the United States’ old quarrels with the Latin American left. In the process Latin American Jews have become pawns in a game of military diplomacy being played by their own governments, Israel, and the United States. The actions taken by Israel directly impinge on the well-being of the Jewish communities in Latin America, but the latter have no input in the decision-making process.

LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY IN TRANSITION

Economically, 1982 was the worst year for Latin America since the great depression of the 1930’s. The 19 countries of the area (excluding Cuba) had a combined foreign debt of $289 billion, and several nations were on the

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brink of bankruptcy. Out of a total population of 344 million people, at least 27 million were unemployed, creating the potential for social anarchy. Needless to say, Latin American Jews felt the negative impact of these developments as well.

In 1982 antisemitism rose sharply on the political left, masked as anti-Zionism. The Palestinian cause attracted the loyalty of radicals and progressives, including Jews, all over the continent. The two hatreds coalesced in the summer of 1982, when the massacre of Palestinians in refugee camps in Lebanon became the occasion for demonstrations and armed attacks on Jews. In Medellín, Colombia six masked men invaded a synagogue, threatened the congregants, and desecrated the sanctuary; in Barranquilla participants in a street demonstration chanted, "Death to the Jews." In Caracas, Venezuela a gang of 20 persons broke into the Israeli embassy and painted antisemitic slogans on the walls; a few weeks later, the Jewish center in Maracaibo was attacked by university students. Following the opening of a PLO office in Lima, Peru, the country was flooded with antisemitic literature; in December, Lima's main synagogue was bombed. The Israeli embassy in Quito, Ecuador was bombed, resulting in the deaths of two Ecuadorian policemen and the maiming of a passerby. In Brazil, where public demonstrations had been outlawed for ten years, the first march to be licensed by the government took the form of an anti-Israel protest.

These events were all linked: Israel was targeted as the oppressor of subject peoples; Latin American Jews were identified with Israel; and the delegitimation of Jews as citizens of their own countries proceeded apace. Paradoxically, more antisemitism surfaced in countries undergoing a loosening of government controls—Brazil and Peru—than in those nations where the press was strictly controlled. Some governments conducted a dual policy, maintaining correct relations with Israel while licensing hysterical anti-Israel street demonstrations as a way of siphoning off anger that might otherwise have been directed against themselves. Reciprocally, Israel showed little concern for the growing unease of Latin American Jewry. Yosef Priel, Washington correspondent for Davar, was but the first to allege that the Israeli foreign ministry and its embassies in Latin America deliberately playing down the increase in antisemitic incidents so as not to jeopardize Israel's relations in the area.

"Is There Anti-Semitism in Argentina?" an article by a well-informed Jewish journalist, appeared in Midstream in February 1983. It is extraordinary that after years of worldwide debate, engaging some of the keenest political minds on the contemporary scene, the question could still be mooted. And yet, the confusion which followed in the wake of Jacobo

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Timerman's exposé of the Argentine military junta—in *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*—is understandable in light of the complexity of the situation.

From the time it seized power in March 1976 until it was forced to hold elections in October 1983, a military junta, dominated by a succession of generals and admirals, ruled Argentina. Taking the doctrine of national security to its limits, the junta attempted to exterminate all political dissidents and expunge "morally subversive" elements who were thought to be preparing the country for a Communist takeover. In the terror which ensued, thousands of Argentines were killed or held in confinement for years without trial. The government's anti-subversive campaign swept up the guilty as well as the innocent, Jew and non-Jew, men, women, and children. General Ramon Camps, chief of the Buenos Aires police during the worst days of the repression, stated that "everyone acting against subversion did so, always, under orders from the highest military authorities." 2

Robert Cox, editor of the English-language Buenos Aires *Herald*, characterized the acquiescence of the Argentine people in what came to be known as "the military process" as "a breakdown of the conservative conscience."

It was clear from the start that more Jews were being killed in Argentina than might have been expected from random action against the population at large. It was also clear that many members of the military junta subscribed to a conspiratorial view of Jewry: Jews were responsible for Marxism; they had invented psychoanalysis in order to undermine the Christian family; they controlled the international banking system; and they selfishly guided the destinies of both the capitalist and the communist worlds. 30 This view found its confirmation—a self-fulfilling prophecy—in the fact that from 15 to 20 per cent of the guerrillas killed in the early stage of the "dirty war" were Jews. But long after the subversive guerrilla forces had been liquidated, the government went on killing people, focusing on suspect elements of the population. Scientists, academics, politicians, and students were all victimized by the regime, and many of them were Jewish. Although dozens of politicians were implicated in the failures of the previous Peron administration, only José Ber Gelbard, a Polish-born Jew who was Peron's minister of the economy, was stripped of his citizenship and forced into exile by the military rulers.

The belief of many non-Argentines that there was a pogrom in progress was modified by a puzzling phenomenon: the Jewish community was staying in place, despite the opportunity to flee. Gradually, it became apparent that Jews were not alone in their suffering, and that individual Jews were paying a price for belonging to sectors of the population that had fallen

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under the suspicion of the military. People who were deeply involved in Jewish community life generally remained free of attack during this period, and Jewish institutions thrived as they were perceived as safe places. Jewish organizations functioned normally: meetings were held; the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto was commemorated; Hebrew was taught; and funds were collected for Israel. For many Jews, as for many non-Jews, life went on as usual. "Argentina is not Poland," said a Jewish psychoanalyst who took refuge in Israel after his name became linked to a subversive group. "There are plenty of antisemites in Argentina," said another exiled Argentine Jew, "but it is not an antisemitic country."

In a strange twist of fate, the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war helped improve the status of Argentine Jews. This came about as a by-product of Israeli foreign policy. When a boycott of Argentina was proclaimed by Great Britain, the United States, and other countries, Israel declined to observe it. Instead, the Israeli government announced that it would continue to make delivery on pre-existing contracts, although it would not enter into any new agreements while the war was going on. The association of Israel with Argentina's patriotic war could not but benefit the Argentine Jewish community.

It was in this context that the DAIA became the first organization belonging to a "foreign" community to come forward with an expression of loyalty to the government. The DAIA's statement read in part: "The Jewish people... for so long seeking to recover the land of their ancestors... have the experience to understand and feel solidarity with the act of restitution of the Malvinas to the national inheritance." During the Falklands/Malvinas war, the Jewish community established rapport with the most antisemitic elements in Argentina. The military junta reciprocated by permitting the appointment of Jewish army chaplains to provide for the spiritual needs of Jewish conscripts—this, in a military service that since the 1930's had permitted no officer of Jewish origin to rise higher in rank than captain.

Beginning in March 1982, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, both of which had been working on behalf of Jewish prisoners in Argentina, were able to announce a series of releases, including persons who had been held in confinement under conditions of extreme duress for as long as eight years. Also in 1982, the television program "Holocaust" was permitted to be shown in Argentina, although its presentation was marred by the desecration of a Jewish cemetery in Mar del Plata. The repudiation of this act by President Leopoldo Galtieri represented a change of policy on the part of the government, which shortly thereafter also promised to stamp out neo-Nazi literature.

A visit to Argentina by Israeli foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir in December 1982, following the Argentine retreat from the Malvinas, led to
agreements on scientific and cultural exchange, the sale of combat aircraft, and the release of additional Jewish prisoners. During the final months of 1982, the Argentine Jewish community returned to normalcy, subject only to the same hazards that beset all Argentines.

Immediately following his election, civilian president Raul Alfonsin appointed a presidential commission to investigate the cases of persons who had been detained and made to "disappear," and to prepare criminal charges against those who were responsible. While various human rights commissions continue to probe this area, there are many, both within and without the Jewish community, who feel that the time has come to close the books on this deplorable chapter of Argentine history.

Following the end of military rule there appeared to be a new and growing acceptance of Jews as legitimate members of Argentine society. No fewer than six Jews were elected to the Chamber of Deputies in October 1983, including Cesar Jaroslawsky, who was subsequently elected majority leader of the Chamber. Senator Adolfo Gass became chairman of the foreign relations committee. Alfonsín won the Argentine presidency despite his being depicted as the candidate of the Jews. Once in office, he appointed numerous Jews to public posts, including the secretary of state for science and technology, Manuel Sadosky; the subsecretary for information and development, Roberto Schteingart; the coordinator of the national commission on computing, Jorge Edelman; and the subsecretary of the ministry of culture, Marcos Aguinis. In one ministry all three subsecretaries were Jews. Approximately one-third of the newly appointed deans at the University of Buenos Aires were Jews. The admittance of Jewish talent to public life contrasts sharply with the earlier policy of attempting to impose a single Catholic standard on the entire nation.

In recent years the Central American Jewish communities have been drained by civil war. As noted above, those Jews who had business or personal ties with General Somoza left Nicaragua when the dictator fell from power in 1979. In 1983 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith charged that their departure had not been voluntary. Relying on the testimony of two Nicaraguan Jews, the claim was put forward that the Sandinistas were antisemitic and had confiscated Jewish property, including a synagogue. This charge was taken up by President Ronald Reagan, who told a White House gathering: "The results of the self-proclaimed blood unity between the Sandinistas and the PLO are evidence for all the world to see and are an evil echo of history. Virtually the entire Jewish community of Nicaragua has been frightened into exile." The president urged his listeners to "please share the truth that Communism in Central America means not only the loss of political freedom but of religious freedom as well."

President Reagan's concern for Nicaraguan Jewry was seen by some as an attempt to manipulate American Jewish opinion in support of his Latin
American policy. Sources close to the Sandinistas, as well as many North American scholars familiar with the situation in Nicaragua, denied that antisemitism was part of the Sandinista program. The confiscations that took place, it was claimed, were limited to property abandoned by Somoza supporters, and affected Jews and non-Jews alike. For its part, the Nicaraguan government issued an invitation to American Jewish organizations to send representatives to Managua to view the situation firsthand, offering to discuss all the points at issue, including the expropriation of property and the return of Nicaraguan Jews. This invitation was not accepted.

As violence escalated in El Salvador, increasing numbers of Jews abandoned the country for a safe haven in the United States. The typical pattern was for a businessman to resettle his family in Miami, Houston, or some other southern city, and commute back and forth to his place of business in San Salvador.

The situation was somewhat different in Mexico, where no insurgency was taking place and no physical threat to Jewish life existed. However, an acute fiscal crisis led to a sudden nationalization of Mexican banks by outgoing President José Lopez Portillo y Pacheco, a step that severely damaged the economic position of many middle- and upper-class businessmen, Jews included. The move created panic in the Jewish community and stimulated the flight to the United States of an estimated 1,500 to 5,000 Jews. An important element in the situation was a remark by the president concerning “minorities” who were damaging the economy by sending dollars out of the country. Mexican Jews feared the worst; the rabbi of a major synagogue used his Yom Kippur sermon to warn the congregation that there was no future for Jews in Mexico. The rabbi then resigned to take a better job in San Diego, California, leaving the community to cope with the public scandal that his words evoked. A subsequent statement by the government indicating that President Lopez Portillo had been referring to a minority of entrepreneurs and not an ethnic minority helped calm the situation. Many Jews who had left the country returned, leaving a high water mark of condominiums purchased in Houston and Dallas.

Why had Mexican Jews reacted this way? The Jewish communities in Latin America are extremely vulnerable to national chauvinism, which invariably functions so as to exclude Jews. This is particularly true in Mexico, where the concept of raza (race) occupies the same emotional space that nation has in other countries. There is no way in which Jews can be raza. Standing somewhat apart from the rest of society, Mexican Jews become an easy target when, as happened in 1982, people begin to perceive themselves as the victims of the international economy. Paradoxically, it was also the link to the international economy that eventually corrected the situation, since the new administration of President Miguel de la Madrid
Hurtado was all too aware of the losses that Mexico had suffered during the short Jewish boycott that followed Mexico's Zionism-equals-racism vote at the United Nations in 1975. President de la Madrid displayed good judgement in appointing several Jews to government posts, including under-secretary of commerce and chairman of an important economic commission. Jewish life settled back on its former foundations, but with an increased awareness of just how fragile these were.

**CONCLUSION**

What are the major trends in Latin American Jewish life as they emerge from this review? There has been a substantial change in the way in which Jews relate to their national societies. A generation or two ago, Jewish immigrants arriving in Latin America from Europe and the Near East felt far superior to the peoples surrounding them. Being literate, family-oriented, and in control of their birth rate, Jews looked with disdain on the masses of Latin Americans who were illiterate, uncommitted to the standard of a monogamous nuclear family, and able to tolerate staggering rates of infant birth and mortality. Furthermore, Jews were kept at arm's length by the unremitting Catholicism of Latin America, which made them feel like outsiders. In those places where mass immigration provided the basis for developing a Jewish community, Jews typically drew together in search of mutual support. The more tightly these communities organized, the less need there was for Jews to establish ties with the rest of society. Over the long run, the result was the enclosed *kehilloot* described above.

This pattern is now changing, as a result of developments in both the host societies and Jewish communities. Social mobility, industrialization, and improved transportation, communication, and educational systems—developments in which Jews themselves have taken an important part—have substantially broadened the base of Latin American societies, increasing political, social, and economic participation by all classes. A recognizable middle class has emerged, characterized by relative affluence, a high level of education, and a modern outlook. The flowering of Latin American literature and art, exemplified in the novels of Gabriel García Marquez, Mario Vargas Llosa, Julio Cortazar, and Carlos Fuentes and the paintings of Rodo Boulanger and Fernando Botero, bespeaks a culture that outsiders can enter and find rewarding. Native-born Jews are themselves contributing to this culture, not as Jews *per se*, but as Jewish Argentines, Jewish Mexicans, etc.31

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31 Among literary works deserving mention in this context are Mario Szichman's *A las 20:25* *la señora entró a la inmortalidad*; Gerardo Mario Goloboff's *Caballitos por el fondo de los ojos*;
The entry of Jewish intellectuals into the mainstream of cultural life may signal a reduction of antisemitism, since Latin Americans hold their writers and artists in high esteem. In Argentina, Jewish novelists, poets, social critics, and film producers have been participating in the remarkable cultural florescence that has accompanied the changeover from dictatorship to democracy. In Mexico the two most popular radio personalities are Jewish, bearing the non-Latin names Yankelevich and Zablodowski. Some of Chile’s best-known actors are Jewish, including Shlomit Baytelman, Alejandro Cohen, Anita Klesky, Jael Unger, and Mario Kreutzberger. Significantly, these individuals have succeeded without the name-changing that would probably have been necessary in the United States. Many Uruguayan journalists and art critics are Jews, as are the directors of the national museum and the national comedy theater. Throughout Latin America, acceptance of Jews in the artistic and entertainment worlds is far in advance of their acceptance in the political and military spheres.

As members of the expanding middle class, young Latin American Jews pursue advanced education together with other middle-class sons and daughters; they share similar concerns for the future of their homelands, and enjoy the same lifestyle. Such Jews are light-years removed from the poverty and stagnation that their parents and grandparents experienced. For many of them, the vitality and relevance of contemporary Latin American culture contrast favorably with the provincialism of the organized Jewish communities, which are frozen in patterns derived from nineteenth-century experience. Generational differences go beyond the merely political, involving such questions as whether Judaism has the ability to develop and grow, and whether the defense of Jewish interests can be distinguished from the defense of class interests.

Until recently the highly secularized Latin American Jewish population has acceded to the strictures imposed by the Orthodox rabbinate—a phenomenon not confined to Latin America. Orthodox rabbis, for their part, have maintained a stance of unreconstructed Judaism rivaling that of the pre-conciliar church, heedless of the alienation of increasing numbers of Jews. At present, however, Progressive rabbis, educated either in the United States or at the Seminario Rabinico in Buenos Aires, are revitalizing Latin American Jewish religious life. Progressive congregations are growing in strength throughout Latin America, a trend that will accelerate as more Spanish-speaking rabbis become available. In response, there are efforts at renewal among such Orthodox groups as Agudath Israel, Mizrachi, Lubavitch and Satmar, and these groups are in fact attracting new followers. If

Pedro Orgambide’s *Adventuras de Edmund Ziller en tierras del Nuevo Mundo*; Margo Glantz’s *Las genealogias*; Esther Seligson’s *La morada en el tiempo*; and Isaac Goldenberg’s *Fragmented Life of Don Jacobo Lerner*.
these trends continue, Latin American Jewry may redefine itself as a religious rather than as a secular minority.

Another change that is taking place is the diminution of inter-ethnic rivalries. Ethnic differences are of little importance to young Jews, and youth-oriented sports clubs are eclipsing the **landsmenschafiten** in popularity. The sports clubs provide a focus for ethnically mixed activities, libraries, day schools, and even religious services. Nevertheless, ethnic differences continue to be strongly reflected in the representative bodies of the communities, which perpetuate a compartmentalized form of Jewish life. Small wonder, then, that these bodies have become irrelevant to younger Jews.

U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola have indicated that the Jewish communities are shrinking at the rate of some one per cent a year. The shrinkage in total population is exceeded by shrinkage in the number of communities on the continent. Responding to the same factors that cause Latin Americans generally to register the highest rate of urbanization of any population in the world, Jews are becoming more urbanized and more centralized than at any time in the past. In the not too distant future there will be very few Jews left in the interior of the continent.

The Latin American diaspora is now creating its own diasporas. As much as one-fifth of Latin American Jewry may now be living in Israel. A comparable number probably reside in the United States, with other groups scattered throughout Europe, most notably in Spain and West Germany. The departure of Jews from Cuba under the spur of Castro's economic reorganization did not result in the relocation of Cuban Jews to some other Latin American country. For the most part, Cuban Jews, like other Cubans, settled in Florida. The exodus of Jews from Allende's Chile swelled the small Jewish community of West Germany. Radical Jewish exiles from Argentina, like their compatriots, went to Spain. The political, economic, and social aspirations of emigré Jewish Latin Americans can evidently be better satisfied outside the continent than on it.

The factor that weighs most heavily in the evaluation of the status of the Latin American Jewish communities today is the foreign policy of the State of Israel. Clearly, past Israeli actions have served both to stabilize and destabilize these communities, and the growing involvement of Israel in the political and military conflicts of the Western hemisphere assures that there will be a continued impact in ways that cannot be wholly foreseen. The nature of the impact will depend on what policies Israel adopts, as well as the situations in the various countries. But the experience of recent years makes it clear that Israeli policy seriously affects the ways in which Latin American Jews can work out their destinies within their own national societies.
The Demography of Latin American Jewry

by U. O. Schmelz and Sergio Dellapergola

Latin American Jewry constitutes one of the regional clusters of world Jewry. It is distinct in terms of its geographical location and linguistic setting in countries of overwhelmingly Spanish or Portuguese speech.

Numbering now less than half a million, Latin American Jewry is spread over a vast subcontinent, in countries both large and small, which vary in climatic features, racial and cultural groupings, and economic and political conditions. The Jews of Latin America are clearly subject to diverse influences. Still, their demographic patterns are essentially similar throughout the whole of the region.

The overwhelming majority of Jews now living in Latin America are comparatively recent arrivals. They or their parents or, at most, grandparents settled in the area during this century. Most Latin American Jews are of European, and particularly East European, origin, although there is also a Middle East element. The major Jewish center is Argentina, whose general population is also of predominantly European stock. Jews who live in countries with general populations that are largely Indian or Black, are socially distant from the rural or slum-dwelling majorities, rather forming part of the urban middle and upper classes. All these factors make for a situation in which Latin American Jews exhibit the modern demographic patterns that are characteristic of the advanced regions of the world, encompassing the bulk of contemporary Diaspora Jewry as well. By the same token, Latin American Jews are subject to specific Jewish identity problems, with their demographic consequences, that are prevalent in many Jewish communities in the contemporary Diaspora.

The essential demographic similarity of Latin American Jewry to most other Diaspora populations—and, indeed, to the general populations of the developed regions—is of heuristic importance. It not only permits revealing comparisons, but also allows room for a judicious adducing of analogies from comparable populations where direct statistical information on the Jews of Latin America is deficient.

Half of all Latin American Jews live in a single country—Argentina—while about 70 per cent reside in two countries—Argentina and Brazil.

Note: The research reported in this article was carried out at the division of Jewish demography and statistics, the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
Fortunately, it is with regard to these two Jewries that the best statistical evidence is available.

The main statistical sources for the demography of Latin American Jewry since about 1960 are of the following types:

a) Official population censuses, notably those of Argentina in 1960 and Brazil in 1960 and 1980. Other relevant censuses are those of Mexico (1960, 1970, 1980), Chile (1960, 1970), and Peru (1961). Jews are identified in these censuses as one of a number of religious groups. The official census publications merely indicate the geographical and sex distributions—and in the case of Brazil, the age structure as well—of the small Jewish minorities. However, a great additional potential for data retrieval exists in those censuses which distinguish Jews from the general population. Thus, it has been possible to obtain detailed tabulations on Argentina's Jewish population from the data file of the 1960 census.

b) Jewish-sponsored censuses or surveys of Jewish populations, including an incomplete census in Sao Paulo, Brazil (1968–1969) and a small sample survey in Greater Buenos Aires (1973–1974). There have also been enumerations in Tucuman (1962 and 1974), Quilmes (1968), and Bahia Blanca (1975), Argentina, as well as Panama (1960–1961), Guatemala (1963), El Salvador (1972), Colombia (1977), Guatemala (1983), and Santiago, Chile (1983–1984).

c) Surveys of Jewish sub-populations, e.g., Sephardic Jews in Buenos Aires (1969), members of Jewish organizations in Chile (1965) and Cordoba, Argentina (1970). This and the preceding type of source are usually linked to the existence of registers of Jewish communities or large Jewish organizations. Such registers, if fairly complete and updated, have an important potential for statistical use, but they have been little exploited thus far. An instance of population statistics compiled from a community register is a series of studies of Sao Paulo Jewry since 1978.

d) Statistics on Jewish deaths (1953–1966) and Jewish marriages (1962–1963) in Greater Buenos Aires. These vital statistics relate to burials and weddings performed under Jewish religious auspices. In 1963 they embraced all the organized Jewish communities in Buenos Aires, while in other years they extended only to the principal Ashkenazi community (known by the initials AMIA). Regrettably, data collection on these subjects has been discontinued.

Questions about religious affiliation have not been included in the population censuses taken in Argentina since 1960; the same applies to Brazil's 1970 census. These censuses, therefore, fail to supply data on Jews.

The Federação Israelita do Estado de Sao Paulo has established a departamento de estatística e pesquisa social, which routinely collects and updates Jewish demographic, socio-economic, and educational data. Useful materials were supplied to the authors through the courtesy of Jose Knoplich, president of the Federação Israelita, and Claudia Milnitzky, coordinator of statistical and social research.
Aside from the above-mentioned empirical sources, which contain somewhat detailed information, periodic estimates of the number of Jews in the various Latin American countries have appeared in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK (AJYB) and other Jewish publications. In this article, only the figures published in the AJYB will be touched upon and they will be designated "current estimates." Starting with the 1982 AJYB, the old series of current estimates was discontinued and replaced by revised estimates prepared by the authors of the present article. Until recently, the population estimates for Latin American Jewry that have appeared elsewhere have approximated or even exceeded the high figures of the old AJYB series. The one exception is Ira Rosenswaike's study of Jewish population figures for Argentina, which was published in 1960.3

In this article an attempt will be made to synthesize the directly available as well as inferable information on some of the principal features of the demography of Latin American Jews. Attention will be paid to the size of the various Jewish populations, their dynamics (natural movement, affirmative changes, and external migrations), and selected aspects of their socio-demographic structure. The concluding section will consider prospects for the future in the light of demographic projections.4

SIZE OF JEWISH POPULATIONS

Recent Estimates and Their Rationale

OVERVIEW

Latin American Jewry amounted to some 465,000 people at the end of 1982. It was fifth in size among the regions of world Jewry, and fourth in the Diaspora (Table 1).


4The most intensive analysis so far of the demography of Jews in Latin America is to be found in a monograph published in Hebrew: U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, The Demography of the Jews in Argentina and in Other Countries of Latin America (Tel Aviv, 1974). A more recent article by Sergio DellaPergola, "Population Trends of Latin American Jewry," is scheduled for publication in the proceedings of the research conference on the Jewish experience in Latin America, held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 12–14, 1984, under the sponsorship of the Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, and the Latin America Jewish Studies Association. A useful compendium of information on the Jewish population in all the countries of Latin America is Jacobo Kovadloff (ed.), Comunidades judías de latinoamerica, 1973–1975 (Buenos Aires, 1977). Judith Laikin Elkin's Jews of the Latin American Republics (Chapel Hill, 1976) includes chapters on demographic and socio-economic trends.
### Table 1. Estimated World Jewish Population, by Regions, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Absolute Numbers</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>12,988,600</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thereof: Diaspora</td>
<td>9,614,300</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>6,013,000</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>3,374,300</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe &amp; Balkans&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,771,800</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>1,070,900</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>464,700</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>120,250</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Asia&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;, Northern &amp; Central Africa</td>
<td>94,650</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Including the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R. and Turkey.

<sup>b</sup>Excluding Israel and the Asian territories of the U.S.S.R. and Turkey.

Argentina ranked seventh and Brazil ninth among the nine countries having Jewish populations of 100,000 or more; their respective ranking in the Diaspora was sixth and eighth.

Table 2 shows the geographical distribution of Jews and the general population within the Latin American region. While temperate South America accounts for only 11.5 per cent of the region’s general population, 61 per cent of the Jews live there. Moreover, a major Jewish concentration of over 40,000 is found in adjacent Sao Paulo in southern Brazil. Jewish populations of over 10,000 exist in only six countries.<sup>5</sup>

Jews are a tiny minority everywhere in Latin America. In Uruguay they number about ten per thousand; in Argentina eight per thousand; and in all other countries, including Brazil, far less. Jews, however, constitute around two per cent of the population of Greater Buenos Aires.

The Jews of Latin America display features of both dispersion and concentration. On the one hand, they are scattered over the vast expanse of the subcontinent; there are more than twenty separate countries in which more than 100 Jews are estimated to reside permanently. On the other hand, a single country—Argentina—accounts for 50 per cent of all Latin American Jewry. Two countries—Argentina and Brazil—hold 72 per cent of the total,

<sup>5</sup>Cuba also belonged to this category before the 1961 revolution.
### TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION OF LATIN AMERICA, BY SUB-REGIONS AND MAJOR COUNTRIES (10,000+ JEWS), 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Region, Country</th>
<th>Jews Absolute Numbers</th>
<th>Jews Per Cent</th>
<th>General Population Absolute Numbers</th>
<th>General Population Per Cent</th>
<th>Jews Per 1,000 Of General Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>464,700</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>376,327,000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle America:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41,750</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>97,137,000</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>73,011,000</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>6,750</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>24,126,000</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,050</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>29,375,000</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical South America:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>134,900</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>206,223,000</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>126,807,000</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>14,714,000</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>14,900</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>64,702,000</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperate South America:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>283,000</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>43,592,000</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>29,158,000</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2,947,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>11,487,000</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While six countries, each with more than 10,000 Jews, account for 94 per cent of the whole. There is also a striking concentration of Jews within countries, with most of them being found in the capital city or the leading commercial center. In Brazil, the states of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro account for more than 80 per cent of the entire Jewish population.

**ARGENTINA**

The official population census of 1895 found no more than 6,085 Jews in Argentina. It is generally agreed that the large influx of Jewish immigrants occurred between that date and the outbreak of World War II.
In 1936 Simon Weill attempted to account for the annual growth of Argentine Jewry from 1888 to his time. Weill’s estimate for the end of 1935 was 260,000. The special value of his cumulative computation lay in the immigration figures that he reported, which, because of his access to sources, were authoritative. However, as Ira Rosenswaike has pointed out, Weill’s figures were affected by two systematic errors: he conjectured an unvarying and rather high rate of natural increase for the Jewish population, whereas the demographic conditions of the late 1920’s and especially the 1930’s would have required a declining rate; and he disregarded emigration. Hence, Weill arrived at a population figure that was too high.

The upwardly biased figure of 260,000 Jews for the end of 1935 was adopted as the AJYB’s current estimate, and repeated until the early 1940’s. It was then replaced by the even higher figure of 350,000, which was communicated by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Demographic analysis shows that about half of the alleged rise of 90,000 can be accounted for on the basis of plausible natural increase and immigration, while the other half appears unfounded.

An official population census specifying religion was taken in Argentina in 1947, and came up with a figure of 249,326 Jews. This figure requires some upward revision because of under-reporting of Jews, especially at a time when considerable numbers of World War II refugees were remaining in the country “illegally.” Still, the figure is considerably lower than the current estimates of the period, estimates which received wide currency.

In the 1950’s and 1960’s, the current estimates for Argentinian Jewry leaped forward several times, separated by considerable periods of invariance. The climb of the current estimates was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Current Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1943-1946</td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-1957</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-1961</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1967</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-1972</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-1974</td>
<td>475,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another population census was taken in Argentina in 1960. Official publications gave the breakdown by religion only for persons aged five and over, and the figure for Jews was 275,913. The corresponding probable

---


*Compare the reconstruction of Argentine Jewry’s demographic evolution which appears below. Immigration was obviously at a low ebb during the war years.

*As already suggested by Rosenswaike, op. cit.*
order of magnitude for Jews of all ages was again ignored in the unrestrained rise of the current estimates.

In 1971 U.O. Schmelz published an article in which he argued that the alleged increases in Argentina's Jewish population were demographically untenable. A rise of 100,000 from about 1958 to 1968 would have implied an annual growth rate of more than two per cent. Since all observers agreed that Jewish immigration had become insignificant—indeed, the migratory balance of Argentine Jews tended to be negative—any growth must have been attributable mainly to natural increase. A natural increase of over two per cent annually was far in excess of the level found at the time among the general populations of the developed countries, including Argentina (where it amounted to 1.3 per cent on average during 1958–1968). Moreover, the level of Jewish natural increase during those years consistently fell far short of that of the corresponding general populations; indeed, in some countries there was a natural decrease of Jews (i.e., fewer births than deaths). Circumstantial evidence available for Argentine Jewry itself—e.g., death statistics—made it evident that any assumption of rapid growth, as implied in the strong rise of the current estimates, was untenable.

Then good luck came to the aid of Jewish demographic research. A data file containing the individual records of Jews in Argentina's 1960 census was obtained, and it was thoroughly tabulated and analyzed at the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry. The findings not only provided valuable insights into the structure and characteristics of Argentine Jewry, but also made it possible, in conjunction with other data sources, to evaluate its size and ascertain its dynamics. In fact, the outlines of the demographic evolution of Argentine Jewry could now be retraced from the beginning of the twentieth century.

The 1960 Jewish data file was found to include, after some slight adjustments, 291,877 people of all ages who were reported as Jews. However, in a census asking about religion, some Jews may be included in one of two "unknown" categories: those stating to have no religion and those leaving

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10As well as to the balance of affiliative changes, which, however, could be assumed to be negative for the Jews.
12But completely safeguarding confidentiality, i.e., without the names and addresses of the persons concerned.
13Through the assistance of AMIA, Buenos Aires.
14Whereas the official census publications indicated religion only for those aged five and over. See above.
the question on religion unanswered. An evaluation of the 1960 Argentine census indicates that the directly available census count of about 292,000 was not very far from the probable actual total of Jews. The best estimate of the actual total was about 310,000 people, who either identified themselves as Jews or were of Jewish descent and had not completely severed their Jewish links.

The reasons for these findings can be summarized as follows:

A) Approximate adequacy of the census count of Jews.

1) Comparisons with other contemporary data showed that an emended figure not very much above the directly ascertained 292,000 Jews was reasonable. Such data were: detailed death statistics of Jews in Greater Buenos Aires, where, according to the census, 80 per cent of all Argentine Jews were concentrated. In view of the empirically recorded absolute figures of deaths, a Jewish population size of 450,000–500,000 for the whole of Argentina would have implied a biologically impossible low level of mortality; statistics of the religiously celebrated Jewish marriages in Greater Buenos Aires, which showed that the number of brides and grooms was considerably below that of the Greater Buenos Aires Jews who, in the census, were reported to have been married in the directly preceding years. This discrepancy is mainly attributable to endogamous Jewish marriages without religious ceremony, as well as mixed marriages, but its existence disproves strong inadequacy of the census count of Jews; a few local censuses of Jews that were taken on Jewish initiative.

2) The reconstruction of the demographic evolution of Argentine Jewry succeeded in reconciling, with moderate emendations, the 1960 census figure of 292,000 with the major data available from earlier times, viz. Weill’s immigration figures and the results of the 1947 census.

B) Determination that the emended census total of Jews in 1960 was approximately 310,000.

1) This was the figure that emerged when the necessary correction in the reported number of Jews, because of the “unknown” categories of the religious distribution, was carried out according to the proportion of persons in the general population professing no religion or failing to answer the question. This proportion amounted to 5.8 per cent in Greater Buenos Aires. The assumption of about six per cent “unknown” among the Jews raised the recorded total of 292,000 to approximately 310,000.

2) On the assumption of 310,000 Jews for the whole of Argentina, and after making age-sex-specific adjustments for the “unknown” cases, a life-table could be computed for the Jews of Greater Buenos Aires which

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15 They may even be misreported as non-Jews.
16 Civil marriage is required by law in Argentina.
indicated reasonable life expectancies at birth: males—68.9; females—73.9 years. A marked augmentation of the population in the life-table computations would have yielded unrealistically high life expectancies.

When the revised population figure of 310,000 for Argentina became known, the AJYB current estimate dropped from 475,000 in 1974 to the round figure of 300,000, which purported to relate to 1975. It remained on this level, without change, until 1982, when the old series of current estimates came to an end.

It is not difficult to discern that an actual decrease in the Jewish population of Argentina must have taken place after 1960. By that year the balance of Argentine Jewry’s internal—i.e., natural and affiliative—dynamics was already approaching zero. Rather soon afterward it must have turned increasingly negative, because the continual growth in the number of elderly Jews, which was implicit in the 1960 age composition with its strong representation of persons in late middle age, must have raised the number of deaths. On the other hand, the birth rate of Argentina’s Jews, which was already very low by 1960, cannot be assumed to have risen, given the strongly downward fertility trend known for the general populations of the developed countries and documented for other Diaspora populations.

Nor is it likely that Argentine Jewry’s affiliative balance improved; rather, the contrary. Moreover, between 1961 and 1982, 33,600 Argentine Jews were recorded as new immigrants in Israel, and an unspecified but not unsubstantial number migrated elsewhere because of the difficult political and economic situation in the country. Thus, a realistic estimate of Jewish population size in Argentina in 1982 would be 233,000.

17 The corresponding figures for the general population of Greater Buenos Aires in 1959–1961 were: males—67.9; females—74.2 years. A relatively small sex differential in life expectancy is also found in other Jewish populations. See: U.O. Schmelz, Aging of World Jewry (Jerusalem, 1984), appendix Ib.

18 First published in Schmelz and DellaPergola, op. cit.

19 The difference between “effectively Jewish” births and deaths, on the one hand, and between accessions and secessions, on the other. Effectively Jewish births (and, similarly, effectively Jewish fertility) does not include newborn of Jewish parentage—mostly from mixed marriages—who are not Jews themselves. A negative balance of accessions and secessions constitutes the net assimilatory losses.

20 However, there was little decrease in the birth rate of Argentina’s general population.

21 Argentine Jewry’s peculiar age composition in 1960 did not allow for a subsequent rapid increase in the proportion of the procreative age groups that might have raised the crude birth rate, irrespective of fertility changes. This was unlike the situation among some other Diaspora Jewries, where the large cohorts born during the “baby boom” around 1950 occupied procreative ages in the 1970’s and 1980’s.

22 Some failed to stay on in Israel, but did not necessarily return to Argentina due to the unattractive conditions that prevailed in the latter country over a long period.

23 There seems to have been very little immigration of Jews into Argentina, apart from a small, and partly temporary, Chilean stream.
Further information on the changes in the number of Argentine Jews, and on the determinants of these changes, will be found in subsequent sections of this article (see, particularly, Tables 3, 4, 5, and 8).

**BRAZIL**

The following figures on Jews in Brazil appeared in official population censuses: 1940—55,666; 1950—69,657; 1960—96,199; 1980—91,795. Inspectors of the somewhat detailed data available from the 1960 census shows, however, that among those classified as Jews were more than 10,000 people who lived in rural localities and had a very high proportion (45 per cent) of children below age 15—something which is demographically impossible for a modern Jewish population. The 1980 census similarly included close to 2,000 “Jews” who lived in rural localities and had disproportionately many (40 per cent) children below age 15. When these 10,000 and 2,000 individuals are eliminated from the census totals of Jews as spurious—apparently due to response or processing errors—the numerical evolution between censuses assumes a gradual quality: 1940—56,000; 1950—70,000; 1960—86,000; 1980—90,000.

In the AJYB current estimates, a figure of 40,000 Jews, which first related to 1933, was repeated until the early 1940’s. Then the estimate suddenly jumped to 111,000 on the basis of reports from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, as was the case with Argentine Jewry at the same time. The estimates continued rising in spurts, to 130,000 in 1963, 150,000 in 1969, 155,000 in 1973, and 165,000 in 1975, and then fell to 150,000 in 1975–1979, when the current estimates for Argentina had already been reduced.

The basic error of the current estimates lay in the big rise around 1940, a large part of which cannot be accounted for either by documented immigration or natural increase. It is true that Brazil, unlike Argentina, received relatively large additions of Jewish immigrants after World War II. This influx slackened, however, beginning in the 1960’s, as can be ascertained inter alia from the distribution, by immigration period, of foreign-born Jews enumerated in Sao Paulo in 1968–1969. Moreover, close to 7,000 Jews left Brazil for Israel during 1961–1983, although some returned. The age distributions of Jews enumerated in the official 1960 and 1980 censuses and in Sao Paulo’s Jewish-sponsored census (1968–1969) show very low proportions of young children, e.g., 6.6 per cent aged 0–4 among urban Jews in 1980. This means that the birth rate has been very low in the last few decades; there

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²⁴See footnote 1.

²¹Compare the even graver errors mentioned below in regard to the Mexican censuses.

²⁶After correction for the spurious additions.
can hardly have been any natural increase. Clearly then, the substantial further rises in Jewish population size alleged by the current estimates in the 1960's and 1970's are contradicted by the empirical evidence.

A further indication of the actual Jewish population size in Brazil was furnished by the regrettably incomplete 1968-1969 Jewish census in Sao Paulo. About 28,500 Jews were enumerated in the first instance. Taking into account the additions furnished by a complementary survey and some reasonable margin of error, an estimate of about 40,000 Jews appears justified. The official population censuses enumerated 37,000 urban Jews in the State of Sao Paulo in 1960 and 44,400 in 1980, while the current estimate claimed 65,000 Jews in Sao Paulo in 1969.

The official population censuses, if corrected somewhat as above, seem to reflect rather adequately the growth of the Jewish population in Brazil, in line with what is known about its internal and migratory dynamics. The proportions of persons declaring themselves to be without religion or leaving the question unanswered among the general populations in the two major Jewish centers in Brazil in 1960 were very low: about one per cent each in the states comprising the metropolitan areas of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. By 1980 the proportions had risen somewhat to 2.3 per cent in Sao Paulo and 5.4 per cent in Rio de Janeiro. In view of the margins implied thereby for the Jewish group, and until more detailed fact-finding becomes feasible, a round figure of 100,000 for Brazilian Jewry in 1980-1982 seems appropriate.

MEXICO

The AJYB current estimates of Jews in Mexico were as follows: 1940—20,000; 1950—25,000; 1960—26,000; 1970—35,000; 1973-1975—40,000; 1976-1979—37,500. While these figures may be considered approximately accurate, this is certainly not true of the figures for Jews appearing in the various official, decennial Mexican censuses: 1940—14,167; 1950—17,574; 1960—100,750; 1970—49,277; 1980—61,790. Many of the alleged Jews were enumerated in provinces where few, if any, Jews were known to be living. Analysis of the computerized data file of all individuals in Greater Mexico City\textsuperscript{27} classified as Jews in the 1970 census shows that even this metropolitan group comprised sub-sections with typically non-Jewish fertility levels and age compositions, including a few hundred individuals who went barefoot, spoke only Indian languages, etc. The conclusion is inescapable that the last few Mexican censuses have included numerous individuals

who were misclassified as Jews. It is possible that some were adherents of various sects that were erroneously reported as Jewish; others may have been wrongly classified in the course of processing the census materials.

Mexico's Jewish population is described as well-off and dynamic. In the absence of any comprehensive statistical information, a cautious estimate of 35,000 for 1981–1982 would seem reasonable.

URUGUAY

Uruguayan population censuses have not inquired about religious identification. Nor has there been any comprehensive statistical study of Jews conducted under Jewish auspices. The AJYB current estimates stood at 40,000 in the early 1950's and at 50,000, with some fluctuations, during the long period 1955–1979. However, in informed Jewish circles there was an awareness that the currently circulating figures were quite exaggerated. Uruguay's Jews, nearly all of whom are concentrated in Montevideo, are generally regarded as being similar in socio-demographic characteristics to those in nearby Greater Buenos Aires. This being so, it must be assumed that the internal demographic evolution of Jews in Uruguay has likewise been negative, resulting in decreases. Moreover, Uruguay's Jews have had a relatively heavy migration deficit—again like Argentine Jews and probably even exceeding the latter per 1,000 of respective Jewish population. Some 7,000 Uruguayan Jews migrated to Israel during 1961–1983.

In consequence of revisions and the inferred downward trend of demographic evolution, the Jews in Uruguay are estimated to have numbered 30,000 in 1982. Jewish population size in the country continues to decrease.

CHILE

Official Chilean population censuses indicated the following numbers for Jews: 1952—11,496; 1960—11,700; 1970—16,359. In sharp contrast, the AJYB current estimates were as follows: 25,000 in the late 1940's; 40,000 in 1950–1954; 30,000 in 1955–1965; and 35,000 in 1967–1971. By the end of the 1970's the current estimates had gradually declined to 27,000, this during a period in which Chile passed through the double upheaval of Salvadore Allende's accession to power and his overthrow.

A survey of affiliated Jews in Chile that was conducted in 1965 arrived at a figure of 8,450 people—by no means all of them household heads—who were connected with one or more of the major institutions or organizations.

On the whole, the AJYB current estimates may be considered to have been excessive. By 1952 the rate of natural increase was low for Chilean

28The Jews of Buenos Aires constitute the great majority (about 80 per cent) of the Argentine Jewish whole, and virtually determine its demographic patterns.
Jewry, since the census of that year showed only 7.4 per cent children under the age of five among persons enumerated as Jewish. In later years, the balance of internal Jewish demographic dynamics is assumed to have gone down further and to have probably become negative—as in Argentina—because of a decline in fertility, increased assimilatory losses, and pronounced aging, the advent of which was implied by the age composition in the 1952 census. Since 1970 Chilean Jewry has been shaken by political and economic crises, which are known to have caused some emigration from the country (though, to some degree, perhaps temporary). Between 1961 and 1983, 4,200 Chilean Jews arrived in Israel.

A cautiously revised population estimate for Chilean Jewry in 1982 would be 20,000. However, fragments of evidence are accumulating which may lead to a further downward revision.

**TOTAL LATIN AMERICA**

The peak of the AJYB current estimates for Latin American Jewry was reached in 1972–1973, when a total figure of more than 800,000 was cited. The 1982 estimate put forward by the authors of the present article amounted to 465,000. The difference in the figures is due to substantial downward revision—especially for Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile—and a recognition of a decreasing trend in Jewish numbers in Argentina during the last two decades, and in the aggregate of other countries more recently (see below).

**Reconstruction of Demographic Evolution of Argentine Jewry**

The tabulations from Argentina's 1960 census supplied detailed data on the composition of the Jewish population. This rendered feasible an attempt to check the degree of agreement between the 1960 data and the principal previous sources. If the earlier and later data could be reasonably meshed, it would then be possible to reconstruct the outlines of Argentine Jewry's demographic evolution since the beginning of this century. The pre-1960 data in question were the 1947 census figures and Weill's immigration figures up to 1935. The 1947 census could be assumed, perhaps, to have been less efficient in its coverage of Jews than was the census of 1960 (see above). Still, while allowing for the intervening changes, the order of magnitude of the Jewish population enumerated at either date was hypothesized to conform mutually, this in contrast to the gaping disparities between the official figures for Jews in both censuses, on the one hand, and the contemporary AJYB current estimates, on the other. The project was conducted by B. Bloch, in conjunction with the authors of this article.

The basic approach was to apply a backward projection technique. The 1960 census gave the number of foreign-born Jews by year of immigration, age,
and sex. Approximate allowance for mortality and re-emigration could, if successfully applied, yield estimates of the original numbers of Jewish immigrants to Argentina. Similarly, the 1960 census provided data on Argentine-born Jews by year of birth (age) and sex. If mortality and emigration could be approximately accounted for, it would be possible to estimate the number of respective Jewish births that had occurred in Argentina. The constraints were a reasonable fit with Weill’s immigration figures and the 1947 census, on the one hand, and demographic plausibility and consistency in the changing levels and trends of all the parameters that were involved, on the other.

The starting point was the 1960 census figure for Jews, as raised to 310,000, and emended for various “unknown” categories. This population was disaggregated by sex and age (or birth year), place of birth, and year of immigration in the case of the foreign-born.

Mortality was computationally accounted for through application of reciprocals of the age-sex-specific death rates. The respective rates were obtained as follows: for most of the 1950’s—from specially constructed life-tables, utilizing the death statistics available for the Jews of Greater Buenos Aires at the time; for earlier years—from the model life-tables of Coale-Demeny, changing the mortality level every five years in accordance with empirical data available from other countries on Jewish mortality at the time.

Cumulative emigration until 1960 was determined for the foreign-born who had immigrated up to 1935 on the basis of the difference (with adjustments) between Weill’s immigration figures and those reconstructed from the survivors up to the 1960 census. In the light of these findings, which covered nearly the entire period of massive Jewish immigration, as well as information on the successively changing conditions in Argentina and the world, plus data on Jewish migration from Argentina to other countries (especially aliyah to Israel), conjectures were made of the size of emigration up to 1960 for the other sectors of Argentine Jewry and the apportionment of the emigrants to five-year periods of departure.

The actual work on the reconstruction project was quite intricate, requiring a good many cross-checks and auxiliary computations. However, these technical matters will not be discussed here. The reconstruction, which merely sought to clarify the overall picture, while not claiming to be fully accurate on all specifics, could be accomplished due to the basic

29 Both age at the time of the census and date of birth were inquired about in the questionnaire.
30 This was one reason—technical in nature—why the age-sex distribution of the 1960 base population was needed for this project.
31 Allowing for the fact that some of the persons comprised in the difference will have died in Argentina rather than actually emigrated.
consistency that was found within the 1960 census material, as well as between that material and the major empirical sources of earlier date. The reconstruction also benefited from the availability of empirical death statistics around the census date. The computations were made for quinquennial intervals.

The main results of the reconstruction from 1960 backwards, as well as of an updating to 1982 (using a forward projection technique), are shown in Tables 3–4.

Until World War II, Argentine Jewry experienced rapid population growth, except for the years of World War I, when immigration came to

### Table 3

**Size of Jewish Population in Argentina According to Different Sources (Census Reports and Estimates), 1895–1982**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Official Censuses</th>
<th>Authors' Reconstructiona</th>
<th>Current Estimatesb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>6,085</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>6,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>22,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
<td>116,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
<td>127,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td>162,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td>191,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
<td>218,000</td>
<td>260,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>254,000</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
<td>273,000</td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>249,326</td>
<td>286,000</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>294,000</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td>306,000</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960a</td>
<td></td>
<td>309,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>291,877</td>
<td>310,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
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<td>297,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td>286,000</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td></td>
<td>265,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td></td>
<td>242,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>233,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aFigures for 1947 and 1960 (second line) relate to census date; the others, until 1960—to beginning of year; as from 1965—to end of year. The estimates until 1960 were made in conjunction with B. Bloch.

bAs published in *American Jewish Year Book*, according to reference year; since 1982 supplied by the authors of this article.
a virtual standstill. The annual growth rates, and even the absolute increments, were greatest at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time, immigration was the main factor behind Jewish population growth in Argentina. It was then also that the rate of natural increase was at its peak; while considerable mortality prevailed, the birth rate was very high. This can be attributed to both substantial fertility and the youthful age composition of the recently arrived population. In the inter-war years, the rates of both migratory reinforcement and natural increase became more moderate. Though mortality dropped, the concurrent decline in the birth rate exerted an even stronger depressing influence on the balance of natural movement.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED CHANGES IN SIZE OF JEWISH POPULATION IN ARGENTINA,a 1900–1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Population Initial</th>
<th>Population Terminal</th>
<th>Change Total</th>
<th>Natural Increase/Decrease</th>
<th>Migratory Balance</th>
<th>Annual Rate Of Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900–1904</td>
<td>14,700</td>
<td>24,700</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905–1909</td>
<td>24,700</td>
<td>68,100</td>
<td>43,400</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>38,900</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910–1914</td>
<td>68,100</td>
<td>115,600</td>
<td>47,500</td>
<td>8,700</td>
<td>38,800</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915–1919</td>
<td>115,600</td>
<td>126,700</td>
<td>11,200</td>
<td>10,300</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920–1924</td>
<td>126,700</td>
<td>162,300</td>
<td>35,600</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>24,100</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925–1929</td>
<td>162,300</td>
<td>191,400</td>
<td>29,100</td>
<td>14,300</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–1934</td>
<td>191,400</td>
<td>218,000</td>
<td>26,600</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>12,600</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935–1939</td>
<td>218,000</td>
<td>254,400</td>
<td>36,400</td>
<td>13,900</td>
<td>22,500</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940–1944</td>
<td>254,400</td>
<td>273,400</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945–1949</td>
<td>273,400</td>
<td>294,000</td>
<td>20,700</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950–1954</td>
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<td>305,900</td>
<td>11,900</td>
<td>12,800</td>
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<tr>
<td>1955–1959</td>
<td>305,900</td>
<td>309,300</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>6,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960–1965</td>
<td>309,300</td>
<td>296,600</td>
<td>– 12,700</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>– 12,900</td>
<td>– 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971–1975</td>
<td>286,300</td>
<td>265,000</td>
<td>– 21,300</td>
<td>– 5,000</td>
<td>– 16,300</td>
<td>– 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–1980</td>
<td>265,000</td>
<td>242,000</td>
<td>– 23,000</td>
<td>– 8,600</td>
<td>– 14,400</td>
<td>– 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981–1982</td>
<td>242,000</td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>– 9,000</td>
<td>– 4,600</td>
<td>– 4,400</td>
<td>– 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aFor computational reasons the population figures are given here in greater detail than in Table 3. The intervals comprise entire calendar years. Cf. note a to Table 3: end of 1904 in Table 4 corresponds to beginning of 1905 in Table 3; beginning of 1966 in Table 4 corresponds to end of 1965 in Table 3.

bAccounting for assimilatory losses as well.

cPer 1,000 of Jewish population.
The post-World War II years, up to about 1960, were characterized by a trend toward vanishing population increase among Argentina's Jews. This was due to further declines in fertility and the birth rate, a tendency toward assimilatory losses, the aging of the Jewish population, and the disappearance, in the 1950's, of a migratory surplus.

Since about 1960 Argentine Jewry has undergone a marked numerical decrease, because both the balance of the natural cum affiliative changes and the external migration balance have been negative. An intensification of demographic aging raised the crude death rate. The migratory deficit was particularly marked in 1963–1965 and again in the 1970's.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFORMATIONS OF LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY

The socio-demographic development of Latin American Jewry can be analyzed by considering both the formative mechanisms of the various Jewish communities and the general societal contexts in which they have functioned. An important trait common to most of the communities is their relative newness, involving the immigrant status of the founding fathers. Of course, it is possible to refer back to the earlier stratum of Jewish or crypto-Jewish settlement, associated with the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of Latin America. However, due to the near-total assimilation of these people, their relevance for the socio-demographic trends and balance of contemporary Latin American Jewry is negligible.32

It is the Jewish experience of the last hundred years that is central to an understanding of the changing characteristics of Jewish population and society in contemporary Latin America. The common immigrant background encompasses a mosaic of Jewish origin groups, dominated by the Eastern European element. At the same time, Latin American Jewry is relatively more composite in terms of immigrant background than is North American Jewry. An important analytic issue is the extent to which differences between immigrants from communities with varying levels of modernization disappeared in the process of absorption into Latin American society. One may also wonder to what extent the differences between the various Latin American nations in terms of culture, economics, and politics were reflected in the parallel development of their respective Jewish communities.

In the following outline of the main transformations undergone by Latin American Jewry during the past few decades, the focus will be on five

32The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out that certain contemporary population groups in Latin America, formally Christianized for hundreds of years, might be of Jewish or converso background.
aspects of population and community: trends in international migration and nativity; changes in spatial distribution and urbanization; population dynamics and structure; socio-economic changes; and changing patterns of Jewish schooling.

Immigration and Countries of Origin

Probably no other single socio-demographic factor has been as important as immigration in shaping Latin American Jewry. Immigration laid the basis for the cultural and institutional patterns of the new Jewish communities, and determined the initial roles that Jews played in various spheres of Latin American life. The Latin American nations, being very much affected by immigration streams and sharp ethnic, racial, cultural, and class cleavages, usually exhibited the strongly unifying effects of nationalism, a shared Catholic religion, and a common Spanish or Portuguese tongue, all of which were foreign to Jews in their respective countries of origin. This, then, was the background against which the socio-demographic processes of Latin American Jewry played themselves out, determining current characteristics and trends.

The size and rhythm of Jewish immigration have been quite different in the various Latin American countries. The statistics compiled by a number of organizations directly involved with Jewish immigration clearly show a strong movement to Argentina between the late 1880’s and 1914. Out of 225,000 Jews who migrated to Argentina before 1940, roughly one half arrived prior to World War I. The corresponding figure for Jewish immigration to Brazil was around 15 per cent. This implies somewhat deeper roots for Argentine Jewry than for the other Jewish communities in Latin America, some of which—e.g., Venezuela—attained considerable size only after World War II.

The volume of Jewish immigration to Argentina, though quantitatively important until 1940, has followed a declining trend over time. The absolute peak of migration occurred between 1905 and 1914 (over 8,000 immigrants per year on average), followed by a second peak between 1920 and 1929 (over 6,500 immigrants each year), and a third between 1935 and 1939 (over 4,500 annually). The period of most intensive migration to Brazil was in the late 1920’s (about 4,000 people per year between 1925 and 1929). In Uruguay, the maximum influx occurred even later (over 2,000 immigrants annually between 1935 and 1939).

One important feature of the early waves of Jewish immigration was the relatively large number of immigrants compared to the receiving Jewish population. This clearly shows up in a comparison of immigration rates per 1,000 of the Jewish and general populations in Argentina (Table 5). Immigration rates for Jews were higher before 1929 (with the exception of the World War I period), which points to both the smallness of the initial Jewish community and the intensity of the immigrant flow. During the 1930's Jewish immigration rates fell below the overall average for Argentina, reflecting the growing web of political limitations to Jewish migration during this period, both in Europe and in the potential countries of immigration.34

Another, perhaps even more characteristic, trait of Jewish migration was the very high degree of permanency of settlement among newcomers. Indeed, Jewish emigration rates from Argentina were substantially lower than

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Jewish Populationa</th>
<th>General Populationb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>Emigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-04</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-09</td>
<td>195</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910-14</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1915-19</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1920-24</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>1925-29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>1930-34</td>
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<td>1935-39</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1950-54</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-65</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-70</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-75</td>
<td>-12</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3aSource: Reconstruction of Jewish population; see above.

3See Haim Avni, Argentina y la historia de la inmigracion judia 1810-1950 (Buenos Aires, 1983).
those found among the general population. Political, rather than merely economic, determinants of Jewish migration explain this factor, which resulted over time in a far more significant international migration balance for Jews than for the general population.

A sharp down-turn in Jewish migration to Latin America occurred during World War II, although several thousand Jews did manage to reach the continent, often illegally, between 1940 and 1945. Even during the immediate post-war period, which was characterized by important movements of displaced persons, Jewish immigration there remained far below pre-war levels; in Argentina, it diminished rapidly; in Brazil, in the 1950's, there was a modest inflow (less than 1,000 persons per year on average), particularly from Eastern Europe and Egypt. During the 20 years since the mid 1960's, Jewish immigration to Latin America has been insignificant. The permanent net effect of transfers from one country to another within Latin America has apparently been rather limited, although it is more marked with regard to some local Jewish communities. Of much greater importance, since the 1960's, has been emigration from Latin America to the United States and other Western countries, and especially to Israel.

Emigration to Israel has gradually become the leading factor in the international migrations of Latin American Jewry. Over 68,000 immigrants from Latin America arrived in Israel between 1948 and the end of 1983; nearly 40,000 from Argentina, 8,400 from Brazil, 7,800 from Uruguay, 5,000 from Chile, 2,600 from Mexico, and 4,300 from other countries. The overall intensity of aliyah from any particular country, and the rhythm of yearly variation in aliyah rates, have been strongly affected by rapidly changing socio-economic and political conditions in the various Latin American countries. Latin American immigrants to Israel have exhibited relatively low rates of re-emigration; 75–80 per cent of those who have arrived since 1969/70 have remained in the country after the crucial first three years there.

International migration, which, in the past, was the prime force in the growth of Latin American Jewry, has more recently become a major factor in the reduction of the continent's Jewish population. In addition, the departure of an important segment of younger, better educated, and more Jewishly motivated individuals represents a serious qualitative erosion in the socio-demographic and identificational balances of the Latin American Jewish communities.

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\(^{35}\)Gross figures, unadjusted for re-emigration. 
\(^{37}\)As deduced from comparing the characteristics of immigrants to Israel from Latin America with those of Jews in the countries of origin.
One crucial, structural consequence of the unequal spread of Jewish immigration over time shows up in the growing predominance of the local-born in the Jewish population (Table 6). In 1960 about 63 per cent of Argentine Jews were born in the country (as against 87 per cent of the general population); the proportions ranged from three per cent among the group aged 65 and over to more than 93 per cent among those below age 30. Since there has been virtually no immigration to Argentina since the 1960’s, the local-born have by now become the overwhelming majority of the adult age groups involved in university study, family formation, economic activity, and communal leadership. Recent data show that Sao Paulo (Table 6) now has a proportion of local-born Jews substantially similar to that found in Argentina over 20 years ago, the time lag being a consequence of the generally later development and recent positive migration balance of Brazilian Jewry. A further difference emerges regarding the countries of origin of the foreign-born. The predominance of the East European origin group is far greater in Argentina, notwithstanding the fact that earlier

TABLE 6. JEWISH POPULATION, BY AGE AND REGION OF BIRTH (PERCENTAGES), ARGENTINA, 1960, AND SAO PAULO, 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Country Of Residence</th>
<th>Other America And Western Countries</th>
<th>Eastern Europe</th>
<th>Asia And Africa</th>
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**Argentina, 1960a**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>27.6</th>
<th>3.3</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-29</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>9.8</td>
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**General Population**

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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>87.1</th>
<th>11.4</th>
<th>1.2</th>
<th>0.3</th>
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<td>100.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Sao Paulo, 1983b**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>63.2</th>
<th>9.2</th>
<th>18.5</th>
<th>9.1</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jewish Population</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*aSource: 1960 Census of Argentina, authors' tabulations.

bSource: Federação Israelita do Estado de Sao Paulo, Departamento de Estatistica e Pesquisa Social.
Jewish migration to that country included substantial minorities from the Middle East and Western Europe.

The progressive replacement of the elderly immigrant group by a new generation born in the country, or even in the city of residence, marks a significant evolution in tastes, attitudes, opportunities, and behaviors, and points to new Jewish demographic, socio-economic, and identificational structures.

**Spatial Distribution and Urbanization**

Urbanization is a longstanding and widespread characteristic of Jewish populations in the Diaspora. However, in the case of Latin America, the predominantly urban character of contemporary Jewish population evolved out of an initial pattern of settlement featuring rural colonies in at least some of the major communities. These colonies absorbed a significant share, if not the majority, of the early Jewish immigrants during the late nineteenth century. The largest group of colonies, founded in Argentina by the Jewish Colonization Association, included 6,800 settlers in 1896—68 per cent of all Argentine Jews at the time. The total Jewish population of these colonies increased to a peak of 33,100 in 1925, but gradually declined to some 8,000 persons in 1970 and even fewer in the 1980’s. Most of the early Jewish settlers—many of whom had previously been impoverished craftsmen and merchants—became farmers, thus writing one of the significant chapters in the history of Jewish agriculture. Later, as the colonies lost momentum, other branches of economic activity came to the fore. In 1960 only 44 per cent of the greatly diminished Jewish population of the colonies consisted of farmers, and this proportion has since declined further.

The urban Jewish communities tended to grow through migration from abroad and, to some extent, movement from the agricultural settlements. Buenos Aires’ share among total Argentine Jewry was 12 per cent in 1895, 30 per cent in 1909, and more than 50 per cent in the early 1930’s. According to the 1960 census, about 80 per cent of the 310,000 Jews in Argentina lived in the metropolitan area of Greater Buenos Aires, a quite remarkable concentration, considering that the corresponding proportion among the general population was 33 per cent (this, too, being a comparatively high figure).

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38 For an extended presentation, see Haim Avni, Argentina, The Promised Land: Baron De Hirsch’s Colonization Project in the Argentine Republic (Jerusalem, 1973).
40 See Schmelz and DellaPergola, The Demography of the Jews in Argentina and in Other Countries of Latin America, op. cit.
Concentration of the bulk of the Jewish population in the capital city or chief economic center has been typical of several communities in Latin America. Nearly all of Uruguay’s estimated 30,000 Jews live in Montevideo. In Mexico, the Federal District and its suburbs account for over 85 per cent of the total Jewish population. In Chile, Santiago Jewry grew from 12 per cent of that country’s still very small Jewish population in 1907, to 51 per cent in 1920, 73 per cent in 1940, and 83 per cent in 1952; in 1970 the proportion had declined somewhat to 70 per cent. In every instance, the strengthening of the major metropolitan community has been accompanied by stagnation or decline in the size of smaller provincial communities.

A comparison of official data from the Brazilian censuses between 1940 and 1980 offers a further interesting perspective on the changes in Jewish population distribution within a major Latin American country (Table 7). In 1980, 98 per cent of the unrevised total of Jews were defined as urban, as against 68 per cent of the general population. Jews, moreover, were concentrated in fewer metropolitan areas; the share of the urban population in two of Brazil’s largest states (Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) was 82 per cent in the case of Jews and only 41 per cent among the general population. The earlier census data (presented in Table 7 without any adjustment) show approximately the same Jewish population size in the states of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. Since the 1960’s, however, Sao Paulo has gradually emerged as the main Jewish community. Consistent with the highly dynamic development of the general population of the area, the Sao Paulo community seems to have absorbed all of the country’s Jewish population increase since 1960. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, discontinuation of the city’s role as capital may have caused a slowdown in the growth of the Jewish population. At the same time, the number of Jews in the new Federal District of Brasilia is small; dominated as it is by public administration activities, Brasilia does not appear to have a powerful attraction for Jews. Rather, it is Sao Paulo, with its highly diversified economy, that is able to stimulate Jewish in-migration (internal and international), in keeping with the evolving occupational structure of Jews (see below). On the whole, Brazil’s smaller Jewish communities have been remarkably stable over time, but their recently reduced size, which appears to be a symptom of great aging, points to future numerical decline.

Residential distribution within the major metropolitan areas is another important indicator of the ways in which Latin American Jews relate to the surrounding societies. Cities like Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, and Santiago provide examples of a characteristically Jewish residential pattern. Despite some presence in all parts of the city, a very large proportion of the

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4See the critique of the data appearing above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions and States</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>1980&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55,666</td>
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<td>69,957</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,791</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>1,126</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<td>1,913</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernambuco&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,531</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>East</td>
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<td>43.6</td>
<td>30,117</td>
<td>43.1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bahia&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minas Gerais&lt;sup&gt;f&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1,528</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro&lt;sup&gt;g&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>21,666</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>27,431</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
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<td>50.6</td>
<td>35,988</td>
<td>51.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sao Paulo&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>20,379</td>
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<td>11.9</td>
<td>8,048</td>
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<tr>
<td>Center-West</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>148</td>
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<tr>
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<td>—</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Source: Brazil, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, various censuses.
<sup>b</sup>Urban population only.
<sup>c</sup>Main city: Belem.
<sup>d</sup>Main city: Recife.
<sup>e</sup>Main city: Salvador.
<sup>f</sup>Main city: Belo Horizonte.
<sup>g</sup>Until 1960: Combined total of the states of Guanabara (main city: Rio de Janeiro) and Rio de Janeiro (main city: Niterói). As of 1980, these two states are merged.
<sup>h</sup>Main city: Sao Paulo.
<sup>i</sup>Main city: Curitiba.
<sup>j</sup>Main city: Porto Alegre.
<sup>k</sup>Main city: Brasilia.
Jewish population tends to be located in one clearly delimited territorial sector, starting at the edge of the inner city's central business district and reaching out through a territorial continuum to select middle and upper-middle class neighborhoods and suburbs. Such extension toward the outer sections of the metropolitan area is often a correlate of upward social and occupational mobility, not unlike the situation in many North American cities. Still, as compared to the general urban population throughout Latin America, Jews are more likely to live in the central city, and are relatively less numerous in the vast, often extremely deprived, suburban areas. The similarity of these ecological patterns in different urban centers testifies to the "intermediate" position of Jews in Latin America: they stand between the dominant ethnic and economic élites and the struggling urban masses.

On the whole, residential concentration represents a powerful cohesive force in Jewish life, despite the prevailing trend of dispersal from the older, poorer, and more central urban barrios (where, in some instances, Jews may even have been a majority of the population in the past) to newer and better sections of the extended city.

Population Dynamics and Structure

Balance of Births and Deaths

Latin American countries are often cited as extreme examples of the modern "population explosion." Particularly in Central and tropical Latin America, very high birth rates, combined with high but declining death rates, have produced some of the highest rates of natural increase currently on record. Only in a few countries in the subcontinent's temperate zone are current population processes somewhat closer to the situation prevailing in North America and other Western countries.

Although in the past Jews experienced periods of high natality and rapid population growth, the recent evolution of demographic processes among Latin American Jews could hardly be at greater variance with the predominant patterns on the subcontinent. Relatively small or even negative rates of natural increase, i.e., the balance between births and deaths, have prevailed among Jews since the 1950's. As a consequence, short-term changes in Jewish population size have again come to depend in the main on the volume of international migration, which was the major component of demographic change up to the late 1930's. Over the long term, however, changes in the demographic behavior of the local Jewish populations must have a decisive impact on the size and structure of Latin American Jewry.

Birth and death rates have been calculated for the Jews of Argentina between 1900 and 1975 in the framework of a general backward and
forward reconstruction of the demographic development of the community, based on the detailed returns of the 1960 census (Table 8). Jewish birth and death rates until World War I were rather consistent with the country-wide averages for the general population. These data basically reflect the demographic patterns of Jews in the major countries of emigration at the time, especially in Eastern Europe. In Argentina, Jewish birth rates were actually higher than in Europe. This can be explained by the greater proportion of young adults among the migrants.

Between 1910–1914 and 1945 the pace of natural population increase was rather similar among Jews and non-Jews, although somewhat slower in the case of the former. Jewish birth rates declined by 50 per cent during the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8. BIRTH AND DEATH RATES PER 1,000 AMONG THE JEWISH AND GENERAL POPULATIONS OF ARGENTINA, 1900–1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905–09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915–19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920–24</td>
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<td>1925–29</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930–34</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935–39</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940–44</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945–49</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950–54</td>
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<tr>
<td>1955–59</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960–65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966–70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971–75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\)Source: Reconstruction of Jewish population; see above.


\(^{c}\)Effectively Jewish births, net losses of children of mixed marriages.

\(^{d}\)Includes effects of adult affiliative losses.

\(^{e}\)See above.

period, which was much more rapid than among the general population, but not unlike Jewish natality changes in Europe in the same period. Jewish death rates were also substantially lower than those among the general population. Since 1945, the demographic dynamics of Jews have diverged considerably from those of the general population of Argentina, this in a country with one of the lowest rates of growth in Latin America.

In the post-World War II period, Jewish vital statistics were more affected than previously by the net effects of affiliative changes. The birth rates in Table 8 do not include children born to mixed-married couples who are not identified with Jewry; the death rates incorporate the net affiliative losses of adults. The "effectively Jewish" birth rate was roughly half the general birth rate of Argentines. Jewish death rates, even without the compounding effects of assimilation, tended to increase because of the constant aging of the Jewish population. As a consequence, the balance of Jewish natural and affiliative changes rapidly dropped to zero between 1960 and 1965, and subsequently reached negative values.

While the above-discussed trends of Argentine Jewry may have been more negative than those of other Jewish communities in Latin America, they adequately illustrate the main general tendencies.

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Although family patterns, i.e., the propensity to marry, age at marriage, and the choice of a marriage partner, do not bear directly on changes in population size, they fundamentally affect population composition and, through it, the rhythms of population growth. Near universality of marriage was one of the features of Jewish society prior to the beginning of modernization. It still shows up in the Argentine census data with regard to Jews born in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa, who were aged 50 or more in 1960 (Table 9). Jews born in Western countries tended to marry somewhat less, and this tendency was intensified among the Argentine-born. The marked inter-generational decline in nuptiality among Jews can probably be interpreted as a correlate of the acculturation and social mobility processes which usually occur among immigrant groups. In the course of time, Jewish family patterns came to resemble, though not completely, the general pattern of the Argentine population, which included—as in other Latin American countries—widespread bachelorhood and spinsterhood. Jews tend to marry at older ages than do members of the general population, as shown by the higher age-specific proportions of never-married up to age 34 for males and age 29 for females. Eventually, however, a greater proportion of Jews form their own families than do members of the general population. This is true also for the Argentine-born. According to the evidence available
### TABLE 9. PERCENTAGES NEVER-MARRIED AMONG THE JEWISH POPULATION, BY AGE, SEX, AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH, ARGENTINA, 1960\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Jewish Population, By Country Of Birth</th>
<th>General Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 15+</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>99.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>28.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
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<td>17.3</td>
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<td>40-44</td>
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<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Source: 1960 Census of Argentina, authors’ tabulations.

from the 1960 census, consensual marriage—a rather widespread family arrangement in Latin America—is rarely reported by Jews. Later and less frequent marriages may to some extent affect the patterns of child-bearing and family growth among the Jewish population. However, from the perspective of the Jewish group, the choice of whether the partner will come from within or outside the group is of greater significance for population trends over the long run. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to accurately investigate this crucial aspect of Jewish demography in Latin
America. The levels and demographic implications of mixed marriage can only be tentatively assessed with the help of very partial evidence and some conjecture.

The Argentine census of 1960, as noted above, provides information on the number of Jews who married during the preceding years, regardless of the type of ceremony performed. Assuming that the census did not significantly under-report the Jewish population, and comparing the figure for Greater Buenos Aires with the Jewish marriage records kept by the Jewish community there, the frequency of mixed marriage may be estimated. Indeed, the Greater Buenos Aires census figure of recently married Jews exceeds the figure found in the community records for the same years by over 30 per cent. Considering other structural features of the Jewish population, in particular the connection between the overall proportion of non-Jewish members in Jewish households and the proportion of mixed marriages among current weddings, it can be estimated that about 20–25 per cent of all Jews marrying in Greater Buenos Aires around 1960 had a non-Jewish marriage partner. Another 5–10 per cent of Jewish spouses had perhaps married Jews, but in a civil ceremony (consequently not appearing in the Jewish community records).

Several studies of relatively small, and perhaps not quite representative, Jewish communities in Argentina during the 1960's found proportions of mixed couples ranging between seven and eight per cent for all existing marriages. These figures closely correspond to that found among United States Jews in 1957, at a time when 9.2 per cent of newly formed households were mixed, not including those where the non-Jewish partner had been converted to Judaism. In Tucuman (1962) mixed couples constituted 7.1 per cent of all existing households, regardless of the year of marriage; 12 years later, in 1974, a survey of the same community found a three-fold increase—to 22 per cent—in the proportion of mixed couples. This is a substantially higher figure than the corresponding estimate of 12.5 per cent for Jews in the United States in 1970–1971. The current frequency of mixed marriage in the United States in 1970–1971, excluding cases of

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"See Schmelz and DellaPergola, The Demography of the Jews in Argentina and in the Other Countries of Latin America, op. cit.
"Tucuman, a city and province in the North-West; Quilmes, a suburb south of Buenos Aires; the Sephardi community in Buenos Aires.
"See Premier censo de la poblacion judia de la provincia de Tucuman (Buenos Aires, 1963).
"See La poblacion israelita de la provincia de Tucuman, Segundo Censo (San Miguel de Tucuman, 1976).
conversion, is assessed to have been about 35 per cent.\textsuperscript{50} Thus, the current rate of mixed marriage appropriate to Tucuman's overall rate of 22 per cent would probably be above 40 per cent. In sum, during the late 1950's and early 1960's, the extent of marital assimilation in Argentina may not have differed much from the situation in the United States, but its subsequent increase has been much more rapid.

There is evidence suggesting that in Brazil—at least in Sao Paulo—out-marriage was less widespread for some time than in nearby Argentina. According to the internal records of the Jewish community in the State of Sao Paulo (which may overlook some of the identificationally weaker elements of the Jewish population), 12 per cent of all existing couples in 1983 included one partner who was not Jewish by birth.\textsuperscript{51} In about half of these households, the non-Jewish partner had converted to Judaism, thus reducing the overall proportion of mixed marriages to a rather low 6.3 per cent. About two-thirds of these households included a Jewish husband, the remaining third a Jewish wife. When, however, the estimated current incidence of out-marriage in Sao Paulo is examined, the picture changes. Of all marriages performed in 1981, 44.7 per cent were mixed, another 11.9 per cent involved a non-Jewish partner who had converted to Judaism, and only 43.4 per cent were among two Jewish-born individuals.\textsuperscript{52} In Sao Paulo, as in the Argentine Jewish communities, the recent increase in mixed marriage seems to have been very strong, at a level somewhat above that currently observed in the United States and Canada.

The major implications for Jewish demography in Latin America of these trends and differentials bear on the Jewish identification of the children of mixed marriages. Here again, only indirect evidence is available, the major source being the 1960 Argentine census. According to it, the number of children below age five who were reported as Jewish fell short by 25 per cent of the number of children born to Jewish women during the relevant periods.\textsuperscript{53} If it is assumed that the 25 per cent represent the children of mixed couples, a significant erosive effect in the intergenerational dynamics of the Jewish population emerges.

**FERTILITY**

The rapid course of modernization of Jewish fertility in Argentina, already outlined above, can be followed in greater detail in Table 10, which

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{51}Source: Federação Israelita do Estado de Sao Paulo, Departamento de Estatística e Pesquisa Social.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{53}See Schmelz and DellaPergola, *The Demography of the Jews in Argentina and the Other Countries of Latin America*, op. cit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>In Labor Force</th>
<th>Not In Labor Force</th>
<th>General Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.3</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
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<td>45-64</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
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<td>65+</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCompleted or not.
bSource: 1960 Census of Argentina, authors' tabulations.
also presents differentials in the number of children born, according to some basic socio-demographic characteristics of the mothers. The cumulative number of children born to ever-married Jewish women was already low during the 1930's and the World War II period. Quite strikingly, there is little or no sign of a "baby boom" in post-war Argentina; any short-term recovery that may have occurred was obscured by the long-term trend of decreasing fertility. In 1960 the cumulative fertility of ever-married Jewish women approaching the end of reproduction (aged 35 to 44) was about 2.2 children on average. However, after taking into account the never-married category (see Table 9), the fertility of Jewish women was below the intergenerational replacement level, which, at the very low mortality level prevailing among Argentina's Jews, was 2.1 children on average for all women (regardless of marital status). As noted above, a further reduction of "effectively Jewish" fertility must be assumed to have subsequently taken place due to increased mixed marriage.

Differentials in fertility by women's educational attainment and labor force participation may suggest the changes that could be expected after 1960. Educational attainment is negatively related to fertility, but the differential is small if there is control for labor force status. A residual of the higher fertility of the past can still be noted among women aged 65 and over—mostly foreign-born—who, at best, attended elementary school and did not work in 1960. Such a combination of characteristics was indeed predominant in this age group, while educational attainment and labor force participation rapidly increased among younger women. University educated younger women, though experiencing a slower initial pace of family growth, are likely to end up with as many or more children than women with secondary education only.

On the whole, more significant fertility differentials are related to labor force status. Thus, women participating in the labor force in 1960 had fewer children, whether they were in or past the childbearing age. The current and past labor force status of older women may be correlated, which would explain the low cumulative fertility of older working women. The association of reduced family size with women's work is clearly established after controlling for educational attainment.

The inter-generational transformation of Argentine Jewish women— their becoming increasingly local born, better educated, and more often employed in the labor force—implies a substantial increase of the element with small-sized families well before the 1960 census. The respective changes in the composition of Jewish women have continued since 1960, and have probably caused a further decline of fertility among Jewish women as a whole. The additional erosive effects of assimilation and mixed marriage can also be assumed to have occurred more intensively among the
same element of the Jewish population. It follows that even if fertility had remained relatively stable, the "effectively Jewish" birth rate must have declined below the already low level revealed by the 1960 data. The inferred trends are confirmed by the age distributions of various Jewish populations in Latin America over the past 25 years, which show ever declining proportions of young children.

Equally detailed data on Jewish fertility in Brazil are not available. The 1980 census information on age structure, however, provides some insight into the changes that have occurred since the mid-1960's. A rough fertility ratio can be computed by dividing the number of Jewish children aged 0–4 in 1980 by the number of Jewish women aged 20–34 (the ages at which nearly all births occur according to contemporary Jewish fertility patterns). This computation can be extended by comparing the number of surviving children who were aged 0–4 in 1975 and in 1970 (aged 5–9 and 10–14, respectively, in 1980) with the survivors of the groups that reached age 20–34 at those same dates (aged 25–39 and 30–44, respectively, in 1980). The results for Brazil's total Jewry and for a few major geographical areas are shown in Table 11 (the rural population was excluded from these computations).

The general pattern of fertility decline is clear, although there is some variation between the different Jewish communities in Brazil. Interestingly, the decline in fertility seems to have been less marked in the State of Sao Paulo, where the country's largest and fastest-growing community is located. Apart from actual fertility differentials, one possible explanation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age In 1980</th>
<th>Year Of Birth Of Children</th>
<th>State Of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children 10–14 Women 30–44</td>
<td>1966–70</td>
<td>.714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children 0–4 Women 20–34</td>
<td>1976–80</td>
<td>.614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for this finding might be that less erosion of "effectively Jewish" birth levels, due to mixed marriage, has taken place in Sao Paulo than in other communities, most of which are much smaller. (The available census data do not indicate how many children were born to Jewish parents, only how many were listed as Jews.) In comparison with similar estimates for Argentina in the 1960's, the Brazilian figures point to greater Jewish fertility. At the same time, the declining trend in recent years suggests convergence toward a general pattern of small Jewish family size in Latin America.

POPULATION STRUCTURE

The structure of a Jewish population by age, sex, and composition of households is the result of the major demographic processes at work. It is shaped by the prolonged effects of natality and mortality levels, nuptiality patterns, age-sex-differential migration movements, and affiliative changes. Hence, an examination of population structure can be particularly revealing.

While Jewish international migrations have typically included entire households—being less selective by age and sex than general migrations—in Latin America there is often some prevalence of males among the elderly, if not among the total Jewish population. This was the case in Brazil in 1980, as indicated by the figures in the census. The presence of a majority of males contrasts with the slight predominance of females that is typical among contemporary populations in the developed countries, as well as among Diaspora Jewry, both of which feature low mortality and greater female longevity.

Jewish sex ratios may be affected by different degrees of identificational erosion among persons of each sex. One of the intriguing features of the 1960 Argentine census was the unnaturally low proportion of Jewish males in the 15-44 age group. An upward adjustment in the reported number of Jewish males had to be made as part of the assessment of Jewish population size and structure in Argentina, based on the census (see above). It may be assumed that fewer Jewish males than females reported their religion in the 1960 census, because of higher frequencies of mixed marriage and other types of identificational assimilation among the males (at least, before 1960).

The age structures of Jewish populations in Latin America, as in many other regions of the Diaspora, have been subject to a distinct process of

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54 In view of the regular surplus of males among the new-born, and the relatively marginal excess of male mortality among children and young adults, males should constitute about one half of the population reaching this stage of the life cycle. According to the original census data, the number of Jewish males aged 15 to 44 amounted to 93 per cent of the corresponding female age group.
Delay marriage, low fertility, and population aging have affected the size and structure of Jewish households. Household size has declined over time, and has become overwhelmingly dominated by simple structures encompassing household heads, spouses, and children. Other relatives and non-relatives have become infrequent household members. However, late marriage sometimes implies that children—often aged 25 or more—continue to live with their parents until, and even beyond, the end of their university studies. In 1960 the average size of Argentine Jewish households was 3.5, as against 3.8 among the general population. The proportion of one-person households was lower among Jews (5.6 per cent) than among Argentines in general (7 per cent). However, there can be little doubt that this proportion has increased substantially over the last two and a half decades.

**Socio-economic Changes**

The evidence that is available on the socio-economic structure and mobility of Latin American Jews is quite fragmentary and marked by divergencies of definition and classification with regard to the relevant variables. Still, despite the very imperfect comparability of data relating to different communities and different periods of time, it is possible to outline some of the main characteristics and patterns of change in educational attainment and occupational structure.

**Educational Attainment**

By today's standards, the educational attainment of the earlier Jewish immigrants to Latin America was quite low. Thus, the 1960 Argentine
### TABLE 12. AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF SELECTED JEWISH POPULATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA, 1947–1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country Or Locality</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>0–14</th>
<th>15–29</th>
<th>30–44</th>
<th>45–64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>General Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>24.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>31.4</td>
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<td>34.7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1975a</td>
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<td>15.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>37.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>23.5</td>
<td>23.7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>23.2</td>
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<td>34.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Plata</td>
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</table>

### Brazil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>0–14</th>
<th>15–29</th>
<th>30–44</th>
<th>45–64</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>General Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sao Paulo</td>
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<td>23.3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>22.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21.3</td>
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<td>33.3</td>
<td>20.8e</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1952b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>23.5f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1960–61c</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Bogota</td>
<td>1977c</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>18.3g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Reconstruction of Jewish population in Argentina, based on 1960 census data.
b. Population census.
c. Jewish survey.
d. Does not include all the relevant Jewish population.
e. State of Guanabara, urban population.
f. Province of Santiago.
g. Total country, urban population.
census revealed that only 15.8 per cent of Jews aged 65 and over had attended school beyond the primary level, while 23.4 per cent lacked any formal education (see Table 13). The rapid rise in educational achievement is apparent when a comparison is made with the younger age groups. The proportion of those with college and university education (whether completed or not) passed from 2.2 per cent among Jews aged 65 and over to 21.1 per cent in the 15–29 age group. In Sao Paulo in 1968, 36.6 per cent of Jewish men and 13 per cent of Jewish women aged 20–24 attended

TABLE 13. JEWISH POPULATION (AGED 15 AND OVER), BY SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND AGE, ARGENTINA, 1960a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Jewish Population, By Age</th>
<th>General Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15–29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Attainment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent In Labor Forceb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupationc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Statusc</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Help</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aSource: 1960 Census of Argentina, authors' tabulations.
bPer 100 in each age-sex group.
cPer 100 in the labor force.
universities. By now, the corresponding proportion for both sexes combined may have easily passed the 40 per cent mark. According to a 1983 estimate, about 39 per cent of the Jewish population of Sao Paulo aged 25 and over had attained an academic degree or diploma.

The rapid academization of the younger generation of Latin American Jews is perhaps less complete than among comparable age groups in the United States Jewish population. Nevertheless, it contrasts sharply with the educational attainment of the general population in the various Latin American countries, where illiteracy is still widespread.

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Changes in educational attainment provide a leading clue to the processes of occupational transformation that have occurred in the Latin American Jewish communities in recent decades. The 1960 Argentine census again provides the main benchmark for analysis (Table 13). If the occupational distributions of the different age groups are compared, the greatest decrease is found in the sales category, which accounted for about half the Jews working at ages 65 and over, but only around 30 per cent of those aged 15–29. (The decline of the Jewish agricultural labor force has been even greater relative to its initial size, but it was already small before 1960.) The mostly blue-collar manufacturing and service sectors were also declining, although they still accounted for about 27 per cent of the Jews aged 30–44—a much higher proportion than among other contemporary Jewish communities in Western countries. Conversely, the same data point to a rapid intergenerational increase in professional, managerial, and clerical activities. Clerical work provided an important outlet for the considerably increased number of Jewish women in the labor force.

The partial synopsis of the occupational distributions of various Jewish communities over the past 30 years, presented in Table 14, offers further insight into the ongoing socio-economic changes, even allowing for some difficulties and imperfections in reconciling different sets of data. The very substantial professionalization of Latin American Jewry shows up when the same locality is observed at intervals of several years, e.g., Buenos Aires in 1960 and 1973–1974, and Tucuman in 1960 and 1974. The substantial

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37 See footnote 51.
38 See Joaquim Fischerman et al., Censo de la comunidad judia de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, 1974 (mimeographed). This survey was carried out as a pre-test for a larger and more systematic study of the Buenos Aires Jewish community which, unfortunately, did not materialize. Included were 1,059 Jews selected from both the AMIA membership rolls and the unaffiliated sector of the community.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Managerial</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
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<td>Argentina</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Capital)</td>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<td>Greater Buenos</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aires</td>
<td>1973/74b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exterior, Total</td>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonies, Total</td>
<td>1960a,c</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>1951b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<td>74.3d</td>
<td>14.4e</td>
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<td>Cordoba</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1951b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
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<td>56.5d</td>
<td>15.5e</td>
<td>6.6f</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>44.2</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1970b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>57.0h</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.0f</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iquique</td>
<td>1960a</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>10.1</td>
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<td>51.9</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1974b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>5.1i</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>11.5ef</td>
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<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahia Blanca</td>
<td>1975b</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1968b,j</td>
<td>100.0k</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>34.4l</td>
<td>11.6e</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sao Paulo (City)</td>
<td>1983b,j</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>42.6m</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.6n</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sao Paulo (State)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mexico                     |         |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| Federal                    |         |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| District                   | 1970a   | 100.0  | 14.8  | 39.3  | 12.2  | 21.0  | 7.4   | 4.8   | 0.5   |

*a* Population census.  
*b* Jewish survey.  
*c* Does not include all the relevant population.  
*d* Including cuentanik.  
*e* Artisans, workers.  
*f* "Other."  
*g* Included in the "trade, sales" category.  
*h* Including the managerial category.  
*i* Industrials, workers on own account.  
*j* Occupational classifications for Sao Paulo in 1968 and 1983 are not complete. See also notes k-n.  
*k* The "other" category was included before computing the percentages.  
*l* The "employer" category was included here after checking the proportion of trade in additional data on occupational distribution by economic branches.  
*m* Including managers in the "trade, sales" branch.  
*n* Employees only.  
*o* These data include an unascertained minority of non-Jews.
minority of Jewish household heads in the rural colonies who were still engaged in agriculture in 1960 has since diminished, as previously noted. The once heavily Jewish clothing industry has lost most of its Jewish workers over the past 20 years. The sales area, including the cuentaniks,\textsuperscript{59} which once claimed a majority of the Jewish labor force in some provincial localities, is now losing ground, although this probably applies more to the metropolitan centers than to the smaller communities of the provinces.

The widespread general economic trend toward specialization, complexity, and the development of large corporations has strongly affected the Jewish occupational structure, even where there has been no actual change in the types of occupation. (This is perhaps best exemplified in the data reported for Sao Paulo.) Many shopkeepers, craftsmen, and even small industrial proprietors have assumed the status of salaried managers by extending the scope of their enterprises. The data on occupational status in Table 13 suggest that the Jewish labor force in Argentina was rapidly shifting from a clear predominance of employers and the self-employed to a large proportion of employees.\textsuperscript{60}

Jewish occupational structures in the various Latin American countries have many common traits despite local variation, but differ sharply from the characteristics of the majority populations. Jews comprise much larger proportions of persons engaged in sales occupations and the professions, and are more often self-employed. The shift from the traditional pattern of self-employment to the more modern employee status in corporations implies greater integration of Jewish economic activities in the general economic patterns of the Latin American countries. Thus, periods of economic recession, which repeatedly affect most of Latin America, and occasional changes in economic policy may find Jews—with their typical concentration in the middle classes—in a position of greater economic vulnerability. The growing role of Jews in academic life and the liberal professions seems to imply some trade-off of financial power for intellectual prestige. This, however, carries its own risks under regimes suspicious of intellectuals. The new trends and their implications for the changing position of Jews in relationship to the majority populations may constitute crucial factors in the future evolution of Jewish socio-economic stratification and communal patterns.

Quantitative Aspects of Jewish Education

In the preceding overview of socio-demographic changes among Latin American Jews, it has been repeatedly noted that the Jewish population

\textsuperscript{59}Jewish traveling salesmen, selling on account.

\textsuperscript{60}In interpreting this trend, age-differential status propensities, i.e., generally greater shares of employees among the young and of employers and the self-employed among the elderly, must be discounted.
equation is increasingly determined by identificational attitudes and preferences rather than the mere interplay of bio-demographic factors, such as fertility and mortality. Most certainly, it is Jewish education which is expected to play a decisive role in providing the younger generation with a knowledge of things Jewish, and a Jewish identity strong enough to prevent assimilation. Whether and to what extent the Jewish educational system—schools, teachers, curricula—is successful in fulfilling these basic objectives is beyond the scope of this article. However, it is possible to provide an indication of current enrollment and the types of Jewish education in the various countries of Latin America (Table 15).

According to the first international census of Jewish schools in the Diaspora, conducted by the project for Jewish educational statistics at the Hebrew University in 1981/82-1982/83, there were 159 Jewish schools throughout Latin America, including kindergartens but excluding post-secondary education; 103 were in Argentina, 22 in Brazil, and 33 in other countries. Unlike the prevailing pattern in the United States, the overwhelming majority of Jewish schools provided a full-day curriculum, including both Judaic and general studies. Supplementary Jewish schools were relatively more developed in Argentina than elsewhere and typically consisted of daily afternoon programs.

More than 47,000 pupils were enrolled in Jewish schools—over 21,000 in Argentina, over 10,000 in Brazil, and over 15,000 in other countries. Enrollment tended to be concentrated in kindergartens and elementary schools. The drop-out rate of pupils from Jewish education was particularly marked in Argentina, where detailed cohort data show that maximum enrollment was often found at age 5, in kindergarten, followed by nearly regular reduction in the number of pupils in each successive grade. Considerable dropping-out from Jewish schools in Brazil occurred between the elementary and secondary levels, although secondary school enrollment has expanded over the past 15 years. Mexico and the smaller communities of Latin America featured some of the largest day schools in the Western hemisphere, with relatively little drop-out between the lower and higher grades.

The reach of Jewish education in Latin America can be determined by a comparison of overall enrollment rates, i.e., the percentage enrolled in Jewish schools per 100 Jewish children aged 3 to 17. Given the somewhat tentative character of the available estimates of Jewish age structures, these
TABLE 15. SELECTED STATISTICAL INDICATORS OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA, 1981/2–1982/3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools, By Type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>103b</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Schoolsc</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Schoolsd</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Pupils, By Grade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47,290</td>
<td>21,286</td>
<td>10,396</td>
<td>15,608c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>10,313</td>
<td>6,054</td>
<td>1,926</td>
<td>2,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 1–3</td>
<td>9,794</td>
<td>4,957</td>
<td>1,828</td>
<td>3,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 4–6</td>
<td>9,040</td>
<td>4,187</td>
<td>1,764</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 7–9</td>
<td>7,225</td>
<td>2,605</td>
<td>1,631</td>
<td>2,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades 10–12</td>
<td>4,917</td>
<td>1,811</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>2,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade Not Reported</td>
<td>6,001</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>2,452</td>
<td>1,877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aSource: Project for Jewish Educational Statistics, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, First International Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora.
bIncluding 4 schools for which type is unknown.
cIncluding unattached kindergartens.
dIn some cities the local Talmud Torah system was counted as one school.
Thereof: Mexico 5,648; Uruguay 2,984; Venezuela 2,513; Chile 1,502; Colombia 896; Peru 767; Panama 711; Costa Rica 288; Paraguay 134; Ecuador 86; Bolivia 79.
Based on the authors’ population estimates for ages 3 to 17.

rates are presented as ranges in Table 15. The aggregate of smaller Latin American communities featured the highest enrollment rate (69–73 per cent), which also appeared to be the highest for all major regions of the Diaspora. In some countries, e.g., Mexico, Peru, and Ecuador, enrollment rates may have reached even higher values, since nearly all of the relevant Jewish children attended Jewish schools. Argentina's enrollment rate was high (62–66 per cent), while Brazil's (47–51 per cent) was still somewhat above the world average, estimated at 41–45 per cent for the total Diaspora, not including Eastern Europe.
The available enrollment statistics point to relative stability in the absolute number of Jewish pupils, but this obviously needs to be interpreted in the light of demographic dynamics, such as changing levels of birth rate and migration. In countries like Argentina, where there has been a decline in the number of children of school age, stability in absolute numbers of enrollment actually means rising enrollment rates.

The Jewish educational system in Latin America has been strengthened by the emergence of the day school as the dominant mode of Jewish instruction, and by attempts at improving the Jewish content of the curriculum. Jewish education encompasses a growing share of the Jewish school-age population. It thus appears that erosion and decline do not cut across the entire Jewish community, but rather tend to be more salient at the periphery, among those who are least concerned with organized Jewish life and its institutions. This might imply that a smaller Jewish population—clearly suggested by demographic analysis and prognosis—is not necessarily synonymous with diminished intensity of Jewish commitment among the actively identified Jews of Latin America.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROJECTIONS

Demographic projections indicate the anticipated size and composition of a given population if it develops according to certain assumptions. Projections are not prophecies. However, if the information on the base population is sound, and the assumptions about the various factors of change are realistic, projections will approximate the actual course of evolution.

Projections for Jewish Diaspora populations are particularly difficult to make because of uncertainties about the future intensity of assimilatory losses and, especially, because of the notorious vicissitudes of Jewish international migration streams. However, projections can be useful for showing what a population will be like if all or some of its currently ascertainable trends should continue. This clarifies the contingent medium or long term effects of the respective trends. The projections presented here for Latin American Jewry are to be viewed in this light.

The base year for the projections was 1975, and results are presented up to the year 2000. This is a span of only 25 years, of which, by now, no more than 15 are left. Most Latin American Jews who will be alive in 2000 were already alive in 1975, and were thus subject to inclusion in the empirical data available from about that time.

Separate sets of alternative projections are presented for Jews in two regions of Latin America: Argentina and all the other countries together. "Other Latin America" is a composite aggregate, comprising some Jewish populations that have been expanding in numbers or have been rather stable
—e.g., Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela—and others that have been decreasing—e.g., Uruguay and Chile. As a whole, Jews in this aggregate may be assessed to have reached approximately zero population growth not long ago. The Latin American projections form part of a body of regional projections for all of world Jewry.  

Each regional set of projections comprises three comprehensive versions—medium, high, and low—that account for all factors of change—natural, affiliative, and migratory. In addition, the three partial versions show the separate impact of the various factors if, hypothetically, natural movement were to operate alone or in conjunction with assimilation—moderate or strong—but without external migrations. A chart indicating the factors of change and their levels, as applied in the various versions, is contained in Table 16. Particulars can be found in the Appendix.

The initial fertility levels for the projections were deduced from the age-sex composition of the regional Jewish populations and, in the case of Argentina, from analysis of the fertility data in the 1960 census as well. The

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version Description</th>
<th>Fertility</th>
<th>Mortality</th>
<th>Assimilatory Losses</th>
<th>External Migrations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B High</td>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Natural Movement</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Natural Movement, Moderate Assimilation</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Natural Movement, Strong Assimilation</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aFor calibration of factors, see Appendix.


The effect of migration can be assessed by comparison with an otherwise corresponding projection version that also accounts for the migration factor.
mortality schedule was derived from empirical data and demographic models; its determination was facilitated by the current similarity of life expectancy among the advanced populations of the world. Combined application of the fertility and mortality factors, thus assessed, resulted at the beginning of the projection period (Table 18) in a clearly evident natural decrease for Argentine Jews (cf. Table 4) and an approximately zero level of natural movement, but a slightly negative outcome of the whole internal evolution, due to some assimilatory losses, for "Other Latin America." From this initial situation, the internal demographic evolution of Latin American Jews was bound to deteriorate in the course of the projection period, due to the following factors: intensifying aging, which raises the crude death rate and lowers the crude birth rate (at given levels of life expectancies and fertility); continuation of assimilatory losses; and an assumed decrease in "effectively Jewish" fertility due to rising losses of the newborn from mixed marriages in the projection versions that apply the low level of fertility (Table 16). Consequently, the projections point to a marked deficit in the internal evolution of Jews in "Other Latin America" and an even greater one in Argentina by the end of this century (Table 18).

For emigration-prone Argentine Jewry, the projections assumed that this trend would continue, although on a relatively reduced scale. For Jews in "Other Latin America" a zero balance of external migrations was assumed during 1975–1984, and a mildly negative balance afterward. A migratory deficit, in turn, adversely affects the internal evolution of a population, since migration rates are usually highest among young adults and early middle-aged persons. Diminution of these age groups reduces natural increase and intensifies natural decrease.

On these premises, all computed projection versions point to an expected Jewish population decrease in both regions of Latin America. The relative decrease will be much greater in Argentina than in the other countries together because, from the outset, Argentina's Jewish population was more aged (Table 19), had a worse balance of internal evolution, and was more emigration-prone. Since assimilatory losses tend to reduce Jewish population and any migratory balance was assumed to be negative, the projected figure of Jews by the year 2000 would be highest if natural movement alone were to operate. However, even this hypothetical contingency would yield a decrease of Jews—sizable in Argentina, more moderate in the aggregate of other countries—because of the anticipated excess of Jewish deaths over "effectively Jewish" births. When assimilatory losses and, in the comprehensive versions, assumed migratory deficits are introduced into the computations, the eventual figure of Jews by the end of this century drops. The

Because of a conjectured decline in immigration of East European Jews, but continued emigration to Israel and the United States.
### TABLE 17. REGIONAL PROJECTIONS OF LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY, 1975–2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent Change</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent Change</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base Estimate</td>
<td>265,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>257,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Natural Movement</td>
<td>219,000</td>
<td>-17</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Natural Movement,</td>
<td>205,000</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>219,000</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Natural Movement,</td>
<td>192,000</td>
<td>-28</td>
<td>211,000</td>
<td>-18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Comprehensive-High</td>
<td>152,000</td>
<td>-43</td>
<td>204,000</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Comprehensive-Medium</td>
<td>146,000</td>
<td>-45</td>
<td>202,000</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Comprehensive-Low</td>
<td>137,000</td>
<td>-48</td>
<td>189,000</td>
<td>-27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total Internal Dynamics</th>
<th>Natural Increase/Decrease</th>
<th>Assimilatory Losses¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Effectively Deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jewish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Births</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–1980</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996–2000</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Latin America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996–2000</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Excluding assimilatory losses of newborn, which are taken into account in the effectively Jewish birth rate.

rising fertility assumed in the high comprehensive version provides some compensation for the migratory erosion, but this effect is very limited in Argentina. The low comprehensive projection produces the lowest estimate of Jews for both regions, since it accounts for the compounded operation of natural deficit, rather strong assimilatory losses, and emigration drain. Even the medium projection involves prospects of a drastic decline in Jewish population size from 1975 to 2000, especially in Argentina. Of late, the Jewries of Argentina and "Other Latin America" have been rather

TABLE 19. REGIONAL PROJECTIONS OF LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY, BY AGE (PERCENTAGES), SELECTED VERSIONS, 1975, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Other Latin America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comprehensive Medium Projection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
similar in size. If the projection tendencies were to fully materialize, by the end of this century Argentine Jewry would be numerically much smaller than the aggregate of Jews in the other Latin American countries.

By 1975 Argentine Jewry was already the most aged of the large Jewish populations outside Europe. This was due mainly to continued low fertility (particularly the virtual absence of a "baby boom" around 1950, which had been characteristic of the general and Jewish populations in most of the developed countries) as well as to the age-differential impact of assimilatory losses and, especially, the heavy emigration drain that has affected Jewish population structure in Argentina. The projections point to a further great intensification of aging in Argentina (Table 19), especially if a migration deficit should continue to deplete the ranks of younger adults. In "Other Latin America" the aging of Jews was less intense in 1975 and is anticipated to increase less, although here, too, its rise will be significant.

Intensive aging has strong effects on virtually all areas of life—demographic, medical, economic, social, and communal. If the proportion of the elderly (aged 65 and over) rises to about a quarter of all Argentine Jewry, the impact will be acute.

The results of the comprehensive projections have been influenced by the migratory assumptions. In the case of Argentina this influence has been very strong. The migratory assumptions have been modeled on the ascertainable realities of the 1970's. Yet, experience—including that since the 1970's—has shown that the intensity of Jewish migrations is virtually unpredictable beyond a rather short time frame. This limitation ought not detract, however, from the significance of the projection results as viewed from the Jewish standpoint. The fundamental thrust of the projections, according to prevailing trends, is that the internal evolution of Jews in Latin America—especially in Argentina and typologically similar communities (e.g., Uruguay)—is set on a course of accelerating decreases. A negative balance of external migrations will intensify the demographic deficits, but even a hypothetical positive turn in the migratory balance would be no more than a palliative as long as the internal evolution adversely affects Jewish population size.
Appendix

TECHNICAL NOTES ON THE PROJECTIONS

GENERAL EXPLANATIONS

See publications indicated in footnote 64.

METHOD

Component method, applied age-sex-specifically.

BASE POPULATION IN 1975

(A) Size: Argentina—265,000; “Other Latin America”—257,000. (B) Age-sex composition: Argentina—updated from the adjusted data of the 1960 census; “Other Latin America”—a combination of the updated age-sex structures of the Jews in Argentina and in Sao Paulo, 1968–1969. (Owing to the paucity of other information, these were considered as approximately representative, respectively, of the numerically declining and the numerically increasing Jewish populations in Latin America.)

FERTILITY

(A) “Low”: total fertility rate throughout the projection period—1.4 in Argentina, 1.5 in “Other Latin America.” (B) “Rising”: from that initial level, rising to 2.1 during 1996–2000.

MORTALITY

Life expectancy at birth in both regions and throughout the projection period—72.9 years for males, 76.1 years for females.

ASSIMILATORY LOSSES

(A) “Moderate”: increasing reduction—from 2.5 per cent in 1976–1980 to 12.5 per cent in 1996–2000—of number of “effectively Jewish” newborn as compared to the number of newborn computed according to the fertility specifications; above infancy, average loss of about one per cent quinquennially, with increased impact in ages 20–34; (B) “Strong”: losses of newborn
rising from 5 to 25 per cent; above infancy, average loss of two per cent per quinquennium.

EXTERNAL MIGRATION BALANCE

Argentina—negative to the annual extent of 1.5 per cent of Jewish population during 1976–1985 and 1.0 per cent during 1986–2000; total migratory loss of about 72,000. “Other Latin America”—nil during 1976–1985, minus 0.5 per cent during 1986–2000; total loss of about 17,000.

QUALITY

The projection for Jews in “Other Latin America” is based on very fragmentary empirical evidence.
Review of the Year

UNITED STATES
OTHER COUNTRIES
Civic and Political

Intergroup Relations

In 1983 black-Jewish tensions emerged as the main area of concern in the field of intergroup relations. Key elements in the developing situation were the successful mayoral campaigns of Black candidates Harold Washington in Chicago and W. Wilson Goode in Philadelphia; Mayor Edward Koch's continued battles with minority-group leaders in New York City; and the emergence of former Black civil rights leader Jesse Jackson as a presidential candidate.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

In the spring, President Ronald Reagan's decision to fire three members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and replace them with new appointees—among them, veteran civil rights leader and former American Jewish Committee president Morris B. Abram—who were closer to his own strong anti-quota and anti-busing views, came under attack from Blacks and liberals as interference with the independence of the unit. Jewish communal leadership was divided over the matter. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith took a strong stand in favor of the action, supporting all three Reagan nominees. The American Jewish Congress, while recognizing the right of the president to act, argued that the dismissal of the three commission members compromised the integrity of the civil rights unit. The American Jewish Committee sought consideration of the new nominees on their own merits. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform) was the only major Jewish organization to urge rejection of all the Reagan nominees. Albert Vorspan, vice-president of the Union, declared that President Reagan's action would "retard the progress of civil rights in America." In the end, a compromise was reached whereby the presidentially appointed six-member group was replaced by a body consisting of eight members with staggered terms, appointed by the president in consultation with congressional leaders. Still, President Reagan was able to bring about a shift in the ideological direction of the Commission by naming several of his own appointees, including Abram and the chairman and staff director.
Affirmative Action and Quotas

The issue of job quotas continued to be a bone of contention in several court cases. In May the supreme court dismissed as moot a civil rights case involving layoffs in the Boston police and fire departments. By doing so, the court avoided the difficult question of whether judges had the authority to set aside normal “last hired, first fired” seniority provisions to protect the jobs of recently hired Black employees. The Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress filed opposing friend-of-the-court briefs in the case; the former sought a reversal of lower court decisions preserving 11.7 per cent minority representation on the police force, even if this required the dismissal of some senior white officers; the latter sought to have the decisions upheld. In another case involving a plan to promote Black police officers in New Orleans, the American Jewish Committee filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting the affirmative action provisions of the plan, but taking exception to one provision mandating quotas.

In New York City, Mayor Koch came into conflict with Black and Hispanic leaders when he sought to appoint Deputy Mayor Robert Wagner chancellor of the public school system. Since more than 70 per cent of the students in the system were minority group members, the argument was put forward that a Black or Hispanic chancellor was needed. When Wagner failed to meet the requirements for state certification, a Hispanic educator was appointed in his place.

In September the Anti-Defamation League reported the results of a public opinion survey indicating that three out of four Americans rejected racial quotas in affirmative action programs, maintaining instead that all hiring and promotions should be based exclusively on merit. Even a majority of non-white respondents felt that companies should hire the most qualified applicants. The Anti-Defamation League survey findings appeared to be in conflict with other probings of public opinion that had been taken in recent years.

March on Washington

The decision of a number of Black and liberal groups to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the historic march on Washington led to a heightening of tension between Jews and Blacks. The lengthy list of sponsors and participants included not only members of the old liberal coalition, but peace activists, feminists, homosexuals, and pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian organizations as well. The “new coalition of conscience” issued a call announcing opposition to the “militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America.” While the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, headed by Rabbi Alexander Schindler, was among the initial sponsors of the march, most Jewish groups saw the call as having an anti-Israel intent. The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
(NJCRAC), the co-ordinating body for Jewish organizations, cautioned its member agencies against "considering any involvement." At the same time, the NJCRAC opposed open opposition to the march. In the end, only the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the small New Jewish Agenda participated, with Rabbi Schindler delivering the benediction. A New Republic editorial stated: "[The march] is another case of manipulation and exploitation of Blacks and their organizational needs by whites with their organizational agenda." Rabbi Balfour Brickner, a leading Reform figure, argued in a letter to the New York Times that his movement's participation in the march "preserved what is left of the Black-Jewish relationship in this country."

**Jesse Jackson**

The most serious issue dividing Jews and Blacks came in response to the decision by Jesse Jackson, the Black former associate of Martin Luther King and head of People United to Help Save Humanity (PUSH), to enter the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. Jackson's tense relations with the Jewish community dated back at least to 1979, when he toured the Middle East and embraced PLO leader Yasir Arafat. Over the next several years, Jackson gained attention by uttering many anti-Israel and anti-Jewish statements. Since Jackson clearly enjoyed wide support among the Black masses, most Jewish organizations sought to keep a low profile with regard to his candidacy. However, a group called Jews Against Jackson, linked to the Jewish Defense League, placed a hostile advertisement in the New York Times on November 11. The advertisement featured a photograph of Jackson embracing Arafat, with a text accusing him of being antisemitic. It concluded by asking, "Do you believe that any Jew should support this man?" While the advertisement was quickly condemned by numerous Jewish organizations, it heightened Black-Jewish tensions. A headline in the Philadelphia Tribune, a Black-oriented newspaper, declared, "Jews cast dark shadow on Jackson's dream."

In a speech prepared for delivery at the biennial meeting of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the vice-president of the organization stated that Jackson's candidacy might "help to expose the American people to the real world and the real conditions of our cities." Some 50 young Black and Jewish leaders, seeking common ground, met with Jackson at a conference sponsored by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the youth and college division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Shortly thereafter, Jackson expressed a more conciliatory attitude toward Israel, and strongly denied that he was antisemitic.

In December the justice department, which had been looking into Jackson's dealings with the Libyan government, stated that there was no evidence that Jackson had acted on behalf of Libya in return for a $10,000 donation to Operation PUSH.
Stony Brook

The impact of Middle East issues on Black-Jewish relations was strongly felt on the campus of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, where Ernest Dube, a Black professor, designed and taught a course equating Zionism with racism in the manner of the 1974 United Nations resolution. Dube was denounced by various Jewish organizations and Governor Mario Cuomo. In August the executive committee of the Stony Brook faculty senate ruled that Dube's approach to the course material was protected by guarantees of academic freedom. At year's end, the course remained in place, although it was being taught in a different manner.

As 1983 drew to a close, efforts were under way to contain Black-Jewish tensions. Summing up the hopes of many moderates, John Jacob, president of the Urban League, maintained that differences between the two groups were "transitory . . . rather than sharp and permanent divisions." Jacob called for a "new alliance" between Blacks and Jews to help the United States live up to its "promises to minorities and the downtrodden."

Urban Issues

The growth of unemployment, combined with cutbacks in social programs by the Reagan administration, aroused deep concern in broad segments of the organized Jewish community. The NJCRAC, in its 1983–1984 joint program plan, declared that "the administration, Congress, and even the presidential candidates have failed to respond with the kinds of programs that the crisis requires." The NJCRAC called on the federal government to utilize its resources to stimulate employment, going so far as to create jobs if necessary. In March representatives of the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations joined with Protestant and Catholic religious leaders in a public statement denouncing President Reagan's budget as "a selfish and dangerous course of social stinginess and military overkill."

Jewish organizations sought to monitor the impact of the severe recession on the Jewish community. A report released by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in May noted that 22 federations had reported symptoms of economic hardship affecting thousands of Jews. In November the American Jewish Committee published a study, Jews on the Edge, indicating that an estimated 13–15 per cent of the total Jewish population was economically disadvantaged. Most vulnerable were workers over 40, working women in all age brackets, and white-collar and professional people.

Antisemitism

The Anti-Defamation League reported that antisemitic assaults and threats declined by 41 per cent in the United States in 1983, while vandalism directed against Jews and Jewish property dropped by 19 per cent. This was the second year in a
row in which the number of incidents declined, following three years of increases. There were 670 vandalism incidents, mainly in New York, New Jersey, and California. By the end of the year 16 states had enacted legislation increasing penalties for acts of desecration against synagogues and churches, as well as damage done to educational and residential property.

The most serious antisemitic incident of the year took place in New York City. On June 22, gunmen in a passing car wounded two Yeshiva University rabbinical students and a 14-year-old high school student in a restaurant in the Washington Heights area. In September the same weapon was used to kill a woman and wound a Yeshiva University high school student. The Jewish Defense League offered to patrol the area near the university, but school officials opted for police protection. A $250,000 reward was posted for information on the shootings.

In an attempt to rectify the historical record, Jewish organizations in Atlanta, Georgia unsuccessfully sought to obtain a posthumous state parole board pardon for Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman convicted of murder and lynched by a mob in 1915 in the most notorious antisemitic incident in American history. The Jewish organizations began their campaign after new evidence became available proving Frank's innocence. In light of the parole board's failure to act, plans were being made to appeal the matter to the state legislature.

**Discrimination**

In September, New York City mayor Koch issued an executive order barring officials from conducting city business in private clubs which discriminate. At the end of the year, the New York City council was debating a bill banning discrimination in private clubs.

The American Bar Association's house of delegates voted in August to support an amendment to the 1964 federal civil rights act prohibiting discrimination against women and minorities in private clubs. A study released by the Philadelphia chapter of the American Jewish Committee in April maintained that private club discrimination in that city had dropped sharply in recent years with regard to racial or religious factors, but that the situation of women remained quite problematic.

In the fall, the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary voted to permit the ordination of women. This action, which was widely seen as a victory for the Jewish feminist movement, aligned Conservative Judaism with the Reform and Reconstructionist denominations, groups that had been ordaining women, respectively, since 1972 and 1974. Currently, there were some 60 women rabbis.

**Attitudes Toward Israel and American Jews**

Israel's incursion into Lebanon in 1982, which brought in its wake the Phalangist-conducted massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps, led to a temporary downward turn in the American public's positive view of the Jewish
state. By January 1983, however, Israel was once again being preferred over the Arab countries by margins of four or five to one. When the Gallup organization asked about which of nine groups Americans thought had too much power, Jews appeared at the bottom of the list. Still, it was disquieting that 37 per cent of the public felt that American Jews were more loyal to Israel than to the United States.

Despite the good will shown to Israel by the American public, and the continued erosion of antisemitic stereotypes in the United States, survey data released by the American Jewish Committee in the fall indicated that more than two-thirds of a national sample of American Jews agreed that “anti-Semitism in America may, in the future, become a serious problem.” Only 27 per cent of the sample agreed that “virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews.” These findings lent support to the position of Earl Raab, a veteran Jewish community relations official, who argued in the February issue of *Midstream* that it was necessary to distinguish between fact and foreboding in discussing antisemitism.

**Pro-Arab Activity**

There were indications of increased activity to influence American public opinion in a pro-Arab direction. A relatively new element was the growing importance and sophistication of the estimated two to three million Arab Americans living in large cities, especially New York, Boston, and Detroit. Such groups as the National Association of Arab Americans and the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee enlarged staff size, launched new publications, initiated lecture series, and hired leading public relations experts to develop advertising campaigns. The National Association of Arab Americans reiterated the theme “Stop U.S. military aid to Israel now” in billboard messages, newspaper advertisements, and radio announcements that were test-marketed in Albany, New York; Little Rock, Arkansas; San Mateo, California; and Topeka, Kansas. Representative Clarence Long (D., MD), a strong supporter of Israel, was targeted for attack in a specially prepared radio commercial that was aired in his congressional district.

During the year, the Anti-Defamation League and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee issued publications identifying the background and activities of various pro-Arab organizations. The Anti-Defamation League maintained that at a meeting in London $100 million had been allocated to fund a propaganda campaign aimed at undermining American support for Israel.

As part of its effort to counteract pro-Arab activities, the American Jewish Congress pressed ahead with a plan to force United States corporations to divulge to stockholders the nature and extent of their lobbying actions. In February the organization reported that nine corporations, including the Aluminum Company of America and American Airlines, had agreed to full disclosure of such activities. The American Jewish Congress also asked the supreme court to intervene in its two-year battle to compel the treasury department to reveal the extent of Arab dollar holdings in the United States.
In 1983 a number of American companies, including Bank America Corporation, Citibank, and the Bank of New York, were fined for violating federal regulations banning cooperation with the Arab boycott of Israel. In most instances, the violations were technical. Still, at year's end the International Trade Association reported that more than $1.5 million in fines had been imposed on 62 American companies during a 15-month period.

Holocaust

Interest in the Holocaust on the part of Jews and others continued to run high. In March the United States government announced that it would make available two large buildings in Washington for use as a major Holocaust museum. The transfer of the properties took place the following month at a ceremonial gathering of some 10,000 Holocaust survivors in nearby Landover, Maryland. Speaking at the ceremony, President Reagan told the participants, "The security of your safe havens here and in Israel will never be compromised."

During the year, a bill was signed into law authorizing honorary citizenship for Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat credited with saving some 20,000 Hungarian Jews from Hitler's death camps. Wallenberg thus became the third person—following the Marquis de Lafayette and Winston Churchill—to be so honored.

The Holocaust also came before the public as the result of charges that the state department, army intelligence, and the FBI had protected Nazi war criminals in the post-World War II period, in order to use them as anti-Communist agents. This claim had been first put forward by John Loftus, a former investigator for the justice department, in a May 1982 CBS television program. Loftus' book The Belarus Secret described in detail the alleged use of 300 Byelorussian Nazi collaborators in American counter-intelligence efforts, after they had been smuggled into the United States. Some experts, however, attacked Loftus' claims as being exaggerated and sensational.

In August the justice department released a 218-page investigative report admitting misconduct by American officials in shielding Klaus Barbie, a former SS officer, from French prosecutors and helping him to escape to Bolivia in 1951. Allan Ryan, Jr., who was in charge of the investigation, indicated that he had found some evidence of the use of ex-Nazis as informers, but could not point to any other case in which they had been given the type of protection afforded Barbie.

In 1983 two former Nazi collaborators, Feodor Federenko and Serge Kowalchuk, were stripped of American citizenship and ordered deported.

Church-State Relations

President Reagan, in his "state of the union" address and in a speech to a convention of Christian broadcasters, indicated his continued support of a series of social proposals, including tax credits for parents with children in private and
parochial schools and the restoration of classroom prayer. Legislation along these lines had been submitted to Congress in 1982, but had made little progress. In February, Supreme Court justice Lewis Powell, Jr. flatly asserted—in a three-page order banning Alabama teachers from leading prayers in public school classrooms—that efforts to “conduct prayers as part of school programs is unconstitutional under this court’s decisions.” However, a Gallup poll released in September made it clear that most Americans favored a constitutional amendment allowing voluntary prayer in public schools.

Public support for prayer in the schools was translated into backing for a number of legislative moves, including a constitutional amendment introduced by Senator Orrin Hatch (R., UT) authorizing silent prayer and a bill permitting religious clubs to function in public schools on an extra-curricular basis. In 22 states, laws had already been enacted permitting a moment of silence in school classrooms. Similar measures had long been opposed by most Jewish organizations, with the exception of some Orthodox groups. Thus it is not surprising that the Synagogue Council of America, representing Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox viewpoints, sent a telegram to President Reagan on May 4 expressing distress at a “possible change in the constitution of the United States which would permit prayer in the public schools.” In October the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League joined with several other Jewish organizations in a legal brief supporting an American Civil Liberties Union suit challenging the constitutionality of New Jersey’s “moment of silence” law. Later that month, federal district court judges in New Jersey and New Mexico upheld the American Civil Liberties Union’s position; in November the supreme court refused to review the New Mexico ruling. However, at year’s end the justice department asked the supreme court to review an Alabama “moment of silence” law, which the Reagan administration saw as “no threat to the values” protected by the constitution.

In a case that aroused wide interest, a federal district judge in Pennsylvania ruled in May that school prayer was permitted when it involved groups of students who had voluntarily formed religious clubs that met prior to the start of classes each day. On appeal, the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League filed a joint brief in opposition. The principle, however, found a supporter in Senator Mark Hatfield (R., OR), who introduced legislation in Congress requiring public high schools to make school facilities available to voluntary prayer groups on the same basis as other student activities. Those Jewish organizations that joined with the American Civil Liberties Union in opposing Hatfield’s bill found few allies in the Christian community. Indeed, the National Council of Churches supported Hatfield’s move, as did the normally separationist United Presbyterian Church and various Baptist elements.

In August the National Council of Churches filed a joint brief with the American Jewish Committee seeking to have the supreme court bar the city of Pawtucket, Rhode Island from using a nativity scene in a city-sponsored Christmas display. The lower federal courts had previously invoked the first amendment to uphold this
stand. The National Council of Churches-American Jewish Committee brief argued that the "sole and obvious content [of a crèche] is the depiction in adorational terms of the birth of a divinity in the form of the infant Jesus."

In a 5-4 decision, the supreme court upheld a Minnesota law permitting parents to take a state income tax deduction for expenses incurred in sending children to public or private elementary or secondary schools. Justice William Rehnquist, speaking for the majority, maintained that the tax aid was not an unconstitutional establishment of religion, despite the fact that nearly all the benefits went to parents with children in parochial schools. Following the supreme court decision, a number of state legislatures began to consider similar parochial measures.

At year's end, a number of experts in the area of church-state relations reported that the supreme court's scrutiny of state involvement in religion had "softened" somewhat. At the same time, there were indications that some strong separationists were having second thoughts about the extent of their opposition to state involvement in religion. "We really are ambivalent about religious clubs," declared Albert Menendez, leader of Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Menendez emphasized that his organization was not opposed to "the principle of equal access as long as the religious club is initiated by students themselves and is not sanctioned by the school." Marc Stern, a staff member of the staunchly separationist American Jewish Congress, suggested that "blind allegiance to constitutional principles advances neither the principle of separation nor religious liberty." This view, however, remained a minority position within the American Jewish community.

**The New Right**

Fueling Jewish opposition to any breach of church-state separation was the continued strong support given by New Right and Christian Right organizations to the restoration of Bible reading and prayer in public schools and the banning of school library materials that were deemed offensive. The Moral Majority took a positive view of new regulations issued by the department of health and human services requiring federally supported, family-planning clinics to notify parents when minor children received prescription contraceptives. This move, however, was blocked by a federal judge early in the year; the decision was upheld by the court of appeals. A number of Jewish organizations expressed pleasure at the legal outcome of the matter. In June the Senate rejected an anti-abortion amendment, sponsored by Senator Hatch, that would have overturned the 1973 supreme court decision in Roe v. Wade.

In November, the Moral Majority held its national convention in Jerusalem. Some 630 delegates listened enthusiastically to an address by Israeli defense minister Moshe Arens, in which he declared that the Jewish state would make no concessions on the West Bank. Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell seconded this position: "There is no way that Israel can surrender such a portion of its real estate to hostile forces and expect to remain free."
Extremism

Once the largest extremist group in the United States, the Ku Klux Klan had declined in strength as a result of effective law enforcement and disenchantment among the membership. In a report released in the summer, however, the Anti-Defamation League indicated that other violent elements, including the Posse Comitatus and the Christian Defense League, had become active. These groups had a total membership of around 10,000.

In April, six Klan members and three American Nazis were indicted on conspiracy charges stemming from the 1979 killing of five members of the Communist Workers’ party in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Interreligious Relations

The pattern of distance and distrust that had characterized relations between the Jewish community and the institutional structures of liberal Protestantism in recent years continued, especially in connection with Middle East issues. At the same time, the evangelical churches were strongly pro-Israel, and this led some Jewish leaders to seek closer ties with Protestant fundamentalists, particularly when the latter indicated that they would not attempt to proselytize Jews. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, argued that Jews should cease stereotyping evangelicals as mere “Bible thumpers—illiterate and bigoted people.” Tanenbaum was challenged on this score by Rabbi Schindler, head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who denounced any Jewish “flirtation with the Christian Right.” Schindler asserted that segments of the American Jewish community were “willing to forgive anyone anything as long as they hear a good word about Israel.”

The NJCRAC reported that attempts by various religious cults to win over Jews as members did not appear to increase in 1983, and may even have declined.

In the fall, a federal appeals court upheld the conviction of Sun Myung Moon, founder of the Unification Church, on charges of conspiring to evade taxes. While Moon had few friends in the Jewish community, some concern was expressed that he might have been targeted for government investigation because of his unpopular views.

Political Developments

Early in the year there were indications of restlessness on the part of important elements of the right-wing coalition that had helped elect Ronald Reagan president. Few of the social issues that the conservatives supported were gaining ground in Congress, and conservative spokesmen such as Richard Viguerie, publisher of Conservative Digest, maintained that the administration was not being forceful enough in pushing them. When President Reagan named former secretary of state Henry
Kissinger to head a bi-partisan commission to chart long-range policy for Central America, the thunder on the right grew even louder.

Seemingly in response to such criticism, President Reagan stepped up his rhetoric on a number of social issues. In a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in March, he argued forcefully against abortion and in favor of prayer in public schools. Observing that the Soviet Union was "the focus of evil in the world," Reagan called on the evangelicals to join in opposing a nuclear freeze and in pressing for a major buildup of United States weaponry. Also in March, the president met with the leadership of Morality in Media, a coalition of Protestant and Catholic organizations strongly opposed to pornography; Reagan promised to give consideration to the appointment of an anti-pornography "coordinator."

In Chicago, the nation's third largest city, Harold Washington, a Black candidate, was elected mayor, receiving some 43 per cent of the Jewish vote, despite the fact that his opponent was Jewish; Jews voted for Washington two and a half times more than other whites. In the fall, Black candidate W. Wilson Goode was elected the mayor of Philadelphia, the nation's fifth largest city; once again, Jews provided a much higher proportion of the Black winner's vote than whites generally.

With Los Angeles also being governed by a Black mayor, attention increasingly came to center on New York City, where Mayor Koch, the most outspokenly "Jewish" politician in the country, continued to clash with Black and Hispanic leaders. A particularly sharp exchange was occasioned by a congressional subcommittee hearing in New York City, dealing with the issue of police brutality. Even before the session was held, Koch denounced it as a vehicle to enhance the political objectives of his opponents in the Black community. At the hearing, a mob-like atmosphere developed, with hundreds of Blacks pushing their way into the room to hurl insults at Koch.

In *American Modernity and Jewish Identity*, Steven M. Cohen presented research findings showing that Jews were more liberal than other Americans on a variety of issues: spending for social programs; quotas for Blacks and other disadvantaged minorities; support for the equal rights amendment; tolerance for homosexuals, and governmental subsidies for abortions. Jews came closer to the American mainstream on matters directly affecting either their own security or that of the State of Israel, e.g., defense spending or the death penalty for murder. In a further elaboration, Cohen indicated that more segregated, traditionally-oriented Jews tended to exhibit lower levels of political liberalism, while highly secularized, assimilated Jews came closest to the views of Americans in general. It was the large segment of Jews situated between the two extremes who scored highest on several measures of political liberalism.
The United States, Israel, and the Middle East

**For United States Policy** in the Middle East, 1983 was a year marked by disillusionment and defeat. This provided a sad contrast to the optimistic mood in official Washington in September 1982, when President Ronald Reagan announced a new Middle East peace initiative. The expectation at the time was that within months King Hussein of Jordan would finally agree to enter negotiations, Israeli and Syrian forces would be removed from Lebanon, and that war-torn country would be well on the way to recovering its independence and unity. Not only were these American policy objectives not achieved, but 1983 also brought a sharp reversal in the fortunes of some of the leading actors on the scene.

The most notable development was Syria's re-emergence as a major force following the crushing military defeat it had suffered at the hands of the Israelis in June 1982. There were three major factors behind the Syrian comeback: the Soviet Union's decision to rapidly supply Damascus with highly advanced weapons, including surface-to-air and ground-to-ground missiles; the fierce determination of President Hafez al-Assad to foil American and Israeli plans to create an independent, pro-Western Lebanon, living in peace with Israel; and the indecisiveness and inconsistency of American policy.

**Syrian Intransigence Shatters U.S. Illusions**

Relying on assurances from Saudi Arabia, the United States was led to believe that the declared Syrian opposition to withdrawing its forces from Lebanon was mere verbal posturing, and that once Israel had agreed to withdraw, Syria would quickly do likewise. If there was a single event that finally shattered American illusions about the true nature of Syrian intentions, it was the suicide truck bombing of the U.S. marine headquarters in Beirut on October 23. Although Damascus disclaimed official responsibility, Syrian defense minister Mustafa Tlas called the bombing a "heroic" act and warned that Syrian pilots would respond to any American retaliatory attack with "kamikaze attacks on American warships." From the beginning, American officials were convinced that Syrian intelligence had been involved in the truck bombing (and the simultaneous blasting of French military headquarters), because the Iranian attackers, adherents of the fundamentalist Islamic Jihad, had come from Syrian-controlled territory. At a news conference on November 22, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stated categorically that the United States had reliable evidence that the attack had been undertaken with "the sponsorship, knowledge and authority of the Syrian government." The 241 American servicemen killed and 70 wounded in the Beirut bombing constituted the highest number of casualties in any single incident since the 1968 Tet offensive in Vietnam.
The truck bomb-attack underscored the physical vulnerability of the members of the Western, multinational peace-keeping force in Beirut. It led many Americans, including prominent congressional voices, to question the wisdom and feasibility of United States policy. There was deep frustration within the U.S. defense establishment, which regarded the marine role as something of a "mission impossible." The working assumption of the Reagan administration had been that a small, neutral, international force would be sufficient to demonstrate Western support for the government of Amin Gemayel as it worked to restore Lebanese national unity and independence. But for a peace-keeping force to be successful—as was the Multinational Force and Observers, which monitored compliance with the terms of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in the Sinai—there first needed to be agreement among the parties involved to accept it. In Lebanon, however, there were important factions, supported by powerful outside elements, who were determined to undermine the Gemayel government and undo its policies. In the absence of a Lebanese national consensus, the American and other Western troops were viewed as partisans of one side, rather than as neutral peace-keepers. The best estimate in the Pentagon was that it would require the commitment of some 50,000–100,000 fighting men to effectively aid the Gemayel government.

There was no question that the United States possessed the requisite military strength. Already on September 6, President Reagan, through his spokesman Larry Speakes, had issued a clear warning to Syria: "The Syrians should know that we have considerable firepower offshore and they should be circumspect... in instigating any violence in the area." Toward the end of the year, after the president had authorized American forces to take more active measures to defend the embattled marines and support the Lebanese government, air force jets and the battleship New Jersey pounded Syrian-controlled positions in the Shuf mountains, overlooking Beirut. But if the United States had the fire-power, the Syrians had the staying-power. In October, Congress had only reluctantly agreed to authorize the maintenance of the U.S. peace-keeping force in Lebanon for 18 months, after extracting a pledge from President Reagan that he would seek additional congressional authorization "if circumstances require any substantial expansion in the number or role of U.S. armed forces." There was virtually no support among military and civilian authorities in Washington to transform the mission of the Americans in Lebanon from a peace-keeping to a combatant role.

The inconclusive results of the Lebanese national reconciliation talks, which had taken place in Geneva, Switzerland at the end of October, underscored just how far away the warring factions in Lebanon still were from agreement on reforming the country's internal political structure and defining a foreign policy. The only decision that was reached—Syrian insistence—was to "freeze" the American-brokered, May 17 Lebanese-Israeli agreement, which would have brought about an Israeli withdrawal within the framework of a formal end of the state of war between Israel and Lebanon, bilateral security arrangements, and the beginning of steps toward normalization of relations. While American officials continued to voice support for
implementation of the Lebanese-Israeli accord, it became increasingly clear with the passage of time that neither the United States nor Israel had the political will to undertake the kind of massive military campaign that would be required to dislodge the Syrians from their positions in Lebanon and enable President Gemayel to defeat the coalition of forces arrayed against him.

As the 1984 presidential campaign approached, political advisers in the White House became increasingly concerned about the possibly disastrous consequences for President Reagan of an open-ended and manifestly unsuccessful American military involvement in the Lebanese quagmire. The signs were unmistakable that the Democrats planned to exploit the issue to the hilt. In a letter sent to Reagan on December 14, representatives Lee Hamilton (D., IN) and Les Aspin (D., WI), who had supported the original bipartisan resolution authorizing a marine role in Lebanon for 18 months, challenged the president’s Lebanon policy on a variety of grounds. “We believe you have overstated our stake in Lebanon. . . . [It] is neither the key to the supply of Persian Gulf oil, nor essential to the continued existence of Israel,” they argued. The two House members also maintained that Lebanon’s violence was “fundamentally indigenous” and that the Reagan administration had not “pushed hard enough to achieve a political solution to the problem.” While they acknowledged the destructive role of Syria, Iran, and the Soviet Union, Hamilton and Aspin contended that national reconciliation would “do more to determine the prospects for [Lebanon] than the rate at which foreign forces leave.” The two men warned that any thought of a “military solution in Lebanon would be unwise and against our national interest.”

On December 19 the House armed services subcommittee on investigations issued a highly critical report. It revealed that the joint chiefs of staff had opposed the marine mission as militarily unviable, and regarded security measures at Beirut airport as inadequate to protect the marine unit from all likely threats. More fundamentally, the report argued that a marine presence in Lebanon could only be justified “if the policy objectives are visible, profoundly important, and clearly attainable.” A call was issued for a re-examination of American policy by the administration and Congress.

Israel Scales Down Lebanese Involvement

In one of many ironic shifts in American policy during 1983, the administration, which had earlier chastised Israel for the alleged excesses of its military operation in Lebanon and demanded a prompt Israeli withdrawal, was now eager to have the Jewish state employ its military and political resources to counter the Syrians and help the Gemayel government to restore peace between the warring Christian and Druze communities. However, the mood in Israel had also changed significantly. The architect of the Lebanon invasion, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, had been forced to relinquish his post following the issuance of the Kahan Commission report (February 8), which had castigated him for failing to intervene quickly to stop the
Phalangist massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps. Sharon's departure was emblematic of the scaling down of Israeli geopolitical objectives in Lebanon in the face of increasing doubts as to what was achievable there given the costs and risks.

Israel faced a special dilemma when renewed Christian-Druze fighting erupted, since both groups had ties to Israel. The Israeli Druze minority, which had long been loyal to the Jewish state, wanted Israel to permit its fighting men to go to the aid of their brethren in Lebanon. On the other hand, the leaders of the Christian Lebanese Forces, the militant arm of the Phalangists, who had been secretly allied with Israel for several years, wanted Israel to aid them, or at least not to hinder them as they moved to improve their position in the Shuf mountains. The Israeli response to this situation was to forbid the Israeli Druze to enter the combat in the north, to urge President Gemayel to curb the militant Phalangists and develop a more truly representative national army, and to give notice to both the United States and Lebanese governments that Israel would soon move its forces southward to the Awali river as a security measure. The planned Israeli pullback caused consternation in Beirut and Washington. Israel several times agreed to delay its withdrawal from the Shuf mountains so as to give the Lebanese government and its Western and Saudi supporters more time to work out security arrangements. Finally, in September, with Israeli casualties mounting daily and the economic drain of the Lebanese operation becoming ever more burdensome, Israeli forces were redeployed southward.

Despite the feverish efforts of U.S. special envoy Robert McFarlane and Saudi prince Bandar bin Sultan to work out an agreement between the Gemayel government and Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, intensified fighting broke out in the Shuf mountains following the Israeli pullout. McFarlane, deputy director of the national security council, had been appointed by President Reagan in July to succeed special envoys Morris Draper and Philip Habib, who resigned when the White House became dissatisfied over their inability to achieve positive results in the Lebanon negotiations.

To allay Arab fears that an Israeli pullback from the Beirut area represented a move toward the de facto partition of Lebanon, Secretary of State George Shultz had announced on July 28—at the conclusion of three days of meetings in Washington with Israeli officials—that it was "totally wrong" to believe that Israel intended to stay in Lebanon permanently. He described the planned Israeli move to secure positions in southern Lebanon as "a step in the direction of total withdrawal." On August 19, presidential spokesman Speakes reiterated the American view that Israel was "committed to the full withdrawal of its forces in Lebanon."

To the extent that there was still any consensus within Israel, it was limited literally to securing "peace for Galilee," i.e., preventing southern Lebanon from once again becoming a base for PLO terrorist attacks against civilian targets in northern Israel. While Israeli officials made it clear they would resist any Syrian attack, they had no desire to become embroiled in a major conflict with Syria, most
certainly not as a mere surrogate of the United States. This cautious Israeli attitude had an effect on American policy as well. Thus, despite tough talk by President Reagan in the wake of the bombing of the marine headquarters in Beirut that "this despicable act will not go unpunished," nothing was done. After several weeks had passed with no American action, Secretary of State Shultz expressed a desire for an end to public talk about retaliation. Even Secretary of Defense Weinberger, who had explicitly blamed the Syrians and Iranians for the truck bomb-attack, brushed off reporters' questions about reprisals, saying that President Reagan had not made "any promise of retaliation."

Arens Moves to End Israel-U.S. Friction

In Israel the flamboyant Sharon had been replaced as defense minister by Moshe Arens, Israel's ambassador to Washington. While Arens had a reputation for toughness in foreign policy, he was also known for his ability to analyze issues dispassionately and for his quiet, non-confrontational personal style. Arens was determined to do all that he could to avoid the kind of needless acrimony that had at times punctuated relations between the United States and Israel. During the first part of the year, for example, there had been several occasions when American and Israeli troops in Beirut had come close to clashing. Probably the most bizarre incident took place on February 2, when a U.S. marine captain drew his pistol, climbed aboard an Israeli tank, and ordered the Israeli officer in charge to remove three Israeli tanks from the area in which they were patrolling. The incident was the result of confusion about the line of demarcation between the different forces in Beirut; adding to the problem was the reluctance of the Pentagon to establish direct liaison between U.S. and Israeli units. A senior Israeli official blamed Secretary of Defense Weinberger for "blowing this completely out of proportion" and for suggesting that the marine captain deserved a medal for his action. To make certain that there was no repetition of the incident, American and Israeli officials agreed to use colored barrels to mark off the Israeli patrol area from that covered by the multinational force.

Defense Minister Arens, in a gesture of goodwill to the United States in March, unilaterally offered to share with Washington the intelligence information that Israel had obtained during the war in Lebanon. Conclusion of a bilateral agreement on the matter, similar to ones drawn up after the 1967 and 1973 wars, had earlier been held up by Defense Minister Sharon's insistence that the agreement contain assurances that the information would not be shared with countries potentially hostile to Israel. A Pentagon spokesman termed Arens' gesture "an encouraging development in relations."

In March, the Center for International Security, a Washington think tank, sent an open letter to President Reagan, signed by more than 100 retired U.S. generals and admirals. The officers argued that "the victory of Israeli-modified American weapons and tactics [in Lebanon] presents the free world with a tremendous opportunity to reduce the impact of Russia's extraordinary growth in tactical forces and
battlefield technology." They therefore urged the president to "revitalize strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel." It was not until November, however, that the Reagan administration was prepared to take any public steps in this direction. In the early months of the year the prevailing view in the White House was that it would be imprudent for Washington to cooperate with Israel in the military and strategic fields so long as Israeli troops continued to occupy parts of Lebanon.

Reagan Administration Courts King Hussein

Washington was still hopeful that King Hussein of Jordan would decide to enter Middle East peace negotiations on the basis of the Reagan plan. However, the king first wanted firm assurances that the United States would deliver on President Reagan's reported promise to press Israel to agree to a settlement freeze if Jordan indicated its readiness to negotiate. For his part, Reagan, in a talk to 150 leaders of the World Jewish Congress in the White House on February 2, listed three conditions as necessary for progress toward peace in the Middle East. The first was that Israel "must be prepared to engage in serious negotiations over the West Bank and Gaza." Second, Israel had to demonstrate "good faith" in the form of a settlements freeze. Finally—an "independent but related" condition—"King Hussein needed to step forward, ready to negotiate peace directly with Israel."

President Reagan was greatly troubled by the slow pace of the Lebanese-Israeli talks, which had begun at the end of 1982 but were still bogged down over Israeli demands that the agreement include provisions for the normalization of relations, and that Israel be permitted to station 750 men at early warning stations in Lebanon even after the completion of a withdrawal. Israel, for its part, rejected Lebanese proposals for a United Nations monitoring force, noting UNIFIL's ineffectiveness in the past to prevent PLO incursions into northern Israel. The ability of the United States to get Israel to pull its armed forces out of "the North Bank"—as some Arab observers pointedly called the area of Lebanon under Israeli occupation—was increasingly posed by the Jordanians and Egyptians as a litmus test of the viability of President Reagan's initiative for the West Bank. As a sign of the president's determination, administration sources leaked the news that Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who had been scheduled to come to Washington in mid-February, would not be welcome there until Israel agreed to a withdrawal. In remarks to a group of reporters on February 7, President Reagan confirmed that the Arab countries were refusing to participate in peace talks with Israel until it withdrew from Lebanon, demanding this as a "gesture of good will." Reagan added that Israel was "unnecessarily" delaying its withdrawal, thus neglecting its "moral" obligation to depart after the Lebanese government had "asked all the foreign forces to leave." The president said that he would be willing to consider increasing the size of the multinational peace-keeping force if that were necessary to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign forces. Reagan, at that point, was still operating under the
illusion that once Israel agreed to pull out, Syria and the PLO would do so simultaneously.

**Israel Rejects U.S. Criticism**

Acknowledging President Reagan's obvious impatience, Israeli ambassador Arens labeled as "totally unfounded" speculation in some Washington circles that Israel was purposely stalling in the talks with Lebanon so as to postpone negotiations with King Hussein. In an interview with the New York Times (February 20) prior to his return to Israel to be sworn in as defense minister, Arens argued that the Reagan administration failed to appreciate the "full complexity of the Middle Eastern scene," adding, "I think that people have idealized notions of how quickly things can get done and sometimes that can be destructive or counterproductive."

When asked by a reporter on March 31 whether the administration would approve the long-delayed delivery to Israel of 75 F-16 fighter planes—in view of the recent Soviet shipment of SAM-5 missiles to Syria—President Reagan said the planes would not be delivered until Israel withdrew its armed forces from Lebanon, because "we are forbidden by law to release those planes" to an occupying power. The following day, state department spokesman Alan Romberg retreated from this position, stressing to reporters that Reagan had not formally determined that Israel was in violation of the law restricting the use of American weapons to defensive purposes. The president, he indicated, was only concerned that the "spirit of the law" not be violated.

President Reagan's remark drew an angry response from Israel, as well as Israeli supporters in the United States. Foreign Minister Shamir called the president's comment "very regrettable," since the United States "knows very well that we entered Lebanon to defend ourselves from the murderous attacks of the Palestinian terrorists who were using Lebanon as their base." Former vice president Walter Mondale, a leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, declared that he was "disappointed and disturbed that President Reagan apparently has broken a pledge made in 1978 to deliver F-16 airplanes to Israel." Mondale argued that with thousands of Russian troops being sent to Syria to operate highly advanced missiles, the United States "should be strengthening the bonds of strategic cooperation with our oldest and most reliable ally in the region." He pointedly observed that "for months, the administration has been insisting that it would not use an arms embargo against Israel as an instrument of foreign policy."

**Divisions Erupt Within PLO**

American efforts to court King Hussein ultimately came to nought. Although tempted by the promise in the Reagan plan that the United States would support the return of most of the West Bank to Jordanian control in a peace settlement, Hussein still wanted to assure himself of substantial Palestinian and Arab support before taking the plunge. It seemed for a time that the PLO, chastened by the loss
of its last operational base bordering Israel, might finally moderate its position. PLO leader Yasir Arafat had in fact spent the months following his forced departure from Beirut, at the end of August 1982, in direct and indirect contact with many foreign capitals, including Paris and Washington, his aim being to sound them out on whether the formula for "mutual recognition" between Israel and the PLO, which he proposed to submit for approval to the Palestine National Council, would gain support in the West. Arafat was even quoted as saying that the Reagan plan included "positive elements." Moreover, in October 1982 he had opened negotiations with King Hussein concerning the creation of a confederation between Jordan and an eventual Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. However, when the Palestine National Council finally assembled in Algiers in mid-February 1983, Arafat felt his own position was too weak and his movement too deeply split to make a bold and unambiguous public declaration of recognition of Israel. The Algiers meeting, therefore, ended up being the "conference of the yes-no."

The most dramatic development at the Algiers conference was the resignation from the Palestine National Council of Issam-Sartawi, one of the leading PLO advocates of recognition of Israel. The 48-year-old surgeon, who had been designated by Arafat to engage in discussions with both Israelis and Jewish groups in the West, was scheduled to deliver a speech calling for an expanded dialogue between the PLO and Israel, and for clear-cut PLO acceptance of the "two-state solution," i.e., a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza living peacefully alongside Israel. At the last minute, however, Sartawi was denied the right to speak. At a press conference following his resignation, Sartawi declared it "inconceivable" that the Palestine National Council "would patiently listen to a two-and-a-half-hour oration defending Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi but would not allot ten minutes to hear a speech offering practical hope for the Palestinians." Pointing to the fact that a number of bombastic speeches had trumpeted the PLO "victory" over Israel in the Lebanon war, he bitterly observed: "If Beirut was such a great victory, then all we need is a series of such victories and we will be holding our next National Council meeting in Fiji."

At the Algiers meeting, Arafat attempted to retain his freedom of action and to win approval for the continuation of contacts with King Hussein. He reportedly also wanted the Palestine National Council to stop short of formally rejecting the Reagan plan, stating only that it did not provide a "sound basis for a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict." However, in response to pressure from radical elements within the PLO, the final resolution, adopted on February 22, did in fact dismiss the Reagan plan out of hand. The Council approved a resumption of negotiations with Hussein, but imposed two conditions: the PLO had to be accepted as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and the Palestinians had to be able to exercise their right to self-determination, including the right to have a sovereign state.

Immediately following the conference, Arafat returned to Amman, where, after lengthy closed door talks with King Hussein, the draft of a jointly agreed protocol was prepared. According to journalist Eric Rouleau, the protocol contained at least
three major violations of Palestine National Council decisions: it did not designate the PLO as a negotiating party in eventual talks with Israel; it did not recognize the Palestinian people's right to set up their own sovereign state before linking up with Jordan; and it mentioned only the Reagan plan among the various proposals that might lead to a peace settlement. At the last moment, after King Hussein had signed the protocol, Arafat refused to countersign or even initial the document, saying that he first had to obtain the approval of the Palestinian leadership. He flew off to Kuwait, where, for the first time in recent history, he was repudiated first by the PLO executive committee and then by the whole of the central committee of Fatah, his own constituent organization. Too embarrassed to return to Amman, Arafat sent two of his deputies to King Hussein with counterproposals that restated traditional, hard-line PLO positions.

Reactions to Failure of Hussein-Arafat Talks

King Hussein convened his cabinet on April 10 to study the PLO response. After the meeting, it was announced that Jordan would not enter into negotiations on the basis of the Reagan plan because the PLO had proposed a new course of action “that differed from our agreement.” “We in Jordan, having refused from the beginning to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians, will neither act separately nor in lieu of anybody in any Middle East peace negotiations,” the Jordanian cabinet statement said. Affirming that Jordan still respected the 1974 Arab League summit decision naming the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, the cabinet statement left no doubt as to the king's annoyance with the PLO's lack of realism. Jordan, in effect, washed its hands of the Palestinian issue: “Accordingly, we leave it to the PLO and to the Palestinian people to choose the ways and means for the salvation of themselves and their land, and for the realization of their declared aims in the manner they see fit.”

While President Reagan described King Hussein's refusal to enter into talks as nothing more than an “impediment” in the search for Middle East peace, others in Washington admitted that for all practical purposes the Reagan plan was dead—or at least in a state of suspended animation—until after the 1984 American presidential election. The American Jewish response to Hussein's nay-saying came in the form of a telegram sent to President Reagan by Julius Berman, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Berman underscored the bankruptcy of American policy, which he summed up as “four years of unsuccessful attempts to cajole, bribe, beseech, implore, and importune King Hussein of Jordan to come to the peace table.” He called on the administration to lift the ban on the sale of F-16 planes to Israel, thus “serving notice to the world that America stands by its friends and supports those who are committed to peace.”

The Jordanian fiasco led to a shakeup in the State Department. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Nicholas Veliotis, who had optimistically predicted a positive change in the Jordanian and PLO positions following the war
in Lebanon, was removed from his post and sent off to Cairo as the ambassador to Egypt. Veliotis was replaced by Richard Murphy, who, as ambassador to Damascus and Riyadh, had distinguished himself by accurately assessing the policies of the Syrian and Saudi regimes. Murphy understood all too well the extent to which Arab rulers either would not or could not actively support American policies.

Shultz Questions PLO Role

The scuttling by the PLO leadership of the Arafat-Hussein talks also drew an angry public response from Secretary of State Shultz. At a press conference, he questioned the PLO’s position as official representative of the Palestinians. Shultz maintained that leadership has “to be exercised constructively,” and that the PLO had failed “to measure up to those responsibilities.” To underscore his point, Shultz added, “There’s a saying around here, ‘Use it or lose it.’ ”

The failure of the Hussein-Arafat talks was welcomed in both Jerusalem and Damascus, but for very different policy reasons. The Begin government had rejected the Reagan plan and an American call for a settlement freeze, but had indicated earlier in the year its willingness to enter into peace negotiations with Jordan, either on the basis of the Camp David accords or, if Hussein preferred, without any preconditions. Syria’s leaders were dead set against any peace negotiations between Jordan and Israel. They were fearful that if Hussein and Arafat managed to patch up their differences and agreed on a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to negotiate peace with Israel, Syria would find itself totally isolated, with no chance of ever recovering the Golan Heights.

Reagan Administration Reassures Syria

The United States tried to reassure Syria about this matter, in a letter that President Reagan sent to President Assad on April 12. “We believe that the best way to serve the future of your country and the prosperity of your people is by reaching a peaceful and just settlement to the problems of the region,” Reagan stated. He then added, “Therefore, I shall continue to work urgently for expanded negotiations on the basis of United Nations security council resolution 242, which calls for the exchange of territory for real peace and applies on the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights.” Although Reagan’s words aroused annoyance in Jerusalem, they did not impress Damascus, since protests by the United States had failed to lead the Israeli government to rescind the Knesset action, adopted in December 1981, to extend Israeli “law, jurisdiction, and administration” to the Golan Heights.

President Assad did not limit his opposition to the Reagan plan to verbal polemics. Indeed, as 1983 progressed, there was mounting evidence of the ruthless measures that the Syrian authorities were prepared to adopt in order to sabotage any PLO or Jordanian move toward peace with Israel. Thus, on April 10, Issam Sartawi was murdered while representing the PLO at a conference of the Socialist
International in Portugal. In a statement issued in Damascus, an extremist, Syrian-backed Palestinian faction headed by Abu Nidal claimed responsibility for the act. The Sartawi assassination was meant to serve as a pointed reminder to Arafat and Hussein of what could happen to those who acted against the wishes of Syria. In an interview published in the French press on April 25, Abu Nidal declared his intention to continue attacks against Arab, as well as Jewish, targets. In the following months, several Jordanian diplomats fell victim to assassination attempts. In Britain, Abu Nidal agents were convicted of the near-fatal attack on Shlomo Argov, Israel's ambassador to London, in June 1982.

**Syria Backs Anti-Arafat PLO Rebels**

The Syrians supported a rebellion against Arafat's leadership of the PLO that was led by several key officers in Fatah. The officers, headed by Abu Musa, opposed any modification of the PLO's traditional position calling for armed struggle "to liberate all Palestine." Although Damascus initially feigned surprise in May 1983 when Abu Musa and his men staged an armed uprising against Arafat in Lebanon's Bekaa valley, it soon became clear that the Syrian authorities were actively aiding the anti-Arafat forces, who were operating within territory tightly controlled by the Syrians. On June 23 Arafat charged that Syria was blocking the transfer of supplies to his supporters in Lebanon, thus "betraying" the PLO. The following day, the Syrians declared Arafat *persona non grata* and ordered him out of the country.

**U.S. Seeks Lebanese-Israeli Agreement**

With the Reagan plan for the West Bank effectively sidetracked by the Jordanian cabinet statement of April 10, the Reagan administration now placed special emphasis on Lebanon. On April 22 President Reagan announced that he was dispatching Secretary of State Shultz on his first official visit to the Middle East, to aid the efforts of ambassadors Habib and Draper to conclude a Lebanese-Israeli agreement that would lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces and guarantee the security of Israel's northern border. Shultz, who was eager to produce a diplomatic victory, engaged in intensive shuttle diplomacy. During his Middle East trip, he gained the support of President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan for the proposed Lebanese-Israeli accord. However, after meeting with President Assad for four hours on May 7, Shultz was forced to tell reporters that the Syrians "are hardly enthusiastic about the agreement." That, no doubt, was the understatement of the year; a spokesman for Assad told the press that the Syrian president regarded the draft Lebanese-Israeli agreement as "an act of submission" to Israel, and thus as totally unacceptable. On May 10 Lebanese president Gemayel indicated his rejection of "Arab blackmail," vowing to seek domestic and international support for the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. On May 14 a ranking Syrian official reiterated that
Damascus would do all that it could to "foil" the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. After the Lebanese went ahead and signed the agreement on May 17, Syrian foreign minister Abdel Halim Khaddam warned that his country would "take measures" against Lebanon. "This agreement will not survive," he threatened.

The Lebanese-Israeli agreement, which declared an end to the state of war between the two countries, and included steps intended to bring about political and economic normalization, as well as an Israeli pullout, was hailed by President Reagan as "a positive step toward peace in the Middle East." Reagan saw the agreement as providing hope for "ending the suffering of the Lebanese people," and as initiating a process "which will culminate in the withdrawal of all external forces from Lebanon and restore Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and control over its territory."

**Saudi Arabia Underestimates Syrian Opposition**

In deciding not to involve the Syrians in the early stages of the negotiations on troop withdrawals from Lebanon, the United States had been relying on assurances from Saudi Arabia that once Israel had agreed in principle to withdraw its forces, there would be no problem in securing the prompt withdrawal of the 40,000 Syrian troops that had been in Lebanon since 1975. The Gemayel government had formally asked the Arab League summit conference at Fez to terminate the mandate of the Arab deterrent force in Lebanon, which provided the legal fig-leaf to cover the Syrian occupation. But the Arab summit had shied away from any decisive action, merely calling on Lebanon and Syria to negotiate an agreement. The unwillingness of the Arab states to take active measures to help Gemayel against Assad became unmistakably clear when Saudi defense minister Sultan announced on May 11 that Saudi Arabia would not pressure Syria into accepting the Lebanese-Israeli agreement.

The Reagan administration decided to downplay the significance of Syria's opposition to the Lebanon accord. At a news conference, President Reagan expressed confidence that the Syrians would eventually agree to withdraw. The president maintained that "a number of their Arab allies are urging them to stick with their word and to leave when all forces are prepared to leave." Reagan added, "I cannot believe that the Syrians want to find themselves alone, separated from all of their Arab allies."

The Israelis had no illusions about the Syrians. As a way of forestalling future American criticism of anti-terrorist action, Israel had won U.S. approval of a confidential agreement, signed on May 17, in which the United States recognized Israel's right of self-defense under international law, allowing it to retaliate against terrorist attacks from Lebanon. The U.S.-Israeli agreement also acknowledged that Israel could delay the withdrawal of its troops from Lebanon if Syria and the PLO failed to pull out their forces.
Soviet Buildup in Syria Aroused U.S. Concern

Washington was becoming increasingly concerned about the buildup of Soviet personnel and weapons in Syria. In February, Secretary of State Shultz termed Soviet military activities in that country “destabilizing,” and in May attributed the hardening of the official Syrian position on withdrawal to Syria’s “flexing its Soviet muscles.” Soviet arms shipments to Syria were accompanied by a steady escalation of Moscow’s anti-Israel rhetoric. An official Soviet policy statement on March 30 accused Israel of planning a “piratic strike” against Syria, and pledged that the “socialist countries” would come to Syria’s aid. Although Israel repeatedly denied any intention of attacking Syria, the Soviet war of nerves was escalated further on May 9 when dependents of Soviet diplomats in Beirut were suddenly evacuated. Moscow also backed Damascus in its opposition to the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, labeling it an American-Israeli plot to “enslave the Lebanese and the Palestinians.”

Speaking at the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee on May 13, Secretary of Defense Weinberger issued the administration’s strongest public response to the Soviet challenge. He asserted that the Soviet Union was “making a profound and dangerous mistake if it thinks that by resort to belligerent words and provocative actions, by the obstruction of the Lebanese peace process, it can pressure the United States into a retreat from its commitment to the security of Israel.” In response to a question about what the United States would do to prevent the Soviet Union from turning Syria into another Cuba that would seek to undermine the security of its neighbors, Weinberger stated, “I want to make it very clear to the Soviets and any proxies they may have in Syria that any aggression by them would be met by a retaliatory force that would make the aggression totally unworthy.” The week after Weinberger spoke, Representative Jack Kemp (R., NY), reflecting the sentiment of many members of Congress, suggested to Secretary of State Shultz that lifting the ban on the sale of F-16 planes to Israel would send “a strong signal to the Soviets that we will not stand by and let them act with impunity.” And indeed, on May 20—three days after the signing of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement—President Reagan formally removed the ban.

The Reagan administration was concerned about the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the danger that Moscow might benefit if escalation of the Iran-Iraq war led to chaos in the Persian Gulf region. Although the United States was officially neutral in the Iran-Iraq war, it began to tilt slightly to the side of Iraq. In large part, this was due to a fear that if Ayatollah Khomeini achieved his goal of overthrowing the regime of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, then Khomeini’s brand of militant Shi’ite fundamentalism might spread not only to Iraq but also to Saudi Arabia and other conservative, pro-Western, Arab sheikdoms. However, there was also concern about an immediate threat to shipping in the Gulf. After Iraq received French Super-Etenard fighter jets from France with Exocet missiles, Iran issued a warning that it would retaliate for any attacks on its oil facilities by closing the Straits of Hormuz. On October 17 Secretary of State Shultz stated that the United
States and other Western countries would not allow Iran to blackmail them with threats to their oil supplies. Two days later, President Reagan underscored this position. In point of fact, however, the glut of oil on the world market made the Western industrial nations far less vulnerable than during earlier periods of the Middle East conflict.

The failure of Jordan and Saudi Arabia to provide meaningful help to the United States in countering radical, Soviet-backed forces in the Middle East, resulted in a reassessment in Washington of the importance of Israel as a strategic ally. Even Secretary of Defense Weinberger, who in the past had been reluctant to have the United States work closely with Israel in the area of defense, now began to speak in glowing terms about Israel's strategic value. In his speech to the American Jewish Committee, Weinberger asserted that the United States had "an enormous stake in Israel's security. . . . Israel has a most effective military force. . . . We know that the Soviets would dearly love control over the Middle East's resources and strategic checkpoints, but Israel stands determinedly in their way."

U.S.-Israeli Strategic Cooperation Expanded

When President Reagan, on November 29, met at the White House with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who had succeeded the ailing Menachem Begin, and Defense Minister Arens, they agreed to a greatly expanded partnership for strategic and political cooperation. Describing a joint political-military committee that was established, President Reagan said, "This group will give priority attention to the threat to our mutual interest posed by increased Soviet influence in the Middle East." Prime Minister Shamir told the National Press Club the following day that strengthened military cooperation between Israel and the U.S. would "go a long way" toward restoring Lebanese independence by persuading Syria to give up hope of dominating Lebanon. Both American and Israeli officials went out of their way to deny that there were any plans for joint action against Syria or any other Arab country. Nonetheless, the agreement met with strong opposition throughout the Arab world, even in such ostensibly moderate and pro-American countries as Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. Secretary of State Shultz encountered a barrage of criticism when he visited North Africa two weeks later. Still, Shultz did not hesitate to state publicly in Tunis: "It is important to say in an Arab capital that the United States has had, does have, and will continue to have a strong relationship with Israel, and I think everyone . . . should understand that."

The agreement on expanded American-Israeli cooperation covered three main areas. A joint political-military group was established to deal with combined planning, joint exercises, and the prepositioning of U.S. military equipment in Israel. There was also agreement on strategic coordination in Lebanon, involving, on the one hand, efforts to counter the Soviet arms buildup in Syria, and, on the other, steps to bolster the Gemayel government and encourage it to broaden its political base and work more closely with Israel. In the economic sphere, there was a plan to
complete negotiations within a year on the establishment of an Israeli-U.S. free trade area. Other economic measures included permission for Israeli manufacturers to bid on U.S. defense department contracts, and agreement to facilitate the funding of development and production of Israel's Lavi fighter plane.

The U.S. Congress demonstrated its support by exceeding the administration's aid request for Israel for fiscal 1984, which began in October 1983. Congress approved a total of $2.6 billion in military and economic assistance, consisting of $1.7 billion in military aid (half in grant form) and $910 million in grant economic aid. Congress also codified a 1982 congressional resolution expressing support for Israel at the United Nations. This took the form of a provision inserted into the state department authorization act requiring the United States to withhold payment or suspend participation if the UN expelled Israel or denied the Jewish state its right to participate in the general assembly or any other UN agency.

Despite the talk about American-Israeli cooperation, it soon became clear that the two countries were still far apart on some matters. Thus, in December the United States put pressure on Israel not to interfere with the evacuation of PLO chief Arafat and his beleaguered men from Tripoli. Moreover, when Arafat, whose ship was passing through the Suez Canal, was received by Egyptian president Mubarak, the Reagan administration called the meeting "an encouraging development," while Prime Minister Shamir denounced it. Shamir sent a cable to President Reagan asserting that the United States was making a grave mistake in thinking that the Mubarak-Arafat meeting would advance the peace process. On the contrary, Shamir argued, American support for an Egyptian-PLO rapprochement would only serve to dissuade moderate Palestinians from coming to the negotiating table. American Jewish leaders were also quick to criticize the Reagan administration on this score. Howard Friedman, president of the American Jewish Committee, asserted that Mubarak's "embrace of Arafat, while presumably intended to induce the PLO to join the peace process, puts the cart before the horse. Logic and human decency require that Arafat first unequivocally renounce terrorism and agree to peaceful coexistence with Israel." Friedman added that it was particularly distressing to have Mubarak give public support to the PLO leader, when, at the same time, Egypt refused to return its ambassador to Israel.

The Reagan administration's Middle East policy was certain to receive increasingly sharp scrutiny as the 1984 election year got under way. From his partisan vantage point, Walter Mondale argued that "we need a steady policy for peace in the Middle East, not an ad hoc policy resting on illusion. After three years under Ronald Reagan, the Middle East is much further away from peace, and our interests throughout the region have been jeopardized." Whether or not this negative judgment by the Democratic presidential contender was fully justified, it was clear that 1983 marked a time of at least temporary setback for the U.S. in the Middle East.

George E. Gruen
The Labor Market Status of American Jews: Patterns and Determinants

AMONG THE MOSAIC OF racial and ethnic groups making up the population of the United States, most are defined in terms of race or country of origin. Some, however, are defined on the basis of religious identity or ancestry. The latter category includes American Jews.

Jews are a small minority in the United States, comprising about 2.5 per cent of the total population. However, they have had a major impact on the economic, political, and cultural life of the nation. In part this is due to their high level of schooling, occupational attainment, and entrepreneurial achievement.

While successful, American Jews are also a troubled minority. As a religiously-based ethnic element, they are open to the negative impact of increased secularization. The high level of income and education which Jews enjoy has been both a cause and consequence of very low fertility rates. In addition, there has been an increase in intermarriage on the part of Jews, reflecting, to some degree, their growing level of education and greater number of generations since immigration to the United States.1 These trends suggest that the Jewish population may decline in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the total population.2 If so, Jews may fall victim to their own success.

Note: I am indebted to Gary S. Becker, Carmel U. Chiswick, Lawrence Fuchs, Victor Fuchs, Milton Himmelfarb, Soloman Polacheck, David Singer, Thomas Sowell, and Teresa Sullivan for numerous insightful comments, and to Rosemary Rees and Suchittra Channivickorn for their research assistance. I alone, however, am responsible for the contents of this article. A preliminary version was presented at the fourth annual Green Bay colloquium on ethnicity and public policy, Green Bay, Wisconsin, May 1982, sponsored by the American ethnic studies coordinating committee, University of Wisconsin system; it is being published in the conference proceedings, Ethnicity and the Labor Market.


The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it will present a comparative analysis of Jews and non-Jews in the United States labor market. Basic quantitative information about the labor market status of many racial and ethnic groups is quite abundant, but this is less true for Jews. Second, the article considers alternative hypotheses as to why Jews have been so successful in the labor market. This analysis has considerable importance not merely for understanding the labor market adjustment of Jews, but also for explaining why other racial and ethnic groups have been less successful.

This article employs the methodology of social science research. Hypotheses are developed on the basis of analytical reasoning and are tested with data. Those hypotheses that are not consistent with the data are rejected, while those that are consistent are retained for further analysis. This methodological approach helps focus the discussion and analysis, and is essential for identifying substantive relationships between variables.

Data Availability

There has been relatively little systematic, quantitative research on the labor market experiences of American Jews. In contrast, during the past three decades there have been numerous quantitative studies of disadvantaged minorities, especially Blacks and Hispanics. In part, this disparity reflects the realities of the data resources that are available. The major source of data for studies of the labor market status of various American racial and ethnic groups has been the decennial censuses of population and the periodic and special household surveys conducted by the U.S. bureau of the census. With the exception of one survey, however, the bureau of the census has not inquired about religion.

Thus, information about Jews can only be gathered in part and with considerable difficulty from the census data, e.g., by isolating persons of Russian origin or with a Jewish "mother tongue." Other household survey data, generally privately collected, will include a question about religion on occasion, but the sample size for Jews in these surveys tends to be very small.

1The exception is the supplement to the March 1957 Current Population Survey. Although some tables have been released, the bureau of the census has not made available a public use sample (microdata file). The bureau of the census has recently introduced a question on ethnic ancestry in its censuses and surveys, but the question does not permit the identification of religiously-based ethnic groups, such as Jews.


3The data include the National Opinion Research Center General Social Survey, the Princeton Fertility Sample, the National Bureau of Economic Research-Thorndyke Sample, and the National Academy of Sciences Twin Sample. See Jere R. Behrman et al., Socioeconomic Success (Amsterdam, 1980); David Featherman, "The Socioeconomic Achievement of White...
There have been surveys that have focused exclusively on Jews, such as the 1971 National Jewish Population Study and the 1981–1982 National Survey of American Jews. These surveys are useful for comparisons among Jews and for testing the reliability of alternative methods for identifying Jews in the general data. But as is the case with other surveys limited to any one group, comparisons with other bodies of data are fraught with difficulty, because of differences in survey methodology, questionnaire design, and coding procedures.

The analyses for contemporary American Jews presented in this article are based on two data sources. One is the March 1957 Current Population Survey, a probability sample of about 35,000 households, in which questions were asked regarding the schooling, income, religion, and other demographic characteristics of all persons aged 14 and over. Of these households, 1,100 had a Jewish head. The 1957 Current Population Survey data suffer from several deficiencies. A Public Use Sample (microdata file) has not been released. The tables made available by the Bureau of the Census provide only limited cross-tabulations. Moreover, data on nativity and year of immigration for the foreign-born are absent. This is significant, since we know from various sources that, other things being equal, second-generation, white, male Americans earn five per cent more than white males with native-born parents; immigrants in the United States earn less than comparable native-born men during their first few years in the country, reaching earnings-parity at about 10 to 15 years of residence; and immigrants have higher earnings than the native-born if they have been in the U.S. for more than 15 years. Since Jews are disproportionately first- and second-generation Americans, immigration generation may be responsible for some of the observed differences in the labor market status of Jews.
of the income advantage they enjoy. Finally, it is now more than 25 years since the March 1957 Current Population Survey, and much could have happened since then.

The other data source is the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire—the "long form" administered to 15 per cent of the population. It is the most recent data file that provides a large sample, a mechanism for identifying Jews and non-Jews, and a statistical control for immigrant generation. Among adult, native-born, white men with a foreign-born parent, i.e., second-generation Americans, those who reported their mother tongue as Yiddish, Hebrew, or Ladino are classified as Jews, while those with a different mother tongue are classified as non-Jews. It is estimated that this procedure permits the identification of about 60 per cent of second-generation American Jews, and that less than five per cent of those identified as non-Jews are actually Jews with a non-Jewish mother tongue. Tests suggest that the procedure does not generate biases in means or in the partial effects of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>White Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First (Foreign-Born)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second (Foreign-Born Parents)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third and Higher (Native-Born Parents)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* Jewish household heads.

*b* Includes Jews.

The data are from Massarik and Chenkin, *op. cit.*, Table 4, p. 276 and U.S. bureau of the census, 1970 *Census of Population, Public Use Sample, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire* (data tape, one-in-a-hundred sample of the population), 1973.

A person has a non-English mother tongue if there was a language other than, or in addition to, English spoken in the home when the person was a child. Ladino is the language of Sephardic Jews.

The procedure is developed and implemented in Chiswick, "The Earnings and Human Capital of American Jews," *op. cit.* See also Ira Rosenswaike, "The Utilization of Census Mother Tongue Data in American Jewish Population Analyses," *Jewish Social Studies*, April–July, 1971, pp. 141–159; and Frances E. Kobin, "National Data on American Jewry, 1970–71: A Comparative Evaluation of the Census Yiddish Mother Tongue Subpopulation and the National Jewish Population Survey" in U.O. Schmelz et al. (eds.), *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1981* (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 129–143. The procedure cannot be applied to more recent data, such as the 1976 Survey of Income and Education and the 1980 Census of Population, because the Bureau of the Census has dropped the questions on nativity of parents and mother tongue. The procedure can be applied to the 1920 and 1940 censuses, as they included questions on nativity, nativity of parents, and mother tongue. Public use samples from these censuses are being produced.
explanatory variables (regression coefficients). The procedure was limited to second-generation Americans so as to avoid confounding the findings by other variables, e.g., the experience of immigrants in their countries of origin and the substantial loss of Jewish mother tongues among American Jews with both parents born in the United States.

**Income and Its Determinants**

The data from the 1957 Current Population Survey indicate that American Jews have a higher level of income than members of other major religious groups (Table 1). Among men aged 14 and over, with income, Jews received 36 per cent more than the overall median and 24 per cent more than Roman Catholics, the next highest group. Jewish women also had higher incomes—45 per cent more than the overall median and 13 per cent more than Roman Catholic women.

To some extent the higher income of Jews may be related to place of residence. Reported incomes are lower in rural areas, in part because of a lower cost of living (e.g., shelter), and in part because more income is received “in-kind” through own-production (particularly for farmers). American Jews are less likely than others to live in rural areas or to be employed in agriculture.  

Another measure of labor market outcome is occupational status. American Jews are more likely to be employed in higher-status occupations, such as professional and managerial jobs (Table 2). In 1957 one-fifth of employed male Jews were professionals, as compared with about one-tenth of other white males; over three-tenths of Jews were managers and proprietors, also more than double the proportion of other whites. Jews were also more than twice as likely to be in sales occupations. On the other hand, Jews were half as likely to be craftsmen, foremen, or operatives;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jewish</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Roman Catholic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proportion living in rural areas (aged 14 and over) and proportion of employed men in agriculture (aged 18 and over), by religion in March 1957 (per cent):

- **Proportion living in rural areas (aged 14 and over) and proportion of employed men in agriculture (aged 18 and over), by religion in March 1957 (per cent):**

- **Total**

- **a**Includes persons with no religion, other religions, and religion not reported.
- **b**Farmers, farm managers, farm laborers and foremen.

The data are from U.S. bureau of the census, “Tabulations of Data on the Social and Economic Characteristics of Major Religious Groups, March 1957,” mimeo, Tables 1 and 15 (no date).
### TABLE 1. MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS AGED 14 AND OVER WITH INCOME, BY RELIGION, 1956 (DOLLARS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>All Persons</th>
<th>Employed Persons in Urban Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>1,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>3,463</td>
<td>1,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>3,728</td>
<td>1,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>2,005</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>3,954</td>
<td>1,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,608&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,146&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Includes persons with other religion, no religion, and religion not reported.

<sup>b</sup>Within each sex, standardized by major occupation group for the urban employed in the three major religions.

<sup>c</sup>For the three major religious groups.


Although both income and occupation are measures of labor market status, it is useful to investigate whether the income differences among the three major religious groups reported in columns (1) and (2) of Table 1 are due to differences in occupational attainment. Columns (3) and (4) of Table 1 consider only employed persons in urban areas, thereby controlling for group differences in the proportion living in urban and rural areas. In addition, the median income data control for group differences in occupational status by standardizing for this variable.<sup>14</sup> These two modifications substantially narrow group differences in median incomes. Among adult males the ranking changes, as white Protestants now have slightly higher incomes than Roman Catholics. The Jewish income advantage, however, is 6.7 per cent overall, 5.9 per cent compared to Catholics, and 4.8 per cent compared to white Protestants. Thus, on average, among urban men in the same major occupational category, Jews have higher incomes.

To what extent is the higher income of Jews due to level of schooling? The data from the 1957 Current Population Survey indicate that for all persons aged 25 and over, as well as among employed men, the median schooling of Jews is 1.5 years lower than that of non-Jewish Protestants and Roman Catholics. One-third as likely to be in service occupations; one-tenth as likely to be laborers (non-farm); and even less likely to be in agricultural jobs.

The income data are standardized by the occupational distribution of the three major religious groups.
### TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED MALES, AGED 18 AND OVER, BY RELIGION, 1957 (PER CENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Roman Catholic</th>
<th>Ratio Jewish to Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar Professional, Technical and Kindred Managers and Proprietors (Except Farm)</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue-Collar, Farm and Services Craftsman and Foremen</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural (^c) Laborers (Except Farm)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (^d)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Includes persons not reporting the three major religious groups.

\(^b\)Ratio of Jewish to total.

\(^c\)Includes farmers, farm managers, foremen, and farm laborers.

\(^d\)Details may not add to total due to rounding.


more than the overall median, and one year more than that of white Protestants (Table 3). Among men living in urban areas, there is little difference in earnings between Jews and non-Jews with less than 8 years of schooling (Table 4). Among those with 12 years of schooling, the median Jewish income exceeds the overall median by 7.7 per cent; among those with 16 or more years of schooling, the Jewish median is 30.1 per cent higher. Compared to white Protestants, the Jewish earnings advantage is 4.9 per cent and 26 per cent, respectively, for those with 12 and 16 or more years of schooling. Thus, at the median schooling level, Jews earn more than
TABLE 3. MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED, BY RELIGION, MARCH 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Persons Aged 25 and Over</th>
<th>Employed Persons Aged 18 and Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>Under 8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total a</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aIncludes persons with other religion, no religion, and religion not reported. For persons aged 25 and over, the median for “Other Religion” is 8.9 years, and for “No Religion” is 8.6 years.


TABLE 4. MEDIAN INCOME OF URBAN MEN, AGED 14 AND OVER, BY RELIGION AND EDUCATION, 1956 (DOLLARS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Schooling Completed</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Roman Catholic</th>
<th>Ratio Jewish to Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>2,609</td>
<td>2,558</td>
<td>2,812</td>
<td>2,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3,844</td>
<td>3,582</td>
<td>3,712</td>
<td>2,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>4,672</td>
<td>3,639</td>
<td>4,850</td>
<td>2,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4,913</td>
<td>4,628</td>
<td>4,684</td>
<td>3,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>5,026</td>
<td>4,529</td>
<td>4,712</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16+</td>
<td>8,041</td>
<td>6,049</td>
<td>6,375</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aIncludes persons with other religion, no religion, and religion not reported.

Sample size too small for the reporting of medians.


Other white men. The earnings advantage of Jews relative to comparable non-Jews rises with the level of schooling.

Similar patterns emerge from an analysis of the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire data. Using means rather than medians, among second-generation American men, Jews have 55 per cent higher earnings, 2.3 more years of
schooling, and are more likely to be living in urban areas (Table 5). The higher earnings of Jews are in part attributable to higher levels of schooling and urban residence. Using multiple regression analysis to control statistically for schooling and demographic variables (age, marital status, place of residence, etc.), it emerges that Jews have 16 per cent higher earnings than second-generation, white, non-Jewish men of British parentage (Table 6). The earnings of other non-Jewish men do not differ from those of British origin, except for men of Mexican and French-Canadian parentage, who have lower earnings. Controlling for the major occupational categories reduces the earnings advantage of Jews from 16 per cent to 10 per cent. In other words, one-third of the higher earnings of Jews of the same schooling, age, marital status, and area of residence as non-Jews is due to their higher occupational status.

About half of the American Jewish population lives in the urban areas of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, where one-fifth of non-Jews make their home. Could the higher earnings of Jews be attributable to their disproportionate residence in these high income states? Even when the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire data are limited to urban areas in these three states, Jews have eight per cent higher earnings than other native-born white men.

The 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire data on American Jews can also be used to compare the schooling and earnings of native-born American Jews with native-born members of other racial and ethnic groups (Table 7). Jewish men have higher earnings than the male members of any other group; native-born Chinese

Second-generation Americans are less likely to be rural and southern than those with native-born parents.

The significant effect of U.S.S.R.-origin parents in Table 6 results from the large proportion of non-identified Jews in this category.

Higher earnings and occupational status have also been reported for Jews in other Western countries. For Canada, see Nigel Tomes, "The Earnings of Jews in Canada: Notes on Earnings Regressions," department of economics, University of Western Ontario, mimeo, 1982. Gur Ofer (department of economics, Hebrew University, Jerusalem) reported in a personal conversation that his comparative study of retrospective data on Russian Jewish emigrants in Israel and data from Soviet sources reveal higher earnings for Soviet Jews. See also Daniel J. Elazar with Peter Medding, Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies: Argentina, Australia, and South Africa (New York, 1983).

In the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire data, 27 per cent of Jewish men are professionals, compared to 15 per cent of non-Jewish men. Medicine and law alone account for 9.7 per cent of Jews, compared to 2.1 per cent of non-Jews. Jews are also more likely to be nonfarm managers (26.5 per cent compared to 13.4 per cent) and in sales occupations (19.7 per cent compared to 7.0 per cent). The proportion in clerical jobs is similar (about 8 per cent). A smaller proportion of Jews are in the lower skilled areas; 18.3 per cent of Jews and 56.2 per cent of non-Jews are in blue-collar, farm, and service occupations. See Chiswick, "The Earning and Human Capital of American Jews," op. cit., Table 4.


These data are limited to persons born in the United States so as to avoid confounding the patterns by the characteristics of immigrants. The sample sizes for individuals of Puerto Rican and Cuban origins are too small for inclusion in the table.
### TABLE 5. MEANS OF VARIABLES FOR SECOND-GENERATION ADULT WHITE MEN, BY RELIGION, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
<th>Non-Jewish</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earnings ($)</td>
<td>16,176</td>
<td>10,431</td>
<td>10,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (Years)</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling (Years)</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural (Per Cent)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern (Per Cent)</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (Per Cent)</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* Persons who reported Yiddish, Hebrew, or Ladino as their mother tongue.


### TABLE 6. PARTIAL EFFECT ON EARNINGS OF BEING JEWISH AND PARENTS’ COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR NON-JEWS, FOR NATIVE-BORN ADULT MEN WITH FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Per Cent Difference in Earnings</th>
<th>T-Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish^b</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>12.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
<td>-0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Europe</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Europe</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkans</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>-3.9</td>
<td>-3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>-21.5</td>
<td>-14.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Latin America</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia/Africa</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* British Isles is the benchmark. Controlling for schooling, labor market experience, marital status, and urban/rural, south/non-south residence. Country categories are defined by parent's country of birth for non-Jews: father's country if he was foreign-born, otherwise mother's country.

^b^ Persons who reported Yiddish, Hebrew, or Ladino as their mother tongue.

### TABLE 7. CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT NATIVE-BORN MEN, BY RACE AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Earnings ($)</th>
<th>Age (Years)</th>
<th>Schooling (Years)</th>
<th>Partial Effect of Schooling on Earnings (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>White</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>9,653</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Parents</td>
<td>9,441</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Parents</td>
<td>10,567</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish(^c)</td>
<td>16,176</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Jewish(^c)</td>
<td>10,431</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mexican-Origin(^d)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>6,330</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Parents</td>
<td>6,602</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Parents</td>
<td>6,664</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black (Urban)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>6,126</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born Parents</td>
<td>6,110</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born Parents</td>
<td>7,719</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japanese</strong></td>
<td>10,272</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>10,406</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>7,173</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American Indians(^e)</strong></td>
<td>5,593</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The data are for men aged 25 to 64 in 1970 who worked and had non-zero earnings in 1969. Earnings are defined as wage, salary, and self-employment income. The Asian data exclude men in the armed forces in 1970; the Jewish/non-Jewish data exclude persons enrolled in school. The sampling fractions are 1/1,000 for white men, 1/100 for Mexican, Jewish/non-Jewish, and Black men, and 2/100 for Asian and American Indian men.

\(^b\)Coefficient of schooling from the linear regression of the natural logarithm of earnings in 1969 on schooling, experience, experience squared, marital status dummy variable, geographic distribution, and, for some regressions, weeks worked. Geographic distribution is urban/rural and South/non-South, except for the Asian analysis, in which it is Hawaii/California/South/other non-South and urban/rural.

\(^c\)The Jewish/non-Jewish data are for native-born men of foreign parentage (one or both parents foreign-born), where Jews are defined as those reporting Yiddish, Hebrew, or Ladino as their mother tongue (language other than or in addition to English spoken in the home when the respondent was a child).

\(^d\)The Mexican analysis is for Spanish-surname men living in the five southwestern states with either an English or Spanish mother tongue and with parents born in the U.S. or Mexico. Although the data are limited to whites, over 95 per cent of the Mexican-origin population was classified as white in the 1970 Census. The schooling coefficient is 4.9 per cent for those with a Spanish mother tongue.

\(^e\)Excludes men living in Alaska.

and Japanese men (primarily second-generation Americans) have earnings similar to foreign-parentage white men; and all three have earnings greater than white men with native-born parents (third- and higher-generation Americans). The disadvantaged minorities, as measured by earnings, are Mexican-Americans, Blacks, Filipinos, and American Indians. The ranking by educational attainment is similar to earnings, the main exception being the higher schooling level of Chinese and Japanese men as compared to white men.

It was noted above (Table 4) that in the 1957 Current Population Survey data, the ratio of earnings of Jews to non-Jews increased with level of schooling. The same pattern emerges in the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire data. The partial effect of an extra year of schooling on earnings (from a regression equation) is greater for Jews than for the members of any other group (Table 7). This finding persists even after holding constant occupational attainment or residence in the New York metropolitan area. The larger effect of schooling on earnings implies that Jews receive a higher rate of return on their educational investment than do members of other groups. The greater profitability of schooling for Jews may explain their higher level of investment.

American Jews at the Turn of the Century

The majority of today's adult, native-born, American Jews are descendants of immigrants who came to the United States from Eastern Europe during the period 1880–1914. An examination of the labor market status of turn-of-the-century Jewish immigrants will bring into sharper focus the nature and extent of contemporary Jewish labor market achievements.

The turn-of-the-century data suggest two conclusions: that the skill level of Jewish immigrants enabled them to close the earnings gap with the native-born and immigrants from Northern and Western Europe; that American Jews may have experienced a sharper rate of increase in occupational status and earnings than non-Jews during the twentieth century.

Arcadius Kahan has written: "While the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe brought along little money or physical assets, their value for the U.S. economy, and the source of their expected incomes, consisted of their skill endowment and their ability to employ their skills gainfully." Data on the occupational distribution of pre-World War I Jewish immigrants prior to their arrival in the United States indicate that nearly two-thirds were in manufacturing (half in clothing manufacturing), about one-quarter in commerce, while relatively few were laborers, agricultural workers, or professionals. In the United States, Kahan argues, Jewish immigrants earned about the same amount as other immigrants in the same industry. Kahan also indicates that each cohort of Jewish immigrants, within 10–15 years of assuming

residence in the United States, matched the earnings of native-born American workers of the same age and occupation. These achievements are attributed to the high proportion of skilled Jewish workers, and to their urban residence.21

The Dillingham Immigration Commission, which was established in 1907 to study the condition of European immigrants in the United States and to propose immigration reform, conducted a survey of about half a million workers in mining and manufacturing in 1909. The commission's report, published in 1911, included detailed cross-tabulations that have recently been put to good use by social scientists. Robert Higgs reports data on weekly earnings, English-speaking ability, literacy, and duration of residence in the United States, for adult men belonging to white, foreign-born groups (including Russian and "other" Jews), as well as the native-born (Table 8).22 Jewish immigrants, whether of Russian or "other" origin, had

<p>| TABLE 8. EARNINGS AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT MALE WORKERS IN MINING AND MANUFACTURING, 1909 |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Average Weekly Earnings ($)</th>
<th>Per Cent Speaking English</th>
<th>Per Cent Literatea</th>
<th>Per Cent Residing in U.S. for Less than Five Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign-Born</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allb</td>
<td>11.81</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewishc</td>
<td>13.16</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Jews</td>
<td>12.71</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Jews</td>
<td>14.37</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native-Born</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14.37</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>10.66</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>(d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aAble to read a language.

bWeighted average for 35 foreign-born groups from Europe, Canada, Turkey, and Syria, including the two Jewish categories.

cWeighted average. Sample size: 3,177 for Russian Jews and 1,158 for "Other Jews." Jews were 3.2 per cent of the sample.

dNot reported.


higher weekly earnings than foreign-born non-Jews (Table 8). The earnings advantage over the white foreign-born was eight per cent for Russian Jews, 22 per cent for "other" Jews, and 11 per cent for Russian and "other" Jews combined. To some extent the higher earnings of Jews is attributable to the larger proportion who could speak English (76 per cent compared to 64 per cent) and who were literate (93 per cent compared to 86 per cent). Although the proportion of individuals residing in the United States for fewer than five years was the same for Jews and non-Jews (38 per cent), a larger proportion of the Russian Jews and a smaller proportion of "other" Jews were recent immigrants. Controlling for these determinants of earnings, Jews had 3–5 per cent higher earnings than other foreign-born men, a difference which is not statistically significant.\(^{23}\)

Compared to white, native-born men, turn-of-the-century Jewish immigrants had eight per cent lower earnings (12 per cent lower earnings for Russian Jews and no difference for "other" Jews). If, hypothetically, all Jews had been in the United States for five or more years, even with no change in literacy, there would be no earnings disadvantage for Jews (1 per cent lower earnings for all Jews; 3 per cent lower earnings for Russian Jews; and 5 per cent higher earnings for "other" Jews).


\(^{23}\)With the natural logarithm of average weekly earnings as the dependent variable, the weighted regression equations for adult, white, foreign-born men engaged in mining and manufacturing (1909) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory Variable</th>
<th>Regression Equations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0.0516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Literate</td>
<td>0.0089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent in U.S.</td>
<td>0.0019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five or More Years(^a)</td>
<td>(2.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Cent Speaking English(^a)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>1.5729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (Groups)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(^2) (Adj.)</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The variables "per cent in U.S. for five or more years" and "per cent speaking English" are highly correlated with each other.

Notes: t-ratios in parentheses; designates variable not entered. Computed from data reported in Higgs, op. cit.
data sets suggests that, both overall and when other variables are held constant, the relative earnings of Jewish men has improved dramatically over the period.

**Alternative Explanations**

The high level of schooling and earnings of contemporary American Jews appears to be quite unique. What factors account for this impressive performance? Over the years, various explanations have been put forward, pointing to such things as a cultural preference for education, a history of discrimination in access to education and in the labor market, a history of persecution, and greater productivity in acquiring and implementing education. This section considers these explanatory factors, which are by no means mutually exclusive.

**CULTURAL PREFERENCE FOR EDUCATION**

As a group, Jews manifest a keen interest in learning. In traditional Jewish society, particularly in Eastern Europe, Torah study was an exalted religio-cultural ideal. This love of learning may well have been translated into a thirst for secular education in twentieth-century America. Thus, Alice Kessler-Harris and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin write: “Religious tradition and community approval encouraged the Jew in America to invest in education and correspondingly to increase his upward mobility. No other group had this advantage. . . .” They add: “When choices had to be made, such groups as Italians, Irish, and Poles would sacrifice the educational interests of their young, withdrawing them from school, sending them to work, and absorbing their earnings. Such decisions increased present earnings at the expense of future skills. Jews do not seem to have made similar compromises.”

This line of analysis suggests that Jews value education not only for its monetary benefits, but also because it fulfills cultural and peer-group expectations. Consequently, Jews would be expected to continue their schooling for a longer period than would be warranted by strictly pecuniary considerations. This is consistent with the high level of schooling which Jews exhibit, and the high level of schooling would account for high earnings. However, it also implies an overinvestment in schooling, in that Jews continue to acquire education even if it is not financially profitable. Thus—because Jews with lesser ability would be continuing longer with their schooling—this interpretation implies that at each level of schooling Jews would have a lower average level of ability and lower earnings than non-Jews.

Empirically, however, Jews, compared to non-Jews, have higher earnings and a higher rate of return from schooling at each level of education (beyond eight years). This suggests that if Jews do have a cultural drive for education, it is not the cause of their high level of schooling, but is rather a consequence of education itself or whatever it is that generates the large investment in education.

DISCRIMINATION

American Jews have experienced discrimination in the labor market, as well as in access to higher education. While overt discrimination has diminished in recent decades, there is no doubt about its presence at the time when the cohorts of adults in the 1957 and 1970 data sets discussed above were of school age and making educational investment decisions. Discrimination could be expected to result in a lower rate of return from schooling, unless the discrimination was specifically directed against individuals with lower levels of education. Indeed, labor market and schooling discrimination are cited as important explanations for the lower levels of schooling and earnings, as well as the smaller rate of return from schooling, of disadvantaged groups. Yet, American Jews apparently have a higher level of schooling and higher rates of return from schooling.

It might be argued that discrimination served as a spur, prompting American Jews to do better. This, however, raises two questions: why did it spur them to do even better than non-Jews; and why did other groups which experienced discrimination not respond in the same manner (except possibly for the Chinese and Japanese)? A more compelling explanation is that Jews were successful despite, rather than because of, discrimination. In other words, the labor market achievements of Jews in the United States would be even more impressive if not for the factor of discrimination.

PERSECUTION

It is useful to distinguish between discrimination and persecution. Discrimination is passive, e.g., a person may be denied access to a job or entry into a particular school. Persecution, on the other hand, is active, i.e., a person fears for his life and property. Persecution, in addition to discrimination, was instrumental in generating the mass emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States. European Jews were very much aware that, because of antisemitism, no place was secure, no tolerance could be guaranteed to last. An appropriate response to such externally generated insecurity is to avoid investments which are "geographic specific," i.e., investments which are productive in one location but not in another. "Human capital" is embodied in the person and is therefore portable. Hence, European Jews

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would have an incentive to invest in human capital rather than other assets. Given the intensity of past persecution, it is possible that this attitude has been retained by American Jews. The tendency could only be encouraged by the continued existence of antisemitism. This line of reasoning suggests that Jews would tilt their investments in the direction of schooling.\textsuperscript{25}

There are several problems with this argument. Although human capital is embodied in the person, it is not obvious that this form of capital is always more transferable than non-human assets. Properly specified, the hypothesis suggests that persecuted groups will invest in transferable and liquid assets rather than assets that are merely portable. Legal training, for example, is highly portable, but unlike medicine, the skills (for institutional and other reasons) are not transferable across geographic areas. One test of the hypothesis is whether American Jews have a stronger preference for medicine than for law. Relative to other second-generation white American men, Jews do not show such a preference.\textsuperscript{26}

The hypothesis also implies a substitution of education for other investments. Yet, it is not obvious that Jews have made smaller investments in other assets, other things being equal.

A final implication of the hypothesis is that by over-investing in education, because of its portability or transferability, Jews receive a lower money rate of return. In fact, however, as indicated above, Jews appear to have a higher rate of return from education than any other group.

Persecution appears to be inadequate as a factor explaining the high levels of education, earnings, and rate of return from schooling among American Jews.


\textsuperscript{26}Using the 1970 census procedures discussed above for identifying Jews, the proportions of adult white men in medicine and law are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Medicine\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>Law\textsuperscript{a}</th>
<th>All Professions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Jews</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (Jews/Non-Jews)</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}Medicine includes doctors, dentists, and related health professionals with doctoral degrees. Law includes lawyers and judges.

HIGH PRODUCTIVITY OF EDUCATION

The apparently higher rate of return from schooling for Jews is consistent with the hypothesis that Jews are more productive in converting schooling into earnings. This may be because Jews acquire a higher quality (or more units) of human capital in a year of schooling or because they are more effective in using their human capital in the labor market. The higher rate of return would encourage greater investment in human capital, and result in a higher schooling level and higher occupational status. The Jewish advantage in this area may be the result of investments made by parents in their children's human capital prior to and concurrent with schooling.

Parents may be viewed as making rational decisions regarding the number and "quality per child" of their children. While number is relatively easy to determine, investments in "child quality," i.e., the value of time and other resources parents devote to their children, are not easily measured. Racial and ethnic groups may vary in the optimal combination of number and quality of children because they are faced with different situations. Fertility levels are higher when contraception is more

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28A pre-World War I study of Jews noted: "In the struggle for life, besides intellectual gifts, the industry, versatility, and powers of adaptation of the Jew stand him in good stead. . . . Appreciation of the value of learning and study is a tradition among Jews to an extent unequalled perhaps by any other people." See Arthur Ruppin, The Jews of To-Day (New York, 1913), p. 51.

29Additional evidence on this point is to be found in the data on Jewish college students and professors. Despite the fact that a larger proportion of Jewish youth go to college, Jewish college students have higher grades, and go to higher quality institutions. Among academics, Jews, on average, are in higher quality institutions, publish more books and articles, and have higher academic ranks and salaries. See Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "Jewish Academics in the United States: Their Achievements, Culture, and Politics," AJYB, Vol. 72, 1971, pp. 98-107; and Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "The Changing Origins of American Academics," in Robert H. Merton, James S. Coleman, and Peter H. Rossi (eds.), Qualitative and Quantitative Social Research (New York, 1979), pp. 319-338.

30In an essay on Jewish educational attainment, Leonard Dinnerstein writes: "Basically [East European Jews] agreed upon the importance of education in the development of a full human being. From their earliest days children imbibed this attitude, first unconsciously, later with more awareness . . . In the home children learned to venerate books, to remain quiet while father studied, and to treat learned guests with great respect . . . The Jewish immigrants who came to this country in the 1880's and after brought these values and traditions with them." Leonard Dinnerstein, "Education and the Advancement of American Jews," in Bernard J. Weiss (ed.), American Education and the European Immigrant, 1840-1940 (Urbana, 1982), p. 45.

31For a recent development of this approach, see Gary S. Becker, A Treatise on the Family (Cambridge, 1981). For its application to racial and ethnic groups, see Barry R. Chiswick, "Differences in Educational Attainment Among Racial and Ethnic Groups: Patterns and Hypotheses Regarding the Quantity and Quality of Children," University of Illinois at Chicago, mimeo, 1983.
"expensive" because of cultural or religious proscriptions; when space is cheaper and children can do productive work at an earlier age; and when women have less schooling and, thus, poorer labor-market opportunities. Higher levels of fertility imply lower investments of parental time and other resources per child, and hence lower child quality.\textsuperscript{12}

American Jews are a predominantly urban group, functioning largely without religious constraint on contraception. American Jewish women have a high level of education. Given these factors, it is not surprising that Jewish women exhibit low fertility rates (Table 9).\textsuperscript{13} Among urban women aged 15-44 years in March 1957 (standardized for age), for example, there were 1.2 children ever-born per Jewish woman compared to 1.5 overall and 1.5 for Protestants and Catholics. The Jewish/non-Jewish differential is slightly larger in the case of ever-married women in urban areas—1.6 children for Jewish women and 2.0 for all, Protestant, and Catholic women.\textsuperscript{14} The data for women under age 45, however, may reflect their own high education and the high level of education and earnings of their husbands. More compelling are the data on the number of children ever-born to women aged 45 and older. These women had completed their fertility; moreover, their fertility decisions were made on the basis of the relative economic opportunities prevailing in earlier decades. Among older, ever-married women, Jews had 2.2 children per woman compared to 2.8 overall and for Protestants, and 3.1 for Catholics (Table 9). Each of the major Protestant denominations, with the exception of the Presbyterians, had a higher fertility rate than the Jews.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12}Among racial and ethnic groups in the United States, there appears to be an inverse relation between family size and educational attainment of children. Among the native-born, the Chinese and Japanese, in addition to Jews, have high levels of education and small families. This is in contrast to the large families and low schooling level of United States-born Filipinos, Mexicans, Blacks, and American Indians. A notable exception are the Mormons, who have large families and children with high levels of education. See Chiswick, "Differences in Educational Attainment Among Racial and Ethnic Groups," op. cit. and Bernard Berelson, "Ethnicity and Fertility: What and So What," in Himmelfarb and Baras, op. cit., pp. 100-107.

\textsuperscript{13}Analyses of data from the 1973 and 1976 National Surveys of Family Growth also show lower fertility for Jews—overall and after controlling for age, education, and area of residence—than for either white Protestants or non-Hispanic white Catholics. The differences are smaller for "wanted pregnancies" than for "total births expected" or "children ever born." See William D. Mosher and Gerry E. Hendershot, "Religion and Fertility Reexamined," National Center for Health Statistics, mimeo, 1983. These findings suggest that Jews are more successful in controlling fertility either because they are more efficient in contraception or because "unplanned" children are perceived as being more costly.

\textsuperscript{14}In all age groups between 25 and 64 years of age, Jewish women have a higher proportion never married than white Protestants and a smaller proportion never married than Roman Catholics. U.S. Bureau of the Census, no date, Table 5.

\textsuperscript{15}A completed fertility rate of about 2.1 per woman is needed to maintain a stable population. This requires a higher completed fertility rate for ever-married women. The Jewish fertility rate is below these levels.
### TABLE 9. MEDIAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN, BY RELIGION, MARCH 1957

Panel A: Women 15 to 44 Years, Standardized by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion and Race</th>
<th>Women of All Marital Classes</th>
<th>Ever-Married Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total b</td>
<td>1,677</td>
<td>1,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>1,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>1,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish c</td>
<td>1,184</td>
<td>1,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White d</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>1,642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Panel B: Ever-Married Women, Aged 45 and Older

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detailed Religion</th>
<th>Children Ever Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>2,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>3,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>2,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>2,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>2,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>2,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>3,056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>2,218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, None and Not Reported</td>
<td>2,674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[a\]Standardized by age of all ever-married women, 1950.
\[b\]Includes persons of other religion, no religion, and religion not reported.
\[c\]Although urban data for Jews are not shown separately in the source, 96 per cent of Jews aged 14 and over live in urban areas. The U.S. rate is used in urban areas for Jews for purposes of comparison.
\[d\]Includes persons of all religions; 90 per cent of non-white wives are Protestant.

The lower fertility rate among Jews is hardly a novel phenomenon. The limited data available on European Jewish fertility in the nineteenth century suggest that it was lower than the fertility rate of non-Jews. In this country, various sources also suggest lower fertility for Jews at the turn of the century, as well as throughout the twentieth century.

Labor force participation rates of women vary systematically by economic and demographic characteristics. They tend to be higher for women in urban areas, for those with higher levels of education, and for those with fewer children, particularly young children. For these reasons, one would expect Jewish women to have higher labor force participation rates than other women. The data, however, indicate just the opposite. In each broad age group covered in the 1957 Current Population Survey, married Jewish women have lower labor force participation rates than Protestant or Catholic women (Table 10). By implication, Jewish women were more likely to be staying home and providing care to their smaller number of children prior to, and concurrent with, the children's schooling.

Investments in child quality are facilitated by stable family-living arrangements. More parental time and other resources can be invested if both parents are available. Thus, lower rates of out-of-wedlock births, divorce, separation, and desertion would be associated with higher child quality. In addition, a lower frequency of "deviant behavior" on the part of parents would also tend to improve child quality. Nathan Hurvitz, writing in 1961, cites studies showing lower rates of divorce, separation, desertion, juvenile delinquency, adult crime, alcoholism, psychosis, suicide, and death from violent causes among Jews. He concludes: "Jews may have greater family solidarity and stability."

Thus, the high labor market productivity of Jewish men may be a consequence of having fewer siblings with whom to compete for parental time and other resources. This may arise in part because of a lower "cost" of contraception and a

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37The higher income of their husbands would be an offsetting factor.

38Preliminary analyses by the author using the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire data suggest that, other things being equal, the presence of a child in the household has a greater depressing effect on adult, female labor force participation rates of Jews than non-Jews. The greater depressing effect on female labor supply in Jewish families compared to other families is more intense the younger the age of the children. See Barry R. Chiswick, "Labor Supply and Investment in Child Quality: A Study of Jewish and Non-Jewish Women," University of Illinois at Chicago, mimeo, 1984.

TABLE 10. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR MARRIED WOMEN, SPOUSE PRESENT, BY RELIGION, MARCH 1957 (PER CENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Totala</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total White</td>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 35</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–44</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–64</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and Over</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children Under 18</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Children 6–17, None Under 6</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Children Under 6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Areas–Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 35 Years</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–64 Years</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and Over</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aIncludes persons with other religion, no religion, and religion not reported.


higher "cost" of additional children. Moreover, Jewish children may benefit from greater parental inputs of resources (family size held constant), as is suggested by the lower Jewish female labor force participation rate and the greater stability of Jewish families.

Conclusion

This article has considered the patterns and determinants of the labor market status of American Jews. Data from the 1957 Current Population Survey and the 1970 Census of Population, 15 Per Cent Questionnaire indicate that American Jewish men have higher levels of schooling and labor market earnings, as well as a higher rate of return from schooling, than men belonging to other racial and ethnic groups. This does not mean that there is no poverty among Jews, since there is considerable variation in circumstances within any racial or ethnic group. It does mean, however, that Jews, on the whole, are probably America's most successful minority. Comparisons of turn-of-the-century data with contemporary data suggest
that American Jews have experienced a sharper rise in occupational attainment and earnings than other white men. This is most impressive, given the recent arrival in the United States of the bulk of the Jewish population, the foreign Jewish “mother tongue,” and the discrimination which American Jews encountered in access to education and in the labor market.

The higher rate of return from schooling among Jews may be the cause of the high level of investment in education and, hence, the high earnings. But what explains the high rate of return? American Jews may be more educationally productive than others because of greater parental investments of time and other resources in each child. These large-scale investments are made possible by means of a substitution of higher “child quality” for a greater number of children. The fertility rate of Jewish women is substantially lower than that of other women. Jewish women also have a lower labor force participation rate than other women when they have children, particularly small children, at home. Thus, Jewish mothers are more likely to be providing care to their smaller number of children prior to, and concurrent with, the children's schooling. Greater stability in Jewish marriages and a lower rate of “deviant behavior” contribute to the success of the children.

Alternative explanations which appear in the literature are inconsistent with the data. All of them predict a lower rate of return from schooling for American Jews than for the majority white population, whereas in reality the precise opposite is true. Some point to a Jewish “thirst for education” as a direct causal factor, without explaining why this thirst exists in the first place. Discrimination as a spur to success is sometimes suggested, but this does not explain why Jews have been so successful, or why other groups that have experienced discrimination have been much less successful. The insecurity of location-specific assets for a persecuted minority can explain some types of schooling (e.g., medicine) in which Jews have engaged, but not others (e.g., law). Other persecuted groups have not attained a similar level of success as Jews. There is a grain of truth to each alternative hypothesis, but other factors seem more powerful.

The hypothesis regarding the trade-off of quantity and quality of children opens up important possibilities for analyzing group differences in labor market status. Still, it is a hypothesis which requires further investigation. To what extent is there an independent Jewish effect encouraging more of a preference for quality over quantity of children than is found among other groups, all other factors being equal? Did Jewish culture and experience help influence a pattern of behavior which results in the economic betterment of the average member of the group, but at the same time reduces the total size of the group? Will increased acculturation to American patterns alter Jewish behavior and reduce Jewish labor market success?

At a minimum, the analysis suggests that Jewish mothers and fathers have played a key role in the economic success of their children.

BARRY R. CHISWICK
Recent Jewish Community Population Studies: A Roundup

It has been well over a decade since the 1970 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) was completed. While the NJPS provides baseline data for comparing current population trends and characteristics, no new national data have been collected in the intervening years. Indeed, it is unlikely that a national survey of American Jews will again be undertaken before 1990.

While the NJPS has not been replicated, a large number of local Jewish community population studies have been carried out in recent years. In the absence of a national survey, a comparison of the data contained in the various community studies provides an alternative means of developing a profile of the American Jewish community in 1984. Hence this article, which updates the material appearing in Gary Tobin’s and Julie Lipsman’s “A Compendium of Jewish Demographic Studies: Data Summary,” which is scheduled to appear in Perspectives in Jewish Population Research, prepared by the center for modern Jewish studies at Brandeis University. Taken as a whole, the data presented here offer considerable insight into the changes that have taken place in American Jewish life since 1970.

Comparing local community studies is no simple matter, since they employ a variety of sampling techniques, interviewing methods, and sets of questions. Moreover, the findings are reported in different formats. It should be understood, then, that the tables presented in this article are a distillation and reconstruction of very different originals.

Data are scarce for small communities and communities in the South and Southwest. Phoenix, Nashville, and Miami enter into the picture, for example, but Houston, Dallas, and Palm Beach do not. Still, this article takes account of both large and intermediate-sized communities covering a broad geographic spread.

A major caution is needed in reviewing the data which follow. A national "datum" cannot be constructed by merely adding together the data contained in the individual community studies. These studies, after all, do not represent a sample of the national Jewish population.

While many more surveys were examined than are presented here, they were not included for a variety of reasons: some methodologies were considered inadequate to insure reliable data; some communities did not report most of their data; still other communities presented the data in such a way that they could not be synthesized for comparative purposes. The tables presented in this article represent the best possible compromise between comprehensiveness and accuracy. All the studies chosen were completed between 1979 and 1983, allowing for maximum comparability.

**Sampling Methodologies**

A wide variety of sampling methodologies have been used in Jewish demographic research: federation lists; list merging; random-digit dialing; etc. It is clear that there is no single best method; it depends on city size, location, and the nature of the Jewish population. What is crucial is that the chosen method be appropriate to the particular community, be employed properly and rigorously, and be reported accurately. A summary of the sampling and research methods used in the various studies included in this article is provided in Tables 1 and 2.

In theory the end result of the differing methodologies should be the same—a sample drawn from a universe of Jewish households providing a profile of the community as a whole. (Excluded from consideration here are differences in the scope and detail of the questions posed.) In practice, however, differences are to be anticipated—even if they cannot be quantified—depending on the study procedure employed.

Virtually all communities seek to include non-affiliated Jewish households in their study samples. The various methodologies, however, differ in their ability to tap these "unknowns." Since available data indicate differences between "list" and "non-list" households—particularly for such characteristics as intermarriage and organizational affiliation—it can be assumed that procedures which differ in their success in bringing "unknowns" into the sample frame also produce results which differ.
TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF SAMPLING METHODOLOGY, PART ONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Random Selection</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>List Merging</th>
<th>One-Two Lists</th>
<th>Random Digit Dialing</th>
<th>Distinctive Jewish Surnames</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Fed. List</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>UJFC List</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Fed. List</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF SAMPLING METHODOLOGY, PART TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Phone Interview</th>
<th>Personal Interview</th>
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</table>

*aMay include paid volunteers.*
The use of mail questionnaires may produce some differences in response compared to phone surveys. This factor is selective, affecting some questions but not others.

LIST MERGING

In many communities the primary source for drawing a sample is a master list of known Jewish households in the area. This list is usually obtained from the local Jewish federation, and tends to include the names of contributors to Jewish causes, as well as members of synagogues. Using such a list in isolation can introduce a serious bias into the sample frame, since it tends to exclude the young, the old, the formerly affiliated, and many individuals who consider themselves somewhat marginal to the organized Jewish community.

The St. Louis community study used a list-merging process that took nearly a year to complete. Lists were obtained from synagogues, the Jewish newspaper, Jewish organizations, and elderly housing units. In addition, various lists were assembled: people with distinctive Jewish surnames, old lists (marriages, confirmations, ex-members, etc.), and miscellaneous lists (a "snowball" list, JCCA singles, etc.). In all, 148 lists were compiled. Approximately 40,000 names from these lists were keypunched and merged by a computer, bringing the total down to 22,000 by eliminating duplicate entries. From this comprehensive sample frame a sample of 1,500 households was selected, eventually resulting in 922 interviews.

Obviously, the list-merging process that took place in St. Louis was costly, placing it beyond the means of most communities. Still, similar surveys, on a scaled-down level, have been conducted with some success in several communities. A 1980 study of Rochester, New York, for example, employed the following procedure:

The master list for the study was constructed from the unduplicated mailing list of the Jewish community federation and the membership lists of the congregations and Jewish organizations. However, unlike 1961, we went beyond these groups. Also used was the membership listing of the new large Jewish community center, selected as far as possible for Jewish households. This listing included participants in its extensive senior adult programs and single adults. In addition, the lists of Jewish households in two large senior adult housing projects and the membership lists of two Knights of Pythias groups with primarily Jewish memberships were made available. To be noted, also, is the fact that, again unlike 1961, all the Orthodox congregations now had membership lists and were able to make available lists of non-member, high holy day seat holders.¹

List merging is only appropriate in moderate-sized, relatively stable communities. It would not be suitable for use in new, growing communities such as Phoenix or Denver.

RANDOM-DIGIT DIALING

Random-digit dialing is one of the newer and more popular methods for conducting Jewish demographic research, particularly where budget limitations are involved and telephone interviews will be used in lieu of personal interviews. The Cleveland Jewish community, which utilized this method in 1982, reported the following:

Random-digit dialing is a painstaking undertaking, which can be used only where there is a significant concentration of target samples. Even in the case of heavily concentrated Jewish areas, we figured a "hit" (Jewish household) took an average of 20 to 30 dialings (because of busy signals, no answers, and phone numbers being unassigned). In the areas outside the Jewish core communities, where scoring a "hit" would have been much more time-consuming, a combination of other methods was used.

The RDD work sheet uses lists of four-digit random numbers attached to phone exchanges of the area to be surveyed. These lists have columns with disposition headings. Every number must be called and the disposition recorded—not a working number, business, disconnected, non-Jewish household, etc. When the random number does lead to a Jewish household (or Jewish member of the household), the interviewer solicits the interview.

We had some apprehension that this extensive dialing might cause animosity in the non-Jewish community toward the Jewish community federation. Happily, this fear proved to be unfounded. The interviewers reported no unpleasant exchanges. In fact, the contrary happened. A number of non-Jews were concerned that the caller might be from a hate organization misrepresenting herself and asked questions to satisfy themselves that it was not so. One even called the federation to make sure.²

To better appreciate the enormous volume of calls that are required to construct an adequate sample frame by means of random-digit dialing, reference can be made to the experience in Denver, Colorado:

The RDD sample was based on some 41,000 phone numbers generated at random by computer so as to include both listed and non-listed phone numbers (in fact, over half of all the respondents had unlisted phone numbers). Of these original 41,000 phone numbers, over 22,000 turned out to be residential phone numbers. Of these residential phone numbers, 932 turned out to be Jewish households. Calls to these 932 households resulted in 802 interviews.³

The fact that over half the phone numbers called in Denver via random-digit dialing were unlisted points up an important feature of this procedure. Los Angeles reports a similar experience: "The wisdom of this technique was borne out by the fact that over forty per cent of our respondents have unlisted phone numbers, and thus would not otherwise have been included in the survey."⁴

Since random-digit dialing is expensive, methods are often employed to eliminate certain geographical areas. Thus, it is possible that "geographic" bias is introduced into the study. Careful attention must also be paid to call-back techniques, screening mechanisms, and other such things.

DISTINCTIVE JEWISH SURNAMES

At least six of the communities reported on in this article made some use of a list of distinctive Jewish surnames in drawing their sample frames; in most instances, a standard list of 35 names—e.g., Cohen, Levine, Rubin, Shapiro, etc.—was employed. The following example of usage, drawn from the Dallas community study, points up the fact that this method most often serves as a means of checking sample frames derived from other sources:

For the purposes of this study, the master list was tested for completeness by a process known as the "distinctive Jewish names method" ... using 35 distinctively Jewish names. A list of each of these Jewish surnames in the telephone directories of every municipality in Dallas County was made and the total number determined. The ratio of these surnames which appear on both the federation master list and the telephone list to the total of the distinctive Jewish names gives an approximation of the completeness of the master list.

Since definitive studies of the validity of the distinctive Jewish surnames procedure are lacking, great care must be shown in using this methodology.

TWO-PHASE STUDIES

The Jewish communities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota conducted demographic surveys of their respective populations in 1981. While the two studies were locally sponsored, they were directed by the same researcher, Lois Geer. Geer used a two-phase methodology as follows:

In the first phase an attempt was made to reach 25 per cent of the known Jewish households in the area. The intent was to gather as much "non-sensitive" data as possible on the largest number of households. Data to be gathered in this phase included such things as: current and prior residences; length of time at current residence; moving intentions; characteristics of the individuals in the households (age, sex, marital status, education, etc.); household synagogue affiliation; educational intentions for children; community problems and priorities; knowledge of any unaffiliated Jews.

The purpose of the second phase of the population study was two-fold. First, data of a more sensitive nature, such as income, previous marital history, etc., needed to be gathered. The second purpose of this phase was to allow for more in-depth study of specific groups within the Jewish community: the elderly, single persons, dual-working and intermarried households; also, the "unaffiliated" in

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1Betty Maynard, *The Dallas Jewish Community Study* (Dallas, 1974), pp. 3–4. The data in Maynard's study are not cited in this article because they are outdated.
Minneapolis. Separate questionnaires were developed, each with questions specific to the group interviewed, as well as questions asked of all phase-two respondents.6

The sample for phase one was drawn from a master list of all known Jewish households in the country. In St. Paul, 2,818 households were listed; in Minneapolis, 8,886. The sample for phase two was drawn from those who were interviewed in phase one. In St. Paul, this involved reinterviewing almost all the respondents (95 per cent). In Minneapolis, approximately 45 per cent of the respondents were given a second interview.

Data Analysis

Household Size

Tables 3 and 4 show mean household size and the distribution of households by the number of persons in them. The means range from a low of 2.2 in Los Angeles, Denver, and Miami, to a high of 2.8 in Cleveland. The bulk of the communities have means between 2.4 and 2.6.

### Table 3. Mean Household Size

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<th>City</th>
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</tr>
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<td>1981</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1979</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1981</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2.6</td>
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<td>New York</td>
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<td>1983</td>
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<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
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</table>

*Jewish persons only.

*All persons.

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<th>2 Persons</th>
<th>3 Persons</th>
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</table>

**TABLE 4. HOUSEHOLD SIZE, BY PER CENT**
With the exception of Cleveland, all the communities report a smaller mean household size than the 2.8 figure recorded by the NJPS in 1970. Certain variations in definition and methodology may account for some of the differences in the community figures. Thus, it would be important to know whether non-Jewish household members or students attending college were included in the computations. Community samples containing large numbers of the non-affiliated would be likely to produce lower figures for household size, since non-affiliated households are generally smaller than affiliated ones.

If it is in fact the case that mean household size has declined significantly since 1970, this could be explained by a variety of factors: a lower birth rate, leading to a smaller number of children per household; a growing proportion of households with children no longer living at home; a growing divorce rate, creating two households; an aging population, with more widows and widowers living singly; and a later marrying age, with more singles living in their own housing units before marriage.

Table 3 shows the distribution of households by the number of individuals comprising them. Without exception, one-person households constitute a larger proportion of the whole in the community studies than in the NJPS; this is also true of two- and three-person households. Correspondingly, larger households, i.e., those with four or more persons, are a smaller proportion of the whole in the community studies than in the NJPS.

The particular factor exerting the greatest influence on household size can vary between communities, e.g., age (the elderly) in Miami, singles in Denver, etc. However, if there has been an across-the-board drop in household size since 1970, it is almost certainly due to a decline in the Jewish birth rate, with a smaller number of children per household in all the communities.

AGE

Age distribution (see Table 5) is one of the most important factors shaping population trends. While the published reports of the community studies show a degree of variation in the age spans covered, certain basic trends can be noted. Virtually all the communities have smaller proportions of the population under 20 years of age than the 32 per cent figure reported by the NJPS. At the other end of the scale, nearly all the communities have significantly larger proportions of people over 60 years of age than the 16 per cent NJPS figure. Quite strikingly, all the communities outside the Sunbelt have larger proportions of people over 70 years of age than the seven per cent figure reported by the NJPS.

Differences between the communities, particularly in patterns of in-out migration, account for some of the variation in the age distribution. In Denver, for example, nearly a third of the Jewish population is in the 30–49 years age category. Only eight per cent of the Washington, D.C. Jewish population is over age 65.
### TABLE 5. AGE, BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>One or more age categories will vary 1–2 years from the designated range.

For Denver and Phoenix, the categories are: 0–9; 10–17; 18–29; 30–39; 40–49; 50–59; 60–69; 70–94.

For St. Louis, the categories are: 0–10; 11–20; 21–30; 31–40; 41–50; 51–60; 61–70; 71+.

For Washington, D.C., the categories are: 0–17; 18–35; 36–45; 46–65; 66+.

For U.S. Census, the categories are: 0–9; 10–19; 20–29; 30–39; 40–49; 50–59; 60–64; 65+.


### SEX

The proportion of females to males in the community studies (see Table 6) is linked to the increased aging of the Jewish population, since Jewish females enjoy greater longevity than Jewish males. While the proportion of females in the NJPS was just above 50 per cent, most communities register larger proportions. Washington, D.C. is the only community with a larger proportion of males than females (52 per cent to 48 per cent).

### MARITAL STATUS

Marital status, as reported on in the various community studies (see Table 7), is affected by age distribution, as well as in-migration patterns. Thus Denver, with a relatively large proportion of Jews in the 30–49 years age category, and a relatively small proportion in the 60 and over age category, has a large proportion of singles (23 per cent). Denver also has a relatively large proportion of divorced and separated
### TABLE 6. SEX, BY PER CENT

<table>
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<tr>
<th>City</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>48</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7. MARITAL STATUS, BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Divorced/ Separated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago(^b)</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver(^a)</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles(^a)</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond(^c)</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS(^d)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Census</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Tables reconstituted. Figures are approximate. The statistics on marital status were given only as a cross-tabulation with age groups. For Los Angeles, the figures shown were calculated using a weighted average from the sample sizes in each age group. For Denver, the same process was employed, but with percentages used in place of sample sizes (which were unavailable).

\(^b\) Data for marital status of adults, 18 and over.

\(^c\) Heads of household; in the case of married couples, both husband and wife were defined as heads of household.

\(^d\) Heads of household only.
people, and a very low proportion of the widowed. Washington, D.C. has the largest proportion of singles—27 per cent. Despite some differences between the communities, however, the general trend since 1970 appears to be in the direction of a smaller proportion married, a larger proportion single, a larger proportion widowed, and a larger proportion divorced or separated. All of this is consistent with the data on age distribution and household size.

In every community, the majority of households—some two out of three—consist of married couples; the proportions range from a high of 71 per cent in Rochester to a low of 57 per cent in Los Angeles. The overall pattern, however, would appear to have shifted dramatically since 1970, when the NJPS reported that nearly four of five households were married (78 per cent).

The greatest change in the marital status configuration since 1970 would appear to be in the proportion of singles. In most cities—Miami and St. Louis are exceptions—that proportion is at least twice the NJPS figure of 6 per cent: 15 per cent in New York, 18 per cent in Phoenix, 23 per cent in Chicago, and 18 per cent in Rochester.

The data also show (not reported in the table) that many of the married households are without children, either because couples have no children as yet, or because older children have already left home. In most communities, households consisting of adults and children are no longer typical; in many communities, they are a dwindling minority.

GENERAL EDUCATION

Compared to the NJPS, the data in the community studies (see Table 8) reveal smaller proportions of Jews with education at the high school level or below, and larger proportions with a college education or advanced degrees. Even the proportion reporting "some college" is larger than in 1970. Where there are exceptions to this, as in Rochester and Seattle, it would appear that the decrease in "some college" masks an increase at the higher education level.

The data indicate that Jews are remarkably well educated. While the NJPS found that 34 per cent of the Jewish population had at least a college degree, most communities show figures in the 40–50 per cent range; in Washington, D.C. the figure is a remarkable 72 per cent. When the data are separated by age cohort (not shown in the table), it becomes clear that as many as 90 per cent of those in the 25–40 years age category have at least a college degree; in Washington, about 80 per cent have an advanced degree.

Data from the community studies (not shown in the table) make it clear that increased proportions of Jewish females have college and advanced degrees. However, females have yet to attain the same educational level as Jewish males.

OCCUPATION

Occupation, together with secular education, is a prime determinant of socioeconomic status. Virtually all the community studies that inquired about occupation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>High School or Less</th>
<th>Some College</th>
<th>College Degree&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Advanced Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>-52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPSD&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S. Census</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>"College degree" includes completed bachelors degrees and uncompleted advanced degrees.

<sup>b</sup>"Other education" excluded, and percentages recomputed.

<sup>c</sup>Respondent and spouse only.

<sup>d</sup>Based on individual's age, 25 and over.
(see Table 9) found that half or more of employed Jews are in the professional or manager/proprietor categories; in five communities, the proportions approximate two-thirds of the whole. Approximately half the community studies report larger proportions in these categories than the NJPS figure of 62 per cent; the remainder report smaller proportions. The differences between the NJPS and the community studies are to be explained by reference to the sales and clerical categories, since the proportions in the blue-collar category are virtually the same.

Communities as diverse as Chicago (10 per cent), Phoenix (14 per cent), Los Angeles (11 per cent), Cleveland (10 per cent), and Rochester (10 per cent) have significant proportions of blue-collar workers. In most communities about 15 per cent of the work force holds clerical positions—the same proportion as reported by the NJPS. The bulk of the communities have larger proportions of workers in the sales category than the 12 per cent figure reported by the NJPS: 21 per cent in Chicago; 17 per cent in Cleveland; 24 per cent in Phoenix; 20 per cent in Los Angeles; and 33 per cent in St. Louis. In most communities, at least 50 per cent of employed persons are in sales, clerical, or blue-collar positions.

The proportions of managers/proprietors in most communities are smaller than the NJPS figure of 34 per cent: 21 per cent in Chicago; 22 per cent in Cleveland;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Proprietors</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Clerical</th>
<th>Blue Collar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>NJPSd</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Census</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aHousewives, students, retired, unemployed, and unknown excluded from figures; percentages recomputed to include only those employed for wages.

^bRespondent and spouse only.

^cMales and females combined, all ages.

^dBased on individual's age, 25 and over.
24 per cent in Washington, D.C.; and 16 per cent in Los Angeles. On the other hand, some communities have significantly larger proportions of professionals than the 28 per cent figure reported by the NJPS, e.g., 45 per cent in Richmond and 46 per cent in Milwaukee.

The data on occupation in the community studies show significant variation by age, sex, and city size. Thus, there are heavy concentrations of young people in the professions, women in clerical positions, and blue-collar workers in larger cities. Taken as a whole, the data reveal significant occupational diversity among American Jews.

INCOME

Information on annual household income in the community studies (see Table 10) cannot be compared with the NJPS because of the inflationary trend since 1970. This factor also hinders comparisons between the community studies themselves. Still another complicating element is the various ways in which "income" is defined in the community studies. Other characteristics shaping differences in income distribution are the proportions of households at the age extremes (65 and over, and under 30), the size of particular communities, and regional differences in the cost of living.

Keeping all of these qualifications in mind, it can yet be said that the data reveal two divergent trends. As might be expected of a group with high educational/occupational status, income is also high for a significant portion of the Jewish population. In all the community studies at least 25 per cent of the households report incomes of more than $40,000. On the other hand, in every community except Washington D.C. at least ten per cent of the population have household incomes under $10,000; many households report incomes under $5,000.

As with occupation, the figures on income in the community studies reveal significant diversity.

NATIVITY

The proportions of the foreign-born in the community studies (see Table 11) range from a low of six per cent in Richmond to a high of 27 per cent in Miami. Most communities show proportions in the area of 11-18 per cent, contrasting sharply with the NJPS figure of 23 per cent.

While an influx of Russian and Israeli immigrants has added to the foreign-born element of American Jewry since 1970, it is clear that the foreign-born component is decreasing over time.

MOVING PLANS

The largest proportions of households in the community studies (see Table 12) indicate that they have no plans to move, ranging from a low of 45 per cent in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>0–$9,999</th>
<th>$10,000–$19,999</th>
<th>$20,000–$29,999</th>
<th>$30,000–$39,999</th>
<th>$40,000+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(See Below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Refusals excluded from figures.

*b Does not accurately reflect comparisons due to changes in cost of living over four-year period and because of variance in cost of living between metropolitan areas.

*c For Phoenix, the ranges and percentages are: $30,000–$50,000—25 per cent; $50,000+—12 per cent.
### TABLE 11. NATIVITY, BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Locally Born</th>
<th>U.S. Born&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Foreign Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>27&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>-89</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>-83</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1979</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>-77</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Other than locally born.

<sup>b</sup>U.S. = U.S. and Canada.

<sup>c</sup>Respondent and spouse only.

<sup>d</sup>Heads of household.

### TABLE 12. MOVING PLANS, BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Moving Within Metro Area</th>
<th>Moving Out of Metro Area</th>
<th>Don't Know to Move</th>
<th>No Plans to Move</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>1981</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
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<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Moving within next 3 years.

<sup>b</sup>Moving within same city.
Washington, D.C. to a high of 86 per cent in St. Paul. Those in the "don't know" category range from zero per cent in several communities to 27 per cent in Washington, D.C. These figures generally conform to those reported by the NJPS—83 per cent with no plans to move, and two per cent in the "don't know" category.

Among those who are planning to move, it is a local move that is most often contemplated. Los Angeles (26 per cent) and Phoenix (26 per cent) report the largest proportions of planned local moves, while St. Paul (7 per cent) and Miami (7 per cent) report the lowest. Los Angeles (12 per cent), Phoenix (11 per cent), and Milwaukee (12 per cent) have the largest proportions of households planning to leave the community; all other communities range between 5–8 per cent.

Plans to move are cited most often in Sunbelt communities (e.g., Phoenix and Los Angeles), growing communities (e.g., Washington, D.C.), and large communities (e.g., Chicago). The fewest contemplated moves were in Miami, where retirees have gone to settle, and in stable communities, such as Rochester and Cleveland.

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Religious identification, as distinct from congregational membership, is reported in 13 of the community studies (see Table 13). Identification with Orthodoxy is consistently low in all these communities, ranging from five per cent in Los Angeles and Minneapolis to 15 per cent in Seattle. Eight communities report proportions of Conservative Jews ranging from 30–39 per cent. The proportions of Reform Jews are more varied: in five communities they constitute 32–39 per cent of the whole; in five communities, over 40 per cent; and in three communities, less than 30 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Orthodox</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Reform</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
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<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The greatest variations occur in the no preference/other category, ranging from a low of five per cent in Cleveland to a high of 30 per cent in Miami.

New York (13 per cent) and Miami (11 per cent) are centers of Orthodoxy, with Rochester (12 per cent) and Seattle (15 per cent) also showing high proportions. St. Louis (52 per cent), Milwaukee (52 per cent), and Cleveland (47 per cent) have large concentrations of Reform Jews. Minneapolis (53 per cent) and St. Paul (55 per cent) have the largest proportions of Conservative Jews.

In 1970 the NJPS reported the following proportions for household heads: 11 per cent Orthodox; 40 per cent Conservative; 30 per cent Reform; and 15 per cent "other." When these figures are compared with those in the community studies, there appears to be a shift from the Conservative grouping to the Reform and "other" categories. In many communities about one-fourth of the Jewish population identifies as "other" or "just Jewish"; among the younger age cohorts, the proportions are even higher. There are few signs that young people are increasingly identifying as Orthodox.

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP

The extent of synagogue membership as reported in the community studies (see Table 14) varies widely, ranging from a low of 26 per cent in Los Angeles to a high of 84 per cent in St. Paul. Age and mobility patterns help to account for the differences, but community size also plays a part in that synagogue membership is inversely related to city size. The four communities with the smallest proportions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>New York</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of synagogue members are the largest in population; the four communities with the largest proportions of synagogue members are among the smallest in population. Sunbelt communities have low rates of affiliation—Los Angeles, 26 per cent; Phoenix, 33 per cent; Miami, 38 per cent—because they contain large concentrations of the elderly, who tend to affiliate less. More generally, the data indicate that both the old and the young, as well as lower-income households, have lesser rates of synagogue membership. Overall, the proportion of households in the community studies who are affiliated with synagogues does not exceed the NJPS figure of 47 per cent.

It is important to note that the figures on synagogue membership in the community studies are limited to currently affiliated households; they do not cover former synagogue members or those who might intend to join a synagogue in the future. In addition, data indicate that synagogue attendance occurs independently of membership.

RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE

Information on religious service attendance was elicited in only a small number of the community studies (see Table 15). Because of differences in definition, it is best to employ three broad categories: those who never attend, those who attend often, and the in-between group. Those never attending range from 16–30 per cent, while those attending often range from 9–21 per cent. The in-between group (attending only on the high holy days and "occasionally") ranges from 49–75 per cent.

TABLE 15. RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE, by per cent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Only</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis b</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle c</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aCategories as designated, except as follows:
For Miami, occasionally = several times per year; often = more than once per month or more.
For New York, often = more than once per month.
For Rochester, occasionally = less than once per month, but more than high holy days; often = more than once per month.
For NJPS, high holy days = 1–4 times per year; occasionally = 5–19 times per year; often = 20+ times per year.
bFigures approximate; multiple answers were given to nine different response choices and have been roughly divided into the four categories as shown.
cFigures approximate; taken from general statements in text.
Comparable data from the NJPS—limited, however, to household heads—are 27 per cent, 18 per cent, and 53 per cent, respectively.

RITUAL OBSERVANCE

The data on ritual observance, reported in a small number of the community studies (see Table 16), follow the expected pattern. The proportions participating in a Passover seder range from 81–95 per cent, while those lighting Hanukkah candles range from 75–86 per cent. Kashrut is observed by much smaller proportions of households; in five communities that inquired about the use of two sets of dishes, the range of positive responses was between nine per cent and 26 per cent. Significant proportions of households do not have a mezuzah: 39 per cent in Chicago, 34 per cent in New York, and 24 per cent in St. Louis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sabbath Candles</th>
<th>Passover Seder</th>
<th>Two Sets of Dishes</th>
<th>Kosher Meats</th>
<th>Hanukkah Candles</th>
<th>Mezuzah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
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<td>87</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td>Phoenix</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
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<td>58/79a</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>NJPSc</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seder in home/seder outside home.

bAnyone in household.

cNJPS report on Jewish identity refers to adults (either 18 and over or 21 and over). Those who observe the Sabbath were 36.7 per cent. This was purely self-defined and referred to any observance which differentiated the Sabbath from the rest of the week. For Passover, 83.4 per cent reported participation; for Hanukkah, 75.2 per cent. Kashrut was reported by 25.9 per cent; again, this was self-defined.

Data available from the community studies generally show declining patterns of ritual observance by generation.

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION

Nine communities gathered information on current affiliation with Jewish organizations (see Table 17). The proportions holding some sort of membership vary widely, ranging from 27 per cent in Los Angeles to 82 per cent in Rochester. While definitional issues can account for some of the differences, the impact of community
size is clear. The larger communities have smaller proportions of households with organizational affiliations. Sunbelt communities, such as Phoenix (36 per cent), also have small proportions of members of organizations. In contrast, older, more stable communities, such as Cleveland (62 per cent), St. Louis (75 per cent), and Rochester (82 per cent), have high rates of organizational affiliation.

### TABLE 17. MEMBERSHIP IN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicagob</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louisa</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a*Includes synagogue membership.  
*b*Respondent and spouse only.

Memberships in local Jewish community centers show similar patterns (see Table 18), ranging from 23–31 per cent in five communities; in New York the figure is 12 per cent, reflecting the influence of population size on organizational membership. Richmond, in contrast, has a 47 per cent membership rate in the Jewish community center. The data from St. Louis indicate that large numbers of families either add or drop Jewish community center memberships over a five-year period, depending on service and programmatic needs at particular times.

### TABLE 18. MEMBERSHIP IN JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miamia</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>Milwaukee</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1982</td>
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<td>70</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*a*Response based on participation/non-participation, rather than membership/non-membership.  
*b*Households.
TRAVEL TO ISRAEL

The NJPS reported that 16 per cent of Jewish households had visited Israel. As against this, the proportions reported in nine community studies (see Table 19) range from a low of 27 per cent in St. Louis to a high of 45 per cent in Miami. There is no discernible pattern for travel to Israel in terms of city size, region, or demographic make-up.

<table>
<thead>
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<td>Richmond[^a]\</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>NJPS</td>
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<td>16</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\[^a]\Anyone in family.

JEWISH CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

Nine community studies (see Table 20) report some form of giving to a Jewish organization or cause by no less than 63 per cent of all households, increasing to

<table>
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<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<th>$100-$499</th>
<th>$500-$1,000</th>
<th>$1,000+</th>
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<td>Chicago[^c]\</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miami[^b]\</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Paul</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[^a]\Refusals and "don't knows" excluded from figures.
\[^b]\Dollar amounts refer to all charitable contributions.
\[^c]\Without any corrections after validating JUF givers.
79 per cent in Rochester. Older and more stable communities, such as St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Milwaukee have particularly large proportions of contributing households.

Where data regarding the size of gifts are available, it is evident that from one-third to slightly more than one-half of all contributions were under $100. Combining the gift categories, the proportion of households giving under $500 ranged from three-fifths to three-quarters of all contributing households. Households reporting gifts of $1,000 or more ranged from 13 per cent to 21 per cent of contributing households.

Making a contribution to a Jewish organization or cause breaks the pattern of lower affiliation rates, religious observance, etc., that is observable in the larger communities. Thus, about seven out of ten households in Chicago and two-thirds of those in Los Angeles and Washington made some contribution. Even where the dollar amounts are small, they serve to establish some formal attachment to the Jewish community.

A number of points have to be kept in mind when considering the data on Jewish charitable contributors. The extent to which the various community studies reached out to the unaffiliated has special importance here. Moreover, differing proportions of older and younger households, as well as lower-income elements, would clearly affect charitable contributions. Finally, the proportions of reported contributors are probably ceiling figures, masking some respondents who do not give, but claimed that they had.

Conclusion

Judging from the data appearing in the community studies—which in aggregate cover over 50 per cent of the American Jewish population—there have been both sweeping change and significant continuity in American Jewish life since 1970. It is clear that the American Jewish community is far from monolithic in character, composition, or behavior. Indeed, the Jewish "community" is a composite of subgroups differentiated by region, religiosity, generation, and class. There is no "typical" Jewish family, Jewish institution, etc. At the same time, American Jews share a number of characteristics which serve to distinguish them from the general population. As a group they have higher educational, occupational, and income status. They also have a lower birth rate and a higher average age.

There are major differences between communities depending on size and region. Larger communities have greater concentrations of blue-collar workers, lower-income groups, and Jews who are unaffiliated with synagogues. Rapidly growing communities have greater concentrations of singles and Jews who are unaffiliated with organizations.

Families consisting of two parents and children have become a distinct minority, being outnumbered in total by the following: single adult households who have not yet married; divorced or separated households; married households where the
children have already left home; widowed households with children; and widowed adults living alone, with a relative, or with other older adults.

Religious life is characterized by great diversity. Sabbath restrictions on work, the maintenance of two sets of dishes, etc. are clearly rituals of the past for the vast majority of American Jews, although they are observed by the Orthodox. On the other hand, the lighting of Hannukah candles and participation in a Passover seder are widely observed. Most American Jews attend synagogue on the high holy days.

GARY A. TOBIN
ALVIN CHENKIN
Jewish Population in the United States, 1984

The Jewish population in the United States in 1984 is estimated to be 5.817 million.

While the 1984 figure is approximately 88,000 more than the estimate given for 1983, this does not reflect the operation of any intrinsic demographic factors leading to population increase. (For data supporting the view that these factors have a negative rather than a positive impact on population growth, see the article by Gary A. Tobin and Alvin Chenkin elsewhere in this volume.) Rather, an explanation is to be found in the procedures of population reporting. There has been a continuing shift of Jewish population to the Sunbelt region, and as part of this process higher numbers have been reported by receiving communities before losses recorded by communities of origin. The preparation of Jewish population estimates in individual communities is a discontinuous process, and this often leads to a situation in which a change in numbers is divorced from a population shift currently taking place. (New York City's estimate, for example, has been changed upward by 7,700, but this is simply a recomputation of figures derived from a 1981 population study.)

In almost every instance local estimates refer to “Jewish households,” i.e., households in which one or more Jews reside. As a consequence, non-Jews are included in the count, their percentage of the total being estimated (based on the 1970 National Jewish Population Study and a number of current studies) as between six and seven per cent. Assuming this proportion, the number of individuals in “Jewish households” who identify themselves as Jewish in 1984 would be between 5.410 and 5.468 million.

The state and regional totals shown in Table 1 and Table 2 are derived by summing individual community estimates, shown in Table 3, and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplications within states are eliminated. Third, communities falling within two or more states (e.g., Washington, D.C. and Kansas City, Missouri) are distributed accordingly.

The trend toward geographical redistribution of the Jewish population continues. While the proportions of Jews residing in the Northeast and North Central regions still add up to nearly two-thirds of the national total, there is some decline from the proportions registered in 1983. The South, in contrast, shows a gain of one percentage point.

In 1984 nine states have Jewish proportions exceeding the national average of 2.5 per cent, with three states—Florida, New Jersey, and New York—exceeding five per cent. At the other end of the spectrum, there are 20 states with Jewish proportions of less than one half of one per cent.

Alvin Chenkin

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### TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Estimated Jewish Population</th>
<th>Estimated Jewish Per Cent Of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>9,560</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>53,285</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>3,175</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>792,515</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>44,365</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>107,575</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>24,285</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>558,820</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>42,155</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>5,550</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>261,320</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>21,360</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>7,760</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>11,450</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>12,910</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>17,340</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>9,850</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>199,415</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>248,395</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>85,275</td>
<td>0.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>32,040</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>3,080</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>64,770</td>
<td>1.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>7,850</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>18,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>5,980</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>433,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>5,155</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1,879,955</td>
<td>10.6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,959,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>479,000</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Per Cent</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Of Total</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Estimated Jewish Population</td>
<td>Total Population*</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>14,945</td>
<td>6,082,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>680,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>140,435</td>
<td>10,746,000</td>
</tr>
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<td>6,960</td>
<td>3,298,000</td>
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<td>Oregon</td>
<td>10,940</td>
<td>2,662,000</td>
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<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>412,210</td>
<td>11,895,000</td>
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<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>955,000</td>
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<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>8,615</td>
<td>3,264,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>700,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>18,465</td>
<td>4,685,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>78,470</td>
<td>15,724,000</td>
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<td>Utah</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>1,619,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>2,465</td>
<td>525,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>60,820</td>
<td>5,550,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>22,060</td>
<td>4,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>4,265</td>
<td>1,965,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>31,495</td>
<td>4,751,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>314,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>U.S. TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,817,235</strong></td>
<td><strong>233,981,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.


**Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which previously reported Jewish populations of 1,800 and 510, respectively.
### TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Distribution</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Distribution</th>
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</thead>
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<td><strong>Northeast:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>12,489,000</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>396,265</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle Atlantic</td>
<td>37,029,000</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>2,725,640</td>
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<td><strong>North Central:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>East North Central</td>
<td>41,531,000</td>
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<td>539,885</td>
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<td>West North Central</td>
<td>17,422,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>South:</strong></td>
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<td>South Atlantic</td>
<td>38,805,000</td>
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<td>922,820</td>
<td>15.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>East South Central</td>
<td>14,946,000</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>44,015</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>West South Central</td>
<td>25,788,000</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>105,940</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>West:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>12,331,000</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>125,090</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>33,639,000</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>832,030</td>
<td>14.3</td>
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<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>5,817,235</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>State and City</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
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<td><strong>ALABAMA</strong></td>
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<td>Dothan</td>
<td>205</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gadsden</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huntsville</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Mobile</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Montgomery</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selma</td>
<td>210</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tri-Cities</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuscaloosa</td>
<td>315</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ALASKA</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Anchorage</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairbanks</td>
<td>210</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ARIZONA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phoenix</strong></td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tucson</strong></td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARKANSAS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fayetteville</td>
<td>120</td>
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<td>Ft. Smith</td>
<td>160</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hot Springs</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Little Rock</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Bluff</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>Arkansas</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CALIFORNIA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alameda &amp; Contra</strong></td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Counties</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakersfield</td>
<td>35,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsinore</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eureka</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fontana</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fresno</strong></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kern County</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antelope Valley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Long Beach</td>
<td>13,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Los Angeles Metropolitan Area</td>
<td>500,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merced</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modesto</td>
<td>260</td>
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KANSAS
- Topeka .................. 500
- *Wichita ................. 1,000

KENTUCKY
- Lexington ............... 1,500
- *Louisville ............ 9,200
- Paducah ................ 175

LOUISIANA
- Alexandria ............. 700
- Baton Rouge ............ 1,200
- Lafayette .............. 600
- Lake Charles ........... 250
- **Monroe ............... 510
- New Orleans ............ 12,000
- **Shreveport .......... 1,250

MAINE
- Augusta ................ 215
- **Bangor ............... 1,300
- Southern Maine (excl. Portland) ........ 950
- Calais ................. 135
- **Lewiston-Auburn 1,000
- **Portland ............ 5,500
- Waterville ............ 300

MARYLAND
- Annapolis .............. 2,000
- *Baltimore ............ 92,000
- Cumberland ............ 265
- Easton Park Area* .... 100
- Frederick .............. 400
- Hagerstown ............ 275
- Hartford County ...... 500
- Howard County .......... 4,000

MASSACHUSETTS
- Amherst ................ 750
- Athol ................... 110
- Attleboro .............. 200
- Beverly ................. 1,000
- *Boston (incl. Brockton) .... 170,000
- Fall River ............ 1,780
- Fitchburg ............. 300
- *Framingham .......... 10,000
- Gardner ................ 100
- Gloucester ............ 400
- Great Barrington ....... 105
- Greenfield ............. 250
- Haverhill .............. 1,650
- Holyoke ................ 1,100
- Hyannis ................. 1,200
- Lawrence .............. 2,550
- Leominster ............. 750
- Lowell .................. 2,000
- Lynn (incl. Beverly, Peabody, and Salem) .......... 19,000
- Medway (incl. in Framingham) ........
- Milford (incl. in Framingham) ........
- Mills (incl. in Framingham) ........
- **New Bedford .......... 2,700
- Newburyport ............ 280
- North Berkshire ......... 675
- Northampton ............ 700
- Peabody ................. 2,600
- *Pittsfield (incl. all Berkshire County) .......... 3,500
- Plymouth ............... 500
- Salem .................. 1,150

MICHIGAN
- Ann Arbor (incl. all Washtenaw County) .......... 3,000
- Battle Creek ........... 245
- Bay City ................. 650
- Benton Harbor ........... 650
- **Detroit ............... 70,000
- **Flint ................ 2,200
- Grand Rapids ........... 1,500
- Iron County ............. 160
- Iron Mountain ........... 105
- Jackson ................ 375
- **Kalamazoo ............ 1,000
- **Lansing ............... 1,850
- Marquette County ....... 175
- Mt. Clemens ............. 420
- Mt. Pleasant ............. 100
- Muskegon ................. 235
- Saginaw ................. 450
- South Haven ............ 100

MINNESOTA
- Austin .................. 125
- **Duluth ................ 1,100
- Hibbing ................. 155
- *Minneapolis ............ 22,000
- Rochester ............... 240
- **St. Paul .............. 7,500
- Virginia ................. 100

MISSISSIPPI
- Biloxi-Gulfport ........ 100
- Clarksdale .............. 160
- Cleveland ............... 180
- Greenville .............. 500
- Greenwood ............... 100
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<tr>
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<td>Kennett</td>
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**MISSOURI**

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**NEW JERSEY**

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**NEW MEXICO**

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**NEW YORK**

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<td>State and City</td>
<td>Jewish Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coatesville</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connellsville</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Delaware Valley</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lower Bucks County)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Upper Beaver</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottsville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Erie</strong></td>
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<td>Farrell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrisburg</td>
<td>6,500</td>
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<td>481</td>
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<td>Homestead</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>135</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Johnstown</td>
<td>550</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kittanning</td>
<td>175</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lancaster</td>
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<td>Lock Haven</td>
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<tr>
<td>McKeesport</td>
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<td>Monessen</td>
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<td>Mt. Pleasant</td>
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<td>New Kensington</td>
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<td>North Penn</td>
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<td>Oil City</td>
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<td>Oxford-Kennett</td>
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<tr>
<td>Square</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Metropolitan Area</td>
<td>295,000</td>
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<td>Phoenixville</td>
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<td><strong>Pittsburgh</strong></td>
<td>50,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pottstown</td>
<td>700</td>
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<td>Pottsville</td>
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<td>Reading</td>
<td>2,800</td>
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<td>Sayre</td>
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<td><strong>Scranton</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>State College</td>
<td>450</td>
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<td>Stroudsburg</td>
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<td>Sunbury</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Uniontown</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Beaver</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington (incl. Pittsburgh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne County</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Chester</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Wilkes-Barre</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamsport</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHODE ISLAND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Providence (incl. rest of state)</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH CAROLINA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Charleston</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Columbia</td>
<td>2,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenville</td>
<td>600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orangeburg</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Spartanburg</td>
<td>295</td>
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<td>Sumter</td>
<td>190</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOUTH DAKOTA</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sioux Falls</strong></td>
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<td>TENNESSEE</td>
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<td>Chattanooga</td>
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<td>Johnson City</td>
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<td>Knoxville</td>
<td>1,350</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Memphis</td>
<td>9,000</td>
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<td>**Nashville</td>
<td>5,080</td>
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<td>Oak Ridge</td>
<td>240</td>
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<td>TEXAS</td>
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<tr>
<td>**Austin</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baytown</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumont</td>
<td>400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brownsville</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dallas</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Witt County</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>UTAH</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ogden</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Lake City</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennington</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burlington</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Johnsbury</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIRGINIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington County, and urban Fairfax County)</td>
<td>33,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlington (incl. in Alexandria)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlottesville</td>
<td>800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Danville</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredericksburg</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampton (incl. in Newport News)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrisonburg</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopewell</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinsville</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State and City</td>
<td>Jewish Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Newport News (incl. Hampton)</td>
<td>2,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Norfolk (incl. Virginia Beach)</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Portsmouth (incl. Suffolk)</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Richmond</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamsburg</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WASHINGTON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellingham</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremerton (incl. in Seattle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Seattle</td>
<td>19,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WISCONSIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appleton</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloit</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eau Clair</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WYOMING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Denotes estimates submitted in current year.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Estimates submitted in current year; represents change from previous estimate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Towns in Chicot, Desha, Drew Counties.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, Upland.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Centerbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Killingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Seabrook, Westbrook.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Oxford, Seymour.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County (organized portion), Falls Church, Alexandria, in Virginia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rock Island, Moline (Illinois); Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot Counties.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Allendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Includes Camden and Burlington Counties.

Includes contiguous areas in Hudson, Morris, Somerset, and Union Counties.

Includes Clayton, Paulsboro, Woodbury. Excludes Newfield; see Vineland.

See footnote (m).

Includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.

Includes Paterson, Wayne, Hawthorne in Passaic County, and nine towns in Bergen County. See footnote (k).

Includes Perth Amboy, Metuchen, Edison Township (part), Woodbridge.

Includes in Middlesex County, Cranbury, Dunellen, East Brunswick, Edison Township (part), Jamesburg, Matawan, Middlesex, Monmouth Junction, Old Bridge, Parlin, Piscataway, South River, Spottswood; in Somerset County, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer County, Hightstown.

Excludes Kendall Park and Somerset, which are included in Raritan Valley.

Includes Mercer County in New Jersey; and Lower Makefield, Morrisville, Newtown, and Yardley in Pennsylvania.

Includes in Cumberland County, Norma, Rosenheim, Vineland; in Salem County, Elmer; in Gloucester County, Clayton, Newfield; in Cape May County, Woodbine.

Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw, and Loris, S.C.

Towns in Alfalfa, Beckham, Cadelo, Canadian, Cleveland, Custer, Jackson, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Lincoln, Logan, Oklahoma, Payne, Roger Mills, Tillman, Washita Counties.

Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warington, Yardley. Also includes communities listed in footnote (u).

Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).

Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales, and La Vaca Counties.

Denison, Gainesville, Greenville, Paris, Sherman, and Durant (Oklahoma).
Canadian Jewry: Some Recent Census Findings

The study of world Jewry today is being increasingly enriched by the use of concrete, quantitative information, which is available in abundance for Israel and in more limited amounts for several Diaspora communities. One of the best sources of "hard data" on contemporary Jews is the decennial Canadian census. This article highlights the 1981 census findings as they pertain to the geographic distribution, marital status, fertility rates, and age structure of Canadian Jews. Comparisons are made with data drawn from the 1971 and earlier censuses.

No discussion of specific data can ignore the prior issue of definition. Ivor Millman has admirably summed up the situation as it applies to Canadian Jews:

Outside of Israel and Eastern Europe, official statistics in Canada are probably unique in the Western world, in that they recognize the concept of Jewish ethnic origin/nationality. . . . Canadian statistics have a place for Jewish identity on a religious basis too. Partly as a result of this, and partly because of the detailed way in which the census results are analysed for the larger ethnic and religious groups, the statistical data on Canadian Jewry are, by any standard, extremely comprehensive and informative . . .

The census question on religion is a straightforward one—allowing the option of 'none.'

The census question on ethnic origin tends to comprise elements of both nationality and ethnicity . . .

While the Canadian census employs both ethnic and religious criteria for counting Jews, and the totals are not identical, the religious denomination measure is more comparable over long periods of time. Accordingly, the present article will make exclusive use of religious denomination data in referring to the Jewish population. In most census years, the Jews-by-religion count has been higher than the Jews-by-ethnicity count. In 1981 there were 296,425 Canadian Jews by religious affiliation and 264,020 by ethnic origin.

Note: The author acknowledges the helpful financial support of the Ethnic Studies Program, Multiculturalism Canada.

While the overall Canadian population, now numbering more than 25 million, grew by almost 13 per cent between 1971 and 1981, the Jewish population increased by only 7.4 per cent, up from 276,000 to 296,000. Jews are steadily becoming a smaller proportion of the total Canadian population (1.22 per cent in 1981 as against 1.28 per cent in 1971).

**Pattern of Jewish Settlement**

Rapid increases in the size of the Canadian Jewish population occurred after 1881, fueled by pogroms and other difficulties experienced by Jews in Czarist Russia. By 1891 the Jewish population of Canada had reached 6,586, double the figure of the previous decade. While the largest number of Jews were found in Quebec province, there was some Jewish representation in every area of Canada, including the North West Territories and the Yukon. This trend continued during the ensuing decades, bringing the Jewish population of Canada to 75,838 by 1911 and 126,201 by 1921. The most important immigrant-receiving community at the time was Montreal. However, the Jews of Ontario province, concentrated mainly in Toronto, were not far behind; and indeed, by 1931 they had become more numerous than the Jews of Quebec province—a situation that continues to the present.

In 1931 Canadian Jewry numbered around 156,000. The Jewish population of the Maritime Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland-Labrador (which joined Canada in 1949)—was about 3,300, just over two per cent of the Canadian Jewish total. Manitoba had more than 19,000 Jewish residents, some 12 per cent of Canadian Jewry. The remainder of the Canadian West held fewer than 12,000 Jews. The great bulk of Canadian Jews at the time were living either in Ontario province (62,400 people, 40 per cent of the total) or Quebec province (60,000 people, 39 per cent of the total). Montreal was a larger and more vibrant Jewish center than Toronto, but the Ontario diaspora—including Ottawa and Hamilton in southern Ontario—made the provincial total larger than the total for Quebec province.

The distribution of the Jewish population has remained more or less constant since 1931. In 1971 Canadian Jewry numbered around 276,000, with approximately 45 per cent (125,300 people) residing in Ontario and just over 40 per cent (110,900 people) living in Quebec. The Jewish population of the Maritime Provinces had dwindled to a little over one per cent of the total, with the very same absolute numbers in 1971 as in 1931. Manitoba and the remainder of the Canadian West had shrunk somewhat in their percentages of all Canadian Jewry, but a growth in absolute numbers in Alberta and British Columbia brought their combined total close to 18,000, a figure quite similar to that of Manitoba.

The most significant development since 1971 has been the relative decline of Montreal, due to anxiety surrounding the Francization issue in Quebec, which has resulted in Toronto becoming the leading Jewish center in Canada. At the same time, there has been steady growth of some of the Jewish communities in the West, reflecting economic developments in petroleum-rich Alberta. These communities are now capable of conducting a broad range of Jewish activities on their own.
Table 1 indicates the distribution of Canadian Jews among the major urban centers, as revealed in the 1981 census.

Whereas Montreal was once the largest Jewish community in Canada, the honor now clearly belongs to Toronto. The approximately 124,000 Jews in metropolitan Toronto in 1981 constituted about 42 per cent of the Canadian Jewish total, this in contrast to Montreal's 34 per cent (101,400 people). Winnipeg was a very distant third with a Jewish population above 15,000. The next most important Jewish communities, in order of size, were Vancouver (12,865 people), Ottawa (8,470 people), and Calgary (5,575 people). There were also sizable Jewish communities in Edmonton and Hamilton.

It is reasonable to predict further declines in both Montreal and Winnipeg due to the age structures of the Jewish populations in these two cities. In 1981 both Jewish communities were heavily weighted with senior citizens, while showing a shortage of young families with children. The presence of large numbers of Jewish children in Toronto and the major centers in the West suggests that the Jewish communities in Central and Western Canada are reasonably secure in terms of demographic composition.

East European Jews, who dominated the Jewish immigration scene in Canada from the 1880's to the 1950's, have been joined in recent decades by about 10,000 Jews from Morocco/North Africa, as well as a substantial number of Jews from the U.S.S.R. and Israel. These new sources of immigration have given Canadian Jewry a somewhat more heterogeneous cast than in the past.

While Sephardic immigrants from France, Iran, and Iraq have gravitated to Montreal, other recent Jewish immigrant groups have shied away from the city. Thus, more than 66 per cent of Canada's South African-born Jews were living in greater Toronto in 1981, in contrast to less than one per cent in Montreal. Toronto also attracted substantial numbers of foreign-born Jews from Russia and Hungary.

With regard to Jews born in Israel, the Canadian total in 1981 was around 7,000. Of these, some 42 per cent were living in Toronto, while 38 per cent resided in Montreal.

Over one third of Canada's Jews were foreign-born in 1981.

Marriage and Divorce

In reviewing the 1971 Canadian census data on marital status and nuptiality, K.G. Basavarajappa was led to observe:

Canadian-born Jewish males and females . . . showed some of the highest proportions of single and lowest proportions of married.

Among Canadian and foreign-born males, the highest mean ages [at first marriage] were shown by Jewish groups. The highest ages observed were mainly due to the lowest proportions marrying under 20 years of age, generally lower proportions at 20–29 years, and the highest proportions marrying over 30 years of age.\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Jews</th>
<th>Child Population (Aged 0–14 Yrs.)</th>
<th>Senior Population (Aged 65 &amp; Over)</th>
<th>Child/Senior Ratio**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Canada</td>
<td>296,425</td>
<td>53,100</td>
<td>48,700</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>123,725</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>18,200</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>101,365</td>
<td>17,100</td>
<td>19,400</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>15,350</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>12,865</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>8,470</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>5,575</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Montreal and Winnipeg are shown, by these data, to be "old" communities in 1981—with more elderly Jews than Jewish children, and aged per cent well above the national Jewish average of 16.4 per cent. The proportion of children is lower than in the other major Jewish centers.

* Containing at least 5,000 individuals of Jewish religion in 1981 (metropolitan area totals). Hamilton and Edmonton are a little below this threshold, with about 4,300 Jews each; other communities, e.g., Halifax, London, and Windsor, are much smaller still.

**Number of children per over-65 Jews.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Population, Report No. 93-929 (Quebec); No. 93-930 (Ontario); No. 93-931 (Manitoba); No. 93-933 (Alberta); No 93-934 (British Columbia); Table 6 in each of these has religion showing age groups.
Basavarajappa attributed this pattern of late marriage to the urban residence and high socio-economic status of Canada's Jews.

The 1971 census found that a higher proportion of Jews were divorced than were Canadians in general. However, it is possible that this is merely indicative of less remarriage after divorce among the Jewish population. The uncertainty arises because individuals who were divorced earlier, but had remarried before the new census was taken, were listed as "married"; the "divorced" category was reserved for people who remained in that state when the new census took place.

As the 1981 data in Table 2 indicate, the picture with regard to marriage and divorce has remained very much the same since 1971, suggesting a somewhat risky future for Canadian Jewish families.

Table 2 shows that older Jews were more likely than other older Canadians to be married, but that the situation was quite different with regard to younger age groupings. Fewer Jews in the all-ages and the over-35 years groups were "single, never-married," while Jews aged 20–34 had much higher percentages of singles than the same all-Canada population. Less than 20 per cent of Jews aged 20–24 were married in 1981, compared with a national average very close to 40 per cent.

Table 2 also shows a clear difference with regard to divorce (again, without remarriage prior to the census). By any age-group comparison—save for the insignificant 20–24 years cohort (not many people that young are divorced, and the category contains less than 100 divorced Jews)—there were proportionately more divorced Jews than other divorced Canadians. For all ages over 15 years, 3.3 per cent of Jews reported divorce, in contrast to less than 2.7 per cent of Canadians in general. The highly significant 35–44 years age group showed 5.8 per cent divorced Jews, as against a national average of 4.7 per cent. Even Jewish senior citizens reported more divorce than other Canadians in the same age group (2.1 per cent compared to 1.6 per cent).

The number of Jewish single-parent families (mostly headed by females) in Canada increased by 31 per cent between 1971 and 1981, going from 5,550 to 7,270. However, the national figure increased by 52 per cent during the same period, reducing the Jewish percentage in the single-parent family category from 1.1 per cent to 1.0 per cent.

**Fertility and Its Consequences**

Millman has summarized the 1971 Canadian census data on Jewish fertility and household size as follows:

Canadian Jewry has a rate of natural growth lower than the overall Canadian average. . . . It is interesting to note the particular popularity among Jews of 2 and 3 children families . . .

The data . . . also suggest that, on average, Jewish women start families at a later age than do Canadian women generally . . .
TABLE 2. SELECTED MARITAL STATUS DATA, CANADA AND JEWS OF CANADA,
1981 (ADULT POPULATION ONLY), BY PER CENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Canadians</th>
<th>Jews (Religion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18,862,080</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>243,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.35</td>
<td>Aged 15 Years and Up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single (Never Married)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,343,810</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,216,190</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>20-24 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,968,155</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.6</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44 Years</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34,085</td>
<td>25-34 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48,710</td>
<td>35-44 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>65 Years and Over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Jewish households tend to be smaller than average Canadian ones. This reflects, possibly . . . lower birth rates and higher proportions of elderly persons who live alone or in couples.¹

¹Millman, op. cit., pp. 51-53.
The average number of births experienced per 1,000 Canadian women (all ages, all religions) declined from 2,775 in 1971 to 2,493 in 1981, a 10.2 per cent drop. Looking at births among women aged 15–44 only, the 1971–1981 decline was 22.8 per cent, from 2,307 to 1,781. For Jewish women, the all-ages drop during the same period was 6.9 per cent (2,117 in 1971 as against 1,970 in 1981), while the decline in the 15–44 years category was 14.2 per cent (1,860 in 1971 as against 1,596 in 1981). Thus, the decline in Jewish fertility between 1971 and 1981 was considerably less steep than for Canadians in general.

Tables 3 and 4 present a variety of data from the 1981 census comparing Jewish and general Canadian fertility.

**TABLE 3. CANADIAN AND CANADIAN-JEWISH WIVES,* BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND AGE GROUPS, 1981, BY PER CENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages 15–44</th>
<th>All Canadian Married Women</th>
<th>Jewish Married Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Births</td>
<td>3,803,165</td>
<td>40,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>864,745</td>
<td>10,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>750,865</td>
<td>7,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–4</td>
<td>1,204,915</td>
<td>13,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Or More</td>
<td>830,810</td>
<td>8,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 45 And Over</td>
<td>3,335,055</td>
<td>57,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Births</td>
<td>363,805</td>
<td>5,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>394,635</td>
<td>9,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>714,580</td>
<td>21,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–4</td>
<td>1,067,685</td>
<td>18,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Or More</td>
<td>794,345</td>
<td>2,540</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages 25–29</th>
<th>All Canadian Married Women</th>
<th>Jewish Married Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>872,460</td>
<td>9,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>261,835</td>
<td>4,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>235,775</td>
<td>2,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Or More</td>
<td>270,260</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 30–34</td>
<td>104,595</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>912,695</td>
<td>12,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>129,955</td>
<td>2,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>174,195</td>
<td>2,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Or More</td>
<td>378,000</td>
<td>5,060</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*"Ever-married," including widowed and divorced.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-24 Years</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29 Years</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.6 Per Cent</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.8 Per Cent</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 Years</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2.0 Per Cent</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>1.4 Per Cent</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39 Years</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>5.8 Per Cent</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>1.4 Per Cent</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44 Years</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>13.5 Per Cent</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>3.0 Per Cent</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49 Years</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>21.5 Per Cent</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>4.4 Per Cent</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All, 45 Years And Over</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>23.8 Per Cent</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>4.4 Per Cent</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*“Ever-married,” including widowed and divorced.
Taken as a whole, the tables reveal two important facts: Jewish families tended to be smaller than other Canadian families, and Jewish women commenced having children at later ages than other Canadian women.

Table 3 shows few differences between Jewish and non-Jewish women in the one- or two-child range. However, with regard to married women who had no births at all, there were substantially more in the under-45 years Jewish population. Among women 45 years and older—i.e., those who had completed their families—23.8 per cent of all-Canada women in this age bracket had five or more children, while only 4.4 per cent of the Jewish women had that many. (However, Jewish women aged 45 and older were a little less likely to be childless.) In the 25–29 and 30–34 age categories, families with three or more children were far less common among Jews than among Canadians in general. Table 4 shows that average births-per-woman for any age group was lower for Jews than for other Canadian women.

All in all, it is clear that contemporary Canadian Jewish families manifest highly rational and highly consistent family planning. While few Jewish women leave the child-bearing years with no children, Jewish families are concentrated around the "ideal" size of two children. Total Jewish fertility, to judge by the 1981 census data, remains below zero population growth—the approximate level of general Canadian births at present.4

If birth rates remain depressed over a long period of time, while longevity is good, the percentage of older people in the population will rise. Table 5 indicates a shrinkage of the Jewish child population (0–14 years) between 1961 and 1981, with a corresponding strong increase of Jews aged 65 and older. In 1961 the child population was between three and four times as large as the population of senior citizens (27.6 per cent compared to 8.2 per cent). The situation had greatly altered by 1971, when the child population was a little less than twice the size of the population of senior citizens (20.6 per cent compared to 11.6 per cent). In 1981 Jewish children and Jewish senior citizens showed a near equality, both in absolute terms and as percentages of the total Jewish population; the child population was just under 18 per cent, while senior citizens accounted for over 16 per cent. By now, Jewish senior citizens no doubt outnumber Jewish children.

**Conclusion**

There is no gainsaying the fact that the "climate" for fertility in Canada—both general and Jewish—is now decidedly negative. (Orthodox Jews, however, are an exception.) The North American "baby bust" of recent decades has created an atmosphere in which people who might otherwise be inclined to have a large family hesitate to do so, because having more than two or three children has

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Canadian Population</td>
<td>18,238,250</td>
<td>21,568,300</td>
<td>24,343,200</td>
<td>25,430,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Jewish Population</td>
<td>254,350</td>
<td>276,000</td>
<td>296,400</td>
<td>304,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Part Of All Canada</td>
<td>1.39 Per Cent</td>
<td>1.28 Per Cent</td>
<td>1.22 Per Cent</td>
<td>1.20 Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Canada Child Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 0–14</td>
<td>6,191,900</td>
<td>6,378,800</td>
<td>5,477,200</td>
<td>5,117,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Part Of Canadian Population</td>
<td>34.0 Per Cent</td>
<td>29.6 Per Cent</td>
<td>22.5 Per Cent</td>
<td>20.1 Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Child Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 0–14</td>
<td>70,300</td>
<td>56,800</td>
<td>53,100</td>
<td>52,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Part Of All Jews</td>
<td>27.6 Per Cent</td>
<td>20.6 Per Cent</td>
<td>17.9 Per Cent</td>
<td>17.1 Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Senior Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged 65 And Over</td>
<td>20,850</td>
<td>32,500</td>
<td>48,700</td>
<td>56,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Part Of All Jews</td>
<td>8.2 Per Cent</td>
<td>11.8 Per Cent</td>
<td>16.4 Per Cent</td>
<td>18.4 Per Cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


become deviant. Given this situation, there is no reason to expect any reversal of the established Canadian Jewish fertility pattern of today, at least in the near future.⁶

LEO DAVIDS

Western Europe

Great Britain

National Affairs

The dominant event of 1983 was the general election in June, which gave the Conservatives an overall majority of 144 seats. The election results led to the immediate eclipse of Michael Foot as Labor leader and Roy Jenkins as head of the Liberal–Social Democratic alliance; Neil Kinnock took over as Labor head and David Owen as leader of the Social Democrats. The Conservative victory was attributable in part to a fall in the inflation rate; in May it stood at 3.7 per cent, the lowest figure in 15 years. The “Falklands factor” also contributed to the Conservative win, in that the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher appeared resolute in the pursuit of its aims. Finally, the Conservative victory owed something to disunity in Labor’s ranks.

The extreme right-wing parties fielded about 66 per cent fewer candidates in 1983 than in 1979; there were 59 National Front (NF) candidates, 53 British National party candidates (this party had broken away from the NF in 1980), and 14 candidates belonging to other right-wing groups. The extreme-left Workers’ Revolutionary party fielded 21 candidates. In October Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced plans to raise the electoral deposit to an “acceptable minimum,” thus making it more difficult for extremist candidates to run for office.

A report issued in October by the national advisory committee of the Young Conservatives maintained that “extreme and racist forces are at work inside the Conservative party.” Despite this, however, Jacob Gewirtz, director of the Board of Deputies of British Jews’ defense and group relations department, indicated in December that in recent years the focus of antisemitism in Britain had shifted dramatically from the extreme right to the extreme left. The NF had become seriously fragmented since its massive defeat in the 1979 election. On the other hand, extreme left-wing elements had successfully infiltrated the Labor party. Particularly disturbing was the close working relationship between leading figures in the Greater London Council (GLC) and the anti-Zionist Workers’ Revolutionary party.

The Holocaust Memorial Garden, consecrated in London’s Hyde Park in June, was vandalized in August and September. Other attacks against Jewish property in Britain, particularly cemeteries, occurred sporadically throughout the year. In
August the Jewish community was warned to be on guard following an explosion at Bank Leumi's central London office.

In 1983, 28 Jews were elected to Parliament—compared to 32 in 1979—including a record 17 from the Conservative party. Nigel Lawson became the first Jew appointed chancellor of the exchequer; Leon Brittan was named home secretary; Sir Keith Joseph received the post of secretary of state for education and science.

The number of work days lost through strikes was the lowest in Britain since 1976. On the other hand, levels of productivity, employment, and manufacturing failed to show gains.

**Relations with Israel**

British efforts to play an active role in Middle East peace-making continued in 1983. Prime Minister Thatcher affirmed the government's determination to work for a comprehensive peace settlement based on the two principles of the June 1980 Venice declaration of the European Economic Community (EEC): existence and security for all states in the region, including Israel; and justice—involving self-determination—for the Palestinians.

A breach in British-Arab relations was healed when the delayed visit of an Arab delegation, including Palestinian spokesman Walid Khalidi, took place in March, and Foreign Secretary Francis Pym traveled to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in April. Following the visit by the Arab delegation, Pym told the House of Commons: "We have encouraged King Hussein and the PLO to reach agreement on a joint approach to negotiations, and have urged Israel to reconsider its rejection of President Reagan's proposals." Yoav Biran, chargé d'affaires at Israel's London embassy, rejected any suggestion—implied in the statements of British officials—that Israel, rather than the Arabs, was obstructing Middle East peace efforts.

In April Israel formally protested to Britain about a meeting in Tunis between Minister of State Douglas Hurd and Farouk Kaddoumi, chief of the PLO's political department. The foreign office explained this departure from government policy, whereby contacts with the PLO were to be limited to low-level officials, by arguing that the PLO had a crucial role to play in creating conditions that would permit King Hussein and the Palestinians to enter into negotiations with Israel on the basis of the Reagan plan.

In July Britain welcomed Israel's decision to redeploy its forces in Lebanon, seeing this as a first step toward complete withdrawal. The foreign office warned that a de facto partition of Lebanon "should be avoided at all costs," since this would "undermine the stability of the region." In August Britain was one of 13 United Nations security council members to vote for an Arab-sponsored resolution—vetoed by the United States—censuring Israel for its West Bank settlement policy and calling for the dismantling of existing settlements.

In November Prime Minister Thatcher described a series of attacks on Israeli, French, and American installations in Lebanon as "terrorist atrocities of appalling
proportions." Still, the foreign office deplored "in the strongest possible terms" an Israeli retaliatory raid.

In September Britain and eight other EEC countries sent observers to the United Nations conference on Palestine in Geneva. In October Minister of State Richard Luce visited Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. In November it was announced that Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh would visit Jordan in spring 1984. In December notice was given that Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe would go to Egypt and Saudi Arabia in the new year.

In December Prime Minister Thatcher told Parliament that the British contingent in the multi-national, peace-keeping force in Lebanon would not be withdrawn unilaterally.

The Labor party's election manifesto supported both the right of Israel to live in peace and security and the right of Palestinians to self-determination, including the establishment of a state. In December it was announced that Labor leader Kinnock would visit Israel in 1984.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

**Demography**

In March an interim report issued by the Board of Deputies research unit estimated the size of Anglo-Jewry in 1975–1979 as 354,000, plus or minus 32,000. This compared with a figure of 410,000 in 1960–1965. In November the research unit's final report, published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, lowered the Jewish population estimate to 336,000, plus or minus 34,000. Nearly two-thirds of all British Jews lived in the London area.

Statistics on synagogue marriages in 1982, published by the research unit in July, indicated a new low for the century—1,110—compared to 1,180 in 1981, and an average of 1,275 in the five-year period 1977–1981. Marriages in the modern-Orthodox sector declined most sharply; there were 750 such marriages in 1982, compared to 818 in 1981 and an average of 872 in the five-year period 1977–1981. Burials and cremations under Jewish religious auspices rose to 4,846 in 1982, compared to 4,654 in 1981 and an average of 4,751 during the five-year period 1977–1981. A greater proportion of marriages than deaths in London—72 per cent of all marriages, 66 per cent of all burials—suggested that younger Jews were moving there.

**Communal Activities**

In November plans were announced for a major study of charitable giving to Jewish causes in Britain. This followed critical comments by Ellis Birk, new Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) chairman, who pointed to the disparity in the amount of
money raised for Israel in 1982 (some £16 million) and that raised for the JWB (£500,000). The percentage of the JWB budget provided by the Jewish community had been steadily decreasing, and currently stood at only 12 per cent. Much of the JWB's work was funded by local government authorities.

Cutbacks in government services led the JWB to give priority attention to two groups—the elderly and the mentally ill. The JWB operated 13 homes for 500 people and four day centers which served about 600 clients; it also organized numerous support services. In July it was announced that the JWB would cooperate with the North London Hospice in caring for the terminally ill—the first JWB project in the general community.

In May the Jewish Blind Society (JBS) offered to provide the Jewish Deaf Association with social work facilities for its clients. In June the JBS announced plans for a new £850,000 home in North West London that would serve 360 elderly Jews who were visually handicapped.

In January the Jewish Society for the Mentally Handicapped sponsored a community project for low-ability youths. The funds for the project were provided by the government's manpower services commission, which in March approved a £100,000 grant to build a residential home for mentally handicapped adults in Stanmore, Middlesex. In June Ravenswood Village, Berkshire held a workshop on the use of microcomputers in aiding the mentally handicapped.

In January the Alexander Margulies Youth Center, built in North West London by the Bachad Fellowship, was formally opened. In October Prince Philip opened the £7 million Birchland extension of Nightingale House, the home for the aged. This made Nightingale House the largest facility of its kind in Britain and the largest Jewish home in Europe.

In October an action-research program was begun, with the aim of lessening the hardships caused by marital breakdown. This had become a significant problem on the Anglo-Jewish scene, according to Jack Wolkind, chairman of a conference on divorce that was sponsored by the West Central Community Development Center in May.

**Zionism and Israel**

In June, after months of speculation, Yehuda Avner was named Israel's new ambassador to Britain. In July Prime Minister Thatcher attended a dinner launching a campaign to establish two professorial chairs at Israeli universities in honor of Avner's predecessor, Shlomo Argov, who was gravely injured by terrorists in London in 1982.

In April the National Zionist Council of Great Britain and Ireland (NZC) and the Zionist Federation (ZF) protested the Hurd-Kaddoumi meeting; the Board of Deputies saw in the meeting a "shocking reversal of government policy." The Board of Deputies, the ZF, and other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations made a concerted effort to counter what they regarded as a growing pro-Arab bias in Britain's Middle East policy.
In December the Board of Deputies questioned the advisability of Queen Elizabeth’s projected visit to Jordan, suggesting instead that she visit Israel.

In September Michael Fidler, director of Conservative Friends of Israel, indicated that his group’s 218 members constituted the largest pro-Israel faction in Parliament. In July a Trades Union Friends of Israel group was formally launched in response to a spate of anti-Israel resolutions that had been passed by a number of unions.

In March dissatisfaction with the organizational structure of the Zionist movement in Britain led the General Zionist Organization and Herut to leave the ZF. The two organizations joined with the Mizrachi in forming a new umbrella organization, the NZC. At the same time, the United Zionists, a non-party movement, reaffirmed its support of the ZF. In June a delegation belonging to the World Sephardi Organization attended the ZF biennial conference for the first time. In August the NZC asked the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem to either freeze all funding to the competing British Zionist federations or equalize funding between them. In the same month, the Board of Deputies Zionist group issued a strong appeal for the reunification of the Zionist movement in Britain.

In November, at the Jewish National Fund’s London conference, plans were announced for a new £500,000 agricultural project in the Galilee.

In February the ZF launched a new campaign to promote emigration to Israel. The World Zionist Organization announced that aliyah from Britain and Ireland was up by 30 per cent in 1982, with a record 1,256 individuals departing for the Jewish state.

Soviet Jewry

The Greater London Council angered Soviet Jewry supporters twice during the year: in February when an exhibition, “60 Years of the USSR,” sponsored by the British-Soviet Friendship Society, was held in London’s Royal Festival Hall; and in July when a Soviet delegation, including the mayor of Moscow, visited Britain at the invitation of Greater London Council leader Ken Livingstone. Protests were mounted by the 35’s, the Women’s Campaign for Soviet Jewry, Concerned Jewish Youth, and other groups. The House of Commons condemned the Soviet delegation’s visit as “an insult to the plight of Jewish people in the Soviet Union.”

Campaigns for Soviet Jewry took place throughout the country. In June a demonstration was directed against a visiting delegation from Donetsk, Sheffield’s twin city. In August the Bournemouth B’nai B’rith Youth Organization mounted an effort on behalf of refusenik Iosif Begun. In November members of the Brighton and Hove Committee for Soviet Jewry protested a Soviet art-book exhibition at Brighton’s central library. In December the Greater Manchester Council passed a unanimous resolution denouncing the denial of basic rights to Soviet Jews.

A London rally on behalf of Anatoly Shcharansky, planned for March, was cancelled as a result of false hopes of his early release. In October a major march
for Soviet Jewry took place in the city, with more than 7,000 people from all over Britain participating.

In February Foreign Secretary Pym summoned the Soviet ambassador to appeal for Shcharansky's release on humanitarian grounds. In March both Prime Minister Thatcher and Labor leader Foot sent messages of support to the British delegation attending the Third International Conference on Soviet Jewry in Jerusalem.

**Religion**

Eighty-eight per cent of Britain's Jews, residing in 109,426 households, belonged to synagogues, according to *Synagogue Membership in the UK 1983*, published in December by the Board of Deputies research unit. These figures, while seemingly high, in fact fell short of previous totals. There was also a decline in the number of congregations—down from 351 in 1977 to 328 in 1983—due to the merging or closing of synagogues in areas of shrinking Jewish population. While the modern Orthodox element remained preeminent, claiming 70 per cent of all male synagogue members, it experienced the sharpest rate of decline. The traditionalist Orthodox and Reform groupings grew substantially between 1977 and 1983.

In June the United Synagogue (US) decided to close the Putney and Wimbledon synagogue due to dwindling membership. The US also approved the sale of the Brixton and Streatham synagogues, which amalgamated to form the South London synagogue. Membership fell at the Hendon and Wembley synagogues and rose at the Stanmore, Canons Park, Pinner, Boreham Wood-Elstree, and Bushey synagogues.

A scholarship program, aimed at drawing talented individuals into the rabbinate, was established in March by the Stanley Kalms Charitable Foundation.

In August the youth and community department of the US announced plans to create a careers structure for youth workers, beginning with the appointment of a youth officer.

In December a 7.5 per cent surcharge on membership was approved by the US council. This was intended to cover various financial outlays, including proposed salary increases for the clergy. The Council of the Federation of Synagogues also increased membership contributions—in this case by 25 per cent.

While exploratory talks were held in March to effect a reconciliation between the kashrut authorities of the US and the Federation of Synagogues, in December the Federation's executive council decided to initiate its own shechita activities. Kashrut supervision by the Federation of Synagogues expanded in 1982; under the aegis of its beth din, the Federation supervised 365 functions and granted licenses for the manufacture of numerous food products.

A decision by the board of elders of London's Spanish and Portuguese Congregation to remove Rabbi Pinchas Toledano as head of the beth din was rescinded in December. Rabbi Abraham Levy, the communal rabbi, was also appointed spiritual head of the London congregation.
In September the London beth din decreed that marriages and conversions performed by Rabbi Louis Jacobs of the break-away New London Synagogue lacked validity under Jewish law.

In December the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain approved a resolution to hold talks with the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues aimed at forming a single synagogal association.

**Jewish Education**

According to the *Jewish Educational Year Book*, published in September, Jewish day school enrollment stood at 12,600 in 1982, up 1,000 over the 1981 figure. Approximately 23 per cent of all Anglo-Jewish children attended day schools. Edward Conway, consultant to the Jewish Educational Development Trust, indicated that newly established day schools were attracting substantial numbers of students.

In December the London Board of Jewish Religious Education raised the salaries of teachers in part-time religion classes and regional centers by 25 per cent.

In September Philip Skelker became headmaster at Carmel College, Britain’s only Jewish public school. Skelker replaced Rabbi Jeremy Rosen, who assumed responsibility for developing ties between Carmel College and the wider Jewish community.

In October it was announced that a new £750,000 Jews’ College building would open in Hendon, London in 1984. Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits became acting principal of Jews’ College in the wake of the departure for Israel of Rabbi Nahum Rabinovitch. Jakobovits split the leadership of the school between Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, head of rabbinic studies, and Irving Jacobs, head of academic studies. Jews’ College opened the 1983 academic year with 48 full- and part-time students.

A new £250,000 student residential center opened in London’s Bloomsbury section in September, named in memory of former Hillel chairman J.C. Gilbert. In July a commission recommended that Hillel House, London be sold.

In March the Oxford Center for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies and the Hebrew University, Jerusalem established two joint-fellowship programs in modern Jewish history. In May, Oxford University agreed to allow an option in Yiddish literature as part of the work toward a bachelor degree—a historic first for a British school.

In April Rabbi Norman Solomon was appointed lecturer at a new center for the study of Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations established at Quaker-run Selly Oak College, Birmingham.

**Publications**

The £3,000 Harold H. Wingate Prize for a book of broad Jewish interest was shared by Israeli president Chaim Herzog (*The Arab-Israeli Wars*) and Chaim Raphael (*The Springs of Jewish Life*).

Biographical and autobiographical works published during the year included *And Nothing but the Truth* by Roman Alan King-Hamilton; *The Brothers Singer* by
Clive Sinclair; *The Blessing of Eliyahu*, part biography, part festschrift in honor of Rabbi Eli Munk; and two Rothschild studies, *Dear Lord Rothschild: Birds, Butterflies and History* by Miriam Rothschild and *Baron James: The Rise of the French Rothschilds* by Anka Muhlstein.

Among historical works were *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870–1939* by Edward J. Bristow; *From the Wilhelminian Era to the Third Reich*, edited by Arnold Paucker; *Atlas of the Holocaust* by Martin Gilbert; and *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880–1914* by Joseph Buckman.

Books about the Middle East and Zionism included *Between Battles and Ballots: A Study of the Relationship Between Israeli Governments and the Military Establishment* by Yoram Perl; *An Ambassador Speaks Out* by Shlomo Argov; *Final Conflict* by John Bulloch; *Lebanon: The Fractured Country* by David Gilmour; and *The Essential Chaim Weizmann*, extracts from articles, speeches, and letters, selected by Barnett Litvinoff.

Among literary studies were *Heine’s Jewish Comedy: A Study of His Portraits of Jews and Judaism* by S.S. Prawer; *Problems of Jewish Writing Today: Jewish Writing and Identity in the Twentieth Century* by Leor Yudkin; *Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century*, edited and translated by Timothy Oelman; and *A Strong Dose of Myself*, a collection of autobiographical papers, essays, and lectures by poet Dannie Abse.

Fiction included *The House of Women* by Chaim Bermant; *Coming from Behind* by Howard Jacobson; *Falls the Shadow* by Emanuel Litvinoff; *Brothers* by Bernice Rubens; and *Pilgermann* by Russell Hoban.

An important study was *The Jewish Community in British Politics* by Geoffrey Alderman.

**Personalia**

Joel Barnett, chief secretary to the treasury in the last labor government, was made a life peer. Knighthood was conferred on Abraham Goldberg, Regius professor of medicine at Glasgow University; Leslie Porter, chairman of Tesco Stores; and Alfred Sherman, director of the Center for Policy Studies, the Conservative thinktank. Stuart Young was appointed chairman of the BBC. Sir Zelman Cowen was named chairman of the Press Council.

British Jews who died in 1983 included Avrohom Stencel, Yiddish poet, essayist, and journalist, in January, aged 85; Tessie Cohen, honorary vice-president of the Federation of Women Zionists, in January; Joseph Leftwich, Yiddishist, poet, translator, and journalist, in February, aged 90; Phyllis Jacobs, co-chairman of Jewish Child’s Day from its inception until 1963, in February; Peter Nidditch, professor of philosophy at Sheffield University, in February, aged 54; Dora Margulies, communal worker, in February, aged 74; Meyer Fortes, emeritus William Wyse professor of social anthropology at Cambridge University, in February, aged 76; Samuel
Jenkins, chemist and water purification expert, in February, aged 81; Polly Goldstein, vice-president and founder of Children and Youth Aliyah of Great Britain, in February; Martin Lawrence, singer and musical director, in March, aged 73; Alexander Gordon, Zionist and communal worker, in March, aged 83; Arthur Koestler, writer and leading intellectual, in March, aged 77; Yasha Shapiro, aeronautical engineer, in April, aged 71; Dolf Rieser, scientist, artist, and teacher, in April, aged 84; Lenore Goldschmidt, educator, in April, aged 85; Simon Perbohner, industrial chemist, in April, aged 86; Harry Titchener, youth-service leader, in May, aged 82; Maurice Sumray, Leeds Zionist leader, in May; Mac Goldsmith, engineer, philanthropist, and Leicester communal figure, in May, aged 80; Tessie Kleeman-Jacobs, Youth Aliyah worker, in May; Jack Rubie, pediatrician, in May, aged 68; Emanuel Wax, lawyer and man of the theater, in May, aged 71; Walter Paget, historian of science and medicine, in June, aged 84; Michael Katanka, authority on antiquarian books, in June, aged 61; Margery Weiner, writer, in June; Berenice Sydney (nee Frieze), artist, in July, aged 38; Leon Joseph, footballer, in July, aged 63; Philip Zec, political cartoonist and journalist, in July, aged 73; Eric Kann, chemist, in August, aged 81; Eli Gottlieb, property developer and philanthropist, in August, aged 59; Lady Susan Elizabeth Karminski, communal worker, in August, aged 79; Alexander Easterman, Zionist leader and journalist, in August, aged 92; Morris Swift, senior dayan of the London Beth Din, in September, aged 76; Celia Sevitt, artist, in September, aged 67; David Toff, music publisher and manager, in October, aged 81; Sam Goldberg, Yiddish actor and singer, in October, aged 86; Leonard Schapiro, professor of political science at London University and leading expert on Soviet affairs, in November, aged 75; Young Johnny Brown of St. George's, boxer, in November, aged 78; Alfred Woolf, former United Synagogue president, in December, aged 86; David Jaques, entomologist, in December, aged 77; Henry Inlander, expressionist painter, in December, aged 58; and Jack Harris Barnett, communal worker and journalist, in December, aged 57.

LIONEL AND MIRIAM KOCHAN
France

National Affairs

IN 1983 THERE WAS deepening disillusionment with the Socialist government of President François Mitterrand, disillusionment that extended even to people on the left. Inflation and unemployment rose to crisis levels—more than two million people were out of work. In factories, work stoppages were directed by the powerful Confédération Générale de Travail (CGT, General Confederation of Labor), whose top leaders held equally important posts in the Communist party. Protests by the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT, French Workers Democratic Confederation) often outdid those of the Communists.

During the year, the franc was devalued for the third time. The government's austerity program, designed to reduce the budget deficit by about 20 billion francs ($2.5 billion), included such things as an increase in the tax on fuels, a compulsory loan to the government, reduction in the amount of money tourists could take out of the country, and advance withholding of one per cent of taxable income.

Political debate centered on the school issue. Government proposals to license teachers in the free—i.e., non-government, largely parochial—schools, were rejected by Catholics, who conducted several protest actions. Jewish groups, wishing to protect the independence of Jewish religious schools, had no choice but to align themselves—to their embarrassment—with elements on the right.

The two rounds of municipal elections that were held on March 6 and March 13 resulted in clear losses for the government majority. In 31 cities, all with populations of more than 30,000, the opposition took power, with the Communists suffering the greatest losses.

While the reunited parties of the right—the Rassemblement du Peuple Républicain (RDR, Rally for the Republic) and Union pour la Démocratie Française (UDF, Union for Democracy in France)—sharply attacked President Mitterrand’s domestic policy, they generally approved of the direction of his foreign policy. Indeed, Mitterrand’s conduct of foreign affairs, emphasizing independent decision-making by France, could well be described as Gaullist. Mitterrand’s attitude toward the Soviet Union and its satellites was much firmer than that of his predecessor, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. During an official visit to Belgium in October, Mitterrand sharply criticized the neo-pacifist campaign in Europe, pointing out that “pacifism is in the West, Euromissiles in the East.”

On April 5, France expelled 47 employees of the Soviet embassy who were involved in industrial espionage. Contrary to expectations, Moscow did not take any retaliatory measures, contenting itself with verbal protests.
French Middle East policy remained extremely cautious, with an attempt being made to preserve good relations with the Arab countries, while also taking Israeli sensibilities into account. An official visit to Paris by PLO chief Yasir Arafat—an event eagerly awaited by pro-Palestinian elements and adamantly opposed in Jewish circles—did not take place, although it could not be ruled out as a future possibility.

In Beirut, on October 23, the headquarters of a company of French paratroopers was destroyed in a truck-bomb suicide attack, leaving 58 dead. In retaliation, French planes raided the training camp of a pro-Iranian Shi'ite militia near Baalbek on November 17. The results of the action, however, were not known.

Paris played an active role as an intermediary in the exchange of 4,500 Palestinian prisoners held in Israel for six Israeli soldiers captured by the PLO in Lebanon.

On December 20, PLO chief Arafat and 4,000 Palestinian fighters, under siege by Syrian-backed dissidents, left Tripoli in Greek ships under the protection of the French navy.

**The Barbie Affair**

Klaus Barbie, the notorious Nazi war criminal, was returned to France on February 8. As the head of the Gestapo in Lyon during World War II, he had been responsible for the deportation of many Jews, including children. Barbie had been living comfortably in Bolivia for many years, since that South American country refused to extradite him. Finally, he was brought back to the scene of his crimes through a procedural artifice: Bolivia, having once again turned down a request for Barbie's extradition, agreed to his "expulsion." The principal charge against Barbie—that he murdered French resistance leader Jean Moulin—had to be dropped because the statute of limitations had run out. However, he still stood to be punished for his actions against Jews, which were categorized as "crimes against humanity," and thus were not linked to any statute of limitations.

Because of the length of the examining magistrate's preliminary investigation, it was not known, at the end of 1983, when Barbie would be tried. Media coverage of the Barbie affair served to make the younger generation aware of the extent of the Nazi reign of terror in France. Barbie's choice of Jean Vergès—a leftist lawyer who had defended Algerian FLN militants some years ago—as his defense counsel held out the promise of a stormy trial.

**Antisemitism**

While there were many racist occurrences in France in 1983—most being attributable to the fallout of the economic crisis—antisemitic incidents were relatively few in number.

A number of extreme-right journals ran a hate campaign against Minister of Justice Robert Badinter, a Jew, who sought to liberalize the French prison system. Another target of the extreme right was Simone Veil, the second leading figure in
the RDR opposition. There was special sensitivity to the attacks on Veil because she was a Holocaust survivor who—more so than any other French politician of Jewish origin—openly proclaimed her ties to the Jewish community.

Antisemitism intruded into the political campaign, most especially in the precipitous rise to prominence of extreme-right agitator Jean-Marie Le Pen. While Le Pen, who had played a conspicuous role in the neo-Fascist Poujadist movement of earlier years, maintained that he opposed racism and antisemitism, people in his entourage did not hesitate to use anti-Jewish arguments in lashing out against immigrants and other non-native groups. Both the pro-Zionist Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme (LICRA, International League Against Racism and Antisemitism) and the pro-Communist Mouvement Contre le Racisme et Pour l'Amitié des Peuples (MRAP, Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples) took up the cudgels against Le Pen and his followers. On occasion the two organizations—which were usually rivals—joined in court actions against racist activities. However, while the LICRA fought against anti-immigrant racism even when it had nothing to do with antisemitism, the MRAP was unwilling to protest anti-Israel activities of any sort, even those that were clearly antisemitic in nature. For obvious reasons, the MRAP was also silent about the situation of Soviet Jewry.

The LICRA's most intense efforts, which had broad support in the Jewish community, aimed at assisting refuseniks and other victims of official Soviet antisemitism. The organization sponsored demonstrations, collected signatures on petitions, mailed packages to refusenik families, and counseled travelers to the Soviet Union about how to make contact with Jews there. Regrettably, the general public in France remained indifferent to the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Liberation, the leftist daily, published without comment a letter from a reader that was a veritable incitement to a pogrom. The LICRA took the letter writer to court, and he was convicted and fined.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of France was estimated to be 530,000. Leading Jewish population centers were Paris, Marseilles, Nice, Lyon, and Toulouse.

Communal Activities

Jews appeared to be less affected by France's economic crisis than other Frenchmen, since they participated only in a limited way in heavy industry, where cuts in production and worker layoffs were most pronounced. Still, many Jewish "repatriates" from North Africa were vulnerable to job losses on a last hired-first fired basis.
While the devaluation of the franc took a considerable toll on the real value of the funds that French Jewry raised for Israel in 1983, the amount did not decrease in absolute terms.

The chief negative factor in French Jewish life was the limited participation of Jews in communal affairs—the great majority did not belong to any Jewish organization. The Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF, Representative Council of French Jewry) encompassed a broad range of religious, cultural, and political groups, including the Communists. Under the leadership of Théo Klein, the CRIF provided important support for the State of Israel and Soviet Jewry. The leadership of the Fond Social Juif Unifié (FSJU, United Jewish Philanthropic Fund) underwent significant changes, with younger people assuming positions of power. Seeking to combat assimilation and dejudaization, the FSJU focused its attention on cultural matters.

Henri Hajdenberg’s Renouveau Juif (Jewish Renewal) movement—which had broken with the policy of political neutrality of the older, established Jewish organizations, and conducted a vigorous campaign to “vote sanctions” against the former Giscard d’Estaing government—failed to acquire sufficient influence with President Mitterand and his advisors to bring about any real change in France’s position on the Arab-Israeli conflict. As a result, Renouveau Juif lost some of its “revolutionary” character, and gradually began to align itself with the mainstream Jewish organizations.

Among Zionist youth groups, only the Zionist-Marxist Hashomer Hatzair on the far left and the pro-Likud Betar on the far right showed signs of vitality.

Young Lubavitcher hasidim, consisting mainly of immigrants from North Africa, were intensely active as neighborhood proselytizers. While they enjoyed much sympathy among the masses of Jews, they were less appreciated by the leaders of the community, who looked askance at the Lubaviters’ flamboyant propaganda techniques and thinly veiled opposition to the Consistory’s rather lusterless Orthodoxy.

**Jewish Culture**

Adam Loos, a leader of the FSJU, became the director of *L’Arche (The Ark)*, the leading Jewish magazine in France. Jean-Luc Allouche was forced to resign as associate editor of *L’Arche* when it became known that he had sent a message of solidarity on the magazine’s stationery to the director of *Libération*.

The opening of the air waves to private-sector broadcasting encouraged the development of programs with Jewish content. Two Jewish radio stations in Paris—“Communaute” and “Chalom”—worked closely together, alternating programs. In the main regional centers—Lyon, Marseille, Nice, Toulouse, Lille—Jewish radio programming functioned independently of Paris. While liturgical music and Yiddish popular songs were heard and appreciated everywhere, serious discussions of ideas were rare.
“Écoute Israel” (“Hear, O Israel”), the Consistory’s religious-oriented radio program, directed by Victor Malka, continued to be broadcast each Sunday morning. Rabbi Josy Eisenberg’s television program was also maintained.

The Centre Universitaire d’Études Juives (University Center for Jewish Studies) in Paris was authorized to grant graduate degrees.

The Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France (Federation of Jewish Organizations in France), which for many years served as the umbrella agency for groups with an East European membership, was renamed the Cercle Jefroykin (Jefroykin Club). Under its new name, it sought to disseminate Yiddish culture among the children and grandchildren of earlier immigrants.

Jack Lang, the French minister of culture, who was Jewish, indicated his intention to encourage the spread of Jewish culture. This was the first time that a government official—Jewish or other—had taken such a position.

**Publications**

Raymond Aron’s *Mémoires* made a very strong impression on the French public, even becoming a best-seller—a rare success for a work of such quality and seriousness. This was the last book that the great political scientist, historian, and journalist published before his death. Among other things, Aron explained the nature of his ties to the Jewish world, especially his pro-Israel position.

*Vie et destin* (“Life and Destiny,” Julliard), by Vasili Grossman, a Russian author unknown in France at the time of his death in 1964, captures the despair of an old Bolshevik who has become disillusioned with Communism.

In Marek Halter’s novel *Le fils d’Abraham* (“The Son of Abraham,” Laffont), the author imaginatively reconstructs his own genealogical history, moving through time and space with his ancestors.

While rumor had it that Elie Wiesel’s most recent fictional work, *Le cinquième fils* (“The Fifth Son,” Grasset), would win the 1983 Goncourt Prize, it did not. However, Wiesel was showered with other distinctions, including the Legion of Honor medal. He also enjoyed the friendship of President Mitterrand. All in all, it was clear that Wiesel had truly “arrived” in France.

In Jean-Luc Allouche’s first novel, the autobiographical *Les jours innocents* (“Innocent Days,” Lieu Commun), the author exhibits both a fine literary style and keen knowledge of things Jewish.

**Personalia**

On October 17 Raymond Aron died in Paris at the age of 80. Aron was a professor at the Sorbonne, a columnist for *Le Figaro* and *L’Express*, and the author of numerous works on politics and history, the most famous being *The Opium of the Intellectuals*. As a young man, Aron had studied at the elite École Normale Supérieure, where he was a classmate and friend of Jean-Paul Sartre. Because Aron
opposed the revolutionary mythology of the left, he was mistakenly classified as a
man of the right. In fact, however, he was a true liberal. Aron initially had serious
reservations about the State of Israel, but he assumed an openly pro-Israel stance
during the Six Day War. In his later years, he participated in numerous demonstra-
tions on behalf of the Jewish state and was awarded an honorary doctorate by the
Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

ARNOLD MANDEL
IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE, 1981 and 1982 saw growing problems for the government coalition consisting of the Social Democratic party (SPD) and the Free Democratic party (FDP). Finally, on October 1, 1982, the government fell in a no-confidence vote—the first time this had occurred in the post-World War II period. The new coalition that assumed office was made up of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU), with the participation of the FDP; Chancellor Helmut Kohl headed the new coalition.

There was a further decline in the economy in 1983—1981 and 1982 had been marked by economic recession—although the situation began to stabilize toward the end of the year. The change of government was confirmed by the public in the general elections held on March 6, 1983: the CDU-CSU won 48.8 per cent of the vote; the SPD 38.2 per cent; and the FDP 7.0 per cent, just narrowly escaping elimination from the Bundestag. The Greens, a party supported by a variety of environmentalist and pacifist groups, entered the federal parliament for the first time, having won 5.6 per cent of the vote. One of the leading representatives of the Greens, Werner Vogel, returned his mandate after an internal party dispute concerning his Nazi past.

The peace movement and the Greens, often seconded by the SPD, were extremely critical of the policy of Western military strength advocated by the Reagan administration in Washington. More than half a million people participated in a series of peaceful demonstrations against nuclear weapons in October. Nonetheless, in November, the federal parliament, after a heated debate, approved the stationing of additional U.S. medium-range missiles on West German territory.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's advent to power, Chancellor Kohl underscored the need for a rigorous defense of tolerance and democratic freedom, particularly on the part of Germans. News media were filled with stories about the Nazi era; there were special public gatherings and seminars. Students in West German schools were provided with detailed information and critical analyses relating to various aspects of Nazism.
In May 1983 the federal ministry of domestic affairs branded as a forgery alleged Hitler diaries that were published in *Stern*, the weekly magazine. Konrad Kujau, a West German dealer in Nazi and military paraphernalia, confessed to the crime; his accomplice was *Stern* reporter Gerd Heidemann.

**Extremism**

As in the past, government agencies, in the period 1981–1983, stressed that neither right-wing nor left-wing extremism constituted a serious threat to the democratic order in the Federal Republic. This claim was put forward despite a sharp increase in the number of acts of violence. Moreover, while neo-Nazi activities clearly accelerated, government agencies were convinced that left-wing terrorists, such as those organized in the Revolutionäre Zellen (RZ, Revolutionary Cells), represented a greater threat to society. There were 129 left-wing terrorist acts in 1981; 183 in 1982; and 215 in 1983. Some 175 left-wing extremist organizations existed, with a total membership of 61,000. The RZ, in particular, pursued a policy of “armed resistance” with growing intensity; the group was responsible for the murder of Hesse minister of state Heinz-Herbert Karry, as well as acts of sabotage against U.S. installations.

Government agencies differentiated between two types of ultra-right groups: extremists and neo-Nazis. The former opposed the democratic order on the basis of racial-nationalist ideology, while the latter derived their program directly from Nazism. In 1981 the authorities recorded a total of 1,824 illegal acts by right-wing extremists, including 328 with antisemitic motives; the corresponding figures for 1982 were 2,475 and 479; in 1983 the figures were 2,169 and 405. Neo-Nazi terrorist acts numbered 17 in 1982 and 11 in 1983.

At the end of 1983, there were 52 right-wing extremist groups, with a total membership of around 18,000. Some 1,130 individuals—most of them under the age of 30—belonged to 16 neo-Nazi groups; there were an additional 270 neo-Nazi activists who operated independently. The largest ultra-right group, Gerhard Frey’s Deutsche Volkswunion (German People’s Union), had a membership of over 11,000; the National Democratic party (NPD) had dwindled to around 6,000 members. There were 45 ultra-right publishing houses and book mailing services. Frey’s *Deutsche National-Zeitung*, with a circulation of over 100,000, was the largest ultra-right publication; indeed, it was one of the largest national weekly newspapers appearing in the Federal Republic.

The two most militant right-wing extremist groups were the Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten (ANS, Action Front of National Socialists), led by Michael Kühnen, and the Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands (VSBD, People’s Socialist Movement in Germany) headed by Friedhelm Busse; they were outlawed by the federal interior ministry in 1982 and 1983, respectively. Other militant groups included the Aktion Ausländerrückführung-Volksbewegung gegen Überfremdung and Umweltzerstörung (Action Group for the Return of Foreign Citizens-People’s Movement Against Foreignization and Environmental Destruction), outlawed
in December 1983, and Bürger- und Bauerninitiative (the Citizens and Farmers Initiative). Among ultra-right youth groups were the Wiking-Jugend (Viking Youth), the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (Union of Patriotic Youth), the Junge Nationaldemokraten (Young National Democrats), and the Deutsche Arbeiter-Jugend (German Labor Youth).

The Hilfsorganisation für Nationale Politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige (HNG, the Organization in Aid of National Political Prisoners and Their Families) was an integrative factor on the neo-Nazi scene and at the same time served as a liaison for contacts with neo-Nazi elements abroad. The HNG had particularly close ties to neo-Nazi groups in France and Spain. Fueling the propaganda efforts of neo-Nazis in the Federal Republic were hate materials supplied by Ernst Zündel’s Samisdat Publishers (Canada), George Dietz’s White Power Publications and Gary Lauck’s NSDAP/AO (United States), DNSU Forlag (Denmark), Courrier du Continent Publishers (Switzerland), and Ediciones Bausp (Spain).

Several members of the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann (Hoffmann Military Sports Group), as well as their leader, Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, were arrested and sentenced to prison. Hoffmann was also awaiting trial for his part in the murder of publisher Shlomo Lewin in Erlangen at the end of 1980. VSBD leader Busse received a 45-month prison term. Manfred Roeder, leader of the militant neo-Nazi Deutsche Aktionsgruppen (German Action Groups), and about a dozen of his followers were found guilty of a series of terrorist acts in which two persons were killed and several wounded; they were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 10 months to 13 years. Neo-Nazi activist Erwin Schönborn was sentenced to 32 months in prison for inciting hatred against Jews. Two other notorious neo-Nazi propagandists, Edgar Geiss and Thies Christophersen (the latter an ex-SS officer), were sentenced for the same offense.

Nazi SS veterans continued to hold rallies in various towns in the Federal Republic, but met with growing opposition from democratic elements. Some 100 former SS members and their families gathered in Bad Hersfeld in May 1983, following a heated public debate over the matter. The SS members were confronted by more than 8,000 demonstrators, who demanded the banning of all SS gatherings and the outlawing of SS veterans groups. Imo Moszkowicz, the stage director at the Bad Hersfeld theater festival and a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz, resigned his post in protest against the SS meeting; Ernst Ehrlich, European director of B’nai B’rith, congratulated Moszkowicz for his action. Democratic circles were critical of the fact that the umbrella organization of SS veterans’ groups in the Federal Republic, the Hilfsgemeinschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit der ehemaligen Waffen-SS (HIAG, Society for Mutual Aid Among Former Waffen-SS Members), was dropped from the list of unconstitutional groups. However, the government explained that there was no evidence that the HIAG’s activities had violated constitutional principles in recent years.

In September 1982 the SPD submitted a bill calling for intensified legal action against the importation of neo-Nazi materials and against public denial or minimization of Nazi crimes. The bill was rejected as incomplete by the upper house of the
federal parliament in October. While the SPD retabled the bill toward the very end of 1982, no action was taken on it during the whole of 1983.

Government agencies voiced alarm over the continued activities of extremist groups made up of foreigners living in the Federal Republic. At the end of 1983 there were 123 such groups, with a total membership of 114,000. Of particular concern to the Jewish community were 19 Arab extremist groups, with some 3,200 members in all. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon fueled a strong anti-Israel campaign that was led by two such groups—the Palestinian Workers Union and the Palestinian Students Union. In January 1982 a bomb exploded at Mifgash Israel, a Jewish restaurant in West Berlin, killing a baby and wounding 25 other people; the “Arab Organization of the Fifteenth of May” claimed responsibility. A group calling itself “Justice for Palestine” took responsibility for a bomb attack in the transit hall for passengers to Israel at Munich airport in July 1982; in September the same group claimed responsibility for explosions at several Frankfurt travel agencies that operated in Israel. Still another group, “Seventeenth of September Sabra and Shatilla Organization,” boasted of having murdered Israeli businessman Ephraim Halpern in Hamburg in September 1983.

**Antisemitism**

The quickening of neo-Nazi tendencies led to a sharp increase in manifestations of antisemitism. Neo-Nazi propaganda materials were filled with talk about the “Jewish-Zionist world conspiracy against the German people” and the “Auschwitz lie.”

Anti-Jewish sentiment came strongly to the fore as a result of developments in the Middle East, with German Jews being held responsible for Israeli actions. Gerhard Brandt, head of the Protestant church in Rhineland-Palatinate, warned in January 1983 that the Middle East situation was engendering antisemitism in the guise of anti-Zionism. The church leader expressed outrage at the equation of Israeli military moves with the Nazi “final solution.” In the Jewish community the view was widespread that many Germans had latched upon the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as a means of legitimating pre-existing anti-Jewish attitudes; what was latent had now become manifest.

Culminating four years of planning, a center for research on antisemitism was opened at the Technical University in West Berlin in 1982; German-born professor Herbert Strauss, a resident of New York, was appointed the director. The center cooperated with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the City University of New York in conducting its research activities. An international symposium on “antisemitism today” was organized by the center in September 1983.

Harm Menkens, a teacher at the Nautical College in Grünendeich, was dismissed from his post for publicly denying the Nazi mass murder of Jews. On the other hand, Hans-Jürgen Witsch, a teacher at the Commercial College in Nuremberg, was allowed to continue in his position after circulating a leaflet denying the Holocaust
and German responsibility for World War II. A man and a woman in Zweibrücken were arrested for producing and circulating an antisemitic board game.

A total of 65 Jewish cemeteries in the Federal Republic were desecrated in the period 1981-1983, 16 of them by ultra-right elements. A number of synagogues, Jewish community centers, and memorial sites—including the former Nazi concentration camp at Flossenbürg—were also targets of antisemitic vandals.

**Nazi Trials**

At the end of 1983, West German prosecutors and courts were still handling more than 1,700 cases involving Nazi crimes. In addition, the Central Agency for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Ludwigsburg was conducting over 100 preliminary investigations; these cases, however, involved relatively minor crimes and individual perpetrators, rather than mass murder. All investigations relating to Nazi crimes were running into mounting difficulties because of the old age and ill health of suspects and failing memory of witnesses.

Adalbert Rückerl, head of the Central Agency, pleaded for the continuation of the work of his office, arguing that the investigation of Nazi crimes was a historic German commitment. The Central Agency had compiled over 500,000 documents relating to Nazi crimes, and Rückerl wanted them preserved and displayed as a reminder of what had happened in the aftermath of Hitler's rise to power. Rückerl rejected charges that the West German judiciary had failed in the prosecution of Nazi crimes, pointing out that since the inception of investigative efforts in 1950, more than 6,450 individuals had been found guilty, with 12 being sentenced to death and some 160 to life in prison. In all, around 13,000 legal proceedings against Nazi suspects had been initiated by the Central Agency.

Rückerl was given an award by the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith in the United States in recognition of his efforts to bring Nazi criminals to justice and to improve German-Jewish relations.

**Düsseldorf.** In the Majdanek trial, sentences were handed down on June 30, 1981, after 474 court sessions. The proceedings, which started on November 26, 1975, had proved to be the longest and most costly in German legal history. Hermine Ryan-Braunsteiner was sentenced to life in prison; Hildegard Lächert received 12 years; Hermann Hackmann, ten; Emil Laurich, eight; Heinz Villain, six; Fritz Patrick, four; Arnold Strippel, 13; and Thomas Ellwanger, three. Heinrich Großmann was acquitted. In January 1983 former SS medical aide Heinz Wisner was sentenced to six years in prison for complicity in the murder of Jews.

**Hamburg.** In March 1981 former police officer Ludwig Schröder was acquitted of murdering Jews. In July 1981 Walter Stegmann and Ernst Benesch were sentenced to six and six and one-half years in prison, respectively, for the murder of Jews in Poland. In December 1981 Arpad Wigand, former SS and police chief in Warsaw, was sentenced to 12½ years in prison for complicity in the murder of Jews; co-defendants Rolf Büscher and Richard von Coelln received prison sentences of three
and one-half and two years, respectively. In August 1982 former SS sergeant Walter Kümmel was acquitted of murdering Jews. In May 1983 former SS sergeant Karl Tollkuhn was sentenced to three and one-half years in prison for complicity in the murder of Jews.

**Frankfurt.** In March 1981 former SS member Josef Schmidt was sentenced to eight years' detention for the murder of Jews. In February 1982 former SS captain Friedrich Paulus was sentenced to four years in prison.

**Kiel.** In July 1981 Kurt Asche, former SS lieutenant in charge of Jewish affairs at the Brussels headquarters of the Nazi security service, was sentenced to seven years in prison for his part in the murder of Belgian and French Jews.

**Hanover.** In April 1981 former police officer Leopold Puradt was acquitted of murdering Polish Jews. In July 1981 former SS member Friedrich-Wilhelm Rex was sentenced to six years in prison for the murder of concentration camp prisoners; co-defendant Alfred Grams was acquitted.

**Stade.** In August 1981 former SS lieutenant Joachim Nehring was acquitted of murdering Jews.

**Dortmund.** In July 1981 former police officer Karl-Wilhelm Kampmann was acquitted of murdering Russian civilians. In December 1982 the retrial of former Nazi district commissioner Wilhelm Westerheide and his former secretary Johanna Zelle ended in their acquittal; they had been charged with murdering Jews.

**Frankenthal.** In January 1982 former SS captain Gustav Richter was sentenced to four years in prison for complicity in the murder of Jews in Rumania.

**Stuttgart.** In February 1982 former SS member Heinrich Hesse was sentenced to 12 years in prison for complicity in the murder of Ukrainian Jews; co-defendant Johann Hermann received a three-year sentence. In August 1983 former SS member Karl Pöhlmann was acquitted of murdering Jewish concentration camp prisoners.

**Traunstein.** In May 1982 former police officer Franz Bauer was sentenced to five and a half years in prison for complicity in the mass murder of Ukrainian Jews; co-defendant Hans Hertel received a three-and-one-half-year sentence.

**Kaiserslautern.** In July 1982 former police captain Hans Heinemann was sentenced to three years in prison for complicity in the murder of Ukrainian Jews.

**Munich.** In November 1983 former Nazi policeman Kurt Hänsel was acquitted of charges of murder.

**Memmingen.** In December 1983 former policeman Josef Jarosch was sentenced to five years and six months in prison for complicity in the murder of Jews. The high court in Düsseldorf ordered the closing of the state's case against Werner Best, former deputy chief of the Nazi security service and Nazi plenipotentiary in Denmark, for reasons of failing health. Best had been charged with complicity in the murder of thousands of Jews.

Former SS captain Richard-Wilhelm Freise committed suicide in his prison cell in Bonn in August 1983; he was facing charges of complicity in the mass murder of French Jews. Former SS staff sergeant Albert Rauca died in a prison hospital in Kassel in October 1983, while awaiting trial for his part in the mass murder of
Lithuanian Jews; he had been extradited to the Federal Republic from Canada in May. In April 1983 United States authorities ordered former SS member Hans Lipschis deported to the Federal Republic; he was suspected of complicity in the murder of Jews in Auschwitz.

The federal constitutional court in Karlsruhe ruled in July 1983 that Nazi convicts serving life sentences could not be denied the right to temporary leave on parole under circumstances of old age or illness. The ruling involved a former SS medical aide in Auschwitz and the commander of a Nazi special operations unit in Russia, who had been sentenced, respectively, in 1965 and 1976. Their pleas had earlier been turned down by the Hesse justice minister and a lower court on account of the nature of their crimes.

**Restitution**

September 1982 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the reparations agreement between West Germany and the State of Israel; East Germany, on the other hand, refused even to discuss the matter. As of January 1, 1983 West German reparation and indemnification programs had disbursed DM 68 billion. Of that total, DM 54.2 billion had come under the federal indemnification law; DM 3.9 billion under the federal restitution law; DM 3.4 billion under the reparations pact with Israel; and DM one billion under agreements with 12 different countries. DM 292 million had been set aside for the settlement of hardship cases; probable future payments were likely to reach DM 17.8 billion.

**Foreign Affairs**

Serious domestic controversy arose over the issue of German arms sales to Arab countries. While the SDP-FDP government had decided against such sales, Chancellor Kohl, during his visit to Saudi Arabia in fall 1983, promised to sell weapons to the Saudis. Kohl claimed that offensive weapons would not be included in the prospective deal and that Saudi Arabia in any case would not use West German arms against the State of Israel. Needless to say, Israel was outraged by Kohl's decision. Official United States circles reportedly asked the West German government to cancel the project, and there were indications that it might, indeed, do so.

The West German government continued to deny full diplomatic status to the PLO, while calling for mutual recognition between the Palestinian group and the State of Israel. The Federal Republic welcomed U.S. president Ronald Reagan's Middle East peace initiative; it also had praise for an eight-point Saudi peace program and the decisions taken at the Arab summit meeting in Fez. The West German government sharply condemned Israeli military intervention in Lebanon and called for the speedy withdrawal of Israeli troops.

In a public opinion poll, 52 per cent of the respondents favored German arms sales to Saudi Arabia, while 33 per cent were opposed. In the same poll, 56 per cent of
the respondents said that the Palestinians had the right to a state. On the Middle East conflict, 24 per cent of the respondents sided with the Arabs, while 21 per cent backed Israel.

Relations with Israel

German-Israeli relations were severely shaken in 1981 and 1982, but improved somewhat in 1983. A low point was reached in fall 1982, following the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Beirut. The West German government found much to criticize: Israeli settlement policy in the occupied areas; the Israeli bombing of the nuclear reactor in Baghdad; Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights; the Israeli attitude on Palestinian autonomy; and Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's statements with regard to the PLO, as well as those that he made in connection with his visit to Saudi Arabia early in 1981, were strongly criticized by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, who made blunt reference to Germany's Nazi past and Schmidt's service as an army officer during World War II. Begin's attacks, in turn, drew unanimous sharp criticism from West German political parties and the news media. CDU leader Kohl, then in the opposition, deplored the "shocking deterioration" in German-Israeli relations. Referring to Prime Minister Begin's declaration that he would not shake hands with a German who had taken part in Hitler's war, Kohl said that this was perhaps understandable in the light of Begin's personal history, but it was hardly statesmanlike. The CDU leader declared that German friendship for Israel could not be taken to imply unconditional approval of all Israeli policies.

Thousands of West Germans participated in public demonstrations against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon that were organized, for the most part, by German leftist groups and Arab agitators; the demonstrators denounced Israel's "war of annihilation" and "genocidal policy." Right- and left-wing extremists asserted that Israel was aiming at a "final solution of the Palestine question." Even the Union of Anti-Fascists, a leftist group made up of Jewish victims of Nazism and anti-Nazi resistance fighters, demanded that Israel "stop [its] genocide in Lebanon." Former West Berlin mayor Heinrich Albertz said that no German who was critical of what the Nazis had done could remain silent in the face of events in Lebanon.

The Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft (DIG, German Society for Israel) and Jewish groups publicly deplored one-sided reports and tendentious anti-Israel comments that appeared in the news media. Particular shock was expressed about the frequent equation of Israeli military operations and the Nazi actions linked to the "final solution." With rare exceptions, West German media coverage of events in Lebanon, particularly on television, provided the occasion for unrelenting condemnation of Israeli policy.

Despite setbacks in political relations, German-Israeli programs of cooperation in the industrial, agricultural, and scientific sectors continued to move ahead. In July
1983 the German-Israeli economic commission agreed on a number of agricultural research and exchange projects. Israeli science minister Yuval Ne'eman, visiting West Germany in October 1983, praised the "epochal role" of scientific cooperation in German-Israeli relations; over the period of a decade, more than 600 German and Israeli scientists had worked together on joint projects. In December 1983, Paul Piazolo, secretary of state at the West German ministry of education and science, went to Israel to discuss joint activities.

The volume of trade between the Federal Republic and Israel rose from DM 2.8 billion in 1981 to DM 2.9 billion a year later. The Israeli trade deficit rose to DM 873 million in 1982, 26 per cent more than in 1981. Israeli products were displayed at a number of trade fairs in the Federal Republic; Israeli publishers were represented at the international book fair in Frankfurt.

An agreement on cooperation was signed by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Heidelberg University; agreements had earlier been concluded between the Hebrew University and German universities in Göttingen, Frankfurt, Freiburg, and West Berlin. Tel Aviv University and Munich University agreed to work together in the area of scientific research; the Israeli institute was already involved in joint projects with the Max Planck Institute of Sciences and the Institute of German History. A tripartite agreement on research cooperation was signed by the Haifa Technion, the Technical University of Aachen, and the Nuclear Research Institute of Jülich.

A total of 111,400 West German tourists visited Israel in 1983, as compared to 159,000 in 1981 and 107,000 in 1982.

The city of Jerusalem conferred the honorary title "Friend of Jerusalem" on Berlin publisher Axel Springer. The Hebrew University bestowed an honorary doctorate on SPD representative Herbert Wehner, who had labored for many years to promote German-Israeli reconciliation and cooperation. Tel Aviv University conferred a similar award on Cologne mayor Norbert Burger.

Yad Vashem bestowed the title "Righteous Gentile" on a number of German citizens who had rescued Jews during the Nazi era: Charlotte Oewerdieck; Erhard Oewerdieck (posthumously); Mathias Niessen; Josef Niessen (posthumously); Joseph Neyses; Hilde Neyses (posthumously); George Ufer; Elli Fullmann; Hans Hartmann (posthumously); Alfred Battel (posthumously); Gustav Nikulai; Maria Haardt; Herbert Haardt; Baroness Maimi Celina von Mirbach; Hans Seidel (posthumously); Esther Seidel; Max Kohl (posthumously); and Michael Jovy.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

**Demography**

On January 1, 1983 the 66 local Jewish communities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin had 28,202 members—14,450 males and 13,752 females. A year later the
communities registered 28,100 members—14,500 males and 13,600 females. An additional 25,000 unregistered Jews were thought to be living in the Federal Republic.

The largest Jewish communities, as of January 1, 1984, were West Berlin with 6,500 members (40 per cent of whom were recent arrivals from the Soviet Union); Frankfurt with 4,200; Munich with 3,800; Düsseldorf with 1,720; Hamburg with 1,640; and Cologne with 1,280.

**Communal Activities**

The various problems facing Jews in the Federal Republic today were debated at the annual meeting of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany) in October. Key items on the agenda were the growth of neo-Nazi tendencies and the marked increase in hostility toward Jews resulting from Middle East developments. Alarm was expressed over the failure of the older Jewish generation in the country to pass on Jewish identity and knowledge to younger German Jews. It was hoped that the Central Council's College for Jewish Studies in Heidelberg could help fill the gap in the area. The Central Council's sixth youth and culture conference, which was held in Stuttgart in November 1983, focused on the issues of assimilation and mixed marriage. More than 100 youngsters attended the gathering.

Central Council representatives held numerous meetings with German politicians and trade union leaders to discuss a broad array of issues. Chancellor Kohl expressed satisfaction over the "excellent nature of the dialogue" between the government and the Central Council. Werner Nachmann, chairman of the organization, was elected head of the political commission of the World Jewish Congress—European section. In this capacity he met with Greek prime minister Andreas Papandreou to discuss the situation of Jews in Greece, as well as Greek-Israeli relations. Central Council delegates to the World Jewish Congress gathering in Stockholm in May 1983 refused to attend a meeting with Swedish prime minister Olaf Palme because he had earlier held talks with PLO leader Yasir Arafat.

The fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and forty-fifth anniversary of *Kristallnacht* were commemorated at special meetings and religious services that included the participation of leading figures in German life. In a number of West German towns and villages memorial plaques and stones were unveiled honoring the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution.

Leading Israeli figures participated in the opening meetings of the 1983 Keren Hayesod/United Israel Appeal fundraising campaign. The hundredth anniversary of the establishment of B'nai B'rith in Germany was celebrated in June 1983. In October of the same year, a Jewish Musical Theater Association was set up in West Berlin.

Rabbi Nathan Levinson of Heidelberg was elected chairman of the Conference of Rabbis in the Federal Republic, succeeding Rabbi Emil Davidovic. Rabbi Henry
Brandt was inducted as rabbi of the Jewish community in Hanover and the Jewish communities in the state of Lower Saxony. A new Jewish community center was opened in Brunswick; a home for the aged was established in Munich.

The Bundesverband Jüdischer Studenten in Deutschland (BJSD, National Union of Jewish Students) held its annual conference in Aachen in January 1985. Joram Hess was reelected chairman; Michael Arnon was the vice-chairman. Delegates complained about the lack of participation of Jewish youth in organizational activities. The BJSD, which had branches in eight university towns, sought to promote Jewish awareness and knowledge among its members; it also conducted information campaigns on Jewish and Israeli affairs, and coordinated Jewish student activities on a national level.

In 1983 the BJSD published another issue of Cheschbon, a periodical magazine. It also organized a series of seminars: on the presentation of Jews and Israel in the West German media, in Düsseldorf; on Jewish identity in the aftermath of the Holocaust, in Sobernheim; on Jewish student activities, in Munich; and on Jewish responses to political emancipation, in Heidelberg.

Some 300 young Jews from the Federal Republic, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Switzerland participated in a seminar on Israel-Diaspora relations that was arranged by the Central Welfare Agency of Jews in Germany in May 1983.

Makkabi Deutschland, the Jewish sports organization in the Federal Republic, sent several dozen athletes to compete in the European Maccabi games in Antwerp, Belgium, in July 1983; German-Jewish competitors won one gold and four bronze medals. Jakob Nussbaum was reelected president of Makkabi Deutschland; Peter Guttman and Henry Majngarten served as vice-presidents. Makkabi Deutschland had nine local branches, with a total membership of 2,200.

In November 1982 Rashi House in Worms was opened after its complete restoration; it was to serve as an international gathering place for Christians and Jews, as well as a research center and Jewish museum. In September 1982, Literaturhandlung opened its doors in Munich as the first Judaica bookstore in post-World War II Germany. A Society for the Promotion of Jewish Culture and Tradition was also established in Munich. A Society of German Friends of the Leo Baeck Institute was established in Bonn. A Raoul Wallenberg Action Committee was formed in Düsseldorf at the end of 1982.

A brochure on "Jewish Collections in German Libraries" was prepared by Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz, director of Germania Judaica in Cologne; Peter Freimark, director of the Institute on the History of German Jews in Hamburg; and Martin Seiler, librarian at the Jewish section of the Frankfurt Municipal and University Library. The largest collections were those of the Frankfurt Municipal and University Library (80,000 volumes); Germania Judaica (28,000); the Martin Buber Institute at Cologne University (25,000); the Bavarian State Library (24,000), and the Tübingen University Library (20,000).
Christian-Jewish Cooperation

German criticism of Israeli policies and the growth of anti-Jewish sentiment in the context of Middle East developments seriously marred Christian-Jewish relations in the period 1981-1983. There was a reduced Christian readiness for dialogue, and this, in turn, fueled Jewish distrust and fear. Archbishop Joseph Hößner, head of the Catholic church in West Germany, urged that dialogue be continued, “even if this will not be easy for obvious reasons known to us all.” Bishop Eduard Lohse, chairman of the council of the Evangelical church in the Federal Republic, asked that “we may meet again in growing trust, and cooperate for the benefit of this country.”

Problems of Christian-Jewish coexistence were examined at the annual conference of the International Council of Christians and Jews, which was headquartered in Heppenheim. In conjunction with the American Jewish Committee, the University of Duisburg, and the University of Freiburg, the International Council convened a meeting of religious educators in April 1983 that examined manifestations of anti-Judaism in religious textbooks. “Jews in Christian Religious School Lessons” was the subject of an international symposium at the Evangelical Academy in Arnoldshain. The Walberberger Institute near Cologne, in conjunction with the German Coordinating Council of Christian-Jewish Associations, organized a symposium on “Yiddish: Mother Tongue of Jews in Eastern Europe.” The Catholic Academy of Aachen and the Evangelical Academy of Arnoldshain held a joint symposium on aspects of Christian-Jewish dialogue. The Evangelical Academy in West Berlin and the Berlin Historical Commission convened an international conference dealing with the historical connections between Germans, Jews, and Poles. The Academy of Science and Literature in Mainz held an international symposium on Franz Kafka. The 1983 “Berlinale,” the international art and film festival held in West Berlin, paid special tribute to former German actors and actresses who had been forced to flee from the country during the Nazi era.

“Worshippers and Rebels: History and Culture of East European Jewry” was the theme of West German brotherhood week in 1981. In conjunction with brotherhood week, the German Coordinating Council of Christian-Jewish Associates awarded the Buber-Rosenzweig Medal for 1981 to Yiddish author Isaac Bashevis Singer. The 1982 Buber-Rosenzweig Medal went to German-born Israeli author and philosopher Schalom Ben-Chorin, who was praised for his pioneer work on behalf of Christian-Jewish and German-Israeli understanding. Brotherhood week in 1983 focused on “Resisting at the Right Time,” and the Coordinating Council’s award was given to Helene Jacobs, a Christian woman in Berlin, who had been imprisoned for anti-Nazi activities. At its 1983 annual meeting, the Coordinating Council reelected as joint chairmen Father Willehad Eckert, Rabbi Nathan Levinson, and Reverend Martin Stöhr. West Berlin rabbi Ernst Stein gave a speech on “Christian-Jewish Cooperation after the Lebanon War” in which he pleaded for a resumption of Christian-Jewish dialogue.
A growing number of West German cities and towns invited former Jewish citizens living abroad to return to their places of origin for free visits; thousands did so, traveling to West Berlin, Bonn, Frankfurt, Marburg, Essen, Tübingen, St. Wendel, Hohenlimburg, Emden, Mannheim, Hameln, Meinerzhagen, Hadamar, Giessen, Düsseldorf, Ulm, Stuttgart, and other cities.

In May 1983 the Bavarian town of Murnau commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Jewish art collector and philanthropist James Loeb. A new memorial was unveiled in Erlangen in tribute to Jakob Herz, who had lived there until his death in 1871; the original memorial, established in Herz’s honor in 1875, had been destroyed by the Nazis. A statue and plaque in memory of Albert Einstein were unveiled at the site of his birthplace in Ulm. A Jewish museum was opened by the Frankfurt municipality, with Berlin Jewish historian Andreas Nachama appointed as director; the museum contained a valuable collection of Judaica that had been assembled by Berlin Jewish educator and art collector Siegfried Baruch, who died in 1970.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Ernst Strassmann Foundation arranged an international seminar on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and its aftermath that was attended by German, Israeli, and Polish scholars, among them Czeslaw Pilichowski, head of the Polish state commission on the prosecution of Nazi crimes, and Israel Gutman, director of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. A West German state memorial to the victims of Nazism was unveiled at the site of the former Nazi concentration camp at Mauthausen in Austria in November 1983. The memorial site at Dachau concentration camp was visited by 924,000 people in 1983, a record number.

Several Germans who had aided persecuted Jews during the Nazi period were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit: Elisabeth Wust; Susanne Witte; Gerda Charlotte-Wasilke; Stefan Kubicke; Helene Reimann; Käthe Hauschild; Elisabeth Flügge; Paul Wossmann; Maria Lahusen; and Anny Kreddig.

Publications

Ich will reden: Tragik und Banalität des Überlebens in Theresienstadt und Auschwitz


**Personalia**

Werner Nachmann, chairman of the board of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, received the Great Service Cross with star and ribbon, the highest distinction the Federal Republic can bestow.

The Great Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit was awarded to Ida Ehre, actress and stage producer, living in Hamburg; Elias Canetti, author and Nobel laureate, living in Great Britain; Eva Reichmann, historian and author, living in Great Britain; Yeruham Meshel, former secretary-general of the Histadrut in Israel; Schalom Ben-Chorin, German-born Jerusalem author and philosopher, who also received the Medal of Honor in gold of the city of Munich; Akiba Hoffmann, chairman of the Israeli organization of Jews from Central Europe; and Adi Amorai, Knesset member and chairman of the Israel Public Council on Youth Exchange.

The Federal Service Cross was awarded to Hans Rosengold, chairman of the Jewish community in Regensburg; Blandine Ebinger, actress, living in Berlin; Carolina Kiünstler, active in Christian-Jewish cooperation, living in Munich; Hans Rosenthal, popular television and radio personality, living in Berlin; Isaak Behar, representative of Makkabi Deutschland for many years, living in Berlin; Raphael Schier, chairman of the Jewish community in Bonn; Heinz Bleicher, chairman of the Jewish community in Wuppertal; Wilhelm Tichauer, chairman of the Jewish community in Bad Kreuznach; and Simon Snopkowski, president of the union of Jewish communities in Bavaria.

Israeli citizens who received the Federal Service Cross for promoting German-Israeli understanding were Avraham Bar-Menachem, former mayor of Netanya; Meir Faerber, German-born author; Inge Lunger, chief librarian at Tel Aviv's Goethe Institute; Henny Reyersbach; Gad Golinski; Mira Avrech; Francis Ofner; Joseph Canaan; Zwi Schulman; Chaim Haberfeld; Herson Cohn; Yohanan Ortar; Meir Viskoop; Uri Aloni; and Assaf Fraenkel.

The West German Booksellers Union awarded its Peace Prize for 1983 to Galician-born author Manès Sperber, living in Paris; Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher praised Sperber as "a pragmatically optimistic" who encouraged efforts on behalf of peace, a united Europe, and the defense against tyranny. The Karl Jaspers Prize of Heidelberg University was awarded to Lithuanian-born philosopher Emmanuel Levinas, living in Paris. The Ruhr city of Mulheim awarded its 1983 prize for drama to Hungarian-born George Tabori. The city of West Berlin presented its highest distinction, the Ernst Reuter Medal, to actress
Elisabeth Bergner, Hilde Domin, lyric poet and author, living in Heidelberg, received the Nelly Sachs Prize of the city of Dortmund. Bar Ilan University in Israel bestowed an honorary doctorate on Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Jewish community in West Berlin. The Free University in West Berlin bestowed an honorary doctorate on Professor Yakov Malkiel of the University of California, Berkeley. The municipality of Oldenburg presented its children's book award for 1983 to Michael Brenner, for his documentation of the history of Jews in the Bavarian community of Weiden. The West German athletic organization presented its Medal of Honor to German-born Gretel Lambert, of New York, who had been ousted from the German team at the 1936 Berlin Olympics on racial grounds.

Professor Herbert Weichmann, leading SPD politician, former mayor of Hamburg, and president of the upper house of the West German parliament in 1968–1969, died in Hamburg on October 9, 1983, aged 87.
German Democratic Republic

In the entire German Democratic Republic (DDR) there were less than 600 registered Jews in eight communities—about 200 in East Berlin, 70-75 in Dresden, 50 in Leipzig, and smaller groupings in Halle, Karl Marx-Stadt, Magdeburg, Mecklenburg/Schwerin, and Erfurt. Most Jews were quite elderly, making further population shrinkage inevitable.

The Jewish community received financial aid from the DDR, which also provided funds for the maintenance of more than 100 Jewish cemeteries. Since the end of World War II, new synagogues had been erected in Magdeburg, Erfurt, and Karl Marx-Stadt; synagogues in other towns had been restored.

Helmut Aris, president of the Verband der Jüdischen Gemeinden der DDR (Federation of Jewish Communities in the German Democratic Republic), turned 75 in 1983. State and Communist party chief Erich Honecker praised Aris for laboring for more than two decades to spread an awareness among Jews that antisemitism had been completely uprooted in the DDR.

Guests of the East German Jewish community during the year included an American B’nai B’rith delegation headed by David Blumberg and Warren Eisenberg, and Jerusalem Post correspondent Meir Merhav.

The deportation of thousands of Berlin Jews to Auschwitz in February 1943 was commemorated at a public meeting in East Berlin that was attended by representatives of the state, the Communist party, anti-Nazi resistance groups, and members of the Jewish community. The state and the Jewish community also commemorated the forty-fifth anniversary of Kristallnacht in November. In connection with the latter event, Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, sent a message to Aris which read in part: "Since the soldiers of the Soviet Union liberated us from fascism, we have been determined to preserve the legacy of the dead through our exertions for a humane world in all future times." Günther Grewe, an official of the church affairs section of the DDR national council, wrote to Aris: "We pay homage to all those who lost their lives under fascist barbarity... We must dedicate our action, speech, and thought to the promotion of human justice and preservation of peace."

An exhibit, "Yellow Star in Austria," was put on display at Humboldt University in East Berlin. The materials had initially been assembled by Viennese university professor Kurt Schubert on behalf of the Jewish museum in Eisenstadt, Austria.

In June former SS lieutenant Heinz Barth was sentenced to life in prison by an East Berlin court for taking part in Nazi massacres. In November former Nazi policemen Karl Neumann, Erich Mettke, and Josef Böhle were given life sentences by a court in Schwerin for their roles in mass murders in Poland and Russia.
Government spokesmen and the news media continued to denounce Israel, lining up solidly behind the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization. There were claims in the press that Israel was preparing a military assault on Syria.

*Bauernecho*, organ of the DDR farmers union, railed:

The hypocrisy shown by the Israeli expansionists knows no limits. Only recently they committed barbarian aggression against Lebanon under the camouflage of security protection, murdering tens of thousands of peaceful citizens and occupying the biggest part of this sovereign state. Now they are whetting their knives against Syria. . . . When the Israelis cover Arab land with fire and sword, everyone knows that Washington put the sword into their hands. Strategic cooperation between Washington and Tel Aviv has already resulted in untold victims among the Arab peoples. . . . Syria does not stand alone. Arab patriots, the Socialist countries, and all those cherishing peace stand by its side.

Friedo Sachser
Soviet Union

Domestic Affairs

Yuri Andropov, who had succeeded Leonid Brezhnev as head of both the Communist party and the state, fell gravely ill during the first half of 1983 and died on February 9, 1984. Andropov, who was 69 years old at the time of his death, had been in power for some 15 months. He was replaced by Konstantin Chernenko, a 72-year-old Kremlin veteran.

During his period in power, party chief Andropov had initiated important changes in the ruling structure of the Soviet Union by advancing the careers of somewhat younger men. Thus, Vitaly Vorotnikov was appointed to the Politburo; Igor Ligachev became one of the secretaries of the Communist party; and Mikhail Gorbachev, the youngest member of the Politburo, was given new responsibilities. It was reported that more than a quarter of all regional party heads were replaced.

Party chief Andropov had sought to counter the apathy that was evident throughout the Soviet bureaucracy and to restore discipline to the workplace. He was not afraid to apply strong measures in the fight against corruption. Thus, Iurii Shmeliakov and V. Petrov, chairman and director, respectively, of a technical export agency in Moscow, were sentenced to death for gross corruption. A death sentence was also imposed on the director of a Moscow food store supplying the Soviet elite. About 100 individuals in high posts in Latvia were dismissed from the Communist party because of alleged illegal actions.

There were reports of plans to introduce some experimentation into the management of the industrial structure, even permitting a degree of decentralization. At present, Soviet industry was unable to keep up with demand. This was equally true in the agricultural sector. In 1983 there was another disappointing harvest, and the Kremlin was forced to conclude a new five-year agreement with Washington, whereby the United States would supply the Soviet Union with at least nine million tons of grain annually.

Party chief Andropov had attempted to improve the Soviet railroad system. He also initiated reforms in education, particularly with regard to vocational training for children unsuited for university work.
Dissidence

In 1983 the authorities reinforced the policy of rigid control, seeking to eliminate all forms of independent expression. In September Soviet prison camp administrators were given the power to extend by three to five years the completed terms of inmates who engaged in "bad behavior." Roy Medvedev, the dissident Marxist historian, was warned by officials to halt his anti-party writings. Georgii Vladimov, well-known author of Faithful Ruslan, was forced to leave the Soviet Union for Cologne, West Germany. Valerii Senderov, founder of the Free International Organization of Labor, was sentenced to 12 years in a labor camp. Oleg Radzinski was sentenced to a year in prison for trying to promote better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

A number of Soviet Pentecostals, who had spent several years in the American embassy in Moscow, returned to their homes in Siberia; some of them eventually went abroad. In Lvov, two Catholic priests of the eastern rite, Vasilii Katziv and Roman Esip, received five-year prison sentences for "illegal religious activities." The Soviet press continued its campaign against the Hare Krishna movement.

Sergei Khodorovich, a representative of the Solzhenitsyn Fund that aided political prisoners, was rearrested in April and sentenced to three years in prison. This occurred after Valerii Repin, another representative of the Solzhenitsyn Fund, and his wife Elena appeared on Leningrad television in a staged KGB broadcast and "confessed" their ties to the American CIA.

Nobel prize-winning scientist Andreii Sakharov remained in exile in Gorky, isolated from friends and family. There were reports that he and his wife Elena Bonner were sick and were being denied specialized medical care. In the summer, Sakharov was denounced by four of his colleagues in the Academy of Science as a person "who does not belong to our country." At the same time, the Soviet authorities refused to allow Sakharov to go abroad. The human rights group that he had founded was no longer functioning.

Amnesty International reported that at least 300 individuals, arrested for political activities since 1969, had been forcibly treated with drugs in Soviet mental hospitals. In response to sharp criticism of the Kremlin's use of psychiatry as a weapon of punishment, the Soviet Union withdrew from the World Psychiatric Association.

Pravda repeatedly complained about an "exaggerated use" of Western materials in Soviet plays and movies. The well-known Taganka Theater in Moscow, directed by Iurii Lubimov, was forced to halt performances of Pushkin's "Boris Godunov" that were being presented in an experimental manner. Lubimov, abroad at the time, refused to return to the Soviet Union.

Alfred Shnitke, a composer in the modern mode, had great difficulty in arranging performances of his work. Abstract art was regarded as anti-Soviet and could only be shown in private homes or, on occasion, in the basements of official institutions.

While strong measures by the KGB sharply curtailed open dissent, some protests did occur. In Narva, a small city in Estonia, transportation workers went on strike.
In factories in Voronezh, worker-activists spread an appeal for a half-hour silent protest. In Moscow the authorities discovered a flyer calling on workers to abstain from special "voluntary" jobs they were expected to carry out during free time.

Oleg Bitov, an editor of Literaturnaia Gazeta, refused to return to the Soviet Union after completing an official trip abroad.

Nationalities

While the Soviet constitution formally recognized the equality of the various peoples comprising the Soviet Union, the Kremlin authorities were busy imposing a policy of russification on many small nationality groups. Russian cultural imperialism was greatly resented in many areas, especially Armenia, Georgia, the Baltic states, and among Moslem peoples. National sentiment was voiced by writers in Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, and the Ukraine. Underground appeals for the liberation of Estonia were put forward in the name of the Estonian government-in-exile. In Tbilisi underground leaflets were distributed, calling on Georgians to demonstrate against the annexation of their land by Russia; three Georgians, Zakharii Lashkarashvili, Tariel Gvimashvili, and Guram Gogopaidze, were sent to prison for protest actions. A Crimean Tatar leader, Mustafa Dzhemilev, was imprisoned for the sixth time for his part in the struggle to establish a Tatar republic.

Foreign Affairs

There was no thaw in Soviet-American relations in 1983. Likewise, Sino-Soviet ties did not improve. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan continued, but the superior Russian forces, despite the use of brutal tactics, were unable to put an end to local resistance.

The Kremlin continued to dominate the countries of Eastern Europe, but it was clear that the Soviet bloc was becoming more variegated.

The destruction of a South Korean airliner by a Soviet fighter plane—resulting in the death of 269 passengers—created a storm of protest in the West.

The Madrid meeting, convened to review the Helsinki accords, became hopelessly deadlocked.

Relations with Israel

The Soviet Union unleashed a propaganda barrage against the multinational force that was attempting to separate the warring factions in Lebanon. Izvestiia claimed that United States troops had been sent to Lebanon to help the Israelis control it, Lebanon being the latest victim of "the Camp David conspiracy." The Kremlin insisted on a complete withdrawal of both Israeli and multinational troops. At the time, Moscow wanted the Syrian army and the Palestinian fighters to remain in place, since they had come to "protect Lebanon's sovereignty."
Moscow was greatly troubled by the split between Syria and PLO chief Yasir Arafat, and sought to bring the two sides together. Foreign Minister Andreii Gromyko, in a meeting with visiting Syrian foreign minister Abdel Halim Khaddam, stressed the importance of the unity of all Palestinian factions for a successful struggle against Israel. To aid in the struggle, the Kremlin sent Syria massive supplies of weapons, including advanced missiles.

Notwithstanding vitriolic anti-Israel propaganda, the Soviet authorities did not object to so-called “private contacts” between Israelis and authorized Soviet organizations. Thus, an Israeli delegation visited Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee; delegation members included Shulamit Aloni and Mattityahu Peled. In the spring a Soviet delegation, headed by Iurii Barabach, editor of Sovetskaia Kultura, went to Israel. The visiting Soviets stated that Moscow would reestablish diplomatic ties with Israel if the latter changed its policies, including withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The 1979 Soviet census put the Jewish population of the Soviet Union at about 1,810,000. Of late some sources had cited a figure of 1,700,000. As a way of dealing with the relative decrease of the Slavic population and the growth of the Moslem element, Soviet authorities were encouraging Jews to “pass” into the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian nationality groups. A more accurate estimate of the actual Jewish population, therefore, would be about 2,620,000. (See the discussion in AJYB, Vol. 82, 1982, p. 233.)

Emigration

The emigration of Soviet Jews came to a near halt in 1983, with only 1,314 leaving the country. The authorities placed ever-increasing obstacles in the way of those wishing to depart. Thus, not only parents and former spouses, but also brothers and sisters had to give written consent to individuals seeking to leave the Soviet Union; additionally, persons giving such consent had to state that they themselves would never express a desire to leave the USSR. It was clear that the Kremlin had decided, at least for the moment, to halt all departures of Jews, Volga-Germans, Armenians, etc.—groups that had been leaving the Soviet Union in substantial numbers in recent years.

The current attitude of the authorities created a sense of hopelessness among "refuseniks." In a Samizdat statement, 28 of them, including several who had been waiting for well over a decade to leave the Soviet Union, appealed to world Jewry for help. In June Soviet officials stated that family reunification had “substantially
been completed,” thus rationalizing the continuing decrease in departures. Western sources indicated that substantial numbers of Soviet Jews still wished to leave.

**Communal and Religious Life**

There had been no Jewish communal or social organizations in the Soviet Union for decades. It was thus surprising that the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee was established in April. This organization, intended as a vehicle for propaganda against Zionism, was headed by well-known “official Jews”: General David Dragunskii, chairman; Professor Samuil Zivs, first vice-chairman; and Mark Krupskii, Igor Beliaev, and Iurii Kolesnikov, vice-chairmen. The Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee viewed Zionism as synonymous with “extreme nationalism, racial intolerance, and perfidy.”

The authorities would not allow the establishment of a central Jewish religious body, although this was permitted to other religious groups, e.g., the Russian Orthodox church, Moslems, and Baptists. It was estimated that some 50 synagogues were open, organized by local congregations (dvadtsatkas). There were very few rabbis in the Soviet Union; it was thus significant that a small number of Russian students were training for the rabbinate in the neological (Conservative) seminary in Budapest. Formal religious education did not exist, leaving the current generation without any knowledge of Jewish tradition. Small wonder, then, that a good many Jews, particularly among the intelligentsia, were attracted to the Russian Orthodox church.

There was a chronic lack of Jewish prayerbooks and ritual objects, these being available only on the black market. However, sufficient matzot were prepared for distribution; some 140 tons were baked in Moscow in 1983. There were a number of communally organized sedorim as well.

Adolf Shaevich, rabbi of the Moscow synagogue, who visited New York as part of an official Soviet interfaith delegation, stated that he “had not experienced any governmental interference in synagogue affairs.” In fact, however, the authorities controlled all religious activities through the Council for Religious Affairs. Thus, Rabbi Yaakov Fishman of Moscow—who died in 1983 after a long sickness—was hardly acting on his own when he sent a letter to the United States embassy in Moscow, objecting to weekly visits to his synagogue by an American diplomat, James Glenn. The American ambassador rejected Fishman’s protest.

Soviet Jews seeking to relate to their religio-cultural roots developed various forms of Jewish identification. For years young Jews had been gathering in large numbers outside synagogues in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities during the high holy days, Simchat Torah, and Passover. In addition, there were seminars dealing with Jewish subjects, Hebrew lessons, and lectures on Jewish history and thought. While most of the participants in these activities were would-be emigrants and “refuseniks,” others took part who were simply interested in obtaining a Jewish education.
When the authorities in Vilno withdrew permission to open a mikvah, a group of Jewish women, including non-believers, organized a campaign in support of the effort.

**Antisemitism and Discrimination**

Antisemitism was endemic to Soviet society. While in theory Jews enjoyed the same rights as others, in reality they encountered discrimination and quotas in education and certain areas of employment. Soviet publications dealt with Jews in an increasingly hostile manner; negative Jewish stereotypes frequently surfaced in popular novels and movies.

In mid-1983 a Soviet scholar in Leningrad, Ivan Martynov, and his wife, Varvara Solovieva, wrote to the procurator general of the USSR, asking that a well-known antisemitic writer, Lev Korneev, be brought to justice for “destroying confidence in citizens of Jewish nationality.” Included in the letter of complaint were copies of Korneev’s writings, in which he asserted that Jews represented a fifth column in every country, and that they had only themselves to blame for both the tsarist pogroms and the Holocaust. In September, Martynov and his wife received an official reply, indicating that there was “no basis for criminal proceedings against Korneev.”

In April Sovetskaia Kultura carried an article by Boris Burkov in which he equated Zionism and Nazism. In July Krasnaia Zvezda assailed Israel’s “genocide” in Lebanon. In August Trud noted that “hate of humans is the essence of international Zionism.”

In response to growing criticism of Soviet antisemitism in the West European press, including Communist party newspapers in France and Italy, the authorities arranged for the publication of an open letter by 53 Jews that was carried by the Novosti Press Agency in Russian, Yiddish, and English. (It also appeared in Sovetish Heimland.) The letter denied the existence of antisemitism in the Soviet Union, claiming that assertions to the contrary were nothing more than anti-Soviet propaganda. Among the signers of the open letter were A. Bluger, provost of the Medical Institute in Riga, Latvia; A. Braunstein, B. Vainstein, S. Zivs, M. Kabachnik, I. Mints, and T. Oizerman—all members of the Academy of the USSR; generals Dragunskii, E. Dyskin, and B. Lifshits; and I. Ravich, vice-minister of communications of the USSR.

An established quota for Jews was maintained in the top Soviet institutions. There were only eight Jews among some 1,550 members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; two of the eight represented Birobidzhan, the Jewish autonomous region, leaving six for the remainder of the country. Among Jews in the Supreme Soviet were Veniamin Dymshits, deputy premier of the USSR; Iulii Khariton, member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; and Iakov Plitman, head of a kolkhoz in the Ukraine. Among Jews in the Soviet of Nationalities were Lev Shapiro, head of the Communist party in Birobidzhan; Rachel Geler, a worker from Birobidzhan; Lev
Volodarskii, head of the Central Statistical Office of the USSR; Aleksandr Chakovskii, an editor of Literaturnaia Gazeta; and Meyer Katz, head of a kolkhoz in Belorussia.

Quotas for Jews existed in universities, particularly those in the capitals of the various regions and other great cities. Applications for admission in the fields of mathematics, journalism, and foreign affairs were discouraged; in most instances, Jews were denied entry in these areas. Jewish students seeking candidate degrees (the European doctorate) faced nearly insurmountable barriers.

**Jewish Resistance**

Despite harsh measures, including lengthy sentences meted out to dissidents, Soviet Jews continued the struggle for emigration and national Jewish identity. When Zachar Zunshine of Riga was denied an exit visa, he, together with Tatiana Zunshine and Aleksandr Balter, traveled to Moscow to stage a public demonstration; Zachar was arrested for "anti-Soviet slander" and placed in a prison hospital. Rabbi Moshe Abramov of Samarkand, a former student at the Moscow yeshivah, was sentenced to three years in prison for participating in a Jewish studies program; also arrested were Yuri and Olga Medvedkov of Moscow and Nadezhda Fradkova of Leningrad. Another Leningrad Jew who was arrested was the well-known linguist and translator Mikhail Meilach. Lev Elbert of Kiev was sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to report to military duty.

Eleven "refuseniks" celebrating Israel Independence Day in a forest near Leningrad were seized by the police.

French Communist leader Georges Marchais reported in January that he had received a letter from Soviet party chief Andropov, assuring him that the health of Anatoly Shcharansky was satisfactory and that Shcharansky had ended his protest fast. Shcharansky confirmed these facts in a letter to his mother. Another well-known activist, Josif Begun, was sentenced to seven years in prison and five years in exile for anti-Soviet propaganda. Prior to his arrest Begun had been teaching Hebrew.

**Jewish Culture**

Sovetish Heimland, the Yiddish-language magazine of the Soviet Union of Writers, carefully followed the Communist party line on most matters. At the same time, it broadened the scope of its contents, devoting additional space to Jewish research, national questions, and even Hebrew literature. The magazine also continued to issue 12 small booklets annually, in an attempt to compensate for the lack of Yiddish books appearing under other auspices. New Yiddish books included Erdishe Vegn ("Earthly Ways") by Hirsh Dobin; In Kraiz fun Lebn ("Circle of Life") by Tevie Gen; Dos Gute Wort ("The Good Word") by A. Katzev; In Unzere Teg ("Our Days"), an anthology of documentary pieces from Sovetish Heimland; and Iorn fun
Geviter ("Years of Bad Weather") by Motl Gruvman. Between 1948 and 1983 a total of 96 books in Yiddish were made available in the Soviet Union.

Novyi Mir, the Soviet literary magazine, published an important essay on Anatolii Rybakov, author of Heavy Sand; the essay stressed Rybakov's Jewish theme—the annihilation of the Jews by the Nazis in occupied Russia. A book on the Sobibor death camp by Mikhail Lev was issued in a Russian translation; it was heavily censored, however, to eliminate reference to the complicity of local peoples in Nazi crimes.

The authorities barred 49 books of Jewish content that were included in a shipment sent by American exhibitors to the fourth International Moscow Book Fair. The AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK and Cecil Roth's History of the Jews were among the volumes deemed unacceptable.

Research on Jewish subjects continued to expand. Sovetish Heimland published Leib Wilsker's article on Yehuda Halevi, providing references to Geniza materials contained in Moscow's Lenin Library and in the Leningrad State Library. In its new department on Jewish ethnography, the magazine carried Velvl Chernin's essay on the Krymchaks and their dialect. A new volume, Questions of the Culture of the Old Orient, published in Daugavpils, included five studies dealing with Jewish themes. Iurii Murzakhanov, a student in the history department at Cabardine-Balkarich State University, presented a paper on "The Question of the Ethnic Belonging of the Mountain Jews"; he also prepared a study focusing on "Family and the Family Life-Style of the Mountain Jews." The Academy of Sciences of Georgia continued its project of collecting Hebrew inscriptions from the Chufut-Kale Karaite cemetery in the Crimea; the project was directed by Nissan Bobalikashvili. The Leningrad Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism had a large Judaica collection that attracted interested scholars.

The Vilno Yiddish Folk Theater and the Kovno Yiddish Folk Theater presented special programs to mark the fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The only legitimate Yiddish theater in the USSR, the Birobidzhan Yiddish Musical Chamber Theater, directed by Iurii Sherling, offered a Soviet version of "Fiddler on the Roof." The Birobidzhan Theater Ensemble was a folk group directed by Ilia Lerner. The Moscow Yiddish Drama Ensemble, directed by Iakov Gubenko, presented "A Jewish Anecdote" by Aron Vergelis.

A number of Jewish composers created works with Jewish themes. Thus, Josif Bardanashevili's symphonic poem "The Fate" had a text taken from Ibn Ezra. Sergeii Berinski composed a cantata "The Stones of Treblinka." The Moscow Russian Musical Chamber Theater presented a new opera by Moiseii Veinberg, based on the text of Sholem Aleichem's play "Mazel Tov."

Paintings dealing with Jewish subjects were exhibited in a number of state museums. The state gallery in Orel, for example, displayed graphic works by the late Mendl Gorshman, including portraits of Yiddish writers and Jewish painters. An inset of works by Leonid Pasternak, father of poet Boris Pasternak, appeared in Sovetish Heimland.
After years of delay, a Russian-Yiddish dictionary—prepared by, among others, Eli Spivak, a writer murdered by Stalin in 1952—was scheduled for publication in 1984.

A number of state prizes went to Jews: Aleksandr Chakovskii and Georgii Fridlender in literature; Pavel Nirtberg, Oskar Khavin, and Evgenii Iashunsky in architecture; and Iulii Raizman and Mikhail Shatrov in films.

In commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of the late Yiddish and Russian writer Emil Kazakevich, the Ministry of Communications of the USSR issued a postage stamp with his portrait.

**Birobidzhan**

The Soviet authorities were engaged in preparations for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Birobidzhan as the Jewish autonomous region. Some 10,000 Jews lived in the area, comprising about five per cent of the total population. The *Birobidzhaner Stern*, the only Yiddish newspaper published in the Soviet Union, continued to appear. There were also a Sholem Aleichem Library and a Yiddish radio station. Lev Shapiro headed the regional Communist party.

Despite some Jewish manifestations in Birobidzhan, it was clear that the small Jewish remnant there was rapidly losing its Jewish character.

**Holocaust**

While there was no official commemoration of the Holocaust, Jewish groups—sometimes aided by local officials—organized memorial events. In Vilno, which was part of Poland before World War II, there was a memorial gathering on the anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. In many places, including Babi Yar in Kiev, individuals and small groups held private ceremonies.

**Personalia**

Iurii Levitan, celebrated Moscow radio announcer during World War II, died, aged 69. Mendel Lifshits, Yiddish writer, died, aged 76. Sidi Tal, Yiddish actress, died in August, aged 71; she had been awarded the title “Deserving Artist of the Ukrainian SSR.” Aleksandr Shulrichter, painter, died, aged 92; he had worked for Habima, the Hebrew theater in Moscow, during the 1920’s. Mikhail Lifshits, member of the Academy of Sciences, died, aged 78.

Leon Shapiro
Soviet Bloc Nations

Introduction

While the Soviet Union sought to maintain tight control over its satellite empire in 1983, a gradual process of differentiation was clearly taking place. Yugoslavia had long been outside the Soviet orbit; Rumania conducted an independent foreign policy; while Hungary allowed free-market elements in the economy. In Poland the government’s compromises with the Catholic church and its cautious policy with regard to the political opposition pointed in the direction of important changes in the structure of society.

Unlike Soviet Jewry, most of the East European Jewish communities had escaped isolation and were developing ties with Jews around the world. However, the isolation of the Bulgarian and Czechoslovakian Jewish communities remained quite pronounced.

Poland

Martial law in Poland was suspended on December 31, 1982, more than a year after General Wojciech Jaruzelski assumed power and imposed a dictatorship. In January new government-sanctioned unions began to function, replacing the banned Solidarity. At the same time, a law went into effect enabling the authorities to muster for work all able-bodied adults not employed or in school. The Jaruzelski regime dissolved the prestigious Writers Union, the hub of the Polish intelligentsia; it also dissolved the Association of Polish Journalists, replacing it with a government-sponsored union.

Lech Walesa continued to play an important role on the political scene, endorsing underground appeals for demonstrations protesting government policy. On May Day there were numerous unauthorized rallies by pro-Solidarity elements.

The Catholic church, while unhappy about street demonstrations, associated itself with demands for a full restoration of civilian rights. Pope John Paul II made a second pilgrimage to his native land in 1983, and met privately with Lech Walesa.

In mid-July the authorities began to release some political prisoners, making it clear that those who wished to go abroad could easily obtain exit visas. Late in the year, the government granted unconditional amnesty to a number of Solidarity leaders who gave themselves up. However, four members of the Workers’ Defense Committee—Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski, and Henryk Wujec—still faced a possible death penalty.
The government proceeded with a thorough purge of the administrative sector, dismissing some 200 mayors and 650 managers of state enterprises. Among those who lost their positions was General Mieczyslav Moczar, one of the initiators of the anti-Jewish campaign of the late 1960's.

The Soviet leadership carefully monitored events in Poland, criticizing the Jaruzelski regime's tolerance of political opposition and street demonstrations. For its part, the Reagan administration took only limited steps to ease the economic sanctions that had been imposed on Poland after the establishment of martial law.

In December Walesa was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The small community of about 6,000 identified Jews continued to function in a fairly normal manner, despite the political turmoil in the country. In December 1982 the secular Jewish Cultural and Social Union was able to hold a countrywide plenary meeting involving representatives from Warsaw, Lublin, Bielsko-Biała, Lodz, Katowice, Walbrzych, Czestochowa, Gliwice, Szczecin, Sosnowiec, Wroclaw, and Zary; government observers at the meeting were Wojciech Klimek of the Communist party and Stanislaw Demianuk of the ministry of the interior. The Jewish Cultural and Social Union decided to affiliate with the so-called Patriotic Movement of National Renewal, an officially sponsored forum for dialogue between the authorities and various elements of Polish society.

Due to poor health, Edward Reiber resigned as president of the Jewish Cultural and Social Union. Abraham Kwaterko, who celebrated his seventieth birthday in February, continued to serve as secretary and de facto leader of the organization. Kwaterko was also appointed chief editor of Folks-sztyme, replacing the deceased Shmuel Tenenblat.

There were no changes in the leadership of the Union of Religious Congregations; Moses Finkelsztejn served as president, Czeslaw Jakubowicz as secretary, and Jerzy Kornacki as administrator.

The Jewish Cultural and Social Union and the Union of Religious Congregations developed a close working relationship. All relief work, including the distribution of funds provided by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, was carried out under the supervision of a special commission made up of representatives of the two organizations. The Jewish Cultural and Social Union and the Union of Religious Congregations also worked together to establish a new kosher kitchen in Katowice. Some 5,500 people were beneficiaries of relief aid.

The Jewish Cultural and Social Union resumed small-scale cultural activities in Warsaw and the provincial cities. Special events were organized by local clubs, including study evenings dealing with the life and work of Chaim Nachman Bialik, Artur Zygelboim, and Janusz Korczak. Material on Jewish subjects was available
on cassette tapes. The Jewish Historical Institute, directed by Maurycy Horn, continued its activities; volumes of Judaica were displayed at the Institute's museum. A seminar devoted to Polish Jewish history was organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences. Professor Witold Tyloch added to his series of articles on the Hebrew language that had been appearing in *Folks-sztyme*.

A number of books of Jewish interest were published: *Fun Ash Aroisgekumen* ("Arisen from the Ashes") by Daniel Katz; *Dos Togbuch fun Adam Tcherniachov* ("The Diary of Adam Tcherniachov"); a Polish-language version of the writings of Emmanuel Ringelblum; and *Polish Jewry: History and Culture*, edited by Marian Fuks, Zygmunt Hoffman, Maurycy Horn, and Jerzy Tomaszewski. Several works by Nobel Prize-winning Yiddish writer Isaac Bashevis Singer became available in Polish translation.

The State Yiddish Theater, directed by Szymon Szurmiej, performed before audiences that, for the most part, did not understand Yiddish. Special earphones were made available providing a translation into Polish.

An important event was the reopening of the restored Nozyk Synagogue in Warsaw, which had been blown up by the Nazis in 1943. At the dedication ceremony, five Torah scrolls were carried into the sanctuary and "El Mole Rachamim" was chanted. Speakers at the event included Rumanian chief rabbi Moses Rosen, Rabbi Itshak Frenkel of Tel Aviv, Bishop Majdanski, and Poland's minister of religious affairs Adam Lopatka.

The Polish government and an interested group of Orthodox rabbis from Israel, the United States, and other countries concluded an agreement to establish a permanent committee to care for the hundreds of abandoned Jewish cemeteries in Poland. In a related matter, the authorities turned over important pieces of Judaica, belonging to the pre-war Jewish community, to the Reform movement in the United States.

In connection with the fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the Jewish Cultural and Social Union issued an invitation to Jews around the world to participate in a series of commemorative events in Poland. Among those who responded affirmatively, out of a sense of obligation to honor the memory of the martyrs and fighters of the ghetto, were Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress; Stefan Grayek, chairman of the World Federation of Jewish Fighters, Partisans, and Camp Inmates; Anshel Reiss, chairman of the World Federation of Polish Jews; and Rabbi Alexander Schindler, head of the Reform movement in the United States. The New York-based Jewish Labor Committee and Jewish Workmen's Circle refused to participate, citing the current situation in Poland, as well as the Polish government's anti-Jewish campaign of the late 1960's. Another dissenter was Marek Edelman, the only surviving leader of the Jewish Fighting Organization in the ghetto, and a supporter of Solidarity; he called for a complete boycott of the various memorial activities.

In the end, hundreds of delegates from Israel and the Diaspora participated in ceremonies at the Warsaw ghetto monument and in the Warsaw opera house. There was a special religious service in the church of St. Augustin that was attended by
Cardinal Josef Glemp. Speakers from 20 countries took part in a symposium on “Nazi Murders in Poland and Europe.”

Controversy erupted when a PLO representative placed a wreath at the Warsaw ghetto monument. Many Jewish delegates protested, and a number left for home. General Wlodzimierz Sokorski, a government spokesman, stated that “the PLO was not invited. Nevertheless, they laid a wreath. For this I express my deepest regrets.”

Supporters of Solidarity held their own ceremony at the Warsaw ghetto monument. When Pope John Paul II visited Poland in June, he also laid a wreath there.

The Jewish Cultural and Social Union maintained ties with world Jewry through participation in the meetings of such groups as the World Jewish Congress, the World Congress for Yiddish, and the European Council for Jewish Community Service. Delegates to the World Jewish Congress gathering included Finkelsztejn, Kwaterko, and Mauricy Keiler.

**Rumania**

Rumania continued on its course of independent “national Communism.” While rigid political control was maintained at home, the regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu strongly opposed Moscow’s foreign policy. Rumania had diplomatic relations with the State of Israel and fostered close ties with the United States. In June the U.S. Congress extended for another year Rumania’s “most favored” trade status. This decision came after Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei visited Washington and gave assurances that the so-called education tax on emigrants would be dropped. In September, U.S. vice-president George Bush visited Bucharest.

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

The Jewish community of Rumania numbered around 30,000, with nearly half the total being over the age of 65. Jewish activities were coordinated by the Federation of Jewish Communities, headed by Rabbi Moses Rosen. Emil Sechter was general secretary of the Federation; Sami Edelstein was in charge of social work and medical facilities. Professor Chaim Reimer served as editor of the semi-monthly *Revista Culturui Mosaic*, published in Yiddish, Rumanian, and Hebrew. In addition to rabbinic material, the *Revista* carried information about Jewish life around the world.

Theodor Blumenfeld was president of the Bucharest Jewish community, which numbered around 11,000. Senior rabbis in Rumania included Ernest Neiman in Timisoara and Itschak Marilus in Bucharest; Rabbi Benzion Beniaminovich died, aged 95. The Federation encompassed 68 local communities, with 120 synagogues and 27 talmud torahs; some 15 synagogues had choirs. Rabbi Rosen indicated, however, that only a small percentage of Jews attended religious services and that Jewish school enrollment had declined.
Passover food supplies were readily available, and some 6,000 Jews participated in public sedorim. The Federation also made available kosher meat, as well as etrogim and lulovim for Sukkot. Following established custom, elaborate Hanukkah programs were staged throughout the country; the programs, presided over by Rabbi Rosen, benefitted from the participation of a number of guests from Israel. On Purim there was a special celebration in the Grand Synagogue in Bucharest that was attended by the Israeli ambassador.

As part of its welfare program, the Federation provided medical help to invalids and the elderly; it also operated a number of homes for the aged. Part of the Federation budget was covered by the state.

With the approval of the authorities, the Federation maintained close ties with international Jewish organizations and various Jewish communities abroad. Israeli visitors during the year included Shimon Peres, Efraim Katzir, Victor Shemtov, and Yitzchak Korn. Yitzchak Shamir, who at the time was Israel's foreign minister, paid an official visit to Rumania in August. There was lively social and economic exchange with the Jewish state, and tourism was encouraged. In 1983, 305 Torah scrolls and some 9,000 rabbinic works were sent to Israel.

The Rumanian government supported an active secular Yiddish sector, which included Yiddish-language publications and the State Yiddish Theater. The state publishing house, Criterion, issued a periodical series, Bukaresther Shirften ("Bucharest Writings"), under the editorship of Wolf Tambur, Haim Goldstein, and I. Karo.

There was no anti-Jewish discrimination in Rumania, with Jews being substantially represented in, among other areas, academic life. Speaking at a Communist party meeting in December 1982, President Ceausescu stressed the importance of combating antisemitism. Still, despite official condemnation, there were manifestations of hostility toward Jews. Corneliu Vadim Tudor published a volume of poetry replete with antisemitism. When Rabbi Rosen complained to President Ceausescu about the matter, the book was withdrawn from circulation.

On January 6, Rumanian Jews commemorated the forty-second anniversary of the Bucharest pogrom, which took the lives of 128 Jews.

Hungary

Janos Kadar, leader of the Hungarian Communist party, succeeded in maintaining a variant of "national Communism" that not only permitted free market elements, but also a general loosening of social controls. Profit incentives and the absence of bureaucratic interference led to a situation in which Hungarians had available abundant food and a broad variety of Western consumer goods. All in all, Hungary enjoyed a state of economic well-being unique in the Soviet satellite empire.

Party chief Kadar was careful not to take any steps in internal matters or foreign affairs that the Kremlin might construe as outright liberalization—this in fear of
Soviet retaliation. There was internal dissent—the so-called “democratic opposition”—but it was not yet a major phenomenon. Terence Kulin was dismissed as editor of Mozgo Vilag after the magazine came under fire for promoting unorthodox ideas. Sandor Csoori, an eminent poet, was forbidden to publish any new writings.

U.S. vice-president Bush visited Budapest and called for improved relations between the United States and Hungary.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish population of Hungary stood at about 80,000, including Jews who were not involved in organized Jewish life. There was no Jewish emigration, and it was clear that Jews were generally satisfied with their lot in the country. Antisemitism was considered a criminal offense. Jews were integrated into the surrounding society and intermarriage was an accepted social fact. Those Jews who were interested in Jewish communal life took part in the activities sponsored by the Central Board of Jewish Communities, which included both Neolog (Conservative) and Orthodox trends. Interest in things Jewish was declining, particularly among the young, who were educated in state schools and worked in various state enterprises.

The Central Board coordinated efforts in some 70 communities. Budapest, the largest, had 29 synagogues staffed by rabbis and other religious functionaries. There was a beth din, a mikvah, and a burial society. There were 12 kosher butcher shops, as well as a slaughterhouse that supplied kosher meat to other countries of Eastern Europe. A new kosher kitchen provided 1,000 meals daily. There were also two homes for the aged and a 200-bed hospital. A bakery for matzot assured an adequate supply before Passover. Imre Heber, president of the Central Board, was awarded a state medal for his activities on behalf of the Jewish community. Laszlo Slago was chief rabbi.

There was a Jewish gymnasium and an elementary yeshivah in Budapest. Budapest's neological Rabbinical Seminary continued its training program, supplying rabbis not only to Hungary, but to other countries of the Soviet bloc as well. The Seminary's library held more than 250,000 volumes, some quite rare. The school was headed by Aleksander Scheiber, a rabbi and well-known Judaica scholar. On occasion, rabbinical students visited provincial communities, where they conducted religious services.

The Central Board administered a Jewish research program that was unique in Eastern Europe. Aspects of the program included a continuation of the encyclopedic Monumenta Hungariae Judaica and the compilation of materials on the Holocaust. The Jewish Museum, which contained a rich collection, was undergoing repairs. Plans were also being made to restore the 125-year-old Dohany Synagogue in Budapest, with the help of a matching grant provided by the Hungarian government.
The Central Board organized a three-day observance of the fortieth anniversary of the Nazi massacre of Hungarian Jews. Ceremonies took place at the Kosma Utca cemetery in the presence of government officials and delegations from abroad, including Israel and the United States. The Soviet participants were Boris Gram and Arkadii Levitan, chairmen, respectively, of the Moscow and Odessa synagogues.

With the approval of the authorities, the Hungarian Jewish community maintained close ties with Jewish organizations abroad. The Central Board's budget was covered in part by the state, which also paid the salaries of religious personnel. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee participated in the costs of social programs; the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, based in New York, provided a grant in the cultural field.

**Yugoslavia**

Conflicting nationalisms constituted a major problem in Yugoslavia, a country containing many ethnic groups and four major religions. While the various groups were attempting to live in peace, traditional suspicions remained, e.g., Catholic Croats vs. Greek Orthodox Serbs. Adding to the unrest was Albanian propaganda directed to the Albanian population in Yugoslavia's Kosovo province. Intellectual dissent in Yugoslavia centered around the universities in Belgrade and Zagreb, but was hindered by a state monopoly of the printed word.

Yugoslavia's "self-management" principle called for workers to participate directly in the administration of political and economic affairs. The current economic program emphasized austerity, efficiency, and self-reliance; 85 per cent of all farmland was in private hands. Despite many difficulties, the Yugoslav leadership continued to implement a gradual decentralization of the power structure. About ten per cent of the population held membership in the Communist party.


**Jewish Community**

There were about 6,000 Jews in Yugoslavia; in the absence of emigration, the community was stable. Jewish activities were coordinated by the secular Federation of Jewish Communities, which had a special commission to deal with issues of interest to religious Jews. It was clear that religious life was dwindling. In some places synagogues had ceased to function, while in others Sabbath and holiday services were conducted exclusively by older people. Intermarriage was widespread.

Religious services on the high holy days and Sukkot were conducted in Belgrade by Rabbi Cadik Danon and in the old synagogue in Sarajevo by Rabbi Avram Haj of Jerusalem. Services were also held in, among other places, Novi Sad, Rijeka, Osijek, and the Lavoslav Svarc Home for the Aged in Zagreb. *Etrogim* and * lulavim*
were received from abroad; matzot were distributed before Passover. The Federation continued to issue an annual luach, which included memorial prayers transliterated in Serbo-Croatian.

Laroslav Kadelburg was the veteran president of the Federation. Rabbi Danon supervised religious activities.

Despite declining interest on the part of younger people, the Federation maintained a broad array of cultural and social programs. There were youth clubs, summer camps, adult education courses, and Hebrew classes. On occasion the Federation used advisors and instructors from abroad, including special experts from Israel. Some 320 young people attended the Federation summer camp in Pirovac; a lecturer at the camp was Oded Eldad of the European Council for Jewish Community Service. The popular Baruh Brothers Choir was invited to participate in the International Festival of Choirs in Barcelona, Spain.

The Federation maintained a varied research and publication program. It issued Zbornik, a periodical; Jevrejski Pregled, a news magazine; Kadima, a youth journal; as well as occasional books. A project was under way to collect archival material from around the country and establish a central archive in Belgrade. The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture funded the Federation's cultural activities, while the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee helped cover the costs of social programs.

David Albahari, a young writer from Belgrade who was active in Jewish affairs, was awarded the coveted Andric Prize for 1983.

While Yugoslavia and Israel did not have diplomatic relations, the Federation maintained close ties with the Jewish state. Federation representatives participated in meetings in Israel, and Israeli guests held discussions with Federation officials in Belgrade. The Federation was affiliated with the World Jewish Congress and the European Council for Jewish Community Service.

Antisemitic material occasionally surfaced in the controlled press. Thus, Illustrovana Politica carried excerpts from Mihailo Popovski's The Mysterious World of Freemasons, in which the author quoted from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The Federation, in line with its activist policy, issued a strong protest.

Leon Shapiro
Israel

Israel in 1983 was a country still reeling from the effects of the war it had launched in Lebanon in 1982. The nation was also struggling with runaway inflation, which was causing severe economic damage. Adding to Israel's problems was a religious-secular rift that was quickly overtaking ethnic divisiveness as a major source of concern.

In 1983 the Israeli leadership underwent a general overhaul, with the flamboyant populism of Begin-Sharon-Aridor being replaced by the low-profile pragmatism of Shamir-Arens-Cohen-Orgad. Yet this was more a change of style than substance, since all three members of the new triumvirate had been opposed to the peace treaty with Egypt. Whether they would be able to heal the country's wounds and restore a sense of national unity was an open question.

"I don't know whether Israelis have ever faced so many questions without answers," Yoel Marcus, one of the country's leading journalists, wrote in Ha'aretz at the end of the year. "People are just trying to live with the tension and the doubts until someone comes along who can illuminate the path for them, present them with a challenge, or offer them an alternative."

Speaking at his inauguration in the Knesset as Israel's sixth president, Chaim Herzog summed up what many felt when he stated that the real enemy is "within us": "It exists within every one of us citizens of Israel—Jews and Arabs, religious and secular, right- and left-wing, Sephardim and Ashkenazim. It is expressed in the lack of readiness to hear one's fellow man even when we don't agree with him." Israel, the president said, must not allow itself to reach a point where national unity will exist "only in the military cemetery."

The War in Lebanon

The tripartite talks between Israel, Lebanon, and the United States that commenced at the end of 1982, four months after the official end of Operation Peace for Galilee and seven months after the fighting began, were to drag on for nearly five more months before producing an agreement which, seven months later, at the end of 1983, had not yet been ratified by Lebanon, hence was not being implemented. Israel found itself in a situation where any meaningful change in the status quo on the ground was to a large extent dependent on forces beyond its control.
On January 13 Israel's chief negotiator, foreign ministry director-general David Kimche, announced that an agenda for the tripartite talks had been worked out, covering three main spheres: termination of the state of war between Israel and Lebanon; security arrangements; and a framework for mutual relations. Defense Minister Ariel Sharon gave journalists his assessment that an agreement would be reached that would provide both Israel and Lebanon with "security and normalization" and which "will definitely bring peace in the future—sooner, I believe, than is now apparent."

Peace, however, seemed a long way off for the Israeli soldiers who were stationed in Lebanon along the lines they had been holding since the previous summer. Virtually every day brought reports of attacks and ambushes against the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), whether by regrouped bands of Palestinian terrorists, local Lebanese elements, or a combination of the two. The impasse in Lebanon, along with the fact that the IDF itself was increasingly becoming one more element in the internecine strife in that country, led to calls even within the government for a major reassessment of policy. Such calls were consistently issued by the opposition. In mid-January former prime minister MK Yitzhak Rabin (Alignment-Labor) termed the government's use of force to try to impose a formal peace agreement on Lebanon a "mistake" stemming from an "illusion." Rabin said the government should drop all other aims and set its sights exclusively on attaining Israel's security needs in the north. Nothing, he stressed, could be salvaged from the "political illusions that underlay the war."

Yet another source of pressure on the government during the year was the Reagan administration in Washington. Speaking on television on January 14, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir denied that U.S. special envoy Philip Habib, who had arrived in Israel the previous day to resume his shuttle negotiations, had set a deadline for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon. Shamir continued "The Americans are showing a lack of patience on this issue. We feel that the first step must be the removal of the remaining PLO forces from Lebanon."

In Lebanon jittery troops belonging to the IDF and the U.S. marine contingent participating in the multinational force (MNF) added to the tension in a series of incidents. According to the marines, the incidents, all of which took place in Beirut, were due to Israeli impingement on their territory, whereas Israel insisted that it had the right and duty to patrol the area in question because IDF units had come under attack from terrorists operating out of the U.S.-held zone. On February 2 marine captain Charles Johnson climbed aboard an Israeli tank that was on patrol along the line dividing the IDF and marine units, drew his pistol, and told the dumbfounded Israeli soldiers: "You are not coming through. You are going to have to kill me first." U.S. secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger told a congressional committee that Johnson deserved a medal for his "heroic action"; President Ronald Reagan said that the Marine had done the "only thing he could do." However, an Israeli officer dismissed the U.S. reaction to this and similar incidents as overblown, claiming that it was being engineered by officials with "ulterior motives."
The tripartite talks were bogged down at this time in the wake of Israel's insistence that it be permitted to set up a number of early-warning stations in southern Lebanon that would also serve relatively large IDF units as command posts for anti-terrorist policing activities in the area. Both the Lebanese and the Americans rejected this idea. Among the other areas of dispute in the talks were Israel's demand that the PLO withdraw all of its remaining forces in Lebanon as the first step of a larger process; the status to be accorded the UN interim force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in the security zone north of the Israeli border; and the role to be played by Major Sa'ad Haddad, the Israeli-supported militia commander in southern Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the Kahan Commission of Inquiry held its final hearings on January 16 and retired to draw up its report. Appointed by the government on September 28, 1982, in the wake of the massacre perpetrated by Lebanese Phalangist forces in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Beirut, the commission was composed of two of Israel's most eminent jurists—president of the supreme court Yitzhak Kahan and supreme court justice Aharon Barak—and a highly respected retired major general, Yona Efrat.

On February 8 the commission's final report was made public. Its repercussions, both short- and long-term, were comparable only to the chain of events sparked off by the Agranat Commission of Inquiry on the Yom Kippur War, nine years earlier. While the overt impact was felt chiefly in the political sphere, the report undoubtedly also had an effect on Israel's subsequent pursuit of the war in Lebanon. Critics of the war felt themselves vindicated by the report, its strictly circumscribed findings notwithstanding, while the war's proponents sensed that their position had in some way been undercut. The fact that the IDF seemed to get the short end of the stick again vis-à-vis the political echelon (the same feeling had prevailed after publication of the Agranat Commission findings), combined with the extraordinarily high moral standards laid down by the report, was bound to have an effect on the senior officers corps in the army.

While determining that "direct responsibility for the perpetration of the acts of slaughter rests on the Phalangist forces," the commission, in a chapter entitled "The Indirect Responsibility," argued:

If it indeed becomes clear that those who decided on the entry of the Phalangists into the camps should have foreseen—from the information at their disposal and from things which were common knowledge—that there was danger of a massacre, and no steps were taken which might have been taken to prevent this danger or at least to greatly reduce the possibility that deeds of this type might be done, then those who made the decisions and those who implemented them are indirectly responsible for what occurred, even if they did not intend this to happen and merely disregarded the anticipated danger. A similar indirect responsibility also falls on those who knew of the decision: it was their duty, by virtue of their position and their office, to warn of the danger, and they did not fulfill this duty. It is also not possible to absolve of such indirect responsibility those persons who, when they received the first reports of what was happening in the camps, did not
rush to prevent the continuation of the Phalangists' actions and did not do
everything within their power to stop them.

The commission invoked “the obligations applying to every civilized nation and the
ethical rules accepted by civilized peoples” in its ascription of “indirect responsibil-
ity.” In this connection the report cited Deuteronomy 21:6-7; it also pointed out
that when Jews in the Diaspora suffered pogroms, the stand of the Jewish commu-
nity was that “the responsibility for such deeds falls not only on those who rioted
and committed the atrocities, but also on those who were responsible for safety and
public order, who could have prevented the disturbances but did not fulfill their
obligations in this respect.”

Of the nine persons whom the commission had warned the previous November
that they might be “harmed” by the findings of the final report, only one, Avi Dudai,
a personal aide to Defense Minister Sharon, was found to bear no culpability of any
kind, due to the doubtful nature of the evidence in his case. With respect to the
others, the Kahan Commission found and recommended as follows: Prime Minister
Menachem Begin—“[We] find no reason to exempt the prime minister from respon-
sibility for not having evinced, during or after the cabinet session [of September 16,
when he first learned of the Phalangists’ entry into the camps], any interest in the
Phalangists’ actions in the camps.” There was no place for “this indifference” given
the prime minister’s awareness of the possible results of such a move. Moreover, had
he manifested the requisite interest, the military might have been moved “to take
the appropriate measures” to forestall the danger. “The prime minister’s lack of
involvement in the entire matter casts on him a certain degree of responsibility.”
The commission made no recommendation with respect to Begin; Defense Minister
Ariel Sharon—“It is our view that responsibility is to be imputed to the minister
of defense for having disregarded the danger of acts of vengeance and bloodshed by
the Phalangists against the population of the refugee camps, and having failed to
take this danger into account when he decided to move the Phalangists into the
camps. In addition, responsibility is to be imputed to the minister of defense for not
ordering appropriate measures for preventing or reducing the danger of massacre
as a condition for the Phalangists’ entry into the camps. These blunders constitute
the non-fulfilment of a duty with which the defense minister was charged.” In the
light of this, the commission stated: “In our opinion, it is fitting that the minister
of defense draw the appropriate personal conclusions arising out of the defects
revealed with regard to the manner in which he discharged the duties of his office
—and if necessary, that the prime minister consider whether he should exercise his
authority under . . . the basic law . . . according to which ‘the prime minister may,
after informing the cabinet of his intention to do so, remove a minister from office’ ”;
Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir—After declaring that it was “regrettable and
worrisome” that poor personal relations between cabinet ministers could lead to
such results (Shamir had been informed at an early stage by Communications
Minister Mordechai Zippori that something was amiss in the refugee camps, but had
taken no further action on the matter), the commission asserted that "it is difficult to find justification for such disdain," given the source of the information and the circumstances in which it was conveyed. The foreign minister should have shown "sensitivity and alertness" to what he was told by another minister, and he "erred in not taking any measures" once he had the information. The commission made no recommendation with respect to Shamir; Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan—"We find that the chief of staff did not consider the danger of acts of vengeance and bloodshed being perpetrated against the population of the refugee camps in Beirut; he did not order the adoption of the appropriate steps to avoid this danger." Moreover, even after he had been led to understand that the Phalangists were "overdoing" things in the refugee camps, Eitan took no action, and, indeed, actually supplied the Phalangists with one or more bulldozers so they could continue their operation. These acts of commission and omission "constitute a breach of duty and dereliction of the duty incumbent upon the chief of staff." Despite these "grave conclusions," the commission made no recommendation with regard to the chief of staff, since he was about to complete his term of office.

As for the other principal actors in the drama, the commission made no recommendation with respect to the director of the Mossad—his identity is not revealed while he holds office—largely because he had assumed office only four days before the massacre; it recommended the dismissal of the director of military intelligence, Major General Yehoshua Saguy, who provided perceptive analyses of the situation, but failed to press his viewpoint, adopting instead a passive role; it made no recommendation with respect to the O.C. northern command, Major General Amir Drori, though holding him responsible for not persisting in the actions he had begun to take when he learned that something was wrong in the refugee camps; and it recommended that Brigadier General Amos Yaron, the Beirut divisional commander at the time of the massacre, "not serve in the capacity of a field commander in the Israel Defense Forces, and that this recommendation not be reconsidered before three years have passed."

In an appearance before the cabinet on February 9, Chief of Staff Eitan stated that the general staff felt that the commission’s findings and recommendations were disproportionate to the actions of the officers as described in the report. On February 10 (the day on which the cabinet voted to accept the report) the two officers most harshly dealt with, generals Saguy and Yaron, told the cabinet that the implications of the Kahan Commission’s findings concerning them would produce a negative effect within the IDF. Yaron averred that the upcoming generation of IDF officers would be hesitant to assume responsibility for difficult decisions, given the report’s severity. Saguy joined a long list of IDF directors of military intelligence who had their careers cut short. He resigned his position at the demand of the new defense minister, Moshe Arens, and left the IDF in August. On April 15 Major General Ehud Barak, head of the general staff’s planning division, was named the new director of military intelligence. Arens also relieved General Yaron of his divisional command and initially refused to accede to the recommendation of the new chief
of staff, Lieutenant General Moshe Levy, that Yaron be appointed chief of the IDF's manpower branch with promotion to the rank of major general—this in line with a legal ruling by the attorney general that such a move would violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Kahan Commission's recommendations regarding Yaron. However, Arens eventually approved the appointment, after Yaron asked Prime Minister Begin to intercede on his behalf.

Public disenchantment with the war was high even before the release of the Kahan Commission report. A poll published in Ha'aretz at the beginning of February showed that only 40.7 per cent of the public justified the course of the war, as against 65.9 per cent who had expressed their approval in July 1982. The Israeli presence in Lebanon continued to exact a heavy price in soldiers killed and wounded as anti-IDF terrorism increased. In the Shouf mountains, the IDF found itself in the unwelcome role of policeman striving to keep Christians and Druze from each other's throats. The PLO and Syrians were using the prisoner exchange issue as a lever to conduct psychological warfare against Israel, demanding the release of thousands of Israeli-held prisoners for the eleven Israeli soldiers they were known to be holding. On March 16 yet another aspect of the Israeli presence in Lebanon was brought strikingly home when, in a scene that recalled similar incidents in the West Bank over the years (leading some to dub southern Lebanon the "North Bank"), a demonstrator was shot in the leg as Israeli troops dispersed a violent protest rally staged in front of IDF headquarters in Sidon by some 500 women from the nearby Ein Hilweh refugee camp. It was against this gloomy background that the tripartite talks continued, and not even a visit to Washington by the foreign ministers of Israel and of Lebanon (the two men met separately with administration leaders) produced a breakthrough.

One of the major stumbling blocks to progress in the tripartite talks was the inability of the parties to agree on the role to be played by militia chief Sa'ad Haddad. Since Israel had by this time dropped its idea of IDF-run, anti-terrorist control stations in southern Lebanon, Israel regarded the continued presence of Major Haddad as a key element in securing the northern border once the IDF withdrew. However, the Lebanese, supported by the United States, balked at the plan, arguing that it would create a permanent autonomous zone in the south over which the Beirut government would, effectively, lack sovereignty, and that, in addition, Haddad was a defector from the Lebanese army and as such had to stand trial.

On April 22 President Reagan announced that he was sending Secretary of State George Shultz to the region in order "to bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations in Lebanon." Reagan stressed two "basic goals" of Washington's Middle East policy that Shultz would be trying to achieve—secure borders for Israel and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, so that Beirut could "assert its sovereignty and begin real reconstruction."

By the eve of the Shultz mission, it was abundantly clear that no matter what Jerusalem, Beirut, and Washington decided, the key to Lebanon's future lay in
Damascus. Syria, which had taken a military drubbing from Israel in the 1982 fighting, had, after being reequipped by the Soviet Union, emerged within months as the dominant power not only in Lebanon but, in some ways, the entire region, given its ability to take the initiative and force Israel to respond to its moves, both actual and psychological. Outfitted with state-of-the-art Soviet war materials, such as SAM-5 ground-to-air missiles (manned by Soviet personnel), Damascus felt itself sufficiently secure to artificially escalate tension with Israel almost at will. One such round of heightened tension came in late March and April, in the form of Syrian troop movements in Lebanon's Beka'a Valley, which led the IDF to take precautionary measures. This in turn provoked a Soviet warning to Israel not to attack Syria, leading Prime Minister Begin to deny any such intention. Thus, as the Shultz mission got under way, Israeli-Syrian tension was high, and that tension formed a constant backdrop to the secretary of state's efforts, affecting the accord that was finally achieved.

On May 6, nine days after Shultz launched his shuttle negotiations between Jerusalem and Beirut, and eleven months to the day since the start of Operation Peace for Galilee, the cabinet voted 17-2 to approve a draft agreement with Lebanon. In a television interview, Defense Minister Arens rejected criticism that the agreement was "too little, too late," explaining, "We have finally reached an agreement with the Lebanese government after 35 years of a state of war and over ten years of attacks launched from Lebanese territory." Arens denied that Israel had abandoned Major Haddad, noting that the militia commander would have "major responsibilities" as a "senior officer" in the Lebanese army in southern Lebanon, with 30 men under his personal authority. The defense minister expressed hope that a full-fledged peace treaty with Lebanon would be signed in the future. He also pointed out that since the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon was, by the terms of the accord, contingent upon the simultaneous evacuation of PLO and Syrian forces, their refusal to withdraw had been taken into account as a "potential" development. (Syria, in fact, rejected the agreement out of hand when Shultz met with President Hafez al-Assad in Damascus on May 7.)

The split within Israel over the war in Lebanon was clearly manifested when the Knesset debated the proposed agreement on May 11. Foreign Minister Shamir, expressing hope that the IDF could soon return home from Lebanon after completing its "magnificent operation" there, said that Israel had achieved its main goal in the war—the liquidation of the PLO's "pirate state" in Lebanon. A byproduct of the agreement, he said, was that Israel's contacts with the United States during the negotiations had helped put an end to misunderstandings between the two countries that had arisen during Operation Peace for Galilee. Replying for the Alignment, Labor party chairman Shimon Peres contended that Israel had effectively given the Syrians and the PLO the final say about the future of Lebanon. Syria, he said, should be given a time limit for accepting the agreement, failing which the IDF should execute a unilateral pullback to a 45 km. security belt. On May 16, following eight
more hours of repetitive debate, the Knesset approved the agreement by a vote of 57-6, with 45 abstentions, chiefly from the Alignment.

On May 17 the agreement—"between the government of the State of Israel and the government of the Republic of Lebanon"—was signed in separate ceremonies at Khalde, near Beirut, and in Kiryat Shemona. Although it was far from the peace treaty that had been envisioned by Israeli policy makers just one year earlier, it did contain notable language. Both sides declared their desire "to ensure lasting security for both their states;" asserted that they "consider[ed] the existing international boundary between [them] inviolable;" and confirmed that "the state of war between [them] has been terminated." Article 4 stated:

1. The territory of each party will not be used as a base for hostile or terrorist activity against the other party, its territory, or its people.
2. Each party will prevent the existence or organization of irregular forces, armed bands, organizations, bases, offices or infrastructure, the aims and purposes of which include incursions or any act of terrorism into the territory of the other party, or any other activity aimed at threatening or endangering the security of the other party and safety of its people. To this end all agreements and arrangements enabling the presence and functioning on the territory of either party of elements hostile to the other party are null and void.

An annex on security arrangements spelled out the dimensions of a security region that was to be created north of the Israeli border, and detailed which forces would be permitted to enter the zone. Major Haddad's militia (though not named explicitly in the text) would be made part of the Lebanese "auxiliary forces" and "accorded a proper status under Lebanese law to enable it to continue guarding the villages in the security region." Israel undertook to withdraw all its forces from Lebanon "within 8 to 12 weeks of the entry into force of the present agreement . . . consistent with the objective of Lebanon that all external forces withdraw from Lebanon."

As many in Israel had foreseen, Lebanon, under heavy pressure from Syria and Syrian surrogates in Lebanon, failed to ratify the agreement by year's end. The central government in Beirut was, in fact, as yet incapable of implementing its part of the agreement even if it had been ratified. Aggravating the situation was a sharp increase in terrorism—a tactic employed by elements opposed to the agreement—in the period immediately following the signing of the accord; Israel alone had 16 soldiers killed and dozens wounded in about 100 incidents. Damascus, which was thought to be behind the explosion of a booby-trapped car at the U.S. embassy in Beirut on April 18 which took 47 lives, put on a display of its by now traditional brinkmanship. On May 23 Syrian forces fired shoulder-launched Strella missiles at an Israeli helicopter, and two days later Syrian jets fired missiles at Israeli planes on a routine reconnaissance mission; the Syrians missed their targets, and Israel did not respond. On May 27, as the Syrians staged extensive military maneuvers in the Bekaa Valley and on the Golan Heights, Prime Minister Begin called in Alignment leaders to brief them on the deteriorating situation.
On June 1 Prime Minister Begin, replying in the Knesset to an agenda motion by MK Michael Bar-Zohar (Alignment-Labor) entitled “one year of the war in Lebanon,” delivered a speech that was strikingly muted in content. Begin thanked the opposition’s leaders for the understanding they had shown in their recent meeting with him, called for national unity in the face of Syrian threats, and added: “I feel the pain, and so do all members of the Knesset, and so do all loyal citizens of Israel, at the difficult and terrible losses in human life [in Lebanon]. There are undoubtedly those who feel the pain as much as we do, but there is no one who feels it more than we do.”

Three days later the anti-war protest movement hit a peak when Peace Now conducted a mass rally in Tel Aviv, attended by about 150,000 persons, to mark the first anniversary of Operation Peace for Galilee. Smaller groups, formed as a direct response to the war, such as Yesh Gvul (There’s a Limit/Border) and Parents Against Silence, held their own demonstrations earlier in the day and then joined the Peace Now gathering. Pressure on the government did not let up during the following week, which saw the deaths of five more soldiers, bringing the war’s toll to exactly 500 on June 10, with nearly 2,800 wounded. From about mid-May Prime Minister Begin was having anti-war sentiment brought home to him every time he entered or left his residence by the presence of a permanent anti-war demonstration, whose focal point was a large poster bearing the number of Israeli soldiers killed in Lebanon since the fighting began. On June 16 the prime minister received a delegation from the Parents Against Silence group who presented him with a petition containing 10,000 signatures calling for an immediate IDF withdrawal from Lebanon. A week earlier (June 8) the Knesset had defeated (55-47) an Alignment motion calling for just such a unilateral IDF withdrawal in the western and central sectors of Lebanon.

In the absence of Syrian or Lebanese forthcomingness on the agreement, Israel soon began consultations with the United States on the feasibility of an IDF pull-back to a new defensive line in Lebanon. On July 4 Secretary of State Shultz arrived back in the Middle East for a brief round of talks. He met in Damascus with the Syrian leadership, reportedly obtaining Syrian assurances that their troops would not move into any area evacuated by the IDF, and then travelled to Jerusalem. The secretary of state informed Israeli leaders of Beirut’s apprehension that civil strife would erupt in any areas Israel evacuated, particularly the Shouf mountains. In addition, both Beirut and Washington feared that a mere partial withdrawal by Israel would lead to the permanent partitioning of Lebanon by perpetuating a situation in which both Israel and Syria occupied large areas of the country. In response, Prime Minister Begin stated that Israel’s primary concern was the safety of its own soldiers.

On July 20 the cabinet, meeting in special session, approved a plan for the IDF’s redeployment in Lebanon. Four days later, following the regular weekly cabinet meeting, it was announced that Defense Minister Arens and Foreign Minister Shamir had been invited to Washington for urgent talks about the deteriorating
situation in Lebanon. Lebanese president Amin Jemayel had just concluded a visit to the United States, against the background of Israel's redeployment decision. Shamir and Arens, accompanied by senior military advisers and experts on Lebanon, held intensive talks in Washington from July 26-28. Taking part on the American side was Robert McFarlane, deputy national security adviser, who on July 22 was named by President Reagan as his new special envoy to the Middle East, replacing Philip Habib, whose efficacy as a mediator had ended when the Syrians refused to receive him in Damascus. On July 31 Foreign Minister Shamir denied reports that Washington was trying to get Israel to call off or at least delay its redeployment. "The Americans know we have no intention of partitioning Lebanon," he told journalists. President Reagan, speaking on television, said that the Israeli redeployment "represents no major problem at all. In fact it's welcome." His stated reasoning was that the move would increase pressure on Syria to follow suit.

The new U.S. envoy and his aides arrived in the Middle East at the end of July for what proved to be an arduous, month-long round of talks aimed at either getting Syria to change its mind about withdrawing from Lebanon or at least working out a modus vivendi among the rival factions in the areas to be evacuated by the IDF so as to prevent the renewed eruption of the Lebanese civil war. Israel twice postponed its redeployment—originally scheduled, it later emerged, for August 28—to give McFarlane more time. Finally, on September 3-4, the IDF executed the move, pulling back about 30 km. from its forward positions in the western and central sectors to a line along the Awali River, about 45 km. north of the Israeli border. The new line meant that Galilee would still be out of range of katyusha rockets. The IDF gave up control of the Beirut-Damascus highway for which it had fought so fiercely, at a heavy cost in lives, just a year earlier. However, Israel retained the strategic heights of Jebel Barukh, overlooking the Bekaa Valley and large parts of Syria. The ceasefire line with the Syrians, just 23 km. from Damascus, also remained unchanged. Overall, military observers said, the redeployment would enable the IDF to reduce its troops in Lebanon while providing greater safety for those who were stationed there. In a Jerusalem Post interview (September 9), Defense Minister Arens said that although the new line was "not permanent at all, certainly in terms of our intentions," neither would Israel return to the international boundary "until we have a reasonable assurance that the areas we evacuate will not be filled by elements hostile to Israel." Heavy fighting between Druze and Christians, accompanied by sporadic massacres and the flight of refugees across the new Israeli lines, broke out in the Shouf mountains as soon as the IDF left. Reinforced IDF patrols ranged north of the Awali line to make sure that the fighting did not spread southward. Israel welcomed a ceasefire that was worked out in Lebanon under Syrian aegis. However, Israeli officials expressed concern that the Israel-Lebanon agreement now stood virtually no chance of ratification by Beirut since several of the accord's fiercest detractors were prominently represented on a "national reconciliation committee" that President Jemayel was compelled to create in return for a lessening of pressure by the Druze and their Syrian allies. On October 19 President Reagan deplored the Syrians' "destructive role" in Lebanon, putting
an end to reports that Washington was now courting Damascus, as the dominant power in Lebanon, at Jerusalem’s expense.

On October 24 truck-bomb blasts at the U.S. and French military compounds in Beirut claimed over 300 lives and left scores wounded. Israeli hospitals were placed on an emergency footing, but the United States decided to send its wounded as far afield as West Germany for treatment, in a move that was roundly criticized as politically motivated. Israel's new prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, blamed Syria and "terrorist elements" for the attack; some observers thought that Iran might have been involved as well. Defense Minister Arens said on October 28 that the United States had "distanced itself" from Israel as far as a strategy for Lebanon was concerned. Israel, therefore, "had to concentrate on [its] own most important interests," whatever the consequences.

Meanwhile, a series of incidents that claimed the lives of four Israeli soldiers within a week showed that Israel was hardly immune from terrorism either, its pullback to the Awali notwithstanding. Then, on November 4, a booby-trapped van broke through the checkpoints at IDF headquarters in Tyre and exploded inside the military compound. Sixty-one persons were killed, including 29 members of the Israeli security forces; 40 people were wounded, 28 of them Israelis. There was harsh criticism within Israel of the apparent complacency and lax security which had allowed the attack to take place less than two weeks after almost identical operations against U.S. and French military installations in Beirut. Within hours of the attack, Israeli planes carried out two separate bombing missions against what the IDF described as "terrorist headquarters and objectives" in the Beirut area—the first such air action in Lebanon since October 1982. Prime Minister Shamir again held Syria accountable for the attack, charging also that Damascus was seeking to torpedo the Lebanese reconciliation conference that was then underway in Geneva. Shamir reiterated the Israeli position that the IDF would remain in Lebanon until it was certain that northern Israel would no longer come under rocket attack.

Defense Minister Arens appointed a military commission of inquiry to examine the events surrounding the Tyre attack. Headed by retired major general Amnon Reshef, the commission submitted a report that was rejected as inadequate by the cabinet on November 13, with some ministers charging a cover-up. An amended report, which detailed security negligence at the Tyre installation, was accepted on December 18, and the chief of staff was instructed to implement its recommendations.

On November 11 the IDF reopened the Awali River bridges for southbound traffic after they had been closed for a week, following the Tyre attack. The closing of the bridges disrupted normal life for thousands of persons. Even after being resumed, southbound traffic continued to move at a snail's pace as the IDF carried out preventive searches of all vehicles, a move which did not endear the Israelis to the local population.

At home, the Young Herut executive and a group of retired army generals called on the IDF to take harsher measures against reservists who refused to serve in Lebanon for political reasons. By year's end about 100 men had been jailed, usually
for one month, for refusing to go to Lebanon. Yesh Gvul claimed that hundreds of other cases had been dealt with internally, with unit commanders arranging alternative service for soldiers who would not go to Lebanon. In a case that was heard by the supreme court, the legal counsel for the state said that the IDF was duty-bound to fight this “new phenomenon of organized and systematic refusal” to serve because it lowered morale in the army and increased the burden of those who did serve.

In mid-November Syrian defense minister Mustafa Tlass said that his country’s new Soviet-supplied missiles could hit any target in Israel, including “the nuclear reactor in the Negev.” Tlass’s tough talk came amidst air strikes by Israel on November 16, and by France the following day, against bases of a fanatical Shi’ite Muslim terrorist organization operating from Syrian-controlled territory in Lebanon. On November 20 the Israeli air force struck at terrorist positions east of Beirut following a series of attacks on IDF troops in Lebanon. In that operation an Israeli pilot who bailed out when his Kfir jet was downed by ground fire was returned to Israel within hours by the Lebanese army.

On November 24 six Israeli soldiers who had been held for over a year by Yasir Arafat’s Fatah branch of the PLO returned home, where they received a jubilant reception. The six had been among eight soldiers captured on September 4, 1982 at an IDF outpost at Bahamdoun; the other two were in the hands of Ahmed Jibril’s Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command. The price of the exchange was high: the release of some 4,500 prisoners from the Ansar detention facility in Lebanon; the freeing of 63 terrorists serving long sentences (over half of them life terms) in Israeli jails; and the return of 36 terrorists who had been detained by the Israeli navy while en route from Cyprus to Tripoli, in northern Lebanon.

Defense Minister Arens denied that the negotiations which had led to the exchange signalled any change in Israel’s attitude toward the PLO. Attorney Shmuel Tamir, minister of justice in the first Likud government, who served as Israel’s chief negotiator, said that Israel was compelled to make “very painful concessions” in the negotiations because the situation of the captive soldiers had become extremely precarious due to the fierce fighting between PLO factions around Tripoli, where the Israelis were being held. Among those who provided behind-the-scenes help in working out the exchange were the International Red Cross, the French government, former Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky and his aide Herbert Amry, and PLO official Issam Sartawi.

One person who had no cause to celebrate the prisoner exchange was Ziad Abu Ain, who had been scheduled to be released from an Israeli jail, but was not. Ain had been extradited from the United States to Israel, where he was sentenced to life imprisonment. In mid-December a defense ministry spokesman said that Israel would not release Ain—whose failure to be included in the prisoner exchange was, the spokesman said, the result of a series of technical errors originating with the list of prisoners given to Israel—despite a December 5 communiqué issued by the International Red Cross stating that it “expected the terms of the agreement to be strictly respected” and charging further that Israel was holding “several” other Palestinian prisoners who were to have been freed as part of the exchange.
On December 3 Israeli planes struck at terrorist bases in Lebanon in retaliation for attacks on Israeli soldiers. The following day U.S. jets bombed Syrian military targets in Lebanon—losing two planes in the process—giving rise to reports of a "secret pact" between Israel and the United States, since Prime Minister Shamir and Defense Minister Arens had been in Washington for talks on the eve of the back-to-back air strikes. On December 2 Shamir had stated that both Israel and the United States regarded "Syrian aggression, which is massively supported by the Soviet Union," as the chief obstacle to any settlement in Lebanon.

The tail end of 1983 saw yet another of the many ironic twists of the Lebanon war. As international efforts got under way to evacuate PLO chief Arafat and his men, who were under siege in Tripoli by Syrian-backed PLO rebels led by Abu Moussa, the Israeli government expressed anger at UN involvement in the evacuation scheme and instructed the navy to shell Fatah positions around Tripoli, effectively blocking any move to rescue the Arafat loyalists. Cabinet ministers issued conflicting statements about Israel's intentions; some demanded that Israel seize the opportunity to capture Arafat. The issue was one of the items on the agenda when the new U.S. special envoy to the Middle East, Donald Rumsfeld (the third special envoy during the year, Rumsfeld having replaced McFarlane, who was appointed national security adviser), arrived for talks in mid-December. In a radio interview, Defense Minister Arens called on "civilized democratic countries" to demand, at a minimum, that Arafat "lay down his arms and abandon terrorism" in return for being saved for the second time in little over a year. Nevertheless, on December 20 Arafat and 4,000 of his loyalists were evacuated from Tripoli aboard Greek ships flying the UN flag, with French naval protection. Speaking in the Knesset on December 21, Prime Minister Shamir expressed "protest and amazement" that the UN had given the PLO chief its protection, especially following a murderous bomb attack on a Jerusalem bus just two weeks earlier which had claimed six lives. There was criticism within Israel to the effect that the government's vacillating policy had given Arafat a political victory. The Israeli leadership was further exercised when Arafat was welcomed in Cairo by President Hosni Mubarak in a move that had United States support.

In the final week of the year two Israeli soldiers were killed and 12 wounded in clashes in central and southern Lebanon, bringing the total since the start of the war to 563 dead and 3,200 wounded. Israel was holding 2,800 sq. miles of Lebanese territory, containing 520,000 people—65,000 Christians, 30,000 Druze, 60,000 Sunni Muslims, 95,000 Palestinians, and 270,000 Shi'ites. The Israeli front line was 115 km. long from the coast to the eastern sector; the Israeli navy patrolled 62 km. of Lebanese coastline.

A poll published in late December by the weekly Koteret Rashit showed that for the first time a majority (51 per cent) of the public thought that the war should not have been fought at all, as opposed to 84 per cent who supported it shortly after it began, 18 months earlier. However, there was less consensus as to what Israel should do, given the situation that currently existed.
Foreign Relations

Following the pattern of recent years, Israel's relations with its chief ally, the United States, underwent a fairly dizzying cycle of ups and downs in 1983. This was due in no small measure to U.S. policy vacillations over Lebanon, combined with unclear short-term Israeli goals in that country, all of this compounded by the unbending attitude of the Syrians.

The year began on a positive note with a ten-day visit to the United States by President Yitzhak Navon, in which he met with President Reagan and other administration leaders, as well as with numerous politicians, intellectuals, and Jewish community leaders. Returning home on January 16, Navon said he had not sensed any attempt to exert pressure on Israel in his meeting with President Reagan, although the latter had expressed support for his September 1982 peace initiative, which Israel had rejected. Reagan was a “friend of Israel,” the Israeli president said.

Nevertheless, the first part of the year was marked by strained relations between the two countries due to friction between U.S. marines and IDF troops in Lebanon —this against the background of relentless United States pressure on Israel to be more forthcoming in the tripartite talks aimed at securing an Israel-Lebanon agreement. The situation was somewhat alleviated on March 21, when Defense Minister Arens announced that Israel would supply the U.S. with secret military information it had acquired in the course of the war in Lebanon, even though no formal agreement to that effect had yet been concluded. (A draft agreement worked out in 1982 had never been approved due to Israel’s insistence that the information not be passed on to other countries, including NATO members.) The very next day the United States announced that it was resuming arms sales to Israel—200 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles worth $16 million—for the first time since the start of the Lebanon war. Yet, ten days later, with the Lebanon talks at an impasse, President Reagan stated that he would not authorize the shipment of 75 F-16 fighters to Israel as long as IDF troops remained on Lebanese soil. Although Israeli diplomats in Washington were assured that this was a technical matter and did not constitute any meaningful U.S. policy shift, Foreign Minister Shamir expressed regret over the decision, the more so as Israel had made it clear to the United States that it had “no territorial designs on Lebanon.” The following week Shamir lashed out at U.S. policy in the Middle East, arguing that it was “just the opposite of what is required to advance the cause of peace in the region.” He charged that U.S. negotiators were out to thwart an agreement in Lebanon that came “too close to peace” and was therefore likely to rile other Arab countries.

Jerusalem was also upset by two U.S. statements at this time concerning other territory being held by Israel. On April 10 the cabinet deliberated the significance of an administration pledge to Jordan that it would apply pressure on Israel to freeze its West Bank settlement program if King Hussein joined the peace process. Following the meeting, the cabinet secretary told reporters that the government would not alter its settlement policy. Off the record, Israeli officials said that the U.S. statement
was a "desperate attempt" to salvage the 1982 Reagan initiative. Two weeks later Israel said it would seek "clarifications" from Washington regarding a letter from President Reagan to Syrian president Assad calling for talks on Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Prime Minister Begin asserted that the area, under Israeli law since the end of 1981, would always remain so.

Tension with the United States notwithstanding, the Senate foreign relations committee approved an aid package for Israel of over $2.6 billion for 1984—$460 million above what the administration had originally proposed, and $35 million more than the amount passed by the House of Representatives earlier in the month. Half of the military aid figure of $1.7 billion was in the form of a grant.

Relations between the Reagan and Shamir administrations took a marked turn for the better following the signing of the Israel-Lebanon agreement on May 17. Just three days later President Reagan announced that he was lifting the ban on the sale of the 75 F-16 planes. (The formal contract was signed on August 19; all the planes were to be delivered by 1989.) In another policy shift, the administration announced that it would support the increased aid voted Israel by the Congress. On June 10 President Reagan told the delegates to the national B'nai B'rith convention that the United States would maintain Israel's "qualitative edge" over the Arabs in weaponry; the United States, he said, would be "a rock of support" for Israel.

Support, however, was not forthcoming for one of the linchpins of Israeli policy. In August, a state department spokesman, replying to reporters' questions concerning Kuwait's refusal to accept the U.S. ambassador-designate because he had served previously as United States consul-general in Jerusalem, declared that the U.S. did not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Washington, the spokesman said, "considers East Jerusalem as occupied territory in accordance with UN resolution 242 and international law." Retorting, a spokesman for the foreign ministry in Jerusalem issued a statement asserting that "Jerusalem is one city, indivisible, the capital of the State of Israel."

The thorny issue of Israeli settlement policy in the administered areas also came up in August, when the United States vetoed a UN security council draft resolution calling on Israel to dismantle its settlements. State department spokesman John Hughes, explaining the vote, said such a demand was "impractical"; moreover, he added, "sterile argument as to whether the settlements are legal" under international law only "deflects attention from the basic issue: the harmful impact of settlement activity on efforts to achieve a fair and peaceful resolution of the conflict over the occupied territories." Despite its latter part, Foreign Minister Shamir welcomed the U.S. explanation, saying that the "legal reality" embedded in the U.S. position would now have to be accepted by others.

Clarifying matters a few days later, Secretary of State George Shultz said there had been no change in United States policy regarding the future of the settlements. The comments by the state department spokesman, Shultz remarked, were "perfectly consistent" with the Reagan initiative of September 1982, "namely, that in so far as the settlements on the West Bank are concerned, one could foresee them
staying right where they are, but the residents of those settlements would live under the legal jurisdiction of whatever jurisdiction resulted from the negotiations.” As for further settlement activity, however, the secretary of state reiterated the U.S. position that “new settlements on the West Bank are not constructive. They don’t help us at all in our search for peace.” Toward the end of August, President Reagan also termed the establishment of new settlements an “obstacle to peace.” For Israel, and for the entire region, he averred, “permanent security” could come only “with the achievement of a just and lasting peace, not by sole reliance on increasingly expensive military forces.”

That Jerusalem and Washington did not always see eye-to-eye on the meaning of “security” was shown in October, when Israel let it be known that it opposed an administration plan to set up a Jordanian rapid deployment force for possible intervention in the Persian Gulf. Israeli officials expressed concern about the matter following Washington’s confirmation that elements of the proposed Jordanian force had already received U.S. training. Israel, however, decided to pursue the matter via quiet diplomacy. The fact that the Shamir government did not make waves at this time may have been instrumental in securing the Reagan administration’s agreement, in mid-October, to develop parts for Israel’s Lavi jet fighter in the United States. About a month later, the Senate endorsed a House of Representatives decision to allow Israel to spend up to $550 million in foreign military sales credits to help develop the Lavi.

In mid-November Chaim Herzog became the second Israeli president within a year to come to the United States. His 11-day visit closely followed the pattern set by his predecessor, Yitzhak Navon, at the beginning of 1983. Upon his return home, Herzog said that even though he had found a very positive attitude toward Israel in Washington, no “undue expectations” should be held out for the visit to the U.S. by Prime Minister Shamir and Defense Minister Arens that was to take place the next week. Yet Shamir, upon his return to Israel, called the visit “one of the finest hours” in Israeli-U.S. relations, adding that “with the help of the United States, I hope we shall surmount all our difficulties—military, political, and economic.” Shamir noted that negotiations on the creation of a “free trade zone” between the two countries were to be intensified. More dramatically, he announced that Israel and the United States had agreed on plans for strategic cooperation, including the formation of a joint political-military committee to coordinate policy in various spheres. The cooperation, Shamir said, was designed “to strengthen Israel and deter threats to the region.” President Reagan seemed to take rather a broader view of the matter when he told reporters in Washington that the new committee, besides considering operational matters, would also “give priority attention to the threat to our mutual interests posed by increased Soviet involvement in the Middle East.”

Addressing the Knesset on December 7, Prime Minister Shamir was at pains to assert that no secret agreements had been concluded between Israel and Washington during his visit. (A similar “memorandum of understanding” on strategic cooperation between the two countries, agreed upon in 1981, had been mutually suspended in the wake of Israel’s annexation of the Golan Heights.)
Despite the highly optimistic tone of the prime minister's statements, the year ended on a somewhat frosty note when Israel denounced Washington's support of a meeting between Egyptian president Mubarak and PLO chief Arafat, following the latter's expulsion from Tripoli. Prime Minister Shamir told the cabinet on December 25 that he had sent a strongly worded cable of protest to Secretary of State Shultz. Speaking with visiting U.S. senator Christopher Dodd, Shamir complained that Washington had failed to grasp the significance of the Arafat-Mubarak meeting, which would serve to legitimate terrorism and Arafat's standing despite his defeat in Lebanon.

Israel's relations with Europe remained unchanged during the year, despite sporadic friction concerning the role of the multinational force in Lebanon, in which France, Great Britain, and Italy, besides the United States, were participants. A scheduled five-day visit to three European countries by Foreign Minister Shamir in February was cut short when he returned to Israel following publication of the Kahan Commission report. Shamir described the talks with his West German counterpart as "friendly and cordial," although public statements by both sides strongly suggested that the by now traditional differences of outlook regarding Middle East policy continued unchanged. The issue of West German arms sales to Saudi Arabia, which was to have been aired during a scheduled visit to Israel by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, was confined to quieter diplomatic channels during the year when Kohl cancelled the visit due to the resignation of Prime Minister Begin virtually on the eve of the German leader's arrival. (Some political observers believed that one of the reasons for Begin's resignation at that particular time was his last-minute recoil from having to officially greet a German chancellor. The Kohl visit was subsequently rescheduled for the first part of 1984.)

Israel utterly rejected a new European Economic Community (EEC) statement on the Middle East that was issued on March 22. Focusing on Israeli settlement policy in the territories, the EEC declaration termed the settlements both illegal and a "growing and major obstacle" to peace in the region. The EEC also called on Israel to "show that it stands ready for genuine negotiations." In response, Foreign Minister Shamir asserted that of all the countries in the region, Israel alone "has incessantly demanded peace negotiations." In the next month Israel took Britain to task following a meeting between Deputy Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and PLO senior official Farouk Kadoumi, the first meeting ever between a British minister and a top PLO figure. Israel also protested to Sweden following the visit there of Yasir Arafat, as a guest of that country's Socialist party, and to Finland for allowing the PLO to open an office in Helsinki.

In an unusual flurry of diplomatic activity in July, two European foreign ministers—Claude Cheysson of France and Hans Van den Broek of Holland—were in Israel at the same time as U.S. secretary of state George Shultz. Cheysson paid a lightning visit of several hours as part of a Middle East tour, meeting with Foreign Minister Shamir. Van den Broek told a press conference, following a three-day visit, that Israel's settlement policy in the West Bank was "not a positive signal to the Arab world to resume negotiations." However, the Dutch minister "commended" Israel
for having signed the agreement with Lebanon that was worked out two months earlier.

While persistent reports of a breakthrough in Israel's relations with Spain proved unfounded (the two countries did not maintain diplomatic relations), Iberia, Spain's national airline, began flying to Tel Aviv in July, a move that was reciprocated by El Al a month later.

Foreign Minister Shamir paid a three-day visit to Rumania in August, telling reporters on his return home that his talks were a "contribution" to Israel's efforts to resume diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Israel and Rumania agreed to further strengthen trade relations between them by expanding the authority of a joint Israel-Rumania economic commission. Shamir asked Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu to use his good offices to obtain Syrian and PLO agreement to a prisoner exchange with Israel.

Austrian defense minister Friedhelm Frischenschlagger paid a brief visit to Israel in August within the framework of a tour of inspection of the Austrian contingent to the UNDOF mission on the Golan Heights. He told Israeli officials that his country would intensify its efforts to bring about a prisoner exchange agreement. In September, Delek, an Israeli fuel company, signed a contract to purchase 500,000 tons of oil from Norway in 1984. Israel had been seeking such a deal for years, but Oslo had demurred because of Arab pressure. Earlier in the year Norwegian foreign minister Svenn Stray had paid a four-day visit to Israel; the focus of his discussion was the UNIFIL force in southern Lebanon, which included a Norwegian contingent.

Europe's growing involvement in Middle East peacekeeping was underscored yet again at the very end of the year when Italian foreign minister Giulio Andreotti visited Israel. Andreotti told Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shamir that Italy would reduce its troop strength in Lebanon, as agreed upon in Beirut. Shamir used the occasion to raise the issue of the serious damage that would be done to Israeli agricultural exports to Europe when Spain and Portugal entered the EEC; he urged that concrete measures be taken to minimize the damage.

Israel's relations with Africa were expanded when Liberia became the second country on that continent in two years to resume diplomatic relations with Israel, following a decade-long rupture in the wake of the Yom Kippur War. Foreign Minister Shamir expressed "great satisfaction" following a statement issued in Monrovia on August 13 explaining that the decision to renew relations had been made because "the continued estrangement and isolation of Israel undermines the prospect for a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem." On August 22 Liberian president Samuel Doe, heading a large delegation, became the first black African leader in ten years to visit Israel in an official capacity. Prime Minister Begin lauded Doe's "courageous decision" to resume diplomatic relations. A series of agreements was signed between the two countries, covering agriculture, medicine, road construction, cultural exchanges, and an Israeli undertaking to restructure Liberia's internal security services. Doe also met with President Herzog and
addressed an American UJA mission. Although Liberia had initially stated that it would reopen its embassy in Jerusalem, second thoughts evidently prompted a decision in favor of Tel Aviv.

At the beginning of the year, Defense Minister Sharon led a large Israeli delegation on a four-day visit to Zaire, the first African country to resume formal ties with Israel. Upon returning home on January 21, Sharon said that while a number of military agreements had been signed, Israelis helping to reorganize the Zairean army would not take part in any fighting within that country or "in any war between states." He noted that the sale of arms and equipment to Zaire would "contribute to Israel's exports." In February, Zaire's defense chief headed a military delegation that visited Israel for five days.

Relations with Latin America continued on a generally good footing. Costa Rica's minister of public security visited Israel in early January as the guest of Defense Minister Sharon, seeking military and agricultural aid for his country. In August, El Salvador followed the lead of Costa Rica in announcing the return of its embassy to Jerusalem. (All the foreign embassies in Jerusalem moved to Tel Aviv following passage of the Jerusalem law in 1980.) Late November saw visits by Chilean foreign minister Miguel Schweitzer Walters—"to improve the already good relations between our two countries"—and Haitian foreign and religious affairs minister Jean-Robert Estime, who requested increased Israeli agricultural and medical assistance. Relations with Argentina were marked by growing demands in Israel that Buenos Aires account for Jews who had disappeared in recent years.

**Normalization of Relations with Egypt**

Relations with Egypt remained very cool throughout the year. Talks on the Taba issue, which reopened on March 2 in Ismailiya, resulted in the creation of a subcommittee to "determine areas of agreement." Seemingly, there were few of these, as the issue of the 700-meter strip of beach south of Eilat remained unresolved at the end of the year. Egypt sporadically detained Israeli yachtsmen who entered Egyptian waters off the Taba coast.

Israeli hopes that Egypt would return its ambassador to Tel Aviv following the signing of the Israel-Lebanon agreement on May 17 were disappointed. (Ambassador Sa'ad Mortada was recalled to Cairo in the wake of the Beirut refugee camps massacre in September 1982.) However, an optimistic note was sounded by Leaman Hunt, director-general of the multinational force and observers (MFO) in the Sinai. He stated that "the success of the MFO in its first year is a result of the commitment of the governments of Egypt and Israel to the observance of both the spirit and the letter of the peace treaty."

In an interview with the Jerusalem Post in July, Ahmed Gomaa, who was concluding a three-year term of duty at the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv, presented the Egyptian point of view on the troubled relations between the two countries. He said that since the signing of the peace treaty, Israel and Egypt had been moving
from "crisis to crisis," citing the Jerusalem and Golan Heights laws, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, "the dishonoring of pledges on settlements," and Lebanon. Gomaa termed the Lebanon war "a failure of the Israel-Egypt peace process" in that "the essence of that process was to . . . convince Israel that through peace it can obtain security."

In late August, Energy Minister Yitzhak Modai became the first Israeli cabinet minister to visit Egypt in well over a year. Upon his return home he told reporters that his talks with President Mubarak and with his Egyptian counterpart had indicated the possibility of a "thaw in the cold peace" between the two countries.

Defense Minister Arens failed to see any grounds for optimism when he was interviewed by the Jerusalem Post at about the same time as Modai's visit. Arens stated bluntly that "Egypt is in clear violation of the [peace] treaty," explaining: "We have given up the Sinai, but we do not have diplomatic relations on an ambassadorial level. They have recalled their ambassador. This was their quid pro quo, and they have clearly violated it." The defense minister repeated this assertion in a ceremony (October 3) marking the official opening of the 15,000-acre Nevatim air force base in the Negev, one of three such bases constructed to offset the IDF's loss of the Sinai, where Israel had maintained 11 airfields and 18 runways.

In a policy statement to the Knesset on October 10, upon assuming the position of prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir called on Egypt to return to the autonomy talks and on Jordan and "the Arabs of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza" to participate as well, arguing that "the Camp David agreements are the only agreed document, and hence the only way of continuing the [peace] process." Shamir's remarks were promptly rejected by Egyptian foreign minister Kamal Hassan Ali, who urged Israeli "flexibility," adding that the autonomy talks had collapsed due to Israel's "wrong interpretation of the Camp David provisions on autonomy."

Early in November, foreign ministry director-general David Kimche became the second top-ranking Israeli official to visit Cairo in 1983. Kimche told reporters in the Egyptian capital that both sides were determined to improve relations. However, at the end of November the Egyptian weekly October reported that Israel had been banned from the Cairo international book fair (scheduled for January 1984) for the second consecutive year, due to its position on Lebanon. Israeli athletes were also refused permission to take part in the world amateur karate championship tournament in Cairo.

As the year drew to an end, Cairo and Jerusalem traded accusations that each was damaging the peace process by its actions. Egyptian president Mubarak said that the Israeli-U.S. strategic cooperation agreement was a further obstacle to peace in the region, and that it would only serve to anger moderate Arab governments. Two other ranking Egyptian officials, Prime Minister Fuad Mohiedin and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali, were also scathing in their criticism of the agreement. Israel's turn came two weeks later, when PLO chief Arafat visited Cairo, following his expulsion from Lebanon. A statement issued by the foreign ministry said that the meeting between Mubarak and "the head of the
murderous PLO” was “a severe blow to the peace process in the Middle East.” Prime Minister Shamir told the Knesset’s defense and foreign affairs committee that the Arafat-Mubarak meeting constituted “a violation of the Camp David accords” and was detrimental to “the understanding which forms the basis of Camp David.”

Still, on December 29, Egyptian assistant secretary of state Shafi Abdel Hamid arrived in Israel to reciprocate David Kimche’s Cairo visit of the previous month. Hamid told reporters that he had received a “warm reception” from Prime Minister Shamir and other officials, and that his discussions “were characterized by frankness in order to speed up the peace process.”

Israel and the Middle East

Israeli leaders made several references during the year to the possibility of negotiations with Jordan’s King Hussein. They came against the background of great, though ultimately unfulfilled, American expectations that Hussein would announce his intention to enter talks in the wake of his own contacts with PLO chief Arafat, who paid a number of visits to Amman in 1983.

On January 7 Prime Minister Begin informed U.S. senator Paul Tsongas, who had met with King Hussein before coming to Israel, that since the Camp David accords called for the Jordanian monarch to participate in peace talks, Israel would welcome him without any preconditions. Tsongas told Begin that Hussein wanted Israel to halt its settlement program in the West Bank before he entered into discussions. In the same week Foreign Minister Shamir said that even if Hussein got a green light from the Arab world to negotiate with Israel, no Israeli, not even the most moderate, would be able to accept his proposals.

In mid-January Defense Minister Sharon declared that Israel would not countenance any PLO participation, “whether covert or overt,” in peace talks. He stated that Israel would negotiate only with “Arabs of Judea, Samaria and Gaza” who were genuinely interested in peaceful coexistence with the Jewish state. Sharon thus implicitly rejected, in an evident Israeli policy switch, possible participation in peace talks by Arabs identified with the PLO but not formally belonging to it.

At about the same time that Sharon was making his remarks, three Israelis belonging to the Council for Israel-Palestinian Peace—Major General (res.) Mattityahu Peled, former finance ministry director-general Yaacov Arnon, and journalist Uri Avnery (the latter had already met with Arafat in Beirut in the midst of the Lebanon war)—were meeting in Tunis with PLO chief Arafat, his aide Issam Sartawi, and others. The meeting sparked off fierce denunciations in Israel, including calls for criminal prosecution of the Israeli participants. However, the attorney general ruled that no grounds existed for such prosecution. (Sartawi, who had been meeting with Israelis for years, was shot dead a few months later in Portugal, while attending a meeting of the Socialist International. Labor Party chairman Shimon Peres, who was also at the conference, said that while he opposed the PLO, he
respected Sartawi's efforts "to swim against the stream." The killing, Peres said, had been prompted by the fact that Sartawi was a "moderate.")

In a briefing before the Knesset's defense and foreign affairs committee at the end of January, Prime Minister Begin noted that the Palestinian National Council, the PLO "parliament," which had just concluded a meeting in Algiers, had failed to change the Palestinian covenant and had not decided to abandon terrorism. On March 3, Foreign Minister Shamir, referring to a comment by King Hussein that Jordan and the PLO had made great progress "toward establishing close federal relationships that will realize the common hope of the Jordanians and the Palestinians to rescue the Palestinian land and people," told the Knesset that while Israel would welcome Jordanian participation in peace talks, Israel must be watchful for "traps . . . designed to get us to cede part of the homeland without advancing us toward peace."

After a protracted series of meetings over several months, King Hussein announced on April 10 that his country would not join peace talks at the present juncture, either on its own or "in lieu of anyone else." In reaction, Foreign Minister Shamir told reporters that the Reagan initiative of September 1982 was "no longer alive." He said that it was "utterly absurd" for anyone to believe that a peace agreement could be achieved under PLO aegis.

Israel continued to view Syria as its main military threat. Toward the end of the year it was confirmed that the Soviet Union had installed advanced SS-21 surface-to-surface missiles in Syria, in addition to the SA-5 ground-to-air missiles and the state-of-the-art aircraft and other equipment it had supplied. The introduction of the new missiles was accompanied by a further influx of Soviet advisers and other military personnel into Syria.

Speaking in the Knesset in November, Defense Minister Arens stated that with the aid of Saudi financing and Soviet weaponry, the Syrians had established an army of over 400,000 troops, whose aim was to bring about the creation of "Greater Syria," encompassing not only Lebanon, but also Jordan and Israel. In an address delivered in Jerusalem about a month later, Arens asserted that the Syrian and Israeli armies were equal in manpower potential, and that Soviet weapons were continuing to pour into Syria without letup. "Therefore," he concluded, "we must continue to allocate one-quarter, or even one-third, of our GNP for security purposes. We must do this even if it means cutting back on such vital needs as housing, education, and health care."

**Political Affairs**

The Lebanon war, both directly and indirectly, played a significant role in the dramatic political developments that occurred in 1983. By year's end, the country had a new prime minister, a new defense minister, a new finance minister, and a new president. Yet all these personnel changes took place within the framework of the same government. Thus policy content remained largely unaffected, although the style of the new leadership was different.
At the beginning of February, President Navon ended months of speculation by announcing that he would not seek re-election when his term of office expired in May. Political observers felt that the announcement was timed with a view to the forthcoming release of the Kahan Commission report, whose expected consequences had the potential of producing a new national election by the end of the year. Such a situation might lead Navon to try to wrest the Labor party leadership from Shimon Peres in order to head the Alignment ticket.

The Kahan Commission report's conclusions and recommendations—particularly with respect to Defense Minister Sharon—plunged the government and country into a major crisis, unleashing a furious debate that resulted in a political murder. From the outset, Sharon made it clear that he would not resign of his own accord. Backed by parts of the government coalition and sections of the Herut party, he asserted that he could not accept the Kahan Commission report as it stood. Sharon was particularly vexed by the chapter on "indirect responsibility" which, he said, would give Israel's enemies license to stigmatize the Jewish state with the "mark of Cain."

The cabinet held three emergency meetings in three days on whether to accept the Kahan Commission report and its recommendations. As the last of these cabinet sessions was being held on Thursday evening, February 10, several thousand people took part in a march in Jerusalem organized by the Peace Now movement to protest Sharon's refusal to go and to demand the resignation of the entire government. As they walked through the streets of downtown Jerusalem, the marchers were cursed and reviled by spectators and passersby, who called them "fascists" and "PLOniks" while chanting "Be-gin! Be-gin!" and "Arik [Sharon], king of Israel!" Not content with hurling verbal abuse, some members of the crowd attacked the marchers. Arriving stunned and shaken in front of the prime minister's office, the demonstrators pulled themselves together and began chanting anti-government slogans which were audible in the cabinet room.

At approximately 8:30 P.M., as the demonstrators were dispersing after singing the national anthem, a hand grenade was hurled into the crowd. It took the life of Emil Grunzweig, 33, a longtime Peace Now activist, a paratroop officer in the reserves, and a researcher at Jerusalem's Van Leer Foundation. He was the first Jewish fatality of a political demonstration in Israel's history. Ten persons were injured in the blast, including Avraham Burg, the son of Interior Minister Yosef Burg.

At the cabinet session itself, Defense Minister Sharon tried to stave off a decision, at least temporarily, by suggesting that a committee be set up to examine the Kahan Commission report. However, he was unable to find the required four ministers to back him in order to put his proposal to a vote. Prime Minister Begin, who had taken virtually no part in the previous cabinet discussions of the matter, now stated that there was "no choice" but to accept the report, despite the "pain and grief" involved. The cabinet voted—minutes after the grenade went off just across the street from where they were sitting—16 to 1 (Sharon) to accept the Kahan Commission's recommendations in full.
At the regular weekly cabinet meeting on February 13, Prime Minister Begin read aloud a letter he had received from Sharon asserting that he would "abide by the Cabinet decision" to divest him of the defense post, but indicating that he planned to remain in the cabinet. The cabinet accordingly entrusted the defense portfolio to the prime minister in a caretaker capacity, a move which was approved in the Knesset the following day by a vote of 61-56, with one abstention. In the wake of a legal opinion submitted by the attorney general that Sharon’s removal from the defense ministry was sufficient to fulfill the Kahan Commission's recommendation, Sharon did in fact remain in the cabinet as a minister without portfolio. He was soon co-opted, amid renewed public protest, to the key ministerial defense committee and to the ministerial steering committee on the negotiations with Lebanon.

In the Knesset debate on February 14, Prime Minister Begin, in a show of support for Sharon, took the opportunity to demand that Time magazine apologize for a report that Sharon had met with members of the Jemayel family after the assassination of Bashir Jemayel to discuss revenge. According to Time, the meeting took place before the refugee-camp massacre and was described in the unpublished secret appendix of the Kahan Commission report. Begin denied the entire story, terming it "barefaced lies and slander." Speaking in the debate, Labor Party chairman Peres said that while the IDF was paying the full price, Sharon had arranged a “partial amnesty” for himself. Peres pointedly quoted from Begin’s own Knesset speech following the publication of the Agranat Commission report after the Yom Kippur War: “Shall the minister of defense resign but the prime minister stay on? The supreme responsibility—the true moral, political and parliamentary responsibility—devolves upon the entire government.” On February 28 Sharon brought a $10 million libel suit against Time in Tel Aviv district court, and in June filed a $50 million suit against the magazine in the U.S. district court in New York.

The political split within the country was well reflected when the Knesset held a special debate on the Grunzweig murder on February 15. Although all sides deplored the killing and spoke, with varying nuances, in defense of freedom of speech, coalition and opposition members were unable to agree on a united resolution to sum up the discussion. The police set up a special team to investigate the Grunzweig killing. However, despite the offer of a one million shekel reward for information, and the detention of several suspects, the murder remained unsolved at the end of 1983.

On February 16 the ruling coalition survived three no-confidence motions based on the findings of the Kahan Commission report. The three motions—presented by the Alignment, Shinui, and Hadash (Communists)—were voted on together and defeated along strict coalition-opposition lines (64-56). The voting constituted a rare occasion in that all 120 MKs took part. One week later the Knesset approved the appointment of Moshe Arens, who was then holding the post of ambassador to Washington, as the new defense minister.

In some ways, the government, and particularly Prime Minister Begin, never seemed to recover from the ramifications of the Kahan Commission report and the
days of unrest that attended its release. Begin, who had been visibly downcast since the death of his wife the previous November, became even more morose and introverted with the passage of time. His public appearances grew increasingly rare, and while his close aides and advisers, as well as cabinet ministers, insisted that he was continuing to perform his duties effectively, two events in the spring of the year suggested that Begin had, perhaps, lost his political touch, with all that this entailed for the operation of the government. On March 15 a special rabbinic electoral college elected Avraham Shapiro, 65, and Mordechai Eliahu, 52, as the new Ashkenazic and Sephardic chief rabbis, respectively, despite Prime Minister Begin’s declared support for an amendment to the law which would have enabled the two incumbents, Rabbi Shlomo Goren and Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, to remain in office for a second term. Exactly one week later Prime Minister Begin sustained an even more painful defeat when the Knesset elected MK Chaim Herzog, the Alignment’s choice, as the new president of Israel. Herzog, 64, was sworn in on May 5, the sixth person to hold the office of president.

The difficulties experienced by Prime Minister Begin infused new hope in the Alignment that a change of government might be effected without new elections. The Labor party had picked up some additional strength when it merged with the Independent Liberal party in March. The resurgence of the Labor Alignment was further manifested in an unusually large turnout at the annual May Day parade. A public opinion poll published in Ha’aretz on May 6 showed the Alignment leading the field for the first time since the 1981 election (41.4 per cent to the Likud’s 37.3). On June 25 Mapam, the left-wing, kibbutz-based party, voted (albeit narrowly) to remain within the Alignment framework.

In marked contrast to the Alignment’s comeback, the Likud-led coalition continued to be marked by internal bickering and public squabbling. Much of the internal ferment originated in the Liberal party, which was characterized by vicious infighting over who would assume the cabinet slot “owed” the Liberals by the terms of the party’s agreement with Herut. The death of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture Simcha Ehrlich on June 19, at the age of 67, merely aggravated the situation, by depriving the Liberals of their only acknowledged leader. Eventually, on July 5, the Knesset approved the appointment of Sara Doron as minister without portfolio.

During this period another coalition group, the ultra-Orthodox Agudath Israel party, was pressing for an amendment to the law of return, whereby only conversions performed “according to the halakhah” would be recognized as binding. The amendment, aimed against Conservative and Reform Judaism, had suffered its most recent Knesset defeat on March 21, by a vote of 58–50. Agudath Israel was also seeking to pass the “archaeology bill,” which would give religious authorities the right to stop any archaeological dig where human remains were found.

On July 19 it was officially announced that Prime Minister Begin had cancelled a visit to Washington scheduled for the end of the month. In a phone call to President Reagan to inform him of the decision, Begin offered no explanation other
than "personal reasons." One senior minister was quoted by the press as saying that Begin was "steeped in depression." His appearance, gaunt and expressionless, raised painful questions about his ability to run the government. Still, a poll published by the Jerusalem Post at the beginning of August showed that the public continued to regard Begin as the person "best suited to be prime minister." The popularity gap between Begin and any other Likud figure was pointed up in mid-August in another Jerusalem Post poll, which found that 78 per cent of Likud supporters preferred Begin as the party leader, followed by Ariel Sharon with 3.7 per cent, and Ezer Weizman (the former defense minister who had resigned from Begin's first government and was subsequently expelled from Herut) with 3.2 per cent.

Thus there was no natural successor at hand when Prime Minister Begin stunned his party and the nation by announcing to the cabinet, on August 28, that he intended to resign. As with the cancellation of his Washington visit, Begin offered no public explanation of his decision. Intensive efforts were made by the Likud, and particularly by the leadership of Herut (the party founded and led by Begin since the establishment of the state), to get him to change his mind. On August 30 the entire Knesset coalition met with Begin to try to dissuade him from his course of action. At one point in the three-hour session the prime minister said: "None of you is to blame. I just cannot go on any longer. If I had any doubts about that, I would stay on. I cannot go on." Nevertheless, Begin agreed to put off his formal resignation announcement to the president in order to give Herut time to pick a successor; he himself refused to intervene in the choice.

On September 1, the Herut central committee met in Tel Aviv to choose between Deputy Prime Minister and Housing Minister David Levy, 45, of Moroccan origin, and Polish-born Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, 68. In what the Jerusalem Post described as "a remarkable show of comradeship and good grace, not often seen in the life of Israeli political parties," Herut elected Shamir as its new leader by a vote of 436-302. As Prime Minister Begin continued to delay his formal resignation announcement—drawing criticism for flouting the spirit if not the letter of the law in not carrying out his intention immediately—Shamir commenced talks with representatives of the outgoing coalition, with the aim of reconstituting it under his own leadership. After acceding to the request of six MKs, including four from the Liberal party, that he ask the Alignment to join the coalition in a government of national unity, Shamir was able to muster the majority he required.

On September 15 Prime Minister Begin sent a letter to President Herzog, via cabinet secretary Dan Meridor, formally declaring his resignation. Begin himself was closeted in the prime minister's residence in Jerusalem, from which he had not emerged since August 30. On September 21 President Herzog formally charged Shamir with the task of forming a new government. Even though the Alignment was the largest Knesset faction, with 50 seats, it had been unable to muster the support of an additional 11 MKs needed to ensure a majority. On September 25 the Labor party bureau voted (37-24) to enter into talks with the Likud leadership on the possibility of establishing a national unity government. However, the negotiations
broke down within less than a week. The two parties found themselves unable to agree on such issues as settlement policy in the administered areas, the terms for an IDF withdrawal from Lebanon, and the Reagan peace initiative. Thus the way was cleared for the Knesset, on October 10, to express its confidence in Shamir's new government. The vote was 60-53, with one abstention (former finance minister Yigael Hurvitz). Begin, who, though relieved of his duties as prime minister, continued to serve as a regular Knesset member, did not attend; nor did Aharon Abuhatzeira, the leader of the Tami party, who was serving a jail sentence. Other than the premier, who continued to hold the foreign affairs portfolio as well, the only new office holder in the cabinet was Pessah Gruper (Likud-Liberal) who replaced the late Simcha Ehrlich as agriculture minister. The government coalition consisted of the Likud (46 seats), four other parties—the NRP (5), Agudath Israel (4), Tehiya (3), and Tami (3)—and three one-man factions—Mordechai Ben-Porat, Yigael Hurvitz, and Rabbi Haim Druckman (who had bolted from the NRP).

Begin, who had dominated Israeli political life for six years, remained in total seclusion, even failing to attend a memorial service for his wife on the first anniversary of her death. He broke his public silence only once during the rest of 1983, taping a brief radio interview in which he welcomed the return home of six Israeli POWs. On December 10, following the end of the Sabbath, the former prime minister emerged from his official residence for the first time in 102 days, to move to a rented apartment in Jerusalem.

As the year ended, Labor—despite having done less well than it expected in the countrywide municipal elections held at the end of October, immediately after the government crisis—was engaged in intensive efforts in the direction of an early general election if a change of government within the present Knesset proved unfeasible. Party chairman Peres signed an agreement with Yitzhak Rabin formally ending their longstanding feud. Some observers saw this as a first step toward a Peres-Rabin alliance against a leadership threat to both of them from Navon. The latter, for his part, hinted again that he might soon return to the political arena.

**Economic Developments**

The year witnessed a number of major collapses on the Tel Aviv stock exchange. On January 20 unconfirmed media reports about imminent treasury measures that would affect mutual funds led to a run on the stock exchange, generating losses of over 1.5 billion shekels. Then, in mid-May, the announcement of an all-time high single-month inflation rate (at that time) of 13.3 per cent, combined with a statement by Bank of Israel deputy governor Yakir Plessner that there was too much money in the hands of the public and that measures were needed to counteract this situation, touched off a massive demand for foreign currency and a renewed wave of selling on the stock exchange. In a trend that was to continue for the rest of the year, billions of shekels were withdrawn from savings schemes to purchase U.S. dollars or durable goods, as the shekel became increasingly worthless. Sporadic efforts by
the treasury around this time to curb spending, reduce imports, and halt the hoarding of dollars had no perceptible effect. In June the International Monetary Fund took Israel to task for not speeding up the shekel devaluation rate, and thereby aggravating Israel's balance of payments deficit.

One of the reasons for the massive printing of money was the government's social welfare policy, which was prompted by the three-man, Sephardi-oriented Tami Knesset faction. Thus when the Knesset on March 23 approved a state budget of over one trillion shekels (about $29 billion) for fiscal 1983, it included one billion shekels for increased child allowances that had not been part of the original bill presented two months earlier. The money was to be raised by a newly imposed $50 travel tax on every Israeli leaving the country.

In early July Finance Minister Yoram Aridor came under fierce attack from within his own Likud party, particularly by MK Yigal Cohen-Orgad, head of the Likud faction on the Knesset's finance committee. However, seizing the opportunity presented by a relatively low (3.6 per cent) inflation rate for June, the finance minister began pressing for a sweeping budget cut of some 55 billion shekels ($1.1 billion). On August 10, as negotiations on the budget reductions continued between the treasury and each individual ministry, the shekel was devalued against the U.S. dollar by 7.5 per cent. Two weeks later, following highly acrimonious sessions of the ministerial economic committee and invective-laden meetings between individual ministers—notably between Aridor and Defense Minister Arens, who finally agreed to trim the hitherto almost sacrosanct defense budget by 16 billion shekels over a two-year period—the finance minister was able to announce some decisions. Beside a budget cut of 40 billion shekels (not yet including all the ministries), the measures included an increase in the purchase tax on most items, abolition of the maternity grant, a 45 per cent tax deduction at source on moonlighting jobs, and civil service cutbacks. However, the resignation of Prime Minister Begin and the ensuing political turmoil put a brake on the economic deliberations, as well as the implementation of some of the moves already decided on. The stage was thus set for what was later described as Israel's "economic Yom Kippur," which hit exactly ten years after that traumatic war.

At the end of September reports that Israel was encountering growing difficulties in obtaining credit on the international market due to its huge foreign debt generated speculation that the government would soon impose drastic curtailments on foreign currency transactions and/or carry out a major devaluation of the shekel. Denials by Finance Minister Aridor were unavailing. The first week of October saw large-scale selling of blue-chip bank shares by the public in order to raise money with which to purchase dollars as a hedge against the anticipated government measures. The large commercial banks, which for years had been propping up their own shares on the stock exchange, were now forced to import dollars from their subsidiaries abroad in order to meet the public demand and to continue to maintain their shares at artificially high rates. Since the public's appetite for dollars proved insatiable, the situation quickly got out of hand. The banks, in panic, turned to the government for help.
On October 9 trading on the Tel Aviv stock exchange was suspended. The public, which had an estimated $7.5 billion tied up in bank shares, was dumfounded. Following an all-night meeting of the cabinet (the first session under Prime Minister Shamir), the government announced on October 11 a 23 per cent devaluation of the shekel and a 50 per cent average increase in the price of subsidized goods. At the same time, an arrangement was worked out whereby bank shares would in effect become interest-bearing government debentures, dollar-linked and redeemable in five years. The week's drama was not yet over. On October 13 Yediot Aharonot headlined a story that the treasury had a plan for the "dollarization" of the Israeli economy, involving linkage across the board to the U.S. dollar. Finance Minister Aridor indicated that the report was essentially correct and that he planned to bring up the proposal at the next cabinet meeting. As the public intensified its already wild rush to the dollar, opposition to the plan was voiced in virtually all political and economic sectors; an urgent cabinet session was called. Fifteen minutes before the session was due to open, Aridor submitted his resignation to Prime Minister Shamir. The latter went on television that evening to try to calm the public by announcing the death of the "dollarization" scheme.

Herut MK Cohen-Orgad was quickly chosen as Aridor's successor. Confirmed by the Knesset on October 18, he had to reply to three no-confidence motions the very next day; all three were defeated, 61–54. One of Cohen-Orgad's first moves was to request that the cabinet replace Bank of Israel deputy governor Plessner, the originator of the Aridor policy of creeping devaluation and small regular reductions in government subsidies for basic commodities.

As the run on dollars tapered off, the stock exchange was reopened for partial trading on October 20. When the trading of bank shares resumed on October 24, they immediately lost 17 per cent of their nominal value and nearly double that in dollar value. However, there was no panic, as the treasury simply took over from the banks, pumping some $150 million into the stock exchange to prevent a more precipitous decline. This policy continued for some time until the stock market was relatively stable, effectively enriching the holders of bank shares by $600 million. Individuals were given three months to decide whether they wanted to join the new bank shares scheme or to hold their shares on the open market.

With fears of a recession replacing the country's boom atmosphere almost overnight, new measures were implemented in furtherance of what Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad described as his "export-oriented austerity policy." As of November 1 Israelis were barred from purchasing foreign currency other than $3,000 for travel abroad. On November 7 the cabinet passed a series of revenue-raising measures, including an annual education tax (never ratified), a tax on child allowances for small, high-earning families, a tax on early pensions, and higher income tax for those in the top bracket.

On November 15 the nation was stunned by the announcement that the inflation rate for October had been 21.1 per cent, the highest monthly figure by far in Israel's history. Widespread fears were expressed that Israel was entering a "South American-like" hyperinflationary cycle. At the beginning of December Finance Minister
Cohen-Orgad stated that Israel required a "controlled recession." In yet another attempt to cut down on the public's buying power, the treasury raised the price of subsidized basic commodities by a further 15–25 per cent. The November consumer price index rose by 15.2 per cent, meaning that the coming cost-of-living increment, including a 17.9 per cent advance to be paid at the end of December, was wiped out in advance. Renewed marathon deliberations on budget cuts produced a so-called "framework budget" of over 1.4 trillion shekels. However, some experts contended that the ostensible $600 million in budget reductions (down from the originally planned $1 billion) actually amounted to no more than a redistribution of spending.

Statistically, 1983 produced some figures that Israelis had never seen before. Following a December increase of 11.6 per cent in the consumer price index, the inflation rate for the year came to a devastating 190.7 per cent, nearly 60 per cent higher than the previous all-time high set in 1980; inflation during the last three months of the year ran at an annualized rate of 486 per cent. In the course of the year the shekel was devalued by 223.2 per cent against the U.S. dollar. The intensified devaluation rate seemed to have no significant effect on the trade deficit, which increased by nearly $500 million, to stand at $3.5 billion, a 17 per cent rise over 1982. The balance of payments deficit grew by $400 million, to $5.1 billion. Equally worrisome was the country's gross foreign debt, which totalled some $22 billion. Israel's foreign exchange reserves fell by $121 million, and stood at a dangerously low $2.87 billion. Foreign currency from tourism, which increased by about 17 per cent over 1982 (a particularly bad year due to the Lebanon war) and three per cent over 1981, was not enough to make up the difference. Among the 1,166,000 tourists who visited the country were 350,000 from the United States, the highest annual figure ever registered, up 32 per cent from 1982; tourism from Europe was about the same as in 1982, but 18 per cent below the 1981 figure.

The GNP grew by just under one per cent in 1983, slightly better than the previous year's zero growth, but considerably poorer than the five per cent growth in 1981. Private consumption increased by nearly five per cent. Imports of goods and services shot up by 16 per cent, while exports increased by only one per cent. Unemployment declined for the year as a whole, averaging slightly less than five per cent. Average gross salaries were eroded by 18 per cent, in dollar terms, during the year.

Yet grumble as they might, many Israelis, particularly the self-employed, were living with the feeling that they never had it so good. Warnings that a veritable chasm existed between the economic situation of the individual and the country went unheeded. Experts were convinced that it was only a matter of time before the bubble burst; the average Israeli acted as if only the present mattered.

The Administered Areas

On the West Bank the government-sponsored settlement program continued apace. In January the civil administration issued orders for the expropriation of
some 5,000 acres at various sites for the establishment of new settlements, the expansion of already existing ones, the construction of new roads, and the creation of nature preserves.

One of the most controversial of the new settlement sites was the para-military outpost of Bracha, overlooking the large Arab city of Nablus. Bracha was to be transformed into a civilian settlement and become the town of "Upper Nablus." The Labor party's view was that the government's settlement policy would cause Israel to lose its character as a democracy and/or a Jewish state by greatly increasing the Arab minority under Israeli rule. Toward the end of April, Defense Minister Arens, replying in the Knesset to an urgent motion for the agenda on the Bracha settlement submitted by the Alignment, enunciated three of the government's underlying conceptions vis-à-vis Jewish settlement in the areas. Bracha, he said, was "of supreme strategic importance," since it formed part of a "strategic triangle" with the settlements of Elon Moreh and Horon. Secondly, such settlements, far from being an obstacle, provided a strong incentive for King Hussein to come to the negotiating table. Third, Jewish settlements were not a "provocation" to the surrounding Arab population; rather they made it possible for Arabs and Jews to "cooperate peacefully and make progress together."

A 30-year plan for the West Bank drawn up by the land settlement department of the World Zionist Organization envisioned no less than 165 Jewish settlements, including five large towns with populations of up to 30,000 each. The program would require an annual construction rate of some 6,000 housing units, while its cost, including infrastructure development, would be (in April 1983 prices) $300 million per year. The plan envisaged a Jewish population of 1.3 million in the territories by the early twenty-first century, with ten per cent of that figure being reached by 1986.

Whether these ambitious plans were realistic was called into question in mid-April, when a campaign launched jointly by the government and the WZO to sell nearly 4,000 apartments in Judea-Samaria and Gaza failed to live up to expectations. In May the justice ministry's expert on land ownership in the territories indicated that some lots in Judea-Samaria being offered for sale by private construction companies, and being bought by Israelis either as a speculative venture or in the hope of eventually owning a home in the new "suburbia," were not legally owned by the companies, or were not part of any authorized government settlement plan.

In the Jordan rift valley, which was included in Labor's "final map," about 5,000 acres along the Jordan River were being reclaimed for agriculture in what was said to be the largest project of its kind since the draining of the Huleh swamp 30 years earlier. The area, hitherto a military zone, had been almost completely quiet since Jordan expelled the PLO in 1970; it bordered on equally ambitious Jordanian land reclamation projects on the other side of the river. Raanan Weitz, co-director of the WZO's land settlement department, told reporters during a tour of the area, "I see intensive agriculture on both banks of the river within ten years serving as a guarantor of peace."
Peace, however, was not readily apparent in the rest of the territories in 1983. Indeed, some observers thought that the unrest was discouraging "non-ideological" settlers, with possible long-term negative consequences for the government's settlement program.

In January a civil administration spokesman denied an allegation by officials at An-Najah University in Nablus that IDF roadblocks around the campus were effectively keeping the university closed, this following a student rally to mark the anniversary of the founding of the Fatah terrorist organization. The roadblocks, the spokesman stated, were intended to make sure that only bona fide students entered the campus and that foreign faculty members had the required work permits, issued only after the teachers declared that they would not support the PLO.

On February 16 a 22-year-old Beit She'an woman, Esther Ohana, died of head wounds sustained about three weeks earlier when the car in which she was travelling was stoned as it passed through the village of Dahariya, near Hebron. Speaking at a gathering of some 500 Jewish settlers and Beit She'an residents held in a field at Dahariya following the woman's death, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, leader of the Jewish settlement in Hebron, warned: "Whoever does not mete out death to murderers, to those who throw stones, is himself responsible for the death of Esther Ohana. God is the Lord of vengeance... There comes a time for revenge, and that time is now." In May, five Dahariya residents, aged 17-21, were sentenced to 11-13 years' imprisonment for the stoning.

A few days after the Dahariya gathering, two Hebron residents were slightly wounded and two cars were destroyed when a bomb went off next to a mosque in the city. The incident occurred during Friday prayer services, and Hebron mayor Mustafa Natshe indicated it was only the chance delay of the prayers that had averted a large-scale tragedy, since the bomb was evidently timed to explode as the worshippers were emerging from the building. Natshe said he thought that Jewish settlers were probably responsible for the attack.

On February 26 unidentified persons fired shots intermittently for a period of several hours at Arab houses near Kiryat Arba, the urban Jewish settlement adjacent to Hebron. A few days later settlers burst into a boys' school in the village of Yatta, near Hebron, after their car was stoned; firing into the air, the settlers took two boys to a police station. In the same week Jewish settlers blocked the main road to Jerusalem outside the Dehaishe refugee camp at Bethlehem, in a demonstration designed to warn both the inhabitants of the camp and the security authorities that they would not tolerate stone-throwing from the camp. Nevertheless, Arab unrest continued throughout the West Bank, spreading to Jerusalem.

On March 9 Defense Minister Arens toured Hebron and other locations in the administered areas. In what was to be a recurrent theme throughout the year, angry Jewish settlers complained that the IDF was not properly protecting Jewish road traffic. For his part, Arens warned the settlers not to take the law into their own hands, even though, as he told the Knesset (March 8), Jews would do well to continue to bear firearms when travelling in Judea-Samaria. Earlier, the defense
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The minister had ordered that the illegal settlement of El Nakam, established by members of Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach movement, be dismantled. Police were also holding several Kach members in connection with recent shooting incidents in the areas.

On March 10 attention focused on the Temple mount in Jerusalem when the police detained 45 persons, many of them from a Kiryat Arba yeshivah, on suspicion of trying to seize the site as a protest against the ban on Jewish worship there. Among those taken into custody was Rabbi Yisrael Ariel, former head of the Yamit yeshivah and the number-two man on Kach's Knesset list in the 1981 elections. In mid-March the Jerusalem district attorney's office filed indictments against Ariel and 28 others on a number of counts, including conspiracy to incite hostility between Muslims and Jews and entering a holy site without permission. All of the accused were placed under house arrest, although allowed out to attend synagogue services. In September they were acquitted by Jerusalem district court judge Yaacov Bazak, who termed the charges "grossly exaggerated" and rejected the contention that the group constituted an "underground."

By April there had been over 700 violent incidents reported on the West Bank. To cope with the situation, security forces imposed curfews of varying duration on nine refugee camps; closed down 20 schools, some indefinitely; made over 1,000 arrests; sentenced about 300 people to prison terms of up to nine months; and handed out fines amounting to millions of shekels. In an interview published in Ha'aretz on March 18, Chief of Staff Eitan responded to a question as to whether Israel was fated to live by the sword: "It's better for the sword to be in our hands than on our throats. Against the Arabs in the territories you don't need a sword—a stick is enough."

The chief of staff testified in the continuing trial of a number of soldiers who were accused of systematically maltreating Arabs in the territories. Eitan confirmed that he had issued orders for dealing with troublemakers that included deportation, collective punishment, penalizing parents for their children's misdeeds, indiscriminate harassment, and economic sanctions. For their part, the accused soldiers stated that they had acted in accordance with such orders, which generated a certain "atmosphere" in the territories. On February 17 the military court of the central command in Jaffa sentenced four of the soldiers to prison terms of two to six months, while acquitting three others, including an officer who at the time of the incidents served as deputy military governor of Hebron. The court also found that orders issued by Colonel Yaacov Hartabi, the regional battalion commander, had been "blatantly illegal," but no action was taken against him. As for the orders issued by the chief of staff, they were found to be within the bounds of the military code and international law, although the judges expressed demurrers about deportation and punishing parents for their children's actions.

In his final appearance before the Knesset's defense and foreign affairs committee before retiring from the military in mid-April, Chief of Staff Eitan asserted that for every stone-throwing incident, Israel should establish ten new settlements in the
territories. In a remark that was harshly criticized in political circles and the media, Eitan observed: "Once we have settled the entire land, all the Arabs will be able to do about it is to scurry around like drugged cockroaches in a bottle."

One of the most bizarre incidents ever in the administered areas took place in the early spring. Beginning on March 21 and continuing through the early part of April, some 950 people, most of them schoolgirls, about half from the Jenin area, were hospitalized with complaints of dizziness, weakness, abdominal pains, headaches, and blurred vision. Some Arabs charged that Israel was attempting to poison the population or to make Palestinian women barren. Israeli officials countered by suggesting that an "environmental irritant" might be involved, or perhaps even political agitation. Virtually all of the girls were found to be healthy and were quickly released from hospitals. At the end of April two doctors from the Centers for Disease Control in the United States, who were sent to Israel to investigate the incident, concluded that it was an "epidemic . . . induced by anxiety." While they "failed to detect the consistent presence of environmental toxins," they also found no evidence of "malingering or deliberate falsification of symptoms." A World Health Organization team which also investigated the incident concurred, informing the organization's annual conference that it had been "unable to find any indication of a specific organic cause" of the symptoms. Nevertheless, a group of Arab, Communist, and third world countries inserted the "poisoning" charge into a resolution condemning Israeli policy in the territories.

At the beginning of May a local Arab resident died of a heart attack and two others were shot in a clash with Israeli border police sparked by a land ownership dispute at a site where work was under way for a new Jewish settlement near Bracha; one border policeman was shot and stabbed in the incident. The violence also spread to Gaza, where an Israeli was shot dead while shopping in the marketplace on May 10; another Israeli had been killed in the same marketplace several weeks earlier. In May an anonymous caller told Israeli radio that a secret Jewish organization called the "Fist of Defense" was responsible for a series of attacks against Arabs and Arab property in the West Bank, including mass vandalism of cars in several towns, and the bomb attack on the Hebron mosque in February.

In mid-May Deputy Attorney General Yehudit Karp resigned from a committee she had chaired to investigate charges by Arabs in the administered territories that their complaints to Israeli authorities about Jewish settlers who had harmed them or damaged their property had not been properly handled. The committee had been set up by the attorney general in 1981 in response to a letter to him from 14 Hebrew University legal scholars, warning about the deterioration of the rule of law in the territories and about "private police actions" by Jewish settlers. Beside Karp, the committee included the Jerusalem district attorney and representatives of the police and the IDF. After interviewing dozens of witnesses, as well as senior police officers and civil-administration officials, the committee submitted its report to the attorney general in May 1982, with copies going to the police, the O.C. central command, and the civil administration.
According to press information, the report focused on the "two systems of justice" in operation in the territories—one for Jews, the other for Arabs. The report was said to detail the difficulties of conducting investigations in the territories due to lack of cooperation by the settlers, the absence of clear-cut procedures, and poor coordination among the various security branches. In some cases, investigations were actually halted because of outside intervention, while others ran into unwaranted delays. The committee also reportedly made recommendations for improving the situation.

Karp had initially asked to be relieved of her duties at the end of 1982 because nothing practical had come of the report, but she was dissuaded from this course of action by Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir. A political storm erupted when the existence of the report and Karp’s ultimate resignation became known; there were calls from various quarters for the report to be made public. Zamir, however, informed the chairman of the Knesset’s constitution, law, and justice committee that it would be "inadvisable" to have the report undergo public discussion "at this time," noting that a committee consisting of the ministers of defense, justice, and the interior had been set up to consider the findings and to formulate policy for maintaining law and order in the administered territories. By year’s end the committee was reported to have drawn up a document to be presented to the cabinet “in the near future.”

Events on the ground, however, had long since overtaken the deliberations of committees. On July 7 Aharon Gross, an 18-year-old yeshivah student, was stabbed to death in the Hebron marketplace. When residents of Kiryat Arba learned of the killing, they stormed into the area, setting the torch to virtually the entire marketplace as the panic-stricken shopkeepers fled. Israeli authorities imposed a curfew on Hebron and dismissed the appointed mayor, Mustafa Natshe, along with the entire municipal council; an Israeli official, Zamir Shemesh, was appointed to administer the city's affairs. No action was taken against the Kiryat Arba settlers. Defense Minister Arens stated that Natshe's dismissal was due to the anti-Jewish feeling he and his council had whipped up in Hebron in recent months. Arens added that he could not condone the actions of the Jewish settlers who took the law into their own hands. (In September, Shemesh revoked a petition to the supreme court which had been filed by the previous Arab municipal council. The move, which was condemned by jurists and the Peace Now movement as showing contempt for due process of law, cleared the way for intensified Jewish settlement in Hebron.)

Three weeks after the Gross stabbing, several gunmen, their faces covered by keffiyehs, carried out a rifle and grenade attack on the Islamic College in Hebron. Three students were killed and about 30 wounded in the midday raid. No one claimed responsibility for what Prime Minister Begin called a "loathsome crime." President Herzog, comparing the killings to the murder of the yeshivah student, said, "The Torah does not differentiate between blood and blood." Both the police and the general security service (Shin Bet) set up special teams to investigate the incident.
In an article in *Davar* in August, the former head of the general security service, Avraham Ahituv, declared that the West Bank settlements were a “psychological hothouse for the growth of Jewish terrorism.” Ahituv, who had headed the *Shin Bet* at the time of the still unsolved attacks on the Arab mayors in 1980, intimated that Jews had been responsible for those events as well as for the recent Islamic College incident. He charged that Jewish settlers in the administered territories had at times engaged in “rebellion against the IDF,” and that the situation had become aggravated after the Likud came to power, because of backing from above, even for illegal acts.

On August 23 Defense Minister Arens met separately, in his office, with three leading figures from the administered territories—the mayor of Bethlehem, the president of Nablus’s An-Najah University, and the mayor of Khan Yunis. These were the first such meetings at this level since Ezer Weizman’s resignation as defense minister three years earlier. The following day Arens visited mayor Elias Freij at his office in Bethlehem and promised him help in solving some of the town’s municipal problems. Bethlehem, Arens said after the meeting, was a showcase of how “Jews and Arabs, Muslims and Christians” could live together harmoniously. However, even in Bethlehem harmony was not yet the natural condition. Following disturbances there on November 2—the anniversary of the 1917 Balfour declaration—the Catholic University of Bethlehem was closed for two months. On November 12 two residents of a refugee camp in Tulkarm were shot dead by members of the border police when they refused to obey orders to halt in the midst of a violent demonstration. The coordinator of activities in the administered areas, Brigadier General Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, said that the renewed unrest at this time was linked to the plight of Arafat’s branch of the PLO in Tripoli, Lebanon. More optimistically, he said that the PLO’s evident collapse “opens up new options.”

On November 28 a resident of Bracha suffered injuries when he was attacked by an ax-wielding assailant in the Nablus marketplace. In response, a group of settlers occupied Joseph’s tomb, declaring that they sought to create a permanent Jewish presence in Nablus, along the lines of Hebron; they left ten days later after meeting with the prime minister and defense minister. The tension in Nablus culminated on December 8, when a gunman burst into an Arab-owned bakery and opened fire with an Uzi machine gun; an 11-year-old girl was killed, and her nine-year-old sister was seriously wounded. Two Jewish settlers from Elon Moreh were soon arrested in connection with the incident; a third Israeli was detained as an accessory after the fact.

As talk of Jewish “vigilantism” in the administered areas became more widespread, Chief of Staff Moshe Levy, in an appearance before the Knesset’s defense and foreign affairs committee in December, said that he did not know whether an actual Jewish underground existed. However, he did express concern at the possibility that “some kind of dangerous movement” was afoot. Addressing the same committee a few days later, Defense Minister Arens said that the problem of stone-throwing in the territories could not be eliminated because “Israel does not
want to adopt measures that conflict with its norms." Arens again cautioned Jewish settlers against taking the law into their own hands, as such actions merely worked to the advantage of Arab agitators. On another matter, Arens said that even though the longstanding policy of demolishing the homes of terrorists was regarded by experts as a highly effective deterrent measure, the subject was currently under study in order to arrive at "clearer conclusions." The issue had come up in the committee in the wake of demolitions, about a week earlier, of a number of houses in the Hebron and Ramallah areas belonging to members of a Muslim fundamentalist cell who were in custody on suspicion of having perpetrated the murder of Aharon Gross. In a Knesset debate on the issue, initiated by MK Yair Tzaban (Alignment-Mapam), Arens said that he had authorized demolitions only after careful consideration. Tzaban contended that such actions constituted collective punishment and as such should be barred; moreover, as in the present case, the demolitions were usually carried out before any trial had taken place. The motion was struck from the agenda by a vote of 40–33.

Statistics released by the civil administration at the end of October suggested that even if all was not well politically on the West Bank, economically the picture was absolutely rosy. The total budget for the area for 1983–84 was 5.7 billion shekels, with Israel contributing 42 per cent of the total, down from 45 per cent in 1981. A 250 per cent increase in the development budget since 1981—to 1 billion shekels—had to a large extent been made possible by intensified tax collection on the part of the civil administration. The GNP in the West Bank was continuing to grow by five per cent per annum, well above the Israeli rate; private consumption was also up. In the social welfare sector, 43 per cent of the population now benefited from health insurance coverage.

On the Golan Heights, scene of a virtual civil revolt by many Druze inhabitants in 1982 because of the government's insistence that they carry Israeli identity cards, Druze religious authorities stated that they would revoke a ban imposed on those who cooperated with the Israelis. The Druze were still paying the price of their revolt, as Israel had barred meetings between Golan Druze and relatives in Syria; the authorities were also refusing to allow Druze high school graduates to pursue their studies at Damascus University, and had cut back funding for local municipal projects.

Terrorism

Terrorism inside Israel in 1983 was not confined to Arab attacks on Jews. As in the West Bank, where Jewish "vigilantism" surfaced, the end of the year saw disturbing manifestations of Jewish "counter-terrorism" in the Jerusalem area.

Early in the year, Rafi Eitan, Prime Minister Begin's adviser on Arab terrorism, stated that Israel could "expect another hundred years of... terrorism." Explaining his comment after it had been severely criticized in political circles, Eitan said that his intention had been to warn that terrorist attacks would continue as long as the
Zionist enterprise had not completed its mission. At the same time, he indicated that Israel had the wherewithal to guarantee that any attacks would be no more than sporadic.

On January 8, 12 persons were wounded when a hand grenade was thrown into a bus in Tel Aviv. Within less than two weeks security forces arrested a number of Gaza Strip residents in connection with the incident, the first of its kind in Tel Aviv in eight years.

As in the past, Jerusalem proved to be the most inviting target for terrorist activity. In mid-January a bomb went off at Zedekiah’s cave outside the old city, wounding an Arab municipal worker. On June 4 police demolition experts defused two large bombs at a shopping mall opposite the old city’s Jaffa gate. The devices, which police said would have caused “a tremendous catastrophe” had they gone off, were spotted by a passerby. Toward the end of the month two teenage girls were slightly wounded when an explosive device went off in a Jerusalem supermarket. In mid-July an improvised bomb was neutralized close to the gas cylinders of a warehouse in Jerusalem’s Atarot industrial zone.

By far the worst outrage of the year occurred in Jerusalem on December 6 when a bomb went off in a crowded bus in one of the city’s western neighborhoods, killing five people, including two teenage sisters, and wounding 46; a sixth person, an American tourist, died of wounds two weeks later. It was the worst terrorist attack in Jerusalem since 1978. The PLO claimed responsibility, alleging that the target was “an Israeli military bus.” Prime Minister Shamir declared sardonically that the incident demonstrated the PLO’s “moderation” and “renunciation of violence.” However, in an unusual move, five leading West Bank Palestinian Arabs issued a statement deploring the attack as “detrimental to any Israeli-Palestinian understanding,” adding that it could not have been planned by the PLO’s “legitimate leadership” since it conflicted with the organization’s “current political trend.”

On December 9, three days after the bus attack, five booby-trapped IDF-issue grenades were discovered and dismantled at four Christian and Muslim sites in and around Jerusalem. The following evening an IDF-issue grenade exploded on East Jerusalem’s main street; no one was hurt and no damage was caused. A group calling itself “TNT” (Hebrew acronym for “terror against terror”) claimed responsibility for the incidents. Noting the origin of the grenades and the professional manner in which they were planted, police suggested that a highly proficient Jewish terrorist cell was behind the incidents. There were other “TNT” attacks during the remainder of December: a Muslim priest and a Christian nun were wounded when a grenade went off next to a mosque in an Arab village just outside Jerusalem; and three cars owned by Arabs were set afire in East Jerusalem. The anonymous persons who phoned the media to claim responsibility for the attacks ended their announcements by declaring, “Jewish blood is not cheap.”

Other terrorist incidents during the year included a Katyusha rocket attack on Beit She’an from Jordanian territory, in which no one was hurt and no damage was caused; the attempted murder of an IDF officer by three Arabs, one from Israel and
two from the West Bank, after they had given him a lift near Afula; the dismantling of three anti-vehicle mines discovered by an IDF patrol in the Negev, not far from the Egyptian border; and the defusing of a booby-trapped car which had entered Israel from Lebanon.

In the final week of the year a West German and a French national, both in their twenties, were remanded in custody on suspicion of endangering state security and planning to join the PLO in Lebanon. On December 23 a gunman fired five shots at Israel's chargé d'affaires in Valetta, Malta, slightly wounding her.

Among the trials of terrorists during the year, two were of particular interest. On July 7, six Bedouin received prison terms—two for life—for the murder of a Jewish settler at Herodion. On December 28 legal experts were taken aback when a military court in Lod handed down a death sentence against two Israeli Arabs, for the 1980 murder of an Israeli soldier whom they had picked up as a hitchhiker near Hadera. In keeping with official policy, the prosecutor had not demanded the death penalty. While the trial was held in camera, the judges' decision to keep the verdict secret was overturned by the defense ministry. The sentence still required the approval of the chief of staff; moreover, the two convicted men were expected to appeal.

Other Domestic Matters

At the end of 1983 Israel's population stood at approximately 4,140,000, a 1.9 per cent increase over the previous year. Jews continued to account for about 83 per cent of the population—3,430,000 individuals, an increase of 1.7 per cent over 1982—while the non-Jewish population stood at 710,000, a rise of 2.8 per cent as compared to 1982. In what was perhaps a significant long-term trend, the fertility rate among Jewish women continued to increase in 1983, reaching an average of 2.85 children per woman (2.79 in 1982), while the rate among non-Jewish women continued to fall, though it was still far greater, averaging 4.65 children per woman (4.97 in 1982).

In November the first data gleaned from the 1983 general population census were released. The figures showed that Israel's population had increased by 948,000 (29 per cent) since the last census, conducted a decade earlier, and that nearly 90 per cent of the population resided in cities.

The Council for Road Safety reported that traffic accidents were up in 1983; 427 people were killed (386 in 1982) and about 20,000 injured—3,500 seriously—in nearly 14,000 road accidents.

In January the Jerusalem district court upheld the conviction two years earlier of former MK Shmuel Flatto-Sharon, for election bribery. His nine-month jail sentence was deferred, however, as Flatto-Sharon appealed the verdict to the supreme court.

A criminal case with immediate political ramifications was that of MK Aharon Abuhatzeira, leader of the Tami party, who had appealed his four-and-a-half-year suspended sentence to the supreme court following his conviction in 1982 for
larceny, fraud, and breach of trust. At the same time, the state had appealed Abuhatzeira's acquittal on three other counts, and had asked that an actual jail sentence be imposed. The supreme court rejected the state's appeal, but decided to hand down a harsher sentence on one of the other charges. The result was that Abuhatzeira was sentenced to three months in prison. An agreement was reached whereby he would do "outside work," reporting to a police facility each morning and returning to his residence in the afternoon following each day's labor. This arrangement was denounced by Joshua Weisman, dean of the law faculty at the Hebrew University. Weisman also expressed amazement that a leader of a political party could be found guilty of crimes, yet retain his standing in government circles.

On June 26 Amos Baranes, who in 1976 was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of a woman soldier—following the arrest and subsequent release of another suspect—was released from jail. Baranes, who had become a cause célèbre in Israel, had his sentence reduced from life to 12 years by President Herzog at the recommendation of the justice minister, and one-third of that was then cut for good behavior. Among those who were convinced of Baranes' innocence were former supreme court justice Haim Cohn and MK Amnon Rubinstein, former dean of the Tel Aviv University law faculty.

The news was less heartening for another famous prisoner in Israel, Udi Adiv, who was seeking to have one-third of his 17-year prison sentence reduced for good behavior. Adiv, at the time a kibbutz member, was jailed for meeting with Syrian intelligence officers in Damascus. While he had the support of a broad gamut of political personalities, the head of the general security service told the Knesset's defense and foreign affairs committee that his department could not recommend Adiv's release, his excellent prison record notwithstanding, because he had not changed his radical views.

Almost one year to the day after he went on a shooting rampage on the temple mount, Alan Goodman was sentenced by the Jerusalem district court to life plus two 20-year terms for murder and attempted murder. Goodman's legal fees were paid by the Kach movement.

Religious-secular strife was rampant in Israel in 1983, most notably in Jerusalem. On Friday evening, April 1, a Hebrew University geneticist was struck on the head by a rock and seriously hurt while driving—inaudently, it later emerged, because the usual police barrier had not been set up—through a religious neighborhood in Jerusalem after the start of the Sabbath. In June a 13-year-old boy was arrested as the culprit. In mid-June three yeshivah students were sentenced to two weeks in jail and fined for throwing rocks at passing cars on the Ramot road in Jerusalem on the Sabbath; hope was expressed that the unusually harsh sentence would serve as a deterrent. Religious fanaticism took a different form that same month when students from the Mefcaz Harav yeshivah in Jerusalem disrupted a performance of Handel's Messiah, which included the participation of a Mormon choir from Utah.

As in previous years, the main rallying point for religious zealots was the city of David archaeological dig in Jerusalem. The start of the dig's sixth season was
accompanied by several nights of rioting and arson in the capital's ultra-Orthodox Mea She'arim neighborhood. Zealots also desecrated the graves of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, the "father" of modern Hebrew, and the parents of archaeologist Yigael Yadin (who had no part in the city of David dig). In the midst of all this, the Agudath Israel party tried to pass the controversial "archaeology bill" in a late-night parliamentary maneuver, even though the item had not been included on the Knesset agenda. As Alignment MKs stalked out of the chamber in protest, the bill was given its first reading by the few coalition members present. The following day Knesset speaker Menahem Savidor drew the wrath of his Likud colleagues when he nullified the vote, arguing that the procedure used had "seriously debased" the Knesset. Prior to Savidor's action, five of the country's leading archaeologists had called a press conference to condemn the bill.

In 1983 warnings were heard about a serious decline in higher education in Israel, particularly in the natural sciences. During a ten-year period, the proportion of the state budget earmarked for higher education had fallen by 44 per cent—from 7.9 per cent in 1973 to 4.4 per cent in 1983. The country's institutions of higher learning even threatened to shut down completely, claiming that they were on the verge of bankruptcy.

Project Renewal, the five-year-old joint government-Jewish Agency program of rehabilitation of poor neighborhoods throughout Israel, ran into financial difficulties. The Jewish Agency, which channeled funds for the project from abroad, said that the failure of Diaspora communities to raise the money they had pledged would bring a halt to construction projects in nine neighborhoods. The United Jewish Appeal hoped to deal with the situation by raising sufficient funds in its 1984 campaign to cover the program's overall deficit of $24 million.

The country suffered through a prolonged doctors' strike in the spring. The Israel Medical Association, claiming that its members were grossly underpaid and forced to work under intolerable conditions, launched the strike on March 2. Initially, the doctors continued to man hospitals and clinics at full staff, but charged 600 shekels for treatment. Following the issuance of a court order barring the doctors from charging a fee while utilizing public health facilities, the Israel Medical Association declared a full-scale strike. By mid-March hospitals were working at about one-quarter of their normal capacity, while doctors were setting up their own clinics in rented locations. The government agreed to restructure the pay scale for doctors in line with other wage agreements, and to reorganize their work schedules, but refused to accede to the Israel Medical Association's demands for a higher raise, contending this would touch off a chain reaction in other sectors.

Finally, in June, after all else had failed, the medical staff at Beersheba's Soroka Hospital launched a hunger strike. This quickly spread to hospitals across the country, crippling even the partial services that were being offered. Some doctors were themselves hospitalized after collapsing from lack of food. With nearly 3,000 doctors taking part in the hunger strike and virtually all hospitals handling only life-or-death cases, Prime Minister Begin intervened. After obtaining cabinet
approval, he turned the issue over to agreed arbitration. The striking doctors then returned to work. In September the arbitrator, David Shoham, director of the Israel General Bank, recommended a salary increase spread out over a period beginning, retroactively, in September 1982, and terminating in June 1984. In addition, about half the country's doctors had their work week cut from 45 to 42 hours. Various other benefits were given to younger doctors.

In contrast to the ferment in the medical sector, the situation at El Al, Israel's national airline, was stabilized. Operations were partially resumed, after a four-month hiatus, on January 12, and shortly thereafter the pilots, who had been the main stumbling block to the company's rehabilitation plan, voted to return to work on a full-time basis. As part of a cost-cutting process, El Al reduced its staff by 1,000, saving some $30 million annually in salaries, a figure that was offset by an annual $30 million loss incurred due to the cessation of flights on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays.

At a joint press conference held in Washington in August by Israel Aircraft Industries and the Grumman Corporation, it was pointed out that Israel's Lavi jet fighter project would provide some 12,000 jobs in Israel and three times that many in the United States. The first test flight of a prototype was scheduled for early 1986. The Israeli air force had undertaken to purchase 300 Lavis as its front-line plane of the 1990's.

In February the Jerusalem Post marked its 50th anniversary as Israel's only daily English-language newspaper. Another jubilee was that of Youth Aliya, originally established to send Jewish youngsters to Palestine, but now focused on educational projects in Israel involving disadvantaged youth and the children of new-immigrant families.

Soul of a Jew, a play by Yehoshua Sobol depicting the final hours of a "Jewish antisemite" in turn-of-the-century Austria, was invited to open the Edinburgh Festival. At home, the play, a critical and popular success, won the prestigious Meskin Prize. Prizes also went to Jeffrey Kahane of the United States, who won the fourth Arthur Rubinstein international piano master competition, held in Tel Aviv in April; and V.S. Naipaul, the novelist and essayist, who was awarded the Jerusalem Prize, presented in conjunction with the eleventh Jerusalem international book fair.

Israel and World Jewry

Early in January the Knesset's aliyah and absorption committee was informed by government officials that the Soviet Union had launched a ruthless campaign against Jewish activists seeking to immigrate to Israel. The committee also heard about the arrest, for the third time, of Josif Begun, a 50-year-old mathematician who had been harassed by the Soviet government since 1970. In May, Knesset speaker Savidor complained that the Israeli public was "apathetic" about Begun's plight. Still, when Begun was sentenced in October to seven years' imprisonment and
another five years of internal exile, a mass demonstration was held in front of the Knesset building, which was addressed by the prime minister, the chief rabbis, and others.

The third international conference on Soviet Jewry was held in Jerusalem in March, with the participation of about 1,500 delegates from 31 countries. Two Soviet "refuseniks" who arrived during the year were Wolf (Ze'ev) Wilensky and Eitan Finkelstein, who had been seeking to leave the Soviet Union for 11 years.

In May the coalition representatives on the Knesset presidium, acting on government instruction, rejected an Alignment request for an urgent debate on the fate of missing Jews in Argentina, on grounds that this constituted interference in the internal affairs of another country. However, following additional public pressure, including a demonstration by Israeli relatives of missing Jews in front of the Argentine embassy in Tel Aviv, the Knesset did debate the issue on June 29. Foreign Minister Shamir indicated that he had raised the problem with Argentine officials during his visit to that country at the end of 1982, and that he was still pursuing the matter. In October the aliya and absorption committee decided to dispatch a parliamentary delegation to Argentina for a first-hand look at the problem. At the very end of the year, foreign ministry director-general David Kimche, who was in Argentina for the inauguration of President Raoul Alfonsin, received assurance that the new government in Buenos Aires would do all in its power to discover the fate of the missing Jews.

In March the Public Council for Ethiopian Jewry, headed by Beersheba mayor Eliahu Nawi, held its inaugural meeting. This followed visits to Ethiopia by several Israelis as part of a World Jewish Congress delegation, and by MK Dror Zeigerman (Likud-Liberal), who joined a group of American students and became the first MK to visit Ethiopia since that country broke relations with Israel in 1978. Zeigerman called for intensified efforts to bring the 20,000 Falashas to Israel. In the meantime, press reports alleging discrimination against some Falashas who were already in the country were denied by Jewish Agency chairman Arye Dulzin. Jewish Agency officials indicated that a Falasha community was to be created adjacent to the Negev town of Kiryat Gat, but the director-general of the immigrant absorption ministry said that his office was bent on dispersing the Falashas throughout the country.

The dispute over the allocation of portfolios in the World Zionist Congress executive continued. Finally, at the end of June, six months after the closing of the World Zionist Congress meeting, the formation of a new executive was announced. Nevertheless, the key aliya and absorption portfolio remained under a cloud. Raphael Kotlowitz (Herut), who had held it for six years, was said by Diaspora members of the Jewish Agency assembly to be "unable to communicate" with Jews abroad. But Kotlowitz initially refused to resign, even requesting a court injunction to prevent the Jewish Agency board of governors from appointing a replacement. He soon withdrew his request, however, paving the way for his ouster. Observers noted that this was the most ringing assertion to date of the power vested in Diaspora members of the Jewish Agency establishment.
In a similar development, the conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (Reform), held in Jerusalem, resolved that Diaspora Jews had the right to "exercise a vigorous involvement in those issues which concern their fellow Jews living in the Jewish state." Addressing the delegates, President Chaim Herzog called on the Reform movement "to place Jewish unity above all other considerations and not to do anything that might . . . cause a split in the Jewish people." For their part, the delegates cautioned against just such a split, which could result if the Knesset passed the proposed amendment to the law of return that would recognize conversions to Judaism only if they were performed "according to the halakhah."

In August, Israel hosted the Israel Bonds annual conference. Other major conferences held in the country during the year were those of the Jewish National Fund of America and the World Union of Jewish Students.

"Operation 1,000," a plan to bring 1,000 North American Jewish families to Israel during the summer as a possible prelude to their immigration, was a great disappointment. Only about 250 families registered for the project. In November Jewish Agency chairman Dulzín announced a 15-year plan, costing $500 million, aimed at intensifying Jewish education in the Diaspora. At present, the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization were spending only about ten per cent of their budgets on education-related matters.

A study by two American graduate students put the number of Israelis in the U.S. at no more than 130,000. The figure was rejected as far too low by Shmuel Lahis, former Jewish Agency director-general, who headed a voluntary "anti-emigration" group; he put the number at nearly 500,000. The central bureau of statistics also made a contribution to the debate by announcing that between the establishment of the state in 1948 and the end of 1982 a total of 391,000 more persons had left the country than had entered it. Whatever the correct figure, it certainly dwarfed the immigration figure for 1983, which, while showing a 20 per cent increase over 1982, still totalled no more than 16,440.

**Personalia**

In April Meir Rosenne, Israel's ambassador to France since 1979, was appointed the new ambassador to Washington, replacing Moshe Arens, who became defense minister. On April 15 Major General David Ivri, former commander of the Israeli air force and head of Israel Aircraft Industries, was named deputy chief of staff of the IDF. Three days later Major General Moshe Levy, promoted to the rank of lieutenant general, took over from retiring Rafael Eitan as chief of staff. On June 19 Yehuda Avner, the prime minister's adviser on Diaspora affairs, was appointed ambassador to Britain, succeeding Shlomo Argov, who was incapacitated in an assassination attempt a year earlier. On September 19 Major General Dan Shomron was appointed commander of the newly created ground forces command. On October 20 Brigadier General Amnon Shakak, promoted to major general, took over from Major General Ori Orr as O.C. central command; the latter was appointed
O.C. northern command on November 9, replacing Major General Amir Drori, who went on study leave. On November 28 Justice Meir Shamgar was sworn in as president of the supreme court, replacing Yitzhak Kahan, who retired after 33 years on the bench; Justice Miriam Ben-Porat was sworn in as the new deputy president.

Personalities who died during the year included Yitzhak Olshan, second president of the supreme court, on February 5, aged 87; Shimon Bar, one of the country's most popular actors, on April 2, aged 55; Major General (res.) Avraham Yoffe, head of the Nature Reserves Authority, on April 11, aged 69; Arye Kroch, head of the Israeli scout movement for 46 years, on April 27, aged 91; Simcha Ehrlich, deputy prime minister and Liberal party leader, on June 19, aged 67; Moshe Medzini, dean of Israel's editorial writers, on August 16, aged 86; Yisrael Zmora, literary figure, on November 5, aged 85; and Jacob Doron, veteran diplomat and attorney, on December 16, aged 69.

RALPH MANDEL
During the period under review (1977–1984), the remaining Jewish communities in the Middle East continued their steady decline. Sweeping geopolitical changes—the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, the overthrow of Shah Reza Pahlavi in Iran, and Israel's invasion of Lebanon—had deleterious effects on the condition of Jews in the region. Given the ever-decreasing number of communities remaining intact, world Jewry's attention turned to the tasks of rescuing and preserving communal assets and property to the extent possible—particularly in countries where the Jewish presence was close to nil—while providing for the physical and spiritual needs of those Jews remaining in place.

Paradoxically, while the centuries-old Jewish communities in Muslim lands were steadily dwindling, Middle Eastern Jews residing in Western Europe, North and South America, and Israel were experiencing a political and cultural revival. Their new dynamism and growing ethnic consciousness were matched by a tremendous upsurge in scholarly interest in the heritage of the Jews of the Middle East.

In several countries in the region the Jewish presence had almost completely disappeared by the end of 1983. Only about a dozen Jews remained in Libya out of a pre-1948 population of 38,000. The majority had left before the country achieved independence in 1952, while most of those remaining behind had fled after anti-Jewish riots broke out in June 1967, resulting in the death of 18 Jews, the disappearance of several others, the internment of the survivors, and the destruction of much Jewish-owned property. Sla El-Kebira, the great synagogue in Tripoli, had been turned into a mosque; a highway was built over one of four Jewish cemeteries in the city. After Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's coup in 1969, Jewish (and Italian) property was nationalized. In response to a statement by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin in 1981, calling on Libya to pay $1 billion in compensation to former Libyan Jews, the government declared that it was "prepared to help these Jews and . . . receive them back . . . as Libyan citizens." However, it was added that the "alignment of these Jews with Israel, the Arab nation's enemy, has forfeited their right to compensation."

In Afghanistan, where approximately 5,000 Jews lived in 1948, an estimated 100 remained 30 years later. Most Jews lived in Kabul, the capital, with a handful in Herat and Balkh near the Soviet border. Jews were generally well-off financially, serving as merchants and traders. In Kabul there was one functioning synagogue—without a rabbi—as compared to nine that had existed in earlier years. A shochet
provided the community with kosher meat. Following the pro-Soviet coup in 1978, news of the Jewish community reached the outside world mainly through the small trickle of Jews who managed to make their way from Afghanistan to Israel via Iran. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 did not result in any apparent deterioration of Jewish life there, although the number of Jews had shrunk to around 80 people; there were nine families in Kabul, four in Herat, and a widow and two children in Balkh.

Only 300, mostly elderly, Jews remained in Algeria out of a pre-1948 population of more than 130,000. About a third lived in Algiers, with the remainder scattered throughout the country. In January 1977 the one functioning synagogue in Algiers, used only on Saturdays due to difficulties in assembling a minyan, was looted and desecrated. Community president Marcel Said reported the break-in and robbery to the authorities, who condemned the incident. Algerian president Houari Boumedienne received Said in a private audience, and asked him to convey to the Jewish community his "sympathy at the loss they suffered;" Boumedienne indicated that he had ordered the police to use all available means to catch the culprits. In April of that year, an Algiers criminal court sentenced 12 local youths to suspended prison sentences for committing the crime. In mid-1978 a group of 100 Algerian Jews living in France returned to Algeria for a ten-day visit—the first such occurrence since the mass exodus of the early 1960's. The government welcomed the group, whose visit was promoted by an organization of Jews from Oran, and extended such courtesies as setting up a temporary synagogue and providing kosher food. The group was told that Algerian Jews living in Israel would be allowed to visit the country if they traveled with a collective passport issued in France. A survey of cemeteries and synagogues in areas no longer inhabited by Jews, conducted by a delegation of French rabbis in 1983, found that some of the cemeteries had been desecrated, while all the synagogues had either been taken over or destroyed.

Iraq

The Iraqi Jewish community, with a history going back to biblical times, was reduced to a mere shadow of its former glory. Anti-Jewish legislation, the sequestering of Jewish property, and hangings and terror over a period of four decades had resulted in the near disappearance of Jews by 1978. Out of a pre-1948 population of 130,000, only an estimated 200–250 Jews remained, most of them in Baghdad, with approximately eight to ten in Basra and some 15 in Hit. The vestigial Jewish community was tolerated by the Ba'ath regime of President Saddam Hussein, but it lived in constant fear that the government's hostility toward Israel and Zionism would lead once again to active persecution.

The continued vulnerability of the Jewish remnant in Iraq was demonstrated by two incidents. In 1977 Salim Cohen, a Jewish businessman in Basra who had hoped to leave Iraq to join his wife and daughter, who had emigrated a few years earlier, was murdered by unknown persons. In 1981, just a few weeks after Israel bombed
an Iraqi nuclear reactor, an army colonel bought a house in Baghdad from Moshe Obadya, an elderly Jew. On the day the sale was to be completed, the colonel killed Obadya, but went completely unpunished.

In 1979 it was learned that Yusuf Navi—one of two former Iraqi Jews living in Israel, who had accepted a 1975 Iraqi government invitation for Jews to return to their homes—had left Iraq with his family after only a few months. While in Iraq, Navi worked in Baghdad Radio's Hebrew section as a broadcaster. Upon his return to Israel, he was arrested and sentenced to four years in prison for spreading anti-Jewish propaganda.

Anti-Jewish measures still in force in Iraq in the late 1970's included a ban on emigration, restrictions on travel abroad—including the confiscation of property and loss of citizenship of those who failed to return within three months—prohibitions on the sale of property, and an imposed limit on the amount of money that could be drawn from frozen bank accounts. Jews were subject to dismissal from employment in both the public and private spheres. The government had seized the bulk of Jewish communal assets—estimated to be worth about £250 million—and had taken over the community's schools, hospital, and clinics.

In February 1983 some of the restrictions on the Jewish community were lifted. On occasion the authorities permitted Jews to regain control of property that had been frozen; Jews were also able to sell their property and other assets without hindrance, although the funds still had to remain in the country. There was also news of financial compensation paid to a Jewish family by the Iraqi government. After 30 years of trying to claim money from the estate of the Ezra Daniel family—a prominent Iraqi Jew and former member of the Senate—a surviving distant relative received 600,000 Iraqi dinars (more than $1.5 million) and was told that another million would be paid in due course.

The major problem facing Iraqi Jewry was the continued ban on emigration. However, since the outbreak of the war with Iran in 1980 this had become a general measure, aimed at preventing all draft-age men from leaving the country. According to Western journalists, a number of Jews were serving in the Iraqi armed forces. While the authorities allowed a few Iraqi citizens to travel abroad for business or health reasons, only two Jews were given such permission. The two, Abdallah Obadia and his wife, an elderly couple with ties to government officials, were permitted to sell their possessions and leave the country in 1982.

In Baghdad, the Jewish community council, headed by Naji Elias, continued to administer religious and charitable trusts. About 50 per cent of the Jewish population was supported partially or in whole with these funds.

**Tunisia**

There was a growing concern about the uncertain situation of Tunisia's approximately 3,500 Jews, due to the failing health of President Habib Bourguiba and a series of antisemitic incidents. Bourguiba, who had led Tunisia since it gained
independence in 1956, was known as a political moderate regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and as a staunch protector of the Jewish community. Thus, the absence of a successor to the ailing leader, combined with rising tensions reflecting the country's economic problems in the late 1970's and early 1980's, contributed to a general sense of unease in the Tunisian Jewish community. More specifically, there was a series of antisemitic incidents that began in 1979. On May 9 of that year, a fire broke out in the ancient Bezalel synagogue on the Tunisian island of Djerba—the famed "Ghriba"—just a few days before the traditional May pilgrimages were to begin. Seven Torah scrolls, the ark, and prayerbooks were lost in the fire. The incident was barely mentioned in the Tunisian press; the government tried to quash all talk about it by deeming the fire an "accident"—an assertion that no one in the Jewish community believed. The May pilgrimages were cancelled and tourism to Djerba in general, consisting mainly of Jewish visitors originating from Tunisia who returned to the country in order to see family or make use of blocked assets, was down markedly.

The Djerba Jewish community—numbering around 1,000—was commonly regarded as the oldest in the Diaspora, and tradition had it that the Bezalel synagogue contained stones from Solomon's temple in Jerusalem. The synagogue was venerated by both Jews and Muslims, who lived side by side on the island. Thus, its burning was seen as a telltale sign that the favorable attitude exhibited toward the Jewish community in the past was changing. Another reason for concern was the transfer of the Arab League headquarters from Cairo to Tunis following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and Egypt's subsequent suspension from membership in the League. In August 1979 there were reports that the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a notorious antisemitic forgery, was being circulated in Tunis and that anti-Jewish articles were appearing in the Tunisian press. Such manifestations were attributed variously to the Arab League's activities, the rise of Muslim fundamentalism among Tunisia's disaffected youth, and Libyan influence.

The Djerban Jewish community was further shaken in October 1980, when a 14-year-old Jewish boy, Gabriel Haddad, was sentenced to five years in prison for allegedly destroying an Islamic religious manual during a schoolyard scuffle between Jewish and Arab boys that had occurred in May 1978. The school authorities had attempted to settle the matter without involving the police or the courts, but had been unsuccessful. Court cases were brought in Djerba and another city, but the judges dismissed the matter as a children's quarrel. At that point, an Arab in Sfax stirred up popular sentiment by falsely charging that a copy of the Koran had been burned, and a judge in the city imposed the five-year prison sentence on Haddad. The boy's family and representatives of the Jewish community appealed to the government for a pardon. Finally, in December 1980 the authorities relented and Haddad was released from detention and sent to school in France.

In the aftermath of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, there was a fresh outbreak of anti-Jewish incidents, due in part to the presence in Tunis of the PLO's headquarters, after the organization had been forced to leave Beirut. News of the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps broke on the eve of Rosh
Hashanah. In order to prevent any possible acts of reprisal, the government asked Chief Rabbi Franji Uzan not to open the synagogues for services on the second day of the holiday, as well as on Yom Kippur. During the next week the government seized copies of a Tunisian weekly magazine that reported in detail on the massacre, prevented the staging of an anti-Jewish demonstration in Tunis, and posted armed police around the main synagogue. Still, on Yom Kippur homes and shops belonging to Jews in Ben Gardane, Zarzis, and Djerba were ransacked and set on fire; several Jews were injured. Official Tunisian sources stated that the attacks were carried out by opposition elements belonging to extremist Islamic organizations. A government communiqué noted that more than a dozen demonstrators had been arrested.

President Bourguiba issued a message on Yom Kippur calling on Muslims, Jews, and Christians to unite to achieve peace in the Middle East. Bourguiba also personally assured France’s chief rabbi René Sirat, when they met at the Tunisian embassy in Paris shortly afterward, that the government would take all necessary measures to protect the Jewish community and its institutions. Another positive sign was the publication in the ruling party’s newspaper al-Aman of a declaration by 190 prominent Tunisians, condemning “all forms of racism” and deploring the incidents in Zarzis and Ben Gardane. Nonetheless, a number of Jews left the two cities and moved to Djerba, while some 300 Jews—a somewhat higher figure than normal—departed the country.

Just one year later, at the end of October 1983, the synagogue in Zarzis was completely destroyed in a fire. Although the authorities ruled it an accident, the 100 remaining Jews in Zarzis suspected that the fire had been deliberately set, either by Palestinian elements or Muslim fanatics. Several days after the incident, Chief Rabbi Uzan and leaders of the Jewish community met with the minister of the interior, who promised a full investigation. However, neither the minister nor any other government spokesman issued an official statement of regret or sympathy—the first time this had happened. Fortunately, the Jews in Zarzis were able to use the synagogue’s side rooms, which were relatively undamaged by the fire, for prayer services and Hebrew classes.

At the beginning of 1984 there were about 2,500 Jews in Tunis and some 800 in Djerba, with the rest scattered throughout the country. A small number were quite well-off, but the vast majority were aged, sick, and needy. While Jewish community schools continued to function, the number of children who were enrolled had fallen sharply, due to emigration. Once they reached a certain age, young people were generally sent to France to continue their education. There was no restriction on emigration or travel. Close contact was maintained with the Jewish community in France, where many Tunisian Jews now lived.

**Egypt**

The celebration in August 1984 of the first Jewish wedding in Egypt in 19 years poignantly demonstrated the sorry state of Egyptian Jewry. Only 250-300 elderly
Jews remained out of a community that once numbered more than 80,000. There were some 120 Jews in Cairo and a similar number in Alexandria; Cairo also contained a Karaite community numbering perhaps 40. In all of Egypt, there were no rabbis and only two functioning synagogues. Following the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in March 1979, the Jewish community was able to renew its ties with coreligionists in Israel and elsewhere, thus leading to some improvement in its situation. In 1981, for example, the World Sephardi Federation contributed funds to renovate and restore Sha'ar Ha-Shamayim, Cairo's main synagogue. Israel regularly dispatched Egyptian-born rabbis to Cairo and Alexandria to lead services on the high holy days and other special occasions. Israeli diplomats maintained informal contact with the Jewish community and occasionally participated in the minyan at Sha'ar Ha-Shamayim. Israeli officials on state business, including former president Yitzhak Navon, included a visit to the synagogue in their itineraries. In addition, services were held at a synagogue in al-Maadi, a Cairo suburb that was home to many diplomats, including Israelis.

While they had once been the target of attacks and demonstrations, Egypt's Jews, in recent years, had been well treated. The government posted riot police to protect Jewish institutions and took various measures to insure the safety of the members of the Jewish community and the Israeli diplomatic corps. In February 1981, three Palestinians and two Egyptians were put on trial for conspiring to bomb the Israeli embassy and the Cairo synagogue. Since 1974 Egyptian Jews had been permitted to draw fixed sums from blocked bank accounts, although the money had to be spent in Egypt. This policy applied to former Egyptian Jews as well, and many took advantage of the opportunity to pay nostalgic visits to Egypt. The only Jew known to have been arrested of late was Shehata Haroun, a lawyer and leftist sympathizer, who was detained in April 1980 along with 30 other left-wing political activists for allegedly setting up a Communist party.

A distinctly negative development was the reappearance in the Egyptian press of antisemitic cartoons and articles. This material surfaced as a response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982, which also prompted Egypt to withdraw its ambassador from Tel Aviv. Still, despite the subsequent freeze in Egyptian-Israeli normalization and the opposition of many Egyptian intellectuals to the Camp David peace process, the Jewish community remained relatively unaffected.

Serious concern was expressed about the future of Jewish cultural treasures in Egypt, since the community lacked the resources and manpower to take care of them. The issue was discussed in 1979, following the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, in meetings that American Jewish leaders held with top Egyptian officials. Felix Iscaki, head of the Cairo Jewish community, also submitted a petition on the matter to Jihan Sadat, wife of President Anwar Sadat. The situation became more acute as much abandoned property was sold by community officials in order to generate sufficient revenue to meet communal welfare needs.

Over the period of a decade, six of the ten ancient synagogues in Cairo's old Jewish quarter had been sold, some with their interior furnishings intact. The remaining synagogues, among them one known as the synagogue of Maimonides,
were in varying states of disrepair. The cemetery at Basatine, near Cairo, had reportedly been vandalized, with many tombstones and monuments being defaced or removed. Ironically, some of the grander mausoleums were preserved because people were living in them, as was the case in other Cairo cemeteries. The synagogues, cemeteries, and archives of the Alexandria Jewish community were in somewhat better condition, reflecting the relative affluence of Jews there.

No trace had ever been found of some 50 torah scrolls confiscated by the Egyptian authorities as they were being taken out of the country in 1967.

**Yemen Arab Republic**

Although it had been widely assumed that all of Yemen's Jews left the country *en masse* in 1949–1950, when a ban on emigration was lifted, recent reports indicated that 1,200–1,500 Jews still remained in North Yemen. (There were, at best, only a few left in Marxist-run South Yemen.) Jews were reported to be living in scattered communities in areas north of the capital city of Sana'a; only a handful of Jews were thought to be residing in Sana'a itself. Information about the Jewish community was scant, because of a lack of contact with the outside world.

The authorities in Yemen were extremely sensitive to any inquiries about the status of the country's religious minorities. This was demonstrated by the arrest in February 1980 of two American citizens and seven Yemenites, including three Jews, on charges of spying for the United States and Israel. One of the Americans, DuWayne Terrell, had lived in Israel for four years while working for a church organization, and had become friendly with Yemenite Jews there; this sparked his interest in visiting Yemen. Terrell was arrested while examining the Taiz burial site of Salaam Shabazzi, the famed seventeenth-century Yemenite Jewish poet; he was carrying letters in Hebrew to be mailed to Israel. William Thomas, Jr., the second American, was arrested after Terrell, under torture, confessed to spying and implicated Thomas. The Yemenite Jews were apparently arrested because Terrell had established contact with them. After a year in Sana'a's general prison, where they were beaten and tortured, the two Americans and three of the Yemenites, including two Jews, were released from jail. Terrell subsequently returned to Israel, having decided to convert to Judaism and settle in the country.

The situation of the remaining Jews in Yemen was said to be deteriorating, with Jews reportedly being harassed by Palestinians who had moved to Yemen after being forced out of Beirut in August 1982. However, as far as was known, Jews were allowed to practice their religion in private. Representatives of Neturei Karta, the Jewish, anti-Zionist, ultra-religious group, visited the Yemenite Jewish community in the late 1970's—the trip having been arranged by the PLO—and distributed Jewish ritual objects and books. The tribal sheikhs, under whose authority Jews lived, took seriously their obligation to protect the scattered Jewish communities.

In April 1984 the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith announced plans to ask the Yemen Arab Republic to allow a delegation of American Jewish leaders to
visit the Yemenite Jewish community. For its part, the American Jewish Committee called on the Yemen government to allow Jewish families to be reunited, and to eliminate prohibitions on the receipt of mail.

In the wake of the mass emigration of Yemenite Jews in 1949-1950, ancient synagogues and cemeteries had been abandoned. Many of the synagogues were taken over by local elements or destroyed. There were reports that the 1,000-year-old cemetery in Taiz had been razed.

Morocco

The approximately 18,000 Jews living in Morocco in 1983 constituted the largest single Jewish community in the Arab world. More than half resided in Casablanca, with several thousand in Rabat and Marrakesh, and the rest in such cities as Meknes, Fez, Tetuan, and Tangier. The Jewish community benefited from the moderate and benevolent rule of the Moroccan government, which in critical times protected its Jewish citizens. Upon attaining independence in 1956, Morocco gave Jews full citizenship, and one Jew even became a government minister for a time. Morocco also permitted Jews—except for certain short periods years ago—to leave the country, and to take along belongings and assets. The members of the Jewish community were mainly middle-class, although a significant minority required welfare assistance.

There was no bar to the full expression of Jewish religious life and Jewish education. ORT, Ozar Hatorah, the Lubavitch movement, and al-Ittihad, the successor organization to the Alliance Israelite Universelle, operated schools that had government support. Jews had their own religious courts, with jurisdiction over matters of personal status, including marriage and divorce. In addition to legally recognized Jewish councils in each of the local communities, there was an overall Council of Jewish Communities, headquartered in Rabat and headed by David Amar, a wealthy businessman with close ties to King Hassan II. Among the responsibilities of the Council was making arrangements for the assets of vanishing Jewish communities to be taken over and managed by neighboring communities. In some cities, such as Fez, however, the local authorities had taken over some Jewish-owned property without compensation. Virtually all Moroccan Jews had relatives in Israel, France, or Canada, and experienced no difficulty in keeping in touch with them. While there was no large-scale emigration per se, Jewish young people tended to go abroad to study when they reached higher education levels, and often did not return to Morocco.

If Moroccan Jewry felt relatively secure, it was due to the policies of King Hassan II, who, like his father before him—Sultan Muhammad V—consistently maintained a clear distinction between Arab attitudes toward the State of Israel and attitudes toward the Jewish community. In periods of tension, when popular opinion was stirred up by developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Moroccan government took active steps to protect its Jewish citizens. On a number of occasions, the
government also made public overtures to the Jewish community, as when seven
government ministers and a personal representative of the king attended the August
1977 funeral of Morocco’s first Jewish minister, Leon Benzaquen. In 1976 Morocco
issued a public invitation to former Moroccan Jews to return to the country, stating
that any who did so would be welcome. About 100 Jewish families responded
affirmatively. The Moroccan government also took the unusual step of permitting
representatives of the Council of Jewish Communities to participate in meetings
abroad of the World Jewish Congress. Moreover, in November 1979 the Council
became an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress—a noteworthy first for a Jewish
community in an Arab country.

King Hassan’s friendliness to Jews and moderate stance vis-à-vis Israel had been
demonstrated in various ways over the years: statements urging Arab-Jewish coop-
eration in the Middle East; his role as a mediator between Egypt and Israel prior
to President Sadat’s visit to Jerusalem; and his policy of fostering visits to Morocco
by leading Jewish personalities from Israel, the United States, and Europe. In 1977
two prominent Israelis of North African origin—Shaul Ben Simchon and André
Chouraqui—visited Morocco, with Chouraqui being received by the king. A num-erv of American Jewish groups toured Morocco in 1979 by official invitation. The
Moroccan government co-sponsored a 1978 conference on Moroccan Jewish history
and culture that was organized by former Moroccan Jews living in France. The
government even sanctioned the participation of an Israeli delegation—consisting
of Moroccan-born Jews—in the May 1984 biennial congress of the Moroccan Jewish
community, held in Rabat. Crown Prince Muhammad and other top government
officials attended the state dinner that ended the two-day meeting. Speaking at the
dinner, Minister of State Ahmed Alaoui proposed the formation of an Arab-Jewish
association to “promote peace in Palestine.” A number of Arab countries were
sharply critical of Alaoui’s statement, which was seen as a Moroccan move toward
recognition of Israel; in response, Syria recalled its ambassador to Rabat.

The Moroccan Jewish community had experienced some brief periods of tension
in recent years, and felt that its continued safety was very much dependent on the
personal good will of King Hassan II. On occasion—as, for example, when Israel
annexed East Jerusalem in July 1980—Moroccan media carried anti-Zionist and
anti-Israel stories, and there were hostile demonstrations as well. This, together with
a downturn in the economy, led some Jews to leave the country. King Hassan
responded by taking steps to quiet the fears of the Jewish community. Thus, in 1980
he ordered a member of the cabinet to represent the monarchy at synagogue services
in Casablanca on Yom Kippur, with the visit being featured on Moroccan television.
Following Israel’s invasion of Lebanon, when Jewish individuals and institutions
received anonymous threats, extra police protection was provided. In August 1984,
after several interventions by the Jewish community, the Moroccan government
freed Sion Assidon, a Jewish mathematician and self-confessed Marxist activist,
from prison; Assidon had served 12 years of an 18-year sentence. This pardon left
one other Jew in jail—Abraham Serfaty, who had also been charged with Marxist
subversion.
Lebanon

At the beginning of the period under review, Lebanon had already experienced a brutal civil war of two years' duration. Nonetheless, the Jewish community, numbering around 400—there were approximately 300 Jews in Beirut (evenly divided between the Muslim West and Christian East sectors), 25–30 in Bhamdoun, another 25 or so in Jounieh, 40 in Mansurieh, and one family in Aleyh—managed to maintain a relatively normal life. Most Jewish families were headed by prosperous businessmen, although some experienced financial hardship linked to the devastation brought about by the fighting. The last rabbi in Lebanon had left, and in Beirut religious services were being held only irregularly in a small side room of the main synagogue. Only the synagogue in Bhamdoun, a village in the mountains outside Beirut where many Jews had summer homes, was operating more or less normally. There was no shochet residing in the country, and arrangements had to be made to have a shochet visit periodically from Damascus in order to assure a supply of kosher meat. There continued to be a trickle of departures for Israel, via Cyprus.

The small size of the Jewish community made it difficult to administer records and communal property. A small committee was established to handle welfare assistance, burials, and weddings. The Talmud Torah school was closed for lack of students; approximately 30 children attended other lay or religious schools.

By 1981 the Lebanese Jewish community had grown to an estimated 600–700 people. This reflected an improved economic situation, which led Jewish businessmen and their families to re-settle in the country. Synagogues were full on holidays and a community council, officially recognized by the government, was functioning. While Jews were subject to the same dangers and difficulties as other Lebanese, they found themselves being protected by all sides—the government of Lebanon, the Syrians, and the Palestinians. Thus, a Jewish couple who had been picked up and held in a Palestinian camp for a week after being denounced as spies—the result of a business deal gone sour—were released through direct Syrian intervention and Palestinian cooperation. Similarly, when an abandoned synagogue was taken over by refugees from the south seeking shelter, Palestinian officials forced them to leave, replaced the broken lock, and gave the keys to the Jewish community with apologies.

As a result of the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the siege of Beirut, the situation changed once again. Many Jews in West Beirut, including members of the community council, fled their homes and moved either to East Beirut, Jounieh, or out of the country entirely—leaving about 150 Jews in Lebanon. Israeli shelling of West Beirut, where the PLO forces were concentrated, resulted in some damage to the synagogue and Jewish homes. Some 40 Jews, mostly elderly, remained in West Beirut throughout the siege, enduring periodic cutoffs of water, electricity, and food. Reportedly, however, they were not subject to harassment by either their Muslim neighbors or the Palestinians. Some contact was established with the Israeli army, which renovated abandoned Jewish sites in the south of the country. The Beirut synagogue was repaired in time for high holy day services, in which some Israelis also participated.
As the fighting subsided and the new Lebanese government began to assert itself, former Lebanese Jews returned to visit and look around, some with an eye toward reestablishing themselves in the country. However, continued fighting and uncertainty about the future served to keep the size of the Jewish community quite small. The long-term prospects for Lebanese Jewry were quite bleak.

**Turkey**

The Jewish community in Turkey remained one of the more stable and prosperous in the Muslim world. Out of a total of 23,000–25,000 Jews, some 18,000–20,000 lived in Istanbul, with about 2,000 in Izmir, several hundred in the capital city of Ankara, and the rest in such cities as Edirne, Adana, and Canakkale. The majority of Jewish household heads were businessmen or professionals, who were relatively prosperous. At the same time, between 500 and 1,000 Jews—the number varying in accordance with the general state of the Turkish economy—received welfare assistance from communal funds. There were few restrictions, except for currency regulations, on travel abroad, including to Israel, where some 48,000 Turkish Jews had settled. Turkey maintained low-key diplomatic contacts with the Jewish state. Synagogues, a Jewish hospital, an old-age home, and day schools operated fairly normally. There were occasional difficulties due to bureaucratic regulations, but these were not specifically directed against Jews. Thus, no central Jewish organization was permitted to exist, and the various local communities were forced to run their affairs autonomously. The *hahambashi* (chief rabbi), however, was the spiritual leader of the entire Jewish community. There was a shortage of qualified Hebrew teachers and religious functionaries; two young cantors and *shochetim*, who had been trained by Chief Rabbi David Asseo, left for Israel in 1979. Few young people wanted to pursue careers in Jewish communal work, while the government did not permit the importation of teachers from Israel.

The chief problem facing the Turkish Jewish community in the late 1970's was the potential breakdown of governmental authority and democratic institutions in the wake of the deterioration of the economy and the proliferation of extremist groups on both the right and the left. Political murders and terrorist acts, while not directed against Jews, were commonplace, particularly in the universities, leading many Jewish families to send their children abroad to study. Other disturbing factors were the anti-Zionist stance of extremist groups, such as the pro-Islamic National Salvation party, and the August 1979 decision of the Turkish government to accord diplomatic status to the PLO. The statement announcing this decision stressed Turkey's "continued support for the legitimate cause of the Palestinian people, struggling for Israel's withdrawal from occupied lands and their legal rights, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian state." At the same time, Turkey rejected a PLO demand that relations with Israel be broken. On the whole, diplomatic ties with Israel remained as they had been since the 1956 Sinai campaign, when they were downgraded from the ambassadorial level to that of chargé
d'affaires. El Al continued to operate direct flights between Istanbul and Lod; commercial contacts and maritime links were very much in evidence.

The general situation in Turkey took a turn for the better after the military coup of September 12, 1980. The army, headed by Chief of Staff Kenan Evren, dissolved parliament, arrested extremists on both the right and the left, and imposed martial law throughout the country, pledging to restore democracy once order had been reestablished. Shortly after the coup, Evren, who became acting head of state (and later president), broadcast a radio message in which he promised to end sectarianism and incitement to violence. The Jewish community generally welcomed the military takeover; in the months following the coup, Jewish emigration slowed to a mere trickle, reflecting the improved security situation. Relations with Israel were maintained, although they were downgraded further in response to "provocative" Israeli actions, such as the passage of the Jerusalem law in 1980 and the 1982 war in Lebanon.

In the aftermath of the military coup, a number of Jewish institutions were revitalized and improved. In May 1984, Zeki Dushi became the first Jew in 20 years to be elected to the Istanbul district council; there were no Jews in parliament. Another first was the granting of permission for Jewish communal representatives to attend international gatherings, such as the meeting of the World Jewish Congress. It was reported that several dozen Turkish Jews living abroad had returned to the country.

Syria

Life continued to be difficult for Syria's 5,000 Jews—approximately 3,500 in Damascus, 1,300 in Aleppo, and 200 in Qamishly—who were subject to harassment, periodic repression, and ongoing surveillance by the Mukhabarat (secret police). There was a total ban on Jewish emigration, even for purposes of family reunification. Of particular concern was the plight of some 400 Jewish women who were unable to marry in Syria and sought to emigrate. The few Jews permitted to travel abroad for business, health, or family reasons were required to post a cash bond of approximately $5,000 and to leave behind close family members as hostages for their return. Jews caught attempting to flee Syria illegally were imprisoned; there were also a number of deaths resulting from failed escape attempts. Beyond that, Jews, along with the general population, suffered under the brutal rule of the Ba'ath regime headed by President Hafez al-Assad. Syria was a country in which illegal searches, acts of torture, jailings without trial, and summary executions were commonplace.

President Assad, in a meeting with Jewish community leaders late in 1976, promised to improve the situation of Syrian Jewry. Assad indicated that there would be no change with regard to the ban on emigration, but that a number of other restrictions would be removed: abolition of the designation Musawi (Jew) on identity cards; cancellation of the requirement that Jews get written permission from the
Mukhabarat to travel from one city to another; and relaxation of the conditions under which travel abroad would be permitted for purposes of obtaining medical treatment or visiting relatives. In fact, however, not all of these actions were carried out. Thus, while Syrian officials told Western reporters early in 1977 that Musawi was no longer stamped in large red letters on the identity papers of Jews, it was known that Jews were still required to carry documents which bore the same stamp in small blue letters. Similarly, Jews were able to move about more freely within Syria, but still were required to notify the Mukhabarat. (This requirement was reimposed after several groups of Jews crossed the border into Turkey.) On the other hand, some restrictions on the acquisition and disposition of property were relaxed.

Regular services were held in 19 synagogues in Damascus and three in Aleppo. Kosher meat was available. About 1,000 children were enrolled in the community's elementary and secondary schools, where religious studies, including Hebrew, were taught. According to Rabbi Ibrahim Hamra, principal of the Ben Maimun secondary school, there was a shortage of religious textbooks, and appeals for such materials were issued to Syrian Jewish communities in the Diaspora. The Jewish community undertook to repair and restore the synagogue in Aleppo that had been looted and burned in 1947. Most Jewish household heads were merchants, with a few being permitted to receive import/export licenses; there were also some Jewish professionals and artisans. Government jobs were effectively closed to Jews.

In March 1977 two representatives of the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn, New York visited Syria to examine Jewish communal needs. They found widespread poverty, particularly in Qamishly. The Mukhabarat patrolled Jewish neighborhoods, and most Jews avoided any public contact with foreigners, unless it had been authorized by community spokesman Selim Totah, who served as liaison with the police.

One of the most pressing problems facing the Jewish community was the fate of the approximately 400 single Jewish women who could not find husbands. Their tragic situation had come about because many young Jewish men had secretly fled the country, and a good many of those remaining behind were unwilling to marry and start a family under prevailing conditions. Intensive efforts were made by the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn, aided by Representative Stephen Solarz and American Jewish organizations, to arrange for the emigration of the women, so that they could find husbands among the 25,000 Syrian Jews living in the United States. President Jimmy Carter personally raised the issue—as well as the broader question of Syrian Jewish emigration for purposes of family reunification—when he met with President Assad in Geneva in May 1977. Assad promised that the Syrian government would give consideration to applications presented on a case-by-case basis. Carter again mentioned the subject to Assad in two follow-up letters; moreover, the incoming U.S. ambassador to Syria, Talcott Seelye, raised the issue when he presented his credentials. In late July 1977, 14 single women were permitted to leave Syria after receiving marriage offers from American residents. However, no additional applications were ever approved.
Additional interventions with regard to Jewish emigration were made by United States government representatives and human rights organizations in 1979, after it had become apparent that the situation of the Jewish community had worsened. Following the escape of one large family, a requirement was added that Jews notify the Mukhabarat as soon as they arrived at any destination within Syria. Jews also faced new difficulties with regard to inheritance and the disposal of property, requiring special permission to sell cars or homes. Property belonging to Jewish families that had left the country was sequestrated by the government. Jews wishing to engage in foreign trade were advised to bring in Muslim partners to head their companies; the government appointed Muslim directors to supervise Jewish schools. Mukhabarat agents were present at synagogue services, and Jews were warned that homes not lit up at night would be immediately searched. The minimum penalty for attempting to escape the country was raised to six months' imprisonment. Particularly tragic was the case of a Mrs. Barakat, mother of four young children, who was gravely wounded by border guards as she attempted to flee Syria in August 1979.

In February 1979 a Syrian Jew who, together with his family, had recently escaped to Israel, appeared at a press conference in New York. Masked in order to conceal his identity, "Mr. Albert" charged that a wave of repression had swept the Syrian Jewish community in the aftermath of several successful escapes by Jews. The New York Times report on the press conference noted that some 20 Jews in Damascus and Aleppo had been detained by the secret police on suspicion of having helped Jewish families to leave. Syria's ambassador to the United Nations, in a letter to the newspaper, denied the claim that Jews were being mistreated, calling it a ploy by "Zionists" to influence the Carter administration's Middle East policy. The Syrian spokesman insisted that restrictions on emigration applied to non-Jews as well, and reflected a desire to "prevent a brain drain."

In September 1979 the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution, introduced by Congressman Solarz, calling on the Syrian government, on humanitarian grounds, to allow Jews to leave. A similar resolution was adopted by the Senate in October. In November a delegation of the American-based Legal Coalition for Syrian Jewry presented a petition and bill of particulars to United Nations secretary general Kurt Waldheim. Waldheim was requested to intervene with the Syrian government to protect the human rights of Syrian Jews, including emigration. Several months earlier a similar plea had been addressed to the secretary general by Alain Poher, president of the French Senate and chairman of the International Conference for the Deliverance of Jews in the Middle East.

In 1980 Syrian Jewry became further imperilled, as the Assad government launched a campaign to eliminate the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood. In one incident in July, a Jewish woman in Aleppo was raped by a soldier belonging to the defense brigades, whose responsibility it was to search homes for suspected Brotherhood members. A protest to the authorities elicited a promise of an investigation, but none took place. There were reports that one or two other Jewish women in
Aleppo had been raped, and that a Jew in Damascus had been wounded in crossfire between government troops and Brotherhood fighters. While these incidents did not result from actions specifically directed against Jews, they did prompt renewed escape efforts. In October, seven Jewish men, including the husband of Mrs. Barakat, were sentenced to six months in prison for allegedly attempting to escape, although a judge in Damascus had ordered their release. Some Jews did succeed in leaving the country despite increased vigilance on the part of the authorities. As a result of these departures, as well as some internal migration, the distribution of the Jewish population shifted; there were now some 4,000 Jews in Damascus, 750 in Aleppo, and 150-200 in Qamishly.

Since Qamishly no longer had a resident rabbi or Jewish school, Jews in that community were gradually moving to Aleppo; there were reports that several synagogues in Qamishly had been taken over or demolished. In Aleppo a synagogue was razed to make way for an urban renewal project, but the Jewish community was able to save the Torah scrolls and other religious items, and was paid some token compensation by the government.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, which led to fighting between Syrian and Israeli forces, gave rise to new uncertainty among Syrian Jews, who feared that at any time they could be made scapegoats. Further cause for concern was the return to Syria of armed Palestinians after they were expelled from Beirut in August. In fact, however, the Syrian authorities did act to protect the Jewish community. This was in marked contrast to what had occurred during previous rounds of Arab-Israeli fighting, when Syrian Jews had been detained and beaten by the Mukhabarat, and the entire community had been placed under particularly tight control. In 1982 even foreign travel continued; some 50 Syrian Jews were permitted to go abroad for brief visits.

At the end of 1983, the Jewish community was shocked to learn of the brutal murder and mutilation of Lillian Abadi—who was pregnant at the time—and her two young children in Aleppo. The Syrian government promised a full investigation, and provided police protection. The killings aroused denunciations and protests from the Israeli government, U.S. officials, American Jewish organizations, and the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn. American Jewish Committee president Howard Friedman called on Syria to allow unrestricted Jewish emigration. On January 31, 1984 the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn held a mass protest rally.

Iran

The 1979 overthrow of Shah Reza Pahlavi and the triumph of the Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini led to dramatic changes in the situation of Iranian Jewry. The 2,500-year-old Jewish community experienced a sharp decline in numbers. For Jews who remained in place, there was great uncertainty about what the future would be like in a country ruled by strict Shi'ite law, which treated
Jews and other non-Muslims as, at best, second-class citizens. The Khomeini regime's implacable hostility to Israel and Zionism, and the frequent blurring of the distinction between Zionist and Jew, contributed to the possibility that revolutionary Iran might prove to be a place in which it was impossible for Jews to live.

In the last years of the Shah's rule, the Jewish community numbered around 80,000, with about 60,000 Jews residing in Teheran, 8,500 in Shiraz, 3,500 in Isfahan, and the remainder scattered throughout the country. Jewish religious life flourished; educational, cultural, and welfare work was conducted by major Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Lubavitch movement, Ozar Hatorah, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. More than 11,000 children attended some 23 community schools. Another 11,000 Jews were enrolled in Iranian schools and universities, with Jews enjoying the highest percentage of university students among any ethnic group in the country. There was full freedom of movement; some 62,000 Iranian Jews had emigrated to Israel since 1948. The Jewish community's standard of living steadily improved, and individual Jews even found opportunities for advancement in government. Except for Turkey, Iran was the only Muslim country to maintain extensive, though unofficial, relations with Israel. El Al provided direct air service between Teheran and Lod.

Ayatollah Khomeini, though known for his fierce anti-Zionist views, issued statements reassuring the Jewish community prior to his triumphant return to Iran after years in exile. Khomeini reiterated to American Jewish representatives what he had told a visiting Iranian Jewish delegation some months previously: Jews would have "full rights and protection, as did all other religious minorities, and need not fear for their future." The rabbis of the Jewish community welcomed Khomeini at the airport upon his return to Iran; in a meeting with him after the revolution, they were again told that religious minorities would be treated equally with Muslims. At the same time Khomeini reiterated his intention to "break off relations with Israel because we do not believe there is any legal justification for its existence. Palestine belongs to the Islamic space and must be returned to the Muslims." Indeed, the severing of diplomatic ties with Israel was among the very first acts of the new regime. In February demonstrators entered the unofficial Israeli legation building in Teheran, ransacked it, and ran up a PLO banner; the building was later presented to PLO chief Yasir Arafat—the first official guest of the Khomeini government—as crowds shouted "Death to Israel."

During the early stages of the Islamic revolution, some 15,000 Iranian Jews went abroad, about half to Israel and the remainder to Western Europe and the United States. However, only around 2,000 opted to settle permanently in Israel. The rest waited to see how events would unfold in Iran.

In May 1979 Habib Elghanian, a prominent Jewish businessman and former president of the Anjoman Kalimian, the umbrella organization of the Iranian Jewish community, was executed by order of a revolutionary court. Elghanian had been accused both of spying for Israel and of "corruption on earth." Over the next year or so, ten other Jews were executed on various trumped-up charges, including spying
for the United States and Israel, Zionism, drug dealing, "corruption on earth" and "warring against God." The fact that Zionism was one of the charges placed many Iranian Jews in danger, since they had relatives in Israel or had visited the country during the shah's reign. In at least one case, an execution was carried out in violation of established juridical procedures; Albert Danielpour, a prominent member of the Teheran Jewish community, was summarily put to death, even though his sentence had been commuted to three years' imprisonment.

The reign of terror which the Jewish community experienced led to a public protest by a group of young Iranian Jewish intellectuals, who had earlier supported the Islamic revolution and the government's pro-Palestinian policy. In an open letter to then president Abolhassan Bani Sadr, published in Tammuz in May 1980, they stated:

We do not wish to side with those Jews who are opposing the revolution and have been or are being tried by the revolutionary courts... The methods of preparation of the letters of accusation in the revolutionary courts clearly indicate certain prejudices and biases which have caused grave anxiety among the Jewish population. ... If affiliation with the Jewish community is an act of felony, then the entire Jewish community of Iran [is] to be considered at fault... You fully realize that the government of Israel was one of the closest allies of the deposed shah. Thousands of Iranian merchants have had trade relations with that country. Apart from that, every day hundreds of people went to Israel for medical treatment or religious pilgrimage. We consider relations with capitalistic sources an act of felony, but importation of honey from Israel or receiving letters from relatives resident in that country surely cannot be a ground for conviction in the revolutionary courts, because such unjustified accusations will help to undermine any other factually based acts of felony.

A recent estimate placed the number of Iranian Jews at about 35,000, with the majority in Teheran, some 5,000–7,000 in Shiraz, 1,600–2,000 in Isfahan, and 3,500 in scattered towns and villages. Since the outbreak of the war with Iraq in September 1980, Jews living in cities in the battle zone had reportedly sought refuge in safer areas. Virtually the entire Jewish upper class had fled Iran, with their substantial holdings being confiscated.

The Jewish community continued to be led by the Anjoman Kalimian and the chief rabbi. Jews had their own elected representative in the Majlis, the Iranian parliament. Synagogues and Jewish schools still functioned in Teheran, Shiraz, and other cities, and synagogue attendance was up. Communal leaders encouraged this trend for two reasons: to draw the Jewish community together and to legitimate Jewish religious observance in an increasingly theocratic state. Government officials spoke at public meetings held in synagogues, such as a gathering organized in February 1981 by the Anjoman Kalimian in Teheran's Abrishami synagogue to commemorate the second anniversary of the revolution. Along with other Iranian schools, Jewish elementary schools were nationalized and placed under the jurisdiction of the ministry of education, which supervised the curriculum and provided financing for teachers of approved subjects. Religious education was compulsory;
Jewish children not enrolled in Jewish schools had to take supplementary religious courses. As a result, afternoon Hebrew schools were set up, teachers were trained, and prayerbooks and textbooks were published, all with the ministry of education's approval. Increasing numbers of Muslim children enrolled in Jewish schools and Muslim religious instruction was provided for them. Jewish high schools continued to function normally, as did other communal institutions, such as hospitals and old-age homes. In Teheran the Jewish hospital provided medical care to Jews and non-Jews alike.

Iran's economic plight affected Jews no less than others. Oil production had come to a near halt as a result of the war with Iraq, and there was a critical shortage of foreign currency with which to purchase food and other basic commodities. The government confiscated foreign currency as a way of shoring up the economy and preventing the flight of capital—affecting many Iranian Jews in the import-export business. A ban on non-essential travel abroad was imposed. Most Jews who had served in government posts under the shah were either dismissed or left their jobs after the revolution; nearly all Jewish university professors lost their positions. Most Jews were members of the middle class, with some five per cent being wealthy, and approximately ten per cent requiring financial aid from the community.

The Jewish community maintained a low profile and sought to cultivate good relations with the Khomeini regime. Khosrow Naghi, the first Jewish representative in the Majlis, repeatedly emphasized that Iranian Jews opposed Zionism and were loyally serving in the army. "Our nationality is Iranian and our religion is Jewish," Naghi declared. Over the long term, however, such pronouncements were not likely to shield the Jewish community from the excesses of Iran's Islamic revolution.

In Israel and the Diaspora

Even as the Jewish communities of the Middle East continued to decline, Jewish emigrés from these countries and their children, whether living in Israel or the Diaspora, began a process of preserving and revitalizing their diverse religious and cultural heritages. A number of international conferences dealing with the history of various Middle Eastern Jewish communities were held in France, Israel, United States, and elsewhere. A worldwide political organization dedicated to advocacy of the rights of Middle Eastern Jews—the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC)—was established. In Israel, where more than half the Jewish population was now of Middle Eastern origin, the cultural legacy of Middle Eastern Jewry, particularly Moroccan Jewry, was gradually being absorbed into the national consciousness.

The WOJAC, founded at a meeting in Paris in November 1975, claimed to represent more than 1,750,000 Jews from Arab lands. The organization concentrated on two goals: publicizing the situation of the remaining Jewish communities in the Arab world and the events which led nearly one million Jews to flee their homes in the 1940's and 1950's; and pressing for international recognition of the
emigrés' claims to compensation for property and other assets left behind. The WOJAC achieved a major success in 1976, when U.S. president Carter stated that the condition and claims of Jewish refugees from Arab lands had to be considered along with those of Arab refugees in implementing U.N. resolution 242.

In November 1983, the WOJAC held its second international conference, in London; former U.S. supreme court justice Arthur Goldberg delivered the keynote address, in which he called for the creation of an international juridical commission to catalogue the losses of Jews from Arab lands. The conference adopted a number of resolutions dealing with economic and political issues. Thus, Egypt and the other Arab states were asked to compensate Jews "for the extensive private and communal property of which they were dispossessed by the freezing of assets by nationalization, expropriation, and confiscation." The conference also called for the return to Jewish control of "Jewish religious and cultural properties, to permit their restoration and to guarantee free access to Jewish historical sites and holy places." In the political realm, the WOJAC called on the Arab states to cease their cynical exploitation of the Arab refugee problem and to adopt a "constructive attitude" in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. There was also a special resolution urging Syria, on humanitarian grounds, to grant young, unmarried Jewish women permission to leave the country.

In addition to the WOJAC, which was an umbrella group, there were organizations geared to specific Middle Eastern Jewish communities. Egyptian Jews and North African Jews each held mass gatherings in Israel in 1982–1983. In mid-1976, a group of former Moroccan Jews living in France established Identity and Dialogue, an organization that strongly affirmed the cultural kinship of Moroccan Jews to Morocco, and sought to have the Moroccan government tacitly recognize the attachment of Moroccan Jewry to Israel. Identity and Dialogue's position was eloquently expressed in its founding statement:

While loyal to the Jews who were persecuted and despoiled in certain Arab lands of the Middle East, the Jews from Morocco firmly refused to be considered refugees, expelled from their country of origin; and refrained from any claims, both for the past and present. If the situation is made clear and the legitimacy of the position of each is admitted and respected, there is a profound desire among the Jews from Morocco again to find their authenticity and roots in a friendship with Morocco. This wish could be transformed into dialogue and fruitful cooperation.

Identity and Dialogue leaders held meetings with high government officials in Morocco, including the prime minister. The Moroccan government lent its support to a scholarly conference on Moroccan Jewish history that was organized by Identity and Dialogue.

Since 1977, when the Likud had come to power in Israel, Jews of Middle Eastern origin had taken on more highly visible roles in all areas of Israeli life. Nearly every university in Israel had a program or center for the study of Middle Eastern Jewry,
and scholarly books and articles on the subject proliferated. The ministry of education emended textbooks and revised school curricula to reflect the history and traditions of the various Middle Eastern Jewish communities. On a more popular level, Israel Television presented a miniseries based on the novel of a Syrian-born author, dealing with upper-class Jewish life in Syria from the 1920's through the 1940's.

Lois Gottesman
World Jewish Population, 1982

The 1984 American Jewish Year Book (AJYB) contained new estimates of the Jewish population in the various countries of the world at the end of 1982, as well as background information and analysis. The statistical tables are reprinted here, without the accompanying text. Changes have been made in one respect only. While the estimates for the Jews in the 1984 AJYB related to the end of 1982, the data for the general population of the respective countries reproduced the United Nations estimates as of mid-year 1981. This time the updated United Nations estimates as of mid-year 1982 have been used for the total population, and the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of the respective country’s total population has been recomputed accordingly.

The 1986 AJYB will present updated and, where necessary, revised Jewish population estimates for the countries of the world at the end of 1984.

The three main elements which affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code, combining these elements, is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different ranges of possible error in the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or reliable Jewish population survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from somewhat less accurate countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources and/or partial coverage of Jewish population in the country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; and (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C) the year for which the principal base figure was obtained is also reported.

U.O. Schmelz
Sergio DellaPergola

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1980 AND 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>Revised</th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>% Change 1980–82</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revised</td>
<td></td>
<td>Revised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaspora</td>
<td>9,745,200</td>
<td>9,700,200</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>9,614,300</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,282,700</td>
<td>3,282,700</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>3,374,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>13,027,900</td>
<td>12,982,900</td>
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<td>12,988,600</td>
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<td>America, Total</td>
<td>6,491,950</td>
<td>6,473,600</td>
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<td>6,477,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northa</td>
<td>5,998,000</td>
<td>5,998,000</td>
<td>46.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>44,750</td>
<td>47,700</td>
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<td>46,800</td>
</tr>
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<td>South</td>
<td>449,200</td>
<td>427,900</td>
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<td>417,900</td>
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<td>Europe, Total</td>
<td>2,969,500</td>
<td>2,928,800</td>
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<td>2,842,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>1,121,000</td>
<td>1,080,300</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1,070,900</td>
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<tr>
<td>East &amp; Balkansb</td>
<td>1,848,500</td>
<td>1,848,500</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>1,771,800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia, Total</td>
<td>3,327,900</td>
<td>3,327,900</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>3,417,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>3,282,700</td>
<td>3,282,700</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>3,374,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RestC</td>
<td>45,200</td>
<td>45,200</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>42,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa, Total</td>
<td>164,550</td>
<td>173,600</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>172,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>21,050</td>
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<td>21,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>109,550</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>79,000</td>
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</table>

aU.S.A. and Canada.
bThe Asian territories of USSR and Turkey are included in “East Europe and Balkans.”
cIncluding Ethiopia.
# TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Jews per 1,000 Population</th>
<th>Accuracy Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>24,634,000</td>
<td>308,000</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>A 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>232,057,000</td>
<td>5,705,000</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>B 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Northern America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>218,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>B 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>2,324,000</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>C 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>9,782,000</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>5,744,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>7,699,000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>5,201,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>2,227,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>B 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>73,011,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>C 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands Antilles</td>
<td>253,000</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>2,089,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>3,297,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Central America</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>29,158,000</td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>C 1960</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>5,916,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>126,807,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>B 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>11,487,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>C 1970</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>28,776,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>B 1977</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>8,945,000</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>3,370,000</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>18,223,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>2,947,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>14,714,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Southern America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Total** 6,477,700
## TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Jews per 1,000 Population</th>
<th>Accuracy Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>7,571,000</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>B 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>9,855,000</td>
<td>32,500</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>9,101,000</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>C 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>15,369,000</td>
<td>8,700</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>5,118,000</td>
<td>6,900</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>C 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>4,824,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>B 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>54,219,000</td>
<td>530,000</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>B 1972-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany, East</td>
<td>16,697,000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany, West</td>
<td>61,638,000</td>
<td>33,500</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>B 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibraltar</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>A 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>56,341,000</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>B 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>9,793,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>B 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>10,702,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>3,483,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>B 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>56,748,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>B 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxemburg</td>
<td>364,000</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>B 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>14,310,000</td>
<td>26,500</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>B 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>4,115,000</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>A 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>36,227,000</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>10,033,000</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>22,558,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>B 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>37,935,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>8,325,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>6,344,000</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>A 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey(^a)</td>
<td>46,312,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR(^a)</td>
<td>269,994,000</td>
<td>1,630,000</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>B 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>22,646,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>B 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,842,700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Including Asian regions.
# TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Jews per 1,000 Population</th>
<th>Accuracy Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>5,233,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>C 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>717,762,000</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>B 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>40,240,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>14,161,000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>4,063,700^a</td>
<td>3,374,300</td>
<td>830.4</td>
<td>A 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>118,449,000</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>2,637,000</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>50,740,000</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2,472,000</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>9,660,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>48,490,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>C 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>6,085,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3,417,200</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aEnd 1982.

# TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Jews per 1,000 Population</th>
<th>Accuracy Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>19,911,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>44,673,000</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>32,775,000</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>C 1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>21,392,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>C 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>30,044,000</td>
<td>119,000</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>B 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>6,726,000</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>C 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire</td>
<td>30,250,000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>6,029,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>7,600,000</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>C 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>172,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>Jews per 1,000 Population</th>
<th>Accuracy Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>15,178,000</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>B 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>3,125,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>B 1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION (100,000 JEWS AND ABOVE), 1982.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Jewish Population</th>
<th>% of Total Jewish Population</th>
<th>% of Total Jewish Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In the Diaspora</td>
<td>In the World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>5,705,000</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>3,374,300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>1,630,000</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>530,000</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>308,000</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>119,000</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 8 Largest Diaspora Communities</td>
<td>8,975,000</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 9 Largest World Communities</td>
<td>12,349,300</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>95.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Directories
Lists
Necrology
National Jewish Organizations

UNITED STATES

Organizations are listed according to functions as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious, Educational</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Relations</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Aid</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social, Mutual Benefit</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionist and Pro-Israel</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also cross-references under these headings:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional Associations</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Organizations</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth and Student Organizations</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMUNITY RELATIONS


*The information in this directory is based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors. Inclusion does not necessarily imply approval of the organizations by the publishers; nor can they assume responsibility for the accuracy of the data.*
creeds, and nationalities; to interpret the position of Israel to the American public; and to help American Jews maintain and enrich their Jewish identity and, at the same time, achieve full integration in American life; includes Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Center for Human Relations, William E. Wiener Oral History Library, Leonard and Rose Sperry International Center for the Resolution of Group Conflict. AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK (with Jewish Publication Society of America); Commentary; Present Tense; What's Doing at the Committee.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1918). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N.Y.C., 10028. (212)879-4500. Pres. Theodore R. Mann; Exec. Dir. Henry Siegman. Works to foster the creative cultural survival of the Jewish people; to help Israel develop in peace, freedom, and security; to eliminate all forms of racial and religious bigotry; to advance civil rights, protect civil liberties, defend religious freedom, and safeguard the separation of church and state. Maintains the Martin Steinberg Center for Jewish arts and artists. Congress Monthly; Judaism; Boycott Report; Jewish Arts Newsletter.


ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS (1950). 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)533-7800. Pres. Muriel Berman; Exec. Dir. Ann Plutzer. Aims to stimulate higher standards of professional practice in Jewish community relations; encourages research and training toward that end; conducts educational programs and seminars; aims to encourage cooperation between community relations workers and those working in other areas of Jewish communal service. Quarterly newsletter.


COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (1953, under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Chmn. Harris Gilbert; Dir. Albert Vorspan; Assoc. Dir. David Saperstein. Develops materials to assist Reform synagogues in setting up social-action programs relating the principles of Judaism to contemporary social problems; assists congregations in studying the moral and religious implications in social issues such as civil rights, civil liberties, church-state relations; guides congregational social-action committees. Briefings.


American-Israeli affairs and problems affecting Jews in other lands. Annual Report; Middle East Memo.


COORDINATING BOARD OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1947). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, DC, 20036. (202)857-6545. Pres. Gerald Kraft (B'nai B'rith), Greville Janner (Board of Deputies of British Jews), David K. Mann (South African Jewish Board of Deputies); Exec. V. Pres. Daniel Thursz (U.S.). As an organization in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, represents the three constituents (B'nai B'rith, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies) in the appropriate United Nations bodies for the purpose of promoting human rights, with special attention to combatting persecution or discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or origin.


INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH POLICY PLANNING AND RESEARCH (see Synagogue Council of America, p. 353).


JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (1934). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)535-3700. Pres. Herb Magidson; Exec. Dir. Martin Lapan. Serves as a link between the Jewish community and the trade union movement; works with the AFL-CIO and others to combat all forms of racial and religious discrimination in the United States and abroad; furthers labor support for Israel's security and Soviet Jewry, and Jewish communal support for labor's social and economic programs; supports Yiddish cultural institutions. JLC News.


———, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE DIVISION OF (1939). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)535-3700. Promotes aims of, and raises funds for, the Jewish Labor Committee among the Workmen's Circle branches; conducts Yiddish educational and cultural activities.

true allegiance to the United States; to combat bigotry and prevent defamation of Jews; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice for all; to cooperate with and support existing educational institutions and establish new ones; to foster the education of ex-service men, ex-servicewomen, and members in the ideals and principles of Americanism.

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**Jewish Veteran.**

**National Memorial, Inc; National Shrine to the Jewish War Dead** (1958). 1811 “R” St., N.W., Washington, DC, 20009. (202)265-6280. Pres. Ainslee R. Ferdie. Administers shrine in Washington, DC, a repository for medals and honors won by Jewish men and women for valor from Revolutionary War to present; maintains Golden Book of names of the war dead; Routes to Routes.


**Soviet Jewry Research Bureau.** Chmn. Charlotte Jacobson. Organized by NCSJ to monitor emigration trends. Primary task is the accumulation, evaluation, and processing of information regarding Soviet Jews, especially those who apply for emigration.


**National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council** (1944). 443 Park Ave. S., 11th fl., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)684-6950. Chmn. Bennett Yanowitz; Exec. V. Chmn. Albert D. Chernin; Sec. Raymond Epstein. Consultative, advisory, and coordinating council of 11 national Jewish organizations and 108 local Jewish councils that seeks the promotion of understanding of Israel and the Middle East; freedom for Jews in the Soviet Union; equal status and opportunity for all groups, including Jews, with full expression of distinctive group values and full participation in the general society. Through the processes of the Council, its constituent organizations seek agreement on policies, strategies, and programs for most effective utilization of their collective resources for common ends. Guide to Program Planning for Jewish Community Relations.

**North American Jewish Youth Council** (1965). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)751-6070. Chmn. Craig Wasserman; Exec. Dir. Donald Adelman. Provides a framework for coordination and exchange of programs and information among national Jewish youth organizations to help them deepen the concern of American Jewish youth for world Jewry; represents Jewish youth in the Conference of Presidents, United States Youth Council, etc.


Kanee; Chmn. Amer. Sect. Arthur Schneier; Exec. Dir. Israel Singer. Seeks to intensify bonds of world Jewry with Israel as central force in Jewish life; to strengthen solidarity among Jews everywhere and secure their rights, status, and interests as individuals and communities; to encourage development of Jewish social, religious, and cultural life throughout the world and coordinate efforts by Jewish communities and organizations to cope with any Jewish problem; to work for human rights generally. Represents its affiliated organizations—most representative bodies of Jewish communities in more than 65 countries and 27 national organizations in Amer. section—at UN, OAS, UNESCO, Council of Europe, ILO, UNICEF, and other governmental, intergovernmental, and international authorities. Publications (including those by Institute of Jewish Affairs, London): Christian Jewish Relations; Colloquio; News and Views; Boletin Informativo OJI; Batfutsot; Gesher; Patterns of Prejudice; Soviet Jewish Affairs.


AMERICAN HISTADRUT CULTURAL EXCHANGE INSTITUTE (1962). 33 E. 67 St., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)628-1000. Nat. Chmn. Morris L. Fried. Serves as a vehicle for promoting better understanding of the efforts to create in Israel a society based on social justice. Provides a forum for the joint exploration of the urgent social problems of our times by American and Israeli labor, academic, and community leaders. Publishes pamphlets and books on various Israeli and Middle East topics.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY (1892). 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, MA, 02154. (617)891-8110. Pres. Ruth B. Fein; Exec. V. Pres. Arnold Clickstein. Collects, catalogues, publishes, and displays material on the history of the Jews in America; serves as an information center for inquiries on American Jewish history; maintains archives of original source material on American Jewish history; sponsors lectures and exhibitions; makes available historic Yiddish films and audio-visual material. American Jewish History; Heritage.


ASSOCIATED AMERICAN JEWISH MUSEUMS, INC. (1971). 303 LeRoi Road, Pittsburgh, PA, 15208. Pres. Walter Jacob; V. Pres. William Rosenthal; Sec. Robert H. Lehman; Treas. Jason Z. Edelstein. Maintains regional collections of Jewish art, historical and ritual objects, as well as a central catalogue of such objects in the collections of Jewish museums throughout the U.S.; helps Jewish museums acquire, identify, and classify objects; arranges exchanges of collections, exhibits, and individual objects among Jewish museums; encourages the creation of Jewish art, ceremonial and ritual objects.


HEBREW ARTS SCHOOL (1952). 129 W. 67 St., N.Y.C., 10023. (212)362-8060. Bd. Chmn. Abraham Goodman; Pres. Leonard P. Shaykin; Dir. & Founder Dr. Tzipora H. Jochsberger; Sec. Lewis Kruger. Charterd by the Board of Regents, University of the State of New York. Offers instruction in music, dance, theater, and art to children and adults, combining studies in Western cultural traditions with the heritage of the Jewish people; provides instrumental, vocal, dance, theater, and art classes on all levels, classes in music and art for pre-school children and their parents, music workshops for teachers, ensemble workshops; sponsors the Hebrew Arts Chorale, a community chorus; presents, in its Merkin Concert Hall and Ann Goodman Recital Hall, Heritage Concerts, Tuesday Matinees, Music Today, On Original Instruments, Twilight Concerts of Jewish Music, Boston Camerata, Concerts Plus, The American Jewish Choral Festival, Young Musicians' Concerts, Adventures in Jewish Music for the Young; sponsors resident ensembles: Musica Camerit, Mendelssohn String Quartet, Hebrew Arts Concert Choir. Newsletter.


HISTADRUTH IVRITH OF AMERICA (1916; reorg. 1922). 1841 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10023. (212)581-5151. Pres. Rabbi Joseph Sternstein; Exec. Dir. Yitzchak A. Sadowsky. Emphasizes the primacy of Hebrew in Jewish life, culture, and education; aims to disseminate knowledge of written and spoken Hebrew in the Diaspora, thus building a cultural bridge between the State of Israel and Jewish communities.
throughout the world. Hadoar; Lamishpaha.

**HOLOCAUST CENTER OF GREATER PITTSBURGH** (1980). 315 S. Bellefield Ave., Pittsburgh, PA, 15213. (412)682-7111. Dir. Isaiah Kuperstein; Chmn. Sidney N. Busis. Develops programs and provides resources to further understanding of the Holocaust and its impact on civilization. Maintains a library, archive; provides speakers, educational materials; and organizes community programs.


**JEWISH ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, INC.** (1926). 136 W. 39 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)725-1211. Hon. Pres. Leo Jung; Pres. Abraham I. Katsh. An honor society of Jews who have attained distinction in the arts, sciences, professions, and communal endeavors. Encourages the advancement of knowledge; stimulates scholarship, with particular reference to Jewish life and thought; recognition by election to membership and/or fellowship; publishes papers delivered at annual convocations.

**JEWISH INFORMATION BUREAU, INC.** (1932). 250 W. 57 St., N.Y.C., 10019. (212)582-5318. Dir. Steven Wise; V. Chmn. Ruth Eisenstein. Serves as clearinghouse of information for inquiries regarding Jews, Judaism, Israel, and Jewish affairs; refers inquiries to communal agencies. *Index.*

**JEWISH MUSEUM** (1904, under auspices of Jewish Theological Seminary of America). 1109 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10028. (212)860-1888. Dir. Joan Rosenbaum. A non-profit organization, the main repository in the U.S. for art and artifacts representing Jewish culture, and the largest museum devoted to creating changing exhibitions which relate to Jewish culture. Collection of 15,000 works in all media, including Biblical archaeology, numismatics, fine arts, and ethnography. Answers inquiries; conducts tours of special exhibitions and permanent installations; gives lectures, film showings, and concerts. Special classes and a program for children are conducted by the Education department.


NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1960). 1512 Chanin Bldg., 122 E. 42 St., N.Y.C., 10168. (212)499-2280. Pres. Marver Bernstein; Exec. Dir. Abraham Atik. Provides consultation, guidance, and support to Jewish communities, organizations, educational and other institutions, and individuals for activities in the field of Jewish culture; awards fellowships and other grants to students preparing for careers in Jewish scholarship and to established scholars; presents awards for creative efforts in Jewish cultural arts and for Jewish programming in small and intermediate communities; encourages teaching of Jewish studies in colleges and universities; serves as clearinghouse of information on American Jewish culture; administers Joint Cultural Appeal on behalf of nine national cultural organizations; administers Council for Archives and Research Libraries in Jewish Studies and Council of American Jewish Museums. Jewish Cultural News.

NATIONAL HEBREW CULTURE COUNCIL (1952). 1776 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10019. (212)247-0741. Pres. Frances K. Thau; Exec. Dir. Judah Lapson. Cultivates the study of Hebrew as a modern language in American public high schools and colleges, providing guidance to community groups and public educational authorities; annually administers National Voluntary Examination in Hebrew Culture and Knowledge of Israel in the public high schools, and conducts summer seminar and tour of Israel for teachers and other educational personnel of the public school system, in cooperation with Hebrew University and WZO. Hebrew in Colleges and Universities.

NATIONAL YIDDISH BOOK CENTER (1980). P.O. Box 969, East Street School, Amherst, MA, 01004. (413)253-9201. Pres. Joseph Marcus; Exec. Dir. Aaron Lansky. Collects used and out-of-print Yiddish books to distribute to individuals and libraries; offers courses in Yiddish language, literature, and cultural activities; publishes bimonthly Catalogue of Rare and Out-of-Print Yiddish Books, listing over 100,000 volumes for sale. Der Pakntrege; Afn Veg.

NEW YORK CITY HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COMMISSION (1981). 111 West 40th St., NYC, 10018. (212)221-1574. Co-chmn. George Klein, Hon. Robert M. Morgenthau. Seeks to create a major "living memorial" center in New York City consisting of a museum, library, archives, and lecture/conference facilities which will commemorate the lives of the Jewish victims of Nazi Germany by creating a record of their cultural and societal lives in Europe, restoring to memory the close affinity between the Jews of Europe and the large Jewish immigration population of New York City, educating future generations of the history and lessons of the Holocaust and providing appropriate commemoration honoring the memory of those who died in the Holocaust. Times to Remember.


SEPHARDIC HOUSE (1978). 8 West 70 St., N.Y.C., 10023. (212)873-0300. Dir. Rabbi Marc D. Angel. Works to foster the history and culture of Sephardic Jewry by offering classes, programs, publications, and resource people; works to integrate Sephardic studies into the curriculum of Jewish schools and adult education programs; offers advice and guidance to individuals involved in Sephardic research. The Sephardic House Newsletter.


ST. LOUIS CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES (1977). 12 Millstone Campus Dr., St. Louis, MO, 63146. (314)432-0020. Dir. Warren Green; Chmn. Lois Gould-Rafaeli. Develops programs and provides...
resources and educational materials to further an understanding of the Holocaust and its impact on civilization.

Yeshiva University Museum (1973). 2520 Amsterdam Ave., N.Y.C., 10033. (212)960-5390. Dir. Sylvia A. Herskowitz. Collects, preserves, interprets, and displays ceremonial objects, rare books and scrolls, models, paintings, and other works of art expressing the Jewish religious experience historically, to the present. A major thematic exhibition is mounted annually. Annual illustrated exhibition catalogue. Smaller exhibits of the works of contemporary artists are mounted frequently.


Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, Inc. (1925). 1048 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10028. (212)535-6700. Pres. Joseph Greenberger; Exec. Dir. Samuel Norich. Engages in social and humanistic research pertaining to East European Jewish life; maintains library and archives which provide a major international, national, and New York resource used by institutions, individual scholars, and laymen; trains graduate students in Yiddish, East European, and American Jewish studies; offers exhibits, conferences, public programs; publishes books. Yedies fun Yivo—News of the Yivo; Yidishe Shprakh; Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science; Yivo Bieter.


OVERSEAS AID


American Ort Federation, Inc.—Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (1924). 817 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10003. (212)677-4400. Pres. Alvin L. Gray; Exec. V. Pres. Donald H. Klein. Teaches vocational skills in 30 countries around the world, maintaining 800 schools for over 120,000 students annually, with the largest program of 78,000 trainees in Israel. The teaching staff numbers 4,000. Annual cost of program is about $94 million. ORT Bulletin; ORT Yearbook.
program of vocational training among Jews through activities of the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union. Promotes the work of the American ORT Federation.


—, WOMEN’S AMERICAN ORT (1927). 315 Park Ave. S., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)-505-7700. Pres. Gertrude S. White; Exec. V. Pres. Nathan Gould. Represents and advances the program and philosophy of ORT among the women of the American Jewish community through membership and educational activities; materially supports the vocational training operations of World ORT; contributes to the American Jewish community by encouraging participation in ORT campaigns and through general education to help raise the level of Jewish consciousness among American Jewish women; through its American Affairs program, cooperates in efforts to improve the quality of education and vocational training in the U.S. Facts and Findings; Highlights; Insights; The Merchantdiser; Women’s American ORT Reporter.


CONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY, INC. (1951). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)679-4074. Pres. Israel Miller; Sec. and Exec. Dir. Saul Kagan. Monitors the implementation of restitution and indemnification programs of the German Federal Republic (FRG) arising from its agreements with FRG. Administers Hardship Fund, which distributes DM 400,000,000 appropriated by FRG for Jewish Nazi victims unable to file timely claims under original indemnification laws. Also assists needy non-Jews who risked their lives to help Jewish survivors. Periodic reports.


JEWISH RESTITUTION SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATION (1947). 15-19 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)679-4074. Acting Pres. Israel Miller; Sec. Saul Kagan. Acts to discover, claim, receive, and assist in the recovery of Jewish heirless or unclaimed property; to utilize such assets or to provide for their utilization for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of surviving victims of Nazi persecution.


FACULTY ADVISORY CABINET (1975). 1290 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y.C., 10104. (212)757-1500. Chmn. Seymour Martin Lipset; Dir. Richard A. Davis. Promotes faculty leadership support for local and national UJA campaigns through educational and personal commitment; uses faculty resources and expertise on behalf of UJA and Israel.


YOUNG WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP CABINET (1977). 1290 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y.C., 10104. (212)757-1500. Nat. Chmn. Betsy Gordon. Focuses on bringing more career women into the UJA campaign; features a career women's Campaign Institute, special missions to Israel, and in-depth Israel experience for top women executives and leaders. A training and service organization offering the opportunity to enhance skills and put those skills to use through UJA programs, regional and national seminars, speaking engagements, and heightened local involvement. Showcase.


RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL


AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA (1912). 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., 10038. (212)791-1807. Pres. Moshe Sherer; Exec. Dir. Boruch B. Borchardt. Mobilizes Orthodox Jews to cope with Jewish problems in the spirit of the Torah, sponsors a broad range of constructive projects in religion, education, children's welfare, protection of Jewish
religious rights, and social services. Jewish Observer; Dos Yiddishe Vort.


GIRLS' DIVISION—BNOS AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., 10038. (212)791-1818. Nat. Coordinator Shanie Meyer. Educates Jewish girls to the historic nature of the Jewish people; encourages greater devotion to and understanding of the Torah. Kol Bnos.


YOUTH DIVISION—ZEIREI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C., 10038. (212)791-1820. Pres. Joseph Ashkenazi; Exec. Dir. Leibish Becker. Educates Jewish youth to realize the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah and to seek solutions to all the problems of the Jewish people in Israel in the spirit of the Torah. The Zeirei Forum; Am Hatorah; Daf Chizuk; Yom Tov Publications.


ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES (1969). Widener Library M., Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 02138. (617)495-2985. Pres. Nahum M. Sarna; Exec. Sec. Charles Berlin. Seeks to contribute to the development of science within the framework of Orthodox Jewish tradition; to obtain and disseminate information relating to the interaction between the Jewish traditional way of life and scientific developments—on both an ideological and practical level; to assist in the solution of problems pertaining to Orthodox Jews engaged in scientific teaching or research. Two main conventions are held each year. Intercom; Proceedings; Halacha Bulletin; Newsletter.


CENTRAL YESHIVA BETH JOSEPH RABBIINICAL SEMINARY (in Europe 1891; in U.S. 1941). 1427 49 St., Brooklyn, NY, 11219. Pres. and Dean Jacob Jofen. Maintains a school for teaching Orthodox rabbis and teachers, and promoting the cause of higher Torah learning.

CLEVELAND COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES (1964). 26500 Shaker Blvd., Beachwood, OH, 44122. (216)464-4050. Pres. David Ariel; Bd. Chmn. Eli Reshotko. Provides courses in all areas of Judaic studies to adults and college-age students; offers continuing education courses for Jewish educators, administrators, and communal service workers; serves as a center for Jewish life and culture; provides a forum for discussion of contemporary concerns; expands the availability of courses in Judaic studies by exchanging faculty, students, and credits with neighboring academic institutions; grants Bachelor and Master Degrees.

COALITION FOR ALTERNATIVES IN JEWISH EDUCATION (1976). 468 Park Ave. S., Rm. 904, N.Y.C., 10016. (212)696-0740. Nat. Dir. Eliot G. Spack; Chmn. Stuart Kelman. Brings together Jews from all ideologies who are involved in every facet of Jewish education, and are committed to transmitting Jewish knowledge, culture, and experience; serves as a channel of communication for its membership to share resources and methods, and as a forum for exchange of philosophical and theoretical approaches to Jewish education. Sponsors programs and projects. Bikurim; Crisis Curricula; Mekasher; CAJE Jewish Education News.

COUNCIL FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (1926). 114 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)675-5656. Pres. Elliot Schwartz; Comptroller Jack M. Horden. Fellowship of Jewish education profession, comprising administrators and supervisors of national and local Jewish educational institutions and agencies, and teachers in Hebrew high schools and Jewish teachers colleges, of all ideological groupings; conducts annual national and regional conferences in all areas of Jewish education; represents the Jewish education profession before the Jewish community; co-sponsors, with the Jewish Education Service of North America, a personnel committee and other projects; cooperates with Jewish Agency department of education and culture in
promoting Hebrew culture and studies; conducts lectureship at Hebrew University. Jewish Education; Sheviley Hahinuch.

DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND CONGREGATE LEARNING (1907). 250 N. Highland Ave., Merion, PA, 19066. (215)667-1830. Pres. David M. Goldenberg. The only nonsectarian and nontheological graduate institution in America completely dedicated to Judaic and Near Eastern studies; offers graduate programs in these areas. Course study includes the cultures and languages of Arabic, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and ancient Egyptian peoples; offers M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Jewish Quarterly Review.


FEDERATION OF JEWISH MEN'S CLUBS, INC. (1929). 475 Riverside Dr., Suite 244, N.Y.C., 10115. (212)749-8100. Pres. Joseph Gurmankin; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Charles Simon. Promotes principles and objectives of Conservative Judaism by organizing, sponsoring, and developing men's clubs or brotherhoods; supports OMETZ Center for Conservative Judaism on Campus; promotes Home Library of Conservative Judaism; sponsors Hebrew Literacy Adult Education Program; presents awards for service to American Jewry. Torchlight.


HEBREW COLLEGE (1921). 43 Hawes St., Brookline, MA, 02146. (617)277-1551. Pres. Eli Grad; Assoc. Dean Michael Libenson. Provides intensive programs of study in all areas of Jewish culture from high school through college and graduate school levels, also at branch in Hartford; maintains ongoing programs with most major local universities; offers the degrees of Master of Jewish Studies, Bachelor and Master of Hebrew Literature, and Bachelor and Master of Jewish Education, with teaching certification; trains men and women to teach, conduct, and supervise Jewish schools; offers extensive Ulpan program; offers courses designed to deepen the community's awareness of the Jewish heritage. Hebrew College Bulletin.

HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (1922). 7135 N. Carpenter Rd., Skokie, IL, 60077. (312)267-9800. Pres. Rabbi Don Well; Bd. Chmn. Paul Rosenberg. An institution of higher Jewish learning which includes a division of advanced Hebrew studies, a rabbinical ordination program, a graduate school in Judaic studies and Pastoral Counseling; the Pasman Yeshiva High School; a high school summer program combining Torah studies and computer science courses; and a Jewish Studies Program. Newsletter; Annual Journal.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION (1875). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH, 45220. (513)221-1875. Pres. Alfred Gottschalk; Exec. Dean Eugene Mihaly; Exec. V. Pres. Uri D. Herscher; Chmn. Bd. of Govs. Richard J. Scheuer. Academic centers: 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH, 45220 (1875), Samuel Greengus, Dean; 1 W. 4 St., N.Y.C., 10012 (1922), Paul M. Steinberg, Dean; 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA, 90007 (1954), Uri D. Herscher, Chief Adm. Officer; 13 King David St., Jerusalem, Israel (1963), Michael Klein, Dean. Prepares students for Reform rabbinate, cantorate, religious-school teaching and administration, community service, academic careers; promotes Jewish studies; maintains libraries and a museum; offers bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees; engages in archaeological excavations; publishes scholarly works through Hebrew Union College Press. American Jewish Archives; Bibliographica Judaica; HUC—JIR
Catalogue; Hebrew Union College Annual; Studies in Bibliography and Booklore; The Chronicle.


JEROME H. LOUCHHEIM SCHOOL OF JUDAIC STUDIES (1969). Los Angeles. Dir. David Ellenson. Offers programs leading to M.A., B.S., B.A. and Associate in Arts degrees; offers courses as part of the undergraduate program of the University of Southern California.

EDGAR F. MAGNIN SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES (1956). Los Angeles. Dir. Stanley Chyet. Offers programs leading to Ph.D., D.H.S., and M.A. degrees; offers program for rabbinic graduates of the college leading to the D.H.L. degree; participates in cooperative doctoral programs with the University of Southern California.

NELSON GLUECK SCHOOL OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY (1963). Jerusalem. Dir. Avraham Biran. Offers graduate-level programs in Bible, archaeology, and Judaica. Summer excavations are carried out by scholars and students. University credit may be earned by participants in excavations. Consortium of colleges, universities, and seminaries is affiliated with the school.

RHEA HIRSCH SCHOOL OF EDUCATION (1967). Los Angeles. Dir. Sara S. Lee. Offers B.S. degree; M.A. and Ph.D. programs in Jewish and Hebrew education; conducts summer institutes and joint programs with University of Southern California; conducts certificate programs for teachers and librarians.

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION (1947). 1 W. 4 St., N.Y.C., 10012. (212)674-5300. Dean Paul M. Steinberg. Trains and certifies teachers and principals for Reform religious schools; offers M.A. degree with specialization in religious education; offers extension programs in various suburban centers.


SCHOOL OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1968). 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA, 90007. Dir. Gerald B. Bubis. Offers certificate and master’s degree to those employed in Jewish communal services, or preparing for such work; offers joint M.A. in Jewish education and communal service with Rhea Hirsch School; offers M.A. and M.S.W. in conjunction with the University of Southern California School of Social Work and with the George Warren Brown School of Social Work of Washington University.

SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES (1963). Jerusalem. Dean Michael Klein. Offers program leading to ordination for Israeli students; offers an academic, work-study year for undergraduate students from American colleges and universities; offers a one-year program in cooperation with Hebrew University for advanced students, and a one-year program for all first-year rabbinic students of the college and for master’s degree candidates of the Rhea Hirsch School of Education.


SKIRBALL MUSEUM (1913; 1972 in Calif.). 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA, 90007. Dir. Nancy Berman. Collects, preserves, researches, and exhibits art and artifacts made by or for Jews, or otherwise associated with Jews and Judaism. Provides opportunity to faculty and students to do research in the field of Jewish art.

Offers undergraduate and graduate programs in Jewish studies; continuing education courses for teachers in Hebrew and Yiddish schools; academic and professional programs in major disciplines of Judaism, historic and contemporary, with emphasis on Hebrew language and literature; Yiddish language and literature, Jewish education, history, philosophy, and sociology.

GRADUATE DIVISION (1965). Dean Meir Ben-Horin. Offers programs leading to degree of Doctor of Jewish Literature in Hebrew language and literature, Yiddish language and literature, Jewish education, history, philosophy, and sociology. Admits men and women who have bachelors' degrees and backgrounds in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Jewish studies. Annual Horace M. Kallen lecture by major Jewish scholars.

HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS INSTITUTE, INC. (1921). V. Pres. for Academic Affairs Meir Ben-Horin. Offers four-year, college-level programs in Hebrew and Jewish subjects, nationally recognized Hebrew teacher's diploma, preparatory courses, and Yiddish courses.

JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY AND PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY, INC. (1918). V. Pres. for Academic Affairs Meir Ben-Horin. Offers four-year, college-level programs leading to Yiddish teacher's diploma and Bachelor of Jewish Literature; offers preparatory courses and Hebrew courses.


INSTITUTE FOR COMPUTERS IN JEWISH LIFE (1978). 845 N. Michigan Ave., Suite 843, Chicago, IL, 60611. (312)787-7856. Pres. Thomas Klutznick; Exec. V. Pres. Dr. Irving J. Rosenbaum. Explores, develops, and disseminates applications of computer technology to appropriate areas of Jewish life, with special emphasis on Jewish education; provides access to the Bar-Ilan University Responsa Project; creates educational software for use in Jewish schools; provides consulting service and assistance for national Jewish organizations, seminaries, and synagogues. Monitor.

JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY, INC. (sponsored by NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS) (1893). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)570-0707. Pres. Herbert Panoff; Exec. Dir. Av Bondar. Disseminates authoritative information on Jews and Judaism; assigns rabbis to lecture at colleges; endows courses in Judaism for college credit at universities; donates Jewish reference books to college libraries; sends rabbis to serve as counselor-teachers at Christian Church summer camps and as chaplains at Boy Scout camps; sponsors institutes on Judaism for Christian clergy; produces motion pictures for public service television and group showings. Brotherhood.

JEWISH EDUCATION IN MEDIA, INC. (1978). P.O. Box 180, Riverdale Station, N.Y.C., 10471. (212)362-7633. Exec. Dir. Rabbi Mark S. Golub. Seeks to promote Jewish identity and commitment through the creation of innovative and entertaining media materials, including radio and television programming, film, and audio and video cassettes for synagogue and institutional use.


JEWISH MINISTERS CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1896). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)675-6601. Pres. Henry Butensky. To further and propagate traditional liturgy; to place cantors in synagogues throughout the U.S. and Canada; to develop the cantors of the future. Kol Lakol.


JEWISH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION—MORIM (1931). 45 E. 33 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)-684-0556. Pres. Phyllis L. Pullman; V. Pres. Eli Nieman. Promotes the religious, social, and moral welfare of children; provides a program of professional, cultural, and social activities for its members; cooperates with other organizations for the promotion of good will and understanding. JTA Newsletter—Morim.


AMERICAN STUDENT CENTER IN JERUSALEM (1962). P.O. Box 196, Jerusalem, Israel. Dean Shamma Friedman; Dir. Reuven Hammer. Offers programs for rabbinical students, classes in Judaica for qualified Israelis and Americans, and Midschef Yerushalayim, an intensive program of Jewish studies for undergraduates. News of the Israel Programs.


INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HUMANITIES (1968). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. (212)678-8024. Dean Mayer Rabinowitz. Graduate program leading to M.A. degrees in all aspects of Jewish studies and Ph.D. in Bible, Jewish education, history, literature, philosophy, or rabbinics; offers dual degree in social work.


(212)678-8031. Dirs. Eduardo Rauch, Barry W. Holtz. Devises new curricula and materials for Jewish education; has intensive program for training curriculum writers; recruits, trains, and retrains educators through seminars and in-service programs; maintains consultant and supervisory relationships with a limited number of pilot schools. *Melton Journal.*

—, **Schocken Institute for Jewish Research** (1961). 6 Balfour St., Jerusalem, Israel. Librarian Yaakov Katzenstein. Incorporates Schocken library and its related research institutes in medieval Hebrew poetry and Jewish mysticism. Schocken Institute Yearbook (*Praqim*).

—, **Seminary College of Jewish Studies-Teachers Institute** (1909). 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. (212)678-8826. Dean Paula Hyman. Offers complete college program in Judaica leading to B.A. degree; conducts joint programs with Columbia University and Barnard, enabling students to receive two B.A. degrees after four years.

—, **University of Judaism** (1947). 15600 Mulholland Dr., Los Angeles, CA, 90024. (213)476-9777. Pres. David L. Lieber; V. Pres. Max Vorspan, Alexander Graubart, Marshall T. Meyer. West Coast school of JTS. Serves as center of undergraduate and graduate study of Judaica; offers pre-professional and professional programs in Jewish education and allied fields, including a pre-rabbinic program and joint program enabling students to receive B.A. from UCLA and B.H.L. from U. of J. after four years, as well as a broad range of adult education and Jewish activities.


**Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch, Inc.** (The Central Organization for Jewish Education) (1940). 770 Eastern Parkway, Bklyn., NY, 11213. (718)493-9250. Pres. Menachem M. Schneerson (the Lubavitcher Rebbe); Dir., Treas. M.A. Hodakov, Sec. Nissan Mindel. The educational arm of the Lubavitcher movement. Seeks to promote Jewish education among Jews, regardless of their background, in the spirit of Torah-true Judaism; to establish contact with alienated Jewish youth; to stimulate concern and active interest in Jewish education on all levels; and to promote religious observance as a daily experience among all Jews; maintains worldwide network of regional offices, schools, summer camps, and Chabad-Lubavitch Houses; publishes Jewish educational literature in numerous languages and monthly journal in five languages: *Conversaciones con la juventud; Conversations avec les jeunes; Schmuessen mit kinder un yugent; Sihot la No-ar; Talks and Tales.*

**Mesivta Yeshiva Rabbi Chaim Berlin Rabbinical Academy** (1905). 1593 Coney Island Ave., Bklyn., NY, 11230. (718)377-0777. Pres. Sol Eiger; Admn. Yerachmiel Stuppler. Maintains fully accredited elementary and high schools; collegiate and postgraduate school for advanced Jewish Studies, both in America and Israel; Camp Morris, a summer study retreat; Prof. Nathan Isaacs Memorial Library; Gur Aryeh Publications.

**Mirrer Yeshiva Central Institute** (in Poland 1817; in U.S. 1947). 1791-5 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, NY, 11223. Pres. and Dean Rabbi Shrage Moshe Klamanowitz; Exec. Dir. and Sec. Manfred Handelsman. Maintains rabbinical college, postgraduate school for Talmudic research, accredited high school, and Kollel and Sephardic divisions; dedicated to the dissemination of Torah scholarship in the community and abroad; engages in rescue and rehabilitation of scholars overseas.

**National Committee for Furtherance of Jewish Education** (1941). 824 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, NY, 11213. (718)735-0200. Pres. J. James Plessner and Martin Heinfling; Exec. V. Pres. Jacob J. Hecht; Sec. Milton Kramer. Seeks to disseminate the ideals of Torah-true education among the youth of America; aids poor, sick, and needy in U.S. and Israel; provides aid to hundreds of Iranian Jewish youth through the Iranian Children’s Fund; maintains camp for underprivileged children; sponsors Hadar HaTorah and Machon L’Yahadus, seeking to win back college youth and others to the fold of Judaism; maintains schools and dormitory facilities. *Panorama; Passover Handbook; Seder Guide; Spiritual Suicide; Focus.*
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BETH JACOB SCHOOLS, INC. (1945). 1415 E. 7 St., Bklyn., NY, 11230. (718)979-7400. Bd. Chmn. Shimon Newhouse; Sec. David Rosenberg. Operates Orthodox all-day schools from kindergarten through high school for girls, a residence high school in Ferndale, N.Y., a national institute for master instructors, and a summer camp for girls. Bais Yaakov Digest; Pnimia Call.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL (1912). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)-929-1525. Nat. Pres. Harold M. Jacobs; Exec. V. Pres. Ephraim H. Sturm. Maintains a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activity towards the advancement and perpetuation of traditional, Torah-true Judaism; seeks to instill in American youth an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values of Judaism. Sponsors kosher dining clubs and fraternity houses and an Israel program. Viewpoint; Hashkofa Series; Masorah Newspaper.


ARMED FORCES BUREAU (1912). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)929-1525. Advises and guides the inductees into the armed forces with regard to Sabbath observance, kashrut, and Orthodox behavior. Guide for the Orthodox Serviceman.


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YOUNG ISRAEL COLLEGIADES AND YOUNG ADULTS (formerly INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL AND YOUNG SINGLE ADULTS), (1951; reorg. 1982). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)929-1525. Chmn. Kenneth Block; Dir. Richard Stare-shefsky. Organizes and operates kosher dining clubs on college and university campuses; provides information and counseling on kashrut observance at college; gives college-age youth understanding and appreciation of Judaism and information on issues important to Jewish community; arranges seminars and meetings; publishes pamphlets and monographs. Hashkafa.

YOUNG ISRAEL YOUTH (formerly YISRAEL HATZAIR) (reorg. 1968). 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)929-1525. Chmn. Eugene Wilk; Nat. Dir. Richard Stare-shefsky. Fosters a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activities for the advancement and perpetuation of traditional Torah-true Judaism, strives to instill an understanding and appreciation of the high ethical and spiritual values and to demonstrate compatibility of ancient faith of Israel with good Americanism. Operates Achva Summer Mission study program in Israel. Monthly newsletter.


American Jewish community. Conducts weekend retreats and community gatherings, as well as conferences on various topics. Newsletter.

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**P'YEYIM—AMERICAN YESHIVA STUDENT UNION (1951).** 3 W. 16 St., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)989-2500. Pres. Jacob Y. Weisberg; Dir. Avraham Hirsch. Aids and sponsors pioneer work by American graduate teachers and rabbis in new villages and towns in Israel; does religious, organizational, and educational work and counseling among new immigrant youth; maintains summer camps for poor immigrant youth in Israel; belongs to worldwide P'eylim movement which has groups in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Israel; engages in relief and educational work among North African immigrants in France and Canada, assisting them to relocate and reestablish a strong Jewish community life. *P'eylim Reporter; News from P'eylim.*

**RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA (IGUD HARABONIM) (1944).** 156 Fifth Ave., Suite 807, N.Y.C., 10010. (212)242-6420. Pres. Rabbi Abraham B. Hecht. Seeks to promote the cause of Torah-true Judaism through an organized rabbinate that is consistently Orthodox; seeks to elevate the position of Orthodox rabbis nationally, and to defend the welfare of Jews the world over. Also has Beth Din Rabbinical Court. *Perspective.*

**RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY (1900).** 3080 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10027. (212)678-8060. Pres. Rabbi Alexander M. Shapiro; Exec. V. Pres. Rabbi Wolfe Kelman. Seeks to promote Conservative Judaism, and to foster the spirit of fellowship and cooperation among rabbis and other Jewish scholars; cooperates with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the United Synagogue of America. *Conservative Judaism; Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly.*


**RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC. (1923; reorg. 1936).** 275 7th Ave., N.Y.C., 10001. (212)807-7888. Pres. Gilbert Klaperman; Exec. V. Pres. Binyamin Wallish. Promotes Orthodox Judaism in the community; supports institutions for study of Torah; stimulates creation of new traditional agencies. *Hadom; Record; Sermon Manual; Tradition.*

**RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE (1968).** Church Rd. and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, PA, 19095. (215)576-0800. Pres. Ira Silverman; Dean Arthur Green. Co-educational. Trains rabbis for all areas of Jewish communal life: synagogues, academic and educational positions, Hillel centers, Federation agencies; requires
students to pursue outside graduate studies in religion and related subjects; confers title of rabbi and grants degrees of Master and Doctor of Hebrew Letters. *Jewish Civilization: Essays and Studies.*


**SPERTUS COLLEGE OF JUDAICA** (1925). 618 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL, 60605. (312)922-9012. Chancellor David Weinstein; Bd. Chmn. Fred Bernheim; Dean Warren Bargad. Provides Chicago-area colleges and universities with specialized undergraduate and graduate programs in Judaica and serves as a Department of Judaic Studies to these colleges and universities; serves as Midwest Jewish information center, through its Asher Library and Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica. Grants degrees of Master of Arts in Jewish Education, Jewish Studies, and Jewish Communal Service; Bachelor of Arts; and Bachelor of Judaic Studies. Has community outreach/extension studies program for adults.


**TORAH UMESORAH—NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HEBREW DAY SCHOOLS** (1944). 160 Broadway, N.Y.C., 10038. (212)406-4190. Chmn. Nat. Bd. Sheldon Beren; Chmn. Exec. Com. David Singer; Exec. V. Pres. Joshua Fishman. Establishes Hebrew day schools throughout U.S. and Canada and services them in all areas, including placement and curriculum guidance; conducts teacher training institutes, a special fellowship program, seminars, and workshops for in-service training of teachers; publishes textbooks and supplementary reading material; conducts education research and has established Fryer Found. for research in ethics and character education;...
supervises federal aid programs for Hebrew day schools throughout the U.S.

Olomeinu—Our World; Tempo; Torah Umesorah Report; Machberet Hamenahel.

INSTITUTE FOR PROFESSIONAL ENRICHMENT (1973). 22 E. 28 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)683-3216. Dir. Bernard Dov Milians. Provides enriched training and upgraded credentials for administrative, guidance, and classroom personnel of Hebrew day schools and for Torah-community leaders; offers graduate and undergraduate programs, in affiliation with accredited universities which award full degrees: M.A. in early childhood and elementary education; M.S. in family counseling; M.B.A. in management; M.S. in special education, reading; B.S. in education; B.A. in human relations, social sciences, education, gerontology. Professional Enrichment News (PEN).


UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (1873). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Pres. Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler; Bd. Chmn. Charles J. Rothchild, Jr. Serves as the central congregational body of Reform Judaism in the Western hemisphere; serves its approximately 850 affiliated temples and membership with religious, educational, cultural, and administrative programs. Keeping Posted; Reform Judaism.

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (see p. 334).

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS OF (1941). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Pres. Shirley Chernela; Admn. Sec. Norman Fogel. Fosters Reform Judaism; prepares and disseminates administrative information and procedures to member synagogues of UAHC; provides and encourages proper and adequate training of professional synagogue executives; formulates and establishes professional ideals and standards for the synagogue executive; provides placement services. NATA Journal.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS (1955). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Pres. Kenneth A. Midlo. Represents the temple educator within the general body of Reform Judaism; fosters the full-time profession of the temple educator; encourages the growth and development of Jewish religious education consistent with the aims of Reform Judaism; stimulates communal interest in and responsibility for Jewish religious education. NATE News; Compass Magazine.


NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERSHOODS (1913). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Pres. Constance Kreshtool; Exec. Dir. Eleanor R. Schwartz. Serves more than 640 sisterhoods of Reform Judaism; promotes interreligious understanding and social justice; awards scholarships and grants to rabbinic students; provides braille and large-type Judaic materials for Jewish blind; supports projects for Israel, Soviet Jewry, and the aging; is an affiliate of UAHC and is the women's agency of Reform Judaism; works on behalf of the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion; cooperates with World Union for Progressive Judaism. Notes for Now.

NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH (NFTY; formerly NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH) (1939). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Dir. Ramie Arian; Asst. Dirs. Terry Goldstein, Carol Siegel; Pres. Mitchell Warren. Seeks to train Reform Jewish youth in the values of the synagogue and their application to daily life through service to the community and congregation; runs department of summer camps and national leadership training institute; arranges overseas academic tours, work programs, international student exchange programs, and college student programs in the U.S. and Israel, including accredited study programs in Israel. Ani V'Atah; The Jewish Connection.

AND CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS: COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)249-0100. Chmn. Murray Blackman; Dir. Rabbi Daniel B. Syme. Develops curricula and teachers' manuals; conducts pilot projects and offers educational guidance and consultation at all age levels to member congregations and affiliates and associate bodies. What's Happening; Compass; E'


UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (1898). 45 W. 36 St., N.Y.C., 10018. (212)563-4000. Pres. Julius Berman; Exec. V. Pres. Pinchas Stolper. Serves as the national central body of Orthodox synagogues; sponsors National Conference of Synagogue Youth, Our Way program for the Jewish deaf, Yachad program for developmentally disabled youth, Israel Center in Jerusalem, aliyah department, national OU Kashruth supervision and certification service; provides educational, religious, and organizational guidance to synagogues and groups; represents...
the Orthodox Jewish community in relation to governmental and civic bodies and the general Jewish community. Publishes synagogue programming publications and books of Jewish interest. Jewish Action; Keeping Posted with NCSY; OU Kosher Directory; OU Passover Directory; OU News Reporter; Synagogue Spotlight; Our Way Magazine; Yachad Magazine.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SYNAGOGUE YOUTH (1954). 45 W. 36 St., N.Y.C., 10018. (212)563-4000. Pres. Howie Siegel; Dir. Natl. Affairs Yitzchok Rosenberg; Dir. Natl. Programs Raphael Butler. Serves as central body for youth groups of Orthodox congregations; provides such national activities and services as educational guidance, Torah study groups, community service, programs consultation, Torah library, Torah fund scholarships, Ben Zakkai Honor Society, Friends of NCSY; conducts national and regional events including week-long seminars, summer Torah tours in over 200 communities, Israel summer seminar for teens and collegiates, cross-country tours, and Camp NCSY East. Divisions include Senior NCSY in 18 regions and 465 chapters, Junior NCSY for pre-teens, “Our Way” for the Jewish deaf, YACHAD for the developmentally disabled, and NCSY in Israel. Keeping Posted with NCSY; Face the Nation—President’s Newsletter; Oreich Yomeinu—Education Newsletter.

WOMEN’S BRANCH (1923). 84 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)929-8857. Pres. Nancy I. Klein; Admn. Rita Siff. Seeks to spread knowledge for the understanding and practice of Orthodox Judaism, and to unite all Orthodox women and their synagogal organizations; services affiliates with educational and programming materials, leadership and organizational guidance, and has an NGO representative at the UN. Hachodesh; Hakol.

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (1900). 235 E. Broadway, N.Y.C., 10002. (212)-964-6337. Pres. Rabbi Moshe Feinstein; Dir. Rabbi Hersh M. Ginsberg. Seeks to foster and promote Torah-true Judaism in the U.S. and Canada; assists in the establishment and maintenance of yeshivot in the United States; maintains committee on marriage and divorce and aids individuals with marital difficulties; disseminates knowledge of traditional Jewish rites and practices and publishes regulations on synagogue structure; maintains rabbinical court for resolving individual and communal conflicts. Hapardes.


COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION (1930). 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)533-7800. Chmn. Rabbi Joel H. Zaiman; Dir. Morton K. Siegel. Promotes higher educational standards in Conservative congregational schools and Solomon Schechter Day Schools and publishes material for the advancement of their educational programs. Provides guidance and information on resources, courses, and other projects in adult Jewish education; prepares and publishes pamphlets, study guides, tracts, and texts for use in adult-education programs; publishes the Jewish Tract series and distributes El-Am edition of Talmud. Distributes black-and-white and color films of “Eternal Light” TV programs on Jewish subjects, produced by Jewish Theological...
Seminary in cooperation with NBC. *Briefs; Impact; In Your Hands; Your Child.*

———. **JEWISH EDUCATORS ASSEMBLY OF (1951).** 15 East 26th St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)532-4949. Pres. Aaron M. Nussbaum; Exec. Dir. Jacob S. Rosen. Promotes, extends, and strengthens the program of Jewish education on all levels in the community in consonance with the philosophy of the Conservative movement. *Annual Yearbook; Newsletters.*


———. **KADIMA OF (formerly PRE-USY; reorg. 1968).** 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)533-7800. Dir. Edward Edelstein. Involves Jewish pre-teens in a meaningful religious, educational, and social environment; fosters a sense of identity and commitment to the Jewish community and Conservative movement; conducts synagogue-based chapter programs and regional Kadima days and weekends. *Kadima; Mitzvah of the Month; Kadima Kesher; Advisors Aid Series; Chagim; Games.*

———. **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SYNAGOGUE ADMINISTRATORS OF (1948).** 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)533-7800. Pres. Sanford S. Cohen. Aids congregations affiliated with the United Synagogue of America to further aims of Conservative Judaism through more effective administration (PALS Program); advances professional standards and promotes new methods in administration; cooperates in United Synagogue placement services and administrative surveys. *NASA Newsletter; NASA Journal.*

———. **UNITED SYNAGOGUE YOUTH OF (1951).** 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)533-7800. Pres. David Israel; Exec. Dir. Paul Freedman. Seeks to develop a program for strengthening identification with Conservative Judaism, based on the personality development, needs, and interests of the adolescent. *Achshav; Advisors Newsletter; Tikun Olam; USY Alumni Assn. Newsletter; USY Program Bank.*


**WEST COAST TALMUDICAL SEMINARY (Yeshiva Ohr Elchonon Chabad) (1953).** 7215 Warring St., Los Angeles, CA, 90046. (213)937-3763. Pres. Abraham Linderman; V. Pres. Rabbi Shlomo Cunin; V. Pres. Rabbi Levi Bukiet. Provides facilities for intensive Torah education as well as Orthodox rabbinical training on the West Coast; conducts an accredited college preparatory high school combined with a full program of Torah-Talmudic training and a graduate Talmudical division on the college level. *Torah Quiz.*

**WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (formerly NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE) (1918).** 48 E. 74 St., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)628-1600. Pres. Selma Weintraub; Exec. Bernice Balter. Constitutes parent body of Conservative women's groups in U.S., Canada, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Israel; provides them with programs in religion, education, social action, leadership training, Israel affairs, and community affairs; publishes books of Jewish interest; contributes to support of Jewish Theological Seminary and Mathilde Schechter Residence Halls. *Women's League Outlook; Ba'Olam.*

**WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES (1957).** 155 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)533-7800. Pres. Mordecai Waxman; Exec. Dir. Zipporah Liben. International representative of Conservative organizations and congregations; promotes the growth and development of the Conservative movement in Israel and throughout the world; supports educational institutions overseas; holds biennial international conventions; represents the world Conservative movement in the World Zionist
Organization. Jerusalem Newsletter; Spectrum.


YESHIVA UNIVERSITY (1886). 500 W. 185 St., N.Y.C., 10033. (212)960-5400. Pres. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Trustees, Herbert Tenzer. The nation's oldest and largest private university founded under Jewish auspices, with a broad range of undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools, a network of affiliates, publications, a widespread program of research, community service agencies, and a museum. Curricula lead to bachelor's, master's, doctoral, and professional degrees. Undergraduate schools provide general studies curricula supplemented by courses in Jewish learning; graduate schools prepare for careers in medicine, law, social work, education, psychology, Semitic languages, literatures, and cultures, and other fields. It has five undergraduate schools, seven graduate schools, and three affiliates, with its four main centers located in Manhattan and the Bronx. Inside Yeshiva University; Yeshiva University Report.

Undergraduate schools for men at Main Center: Yeshiva College (Dean Norman Rosenfeld) provides liberal arts and sciences curricula; grants B.A. degree. Isaac Breuer College of Hebraic Studies (Dean Jacob M. Rabinowitz) awards Hebraic Studies and Hebrew Teacher's diplomas, B.A., and B.S. James Striar School of General Jewish Studies (Dean Benjamin Yudin) grants Associate in Arts degree. Mazer School of Talmudic Studies (Dir. Zevulun Charlop) offers advanced course of study in Talmudic texts and commentaries.

Undergraduate schools for women at Midtown Center, 245 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C., 10016: Stern College for Women (Dean Karen Bacon) offers liberal arts and sciences curricula supplemented by Jewish studies courses; awards B.A., Jewish Studies certificate, Hebrew Teacher's diploma. Teachers Institute for Women, amalgamated with Stern College in 1984, offers Hebrew Teachers Diploma and B.S. in education.

Sponsors one high school for boys and one for girls (Manhattan).

Auxiliary services include Max Stern Division of Communal Services, Stone-Saperstein Center for Jewish Education, Sephardic Studies Program, Brookdale Foundation Programs for the Aged.

—, ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE (1955). Eastchester Rd. and Morris Pk. Ave., Bronx, NY, 10461. (212)-430-2000. Acting Dean Ernst Jaffe. Prepares physicians and conducts research in the health sciences; awards M.D. degree; includes Sue Golding Graduate Division of Medical Sciences (Dir. Susan Henry), which grants Ph.D. degree. Einstein College's clinical facilities and affiliates encompass five Bronx hospitals, including Bronx Municipal Hospital, Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center, and the Rose F. Kennedy Center for Research in Mental Retardation and Human Development. AECOM News; AECOM Today; Einstein Quarterly Journal of Biology and Medicine.

—, ALUMNI OFFICE, 500 West 185th Street, N.Y.C., 10033. Dir. Yechiel Simon. Seeks to foster a close allegiance of alumni to their alma mater by maintaining ties with all alumni and servicing the following associations: Yeshiva College Alumni (Pres. Aaron Weitz); Isaac Breuer College of Hebraic Studies Alumni; James Striar School of General Jewish Studies Alumni; Stern College Alumnae (Pres. Paula G. From); Teachers Institute for Women Alumnae (Pres. Rivka Brass Finkelstein); Albert Einstein College of Medicine Alumni (Pres. Michael Goldstein); Feinberg Graduate School Alumni (Pres. Alvin
I. Schiff); Wurzweiler School of Social Work Alumni (Pres. Linda Poskanzer); Bernard Revel Graduate School—Harry Fischel School Alumni (Pres. Bernard Rosensweig); Rabbinic Alumni (Pres. Alvin Marcus); Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law Alumni (Pres. Rosemary C. Byrne); Alumni Council (Chmn. Abraham S. Guterman) offers guidance to Pres. and Bd. of Trustees on university’s academic development and service activities. *Alumni Review; AECOM Alumni News; Jewish Social Work Forum; Alumnus.*


-------, *Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law* (1976). 55 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10003. Dean Monroe E. Price. Prepares students for the professional practice of law or other activities in which legal training is useful; grants L.L.D. degree. *Cardozo Law Review; Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Journal.*


-------, *David J. Azrieli Graduate Institute of Jewish Education* (1945). 245 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C., 10016. Offers Master of Science programs in Jewish elementary education, Specialist’s Certificate, and Dr. of Education programs in the administration and supervision of Jewish education (Dir. Dr. Yitzchak Handel). Block Education Program, under a grant from the L.A. Pincus Fund for the Diaspora, trains education administrators for service throughout the United States; grants Doctor of Education degree.


-------, (affiliate) *Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary* (1886). 2540 Amsterdam Ave., N.Y.C., 10033. Chmn. Bd. of Trustees Charles H. Bendheim; Dir. Rabbi Zevulun Charlop. Offers comprehensive training in higher Jewish studies; grants semikhah (ordination) and the degrees of Master of Religious Education, Master of Hebrew Literature, Doctor of Religious Education, and Doctor of Hebrew Literature. Includes Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik Center of Rabbinic Studies, Marcos and Adina Katz Kollel (Institute for Advanced Research in Rabbinics, Dir. Rabbi Hershel Schachter), Kollel L’Horaah (Yadin Yadin, Dir. Rabbi Nison Alpert), Caroline and Joseph S. Gruss Kollel Elyon (Dir. Rabbi Aharon Kahn), Chaver Program (Dir. Dr. J. David Bleich), Caroline and Joseph S. Gruss Institute in Jerusalem (Dir. Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein). Philip and Sarah Belz School of Jewish Music (Dir. Macy Nulman) provides professional training of cantors and other musical personnel for the Jewish community; awards Associate Cantor’s certificate and cantorial diploma. Jacob E. Safra Institute of Sephardic Studies (Dir. Dr. Solomon Gaon) educates Sephardic and Ashkenazic youth, hosts scholarly conferences, and maintains community service activities. *American Sephardi: Max Stern Division of Communal Services* (Dir. Robert Hirt) makes educational, organizational, programming, consultative, and placement resources available to congregations, schools, organizations, and communities in the U.S., Canada, and throughout the world, through its youth bureau, department of adult education, lecture bureau, placement bureau, and rabbinic alumni. Joseph and Rachel Ades Sephardic Community Outreach Program develops congregations in North and South America, administers youth programs, conferences, and outreach. National Commission on Torah Education and Educators Council of America formulate uniform educational standards, provide guidance to professional staffs, rabbis, and lay leaders with regard to curriculum, and
promote Jewish education. Camp Morasha (Dir. Zvi Reich) offers Jewish studies program.


**WURZWEILER SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK** (1957). 500 W. 185th St., N.Y.C., 10033. Dean Lloyd Setleis. Offers graduate programs in social casework, social group work, community social work; grants Master of Social Work, Master of Professional Studies, and Doctor of Social Welfare degrees. Includes Block Education Program (Dir. Samuel M. Goldstein), which offers practical training in fieldwork at Jewish communal agencies throughout the country during the year and summer coursework.

**YESHIVA UNIVERSITY GERONTOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.** Dir. Celia B. Weisman. Fosters and coordinates gerontological research; offers post-Master's Certificate in Gerontology.

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**YESHVATH TORAH VODAATH AND MESIVTA RABBINICAL SEMINARY** (1918). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, NY, 11218. (718)941-8000. Pres. Henry Hirsch; Bd. Chmn. Fred F. Weiss; Sec. Earl H. Spero. Offers Hebrew and secular education from elementary level through rabbinical ordination and post-graduate work; maintains a teachers institute and community-service bureau; maintains a dormitory and a non-profit camp program for boys. Chronicle; Mesivta Vanguard; Thought of the Week; Torah Vodaath News.

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**SOCIAL, MUTUAL BENEFIT**


**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JEWS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE, INC.** (1942). 570
NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Seventh Ave., N.Y.C., 10018. (212)921-3871. Pres. Curt C. Silberman; Exec. V. Pres. Herbert A. Strauss; Exec. Sec. Joan C. Lessing. Seeks to safeguard the rights and interests of American Jews of Central European descent, especially in reference to restitution and indemnification; through its Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, sponsors research and publications on the history of Central European Jewry and the history of their immigration and acculturation in the U.S.; sponsors a social program for needy Nazi victims in the U.S. in cooperation with United Help, Inc. and other specialized social agencies; undertakes cultural activities, annual conferences, publication, and lecture programs; member, Council of Jews from Germany.

AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION (1972). 8 West 40 St., Ste. 1203, N.Y.C., 10018. (212)730-1210. Pres. Leon Levy; Bd. Chmn. Liliane Shalom; V. Pres. Stephen Shalom. Seeks to preserve the Sephardi heritage in the United States, Israel, and throughout the world by fostering and supporting religious and cultural activities of Sephardi congregations, organizations and communities, and uniting them in one overall organization; supports Jewish institutions of higher learning and those that train Sephardi lay and religious leaders to serve their communities everywhere; assists Sephardi charitable, cultural, religious, and educational institutions everywhere; disseminates information by the publication, or assistance in the publication, of books and other literature dealing with Sephardi culture and tradition in the United States; organizes youth and young adult activities throughout the U.S.; supports efforts of the World Sephardi Federation to alleviate social disparities in Israel. Sephardi World; Sephardic Connection.

AMERICAN VETERANS OF ISRAEL (1949). c/o Samuel E. Alexander, 548 E. Walnut St., Long Beach, NY, 11561. (516)431-8316. Pres. Harry R. Eisner; Sec. Samuel E. Alexander. Maintains contact with American and Canadian volunteers who served in Aliyah Bet and/or Israel's War of Independence; promotes Israel's welfare; holds memorial services at grave of Col. David Marcus; is affiliated with World Mahal. Newsletter.


BNAI ZION—THE AMERICAN FRATERNAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (1908). 136 E. 39 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)725-1211. Pres. Sidney Wiener; Exec. V. Pres. Herman Z. Quittman. Fosters principles of Americanism, fraternalism, and Zionism; fosters Hebrew culture; offers life insurance, Blue Cross hospitalization, and other benefits to its members; sponsors settlements, youth centers, medical clinics, Beit Halochem Rehabilitation Center for Israeli Disabled War Veterans, and Bnai Zion Home for Retardates in Rosh Ha'ayin, Israel. Program is dedicated to furtherance of America-Israel friendship. Has Young Leadership Division—TAMID. TAMID Outlet; Beit Halochem Newsletter; Bnai Zion Voice.

BRITH ABRAHAM (1887). 136 E. 39 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)725-1211. Grand Master Robert Freeman. Protects Jewish rights and combats antisemitism; supports Soviet and Ethiopian (Falasha) emigration and the safety and dignity of Jews worldwide; furnishes regular financial assistance to Beit Halochem for the Israeli War Disabled, Haifa Medical Center, Rosh Ha'a'ayin for Retarded Children, Kupat Cholim Diagnostic Centers, libraries, educational facilities, and other institutions to relieve the social burdens on the Israeli economy; aids and supports programs and projects in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Florida, California; Hebrew Excellence Program—Gold Medal Presentation in high schools and colleges; Camp Loyaltown; Brith Abraham and Bnai Zion Foundations. Voice.

war-wounded, through the Brith Sholom Foundation. News from National.

Central Sephardic Jewish Community of America (1940). 8 W. 70 St., N.Y.C., 10023. (212)787-2850. Pres. Emilie Levy; Sec. Isaac Molho. Seeks to foster Sephardic culture, education, and communal institutions. Sponsors wide range of activities; raises funds for Sephardic causes in U.S. and Israel.


Jewish Labor Bund (Directed by World Coordinating Committee of the Bund) (1897; reorg. 1947). 25 E. 21 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)505-8970. Exec. Sec. Jacob S. Hertz. Coordinates activities of Bund organizations throughout the world and represents them in the Socialist International; spreads the ideas of Socialism as formulated by the Jewish Labor Bund; publishes pamphlets and periodicals on world problems, Jewish life, socialist theory and policy, and on the history, activities, and ideology of the Jewish Labor Bund. Unser Tsait (U.S.); Foroys (Mexico); Lebens-Fragen (Israel); Unser Gedank (Australia); Unser Shitme (France).

Jewish Peace Fellowship (1941). Box 271, Nyack, NY, 10960. (914)358-4601. Pres. Naomi Goodman. Unites those who believe that Jewish ideals and experience provide inspiration for a nonviolent philosophy and way of life; offers draft counseling, especially for conscientious objection based on Jewish "religious training and belief"; encourages Jewish community to become more knowledgeable, concerned, and active in regard to the war/peace problem. Shalom.


Roumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc. (1956). 135 W. 106 St., #2M, N.Y.C., 10025. (212)866-0692. Pres. Charles H. Kremer; Treas. Jacob Zonis. Interested in protecting the welfare, preserving the culture, and easing the plight of Jews of Roumanian descent throughout the world. Works to influence the Roumanian government to grant freedom of worship to Jews and permission for their immigration to Israel.


Workmen's Circle (1900). 45 E. 33 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)889-6800. Pres. Barnett Zumoff; Exec. Dir. Jack Noskowitz. Provides fraternal benefits and activities, Jewish educational programs, secularist Yiddish schools for children, community activities, both in Jewish life and on the American scene, cooperation with the labor movement. The Call; Kinder Zeitung; Kultur un Lebn.

——. Division of Jewish Labor Committee (see p. 335).

Social Welfare


Conducts two voluntary work-service camps each summer to enable young people to live their faith by serving other people. *Newsletter.*

**AMC Cancer Research Center** (formerly *Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society*, 1904; incorporated as *American Medical Center at Denver*, 1954). 6401 West Colfax Ave., Lakewood, CO, 80214. (303)233-6501. Pres. Manfred L. Minzer, Jr.; Chmn. Bd. of Trustees, Randolph B. Heller. A national cancer hospital that provides the finest specialized treatment available to patients, regardless of ability to pay; pursues, as a progressive science research center, promising leads in the prevention, detection, and control of cancer. *Clinical Cancer Newsletter.*


**Association of Jewish Community Organization Personnel** (1969). 1175 College Ave., Columbus, OH, 43209. (614) 237-7686. Pres. Louis Solomon; Exec. Dir. Ben Mandelkorn. An organization of professionals engaged in areas of fundraising, budgeting, social planning, financing, administration and coordination of services. Objectives are to develop and enhance professional practices in Jewish communal work; to maintain and improve standards, practices, scope and public understanding of the field of community organization, as practiced through local federations and national agencies.

**Association of Jewish Family and Children's Agencies** (1972). 40 Worth St., Rm. 800, N.Y.C., 10013. (212)608-6660. Pres. Irving F. Cohn; Exec. Dir. Martin Greenberg. The national service organization for Jewish family and children's agencies in Canada and the United States. Reinforces member agencies in their efforts to sustain and enhance the quality of Jewish family and communal life. *In-Box; Monthly Bulletin; Directory.*


---, **Anti-Defamation League of** (see p. 334).


---, **Hillel Foundations, Inc.** (see p. 344).

---, **Youth Organization** (see p. 345).


**City of Hope National Medical Center and Beckman Research Institute** (1913). 208 W. 8 St., Los Angeles, CA, 90014. (213)626-4611. Pres. Abraham S. Bolsky; Exec. Dir. Ben Horowitz. Provides free quality care to patients from all
over U.S. suffering from cancer, heart and respiratory ailments, genetic and metabolic disorders. Consultation service available to hospitals. As a pilot medical center, seeks improvements in quality, economy, and efficiency of health care. Thousands of original findings have emerged from its research staff. *Pilot: President's Newsletter; City of Hope Quarterly.*

CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1899). 111 Prospect St., E. Orange, NJ, 07017. (201)676-6070. Pres. Ferne Kattleman; Exec. Dir. Joel Ollander. Serves as forum for all professional philosophies in community service, for testing new experiences, proposing new ideas, and questioning or reaffirming old concepts; umbrella org. for eight major Jewish communal service groups. Concerned with advancement of professional personnel practices and standards. *Concurrents; Journal of Jewish Communal Service.*


HOPE CENTER FOR THE RETARDED (1965). 3601 Martin L. King Blvd., Denver, CO, 80205. (303)388-4801. Pres. Lester Goldstein; Exec. Dir. George E. Brantley; Sec. Lorraine Faulstich. Provides services to developmentally disabled of community: preschool training, day training and work activities center, speech and language pathology, occupational arts and crafts, recreational therapy, and social services.


———, COMMISSION ON JEWISH CHAL- LAINCY (1940). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. Chmn. Rabbi Barry H. Greene; Dir. Rabbi E. David Lapp. Recruits, endorses, and serves Jewish military and Veterans' Administration chaplains on behalf of the American Jewish community and the three major rabbinic bodies; trains and assists Jewish lay leaders where there are no chaplains, for service to Jewish military personnel, their families, and hospitalized veterans.

———, JEWISH BOOK COUNCIL (see p. 339).

———, JEWISH MUSIC COUNCIL (see p. 339).


JEWISH CONCILIATION BOARD OF AMER- ICA, INC. (1930). 120 W. 57 St., N.Y.C.,
10019. (212)582-3577. Pres. Milton J. Schubin; Exec. Dir. Beatrice Lampert. Evaluates and attempts to resolve conflicts within families, organizations, and businesses to avoid litigation; divorce mediation, arbitration, and counseling services by social workers, rabbis, and attorneys. Services emphasize dispute resolutions.


NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH FAMILY, CHILDREN'S AND HEALTH PROFESSIONALS (1965). 1 Pike Dr., Wayne, NJ, 07470. (201)595-0111. Pres. Abraham Davis; V. Pres. Lee Kalik, Arnold Marks. Brings together Jewish caseworkers and related professionals in Jewish family, children, and health services. Seeks to improve personnel standards, further Jewish continuity and identity, and strengthen Jewish family life; provides forums for professional discussion at national conference of Jewish communal service and regional meetings; takes action on social policy issues; provides a vehicle for representation of Jewish caseworkers and others in various national associations and activities. Newsletter.


NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH PRISON CHAPLAINS, INC. (see AMERICAN JEWISH CORRECTIONAL CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC.)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (1893). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10019. (212)532-1740. Nat. Pres. Barbara A. Mandel; Exec. Dir. Dadie Perlov. Operates programs in education, social and legislative action, and community service for children and youth, the aging, the disadvantaged in Jewish and general communities; concerns include juvenile justice system as basis for legislative reform and community projects; deeply involved in women’s issues; promotes education in Israel through NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. NCJW Journal; From the Desk of the President; Washington Newsletter; NACS Newsletter.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE ON SCOUTING (1926). 1325 Walnut Hill La., Irving, TX, 75062. (214)659-2059. Chmn. Murray L. Cole; Exec. Dir. Rabbi William H. Kraus. Seeks to bring Jewish youth closer to Judaism through Scouting programs. Works through local Jewish committees on Scouting to organize Cub Scout packs, Boy Scout troops, and Explorer posts in synagogues, Jewish community centers, and other Jewish organizations wishing to draw Jewish youth. Ner Tamid for Boy Scouts and Explorers; Scouting in Synagogues and Centers.


diseases and immune system disorders. Clinical emphasis is placed on asthma, emphysema, tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis, interstitial lung diseases, and cystic fibrosis; immune system disorders such as juvenile rheumatoid arthritis, systemic lupus erythematosus, and immune deficiency disorders. **New Directions; Update; Annual Report.**

**NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH HOMES AND HOUSING FOR THE AGING** (1960). 2525 Centerville Road, Dallas, TX, 75228. (214)327-4503. Exec. V. Pres. Herbert Shore; Pres. Elect Ira C. Robbins; serves as a national representative of voluntary Jewish homes and housing for the aged; conducts annual meetings, conferences, workshops and institutes; provides for sharing information, studies and clearinghouse functions. **Directory.**


**ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL**

**AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE** (1971). 134 E. 39 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)679-4822. Pres. Herbert Tenzer; Exec. Dir. Ilana Artman. Seeks to further the existing goodwill between the two nations on a people-to-people basis, through educational exchange programs, regional conferences, and dissemination of information. **News.**


**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SHAARE ZEDEK HOSPITAL IN JERUSALEM, INC.** (1949). 49 W. 45 St., N.Y.C., 10036. (212)354-8801. Pres. Charles Bendheim; V. Pres. Morris Talansky. Raises funds for the various needs of the Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Jerusalem, such as equipment and medical supplies, a nurses training school, and research in the new Shaare Zedek Medical Center. **Shaare Zedek News Quarterly.**


**AMERICAN FRIENDS OF HAIFA UNIVERSITY** (1969). 206 Fifth Ave., 4th fl., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)696-4022. Exec. Dir. Dalia Katz; Pres. Sigmund Strochlitz. Supports the development and maintenance of the various programs of the University of Haifa, among them the Center for Holocaust Studies, Arab Jewish Center, Yiddish Department, Bridging the Gap project, Department of Management, School of Education, kibbutz movement, and Fine Arts Department; arranges overseas academic programs for American and Canadian students. **Newsletter.**

American Friends Report; News from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Scopus Magazine.


American Friends of the Jerusalem Mental Health Center—Ezrath Nashim, Inc. (1895). 10 E. 40 St., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)725-8175. Pres. Anita Blum; Exec. Dir. Sylvia Hilton. Supports research, education, and patient care at the Jerusalem Mental Health Center, which includes a 250-bed hospital, comprehensive outpatient clinic, drug abuse clinic, geriatric center, and the Jacob Herzog Psychiatric Research Center; Israel's only nonprofit, voluntary psychiatric hospital; is used as a teaching facility by Israel's major medical schools. Friend to Friend; To Open the Gates of Healing.


American Friends of the Tel Aviv University, Inc. (1955). 342 Madison Ave., N.Y.C., 10017. (212)687-5651. Bd. Chmn. Ivan J. Novick; Pres. Herbert A. Friedman. Promotes, encourages, aids, and advances higher education at Tel Aviv University and elsewhere. Among the many projects in the more than 50 research institutes are: the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern & African Studies, the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies; 25 institutes in different fields of medicine; and the Institute for Cereal Crops Improvement. Tel Aviv University Report; AFTAU Newsletter.

America-Israel Cultural Foundation, Inc. (1939). 485 Madison Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)751-2700. Bd. Chmn. Isaac Stern; Pres. Carl Glick. Membership organization supporting Israeli cultural institutions, such as Israel Philharmonic and Israel Chamber Orchestra, Tel Aviv Museum, Rubin Academies, Bat Sheva Dance Co., Omanut La'am, and Tzili Am; sponsors cultural exchange between U.S. and Israel; awards scholarships in all arts to young Israelis for study in Israel and abroad. Hadashot.


AMERICAN RED MAGEN David for ISRAEL, INC. (1941). 888 7th Ave., N.Y.C., 10106. (212)757-1627. Nat. Chmn. Joseph Handelman; Nat. Pres. Louis Rosenberg; Nat. Exec. V. Pres. Benjamin Saxe. An authorized tax exempt organization; the sole support arm in the United States of Magen David Adom in Israel with a national membership and chapter program; educates and involves its members in activities of Magen David Adom, Israel's Red Cross Service; raises funds for MDA's emergency medical services, including collection and distribution of blood and blood products for Israel's military and civilian population; supplies ambulances, bloodmobiles, and mobile cardiac rescue units serving all hospitals and communities throughout Israel; supports MDA's 73 emergency medical clinics and helps provide training and equipment for volunteer emergency paramedical corps. Lifeline.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TECHNION—ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (1940). 271 Madison Ave., N.Y.C., 10016. (212)889-2050. Pres. Martin Kellner; Exec. V. Pres. Saul Seigel. Supports the work of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, which trains nearly 10,000 students in 20 departments and a medical school, and conducts research across a broad spectrum of science and technology. ATS Newsletter; ATS Women's Division Newsletter; Technion Magazine.

AMERICAN ZIONIST FEDERATION (1939; reorg. 1949 and 1970). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)371-7750. Pres. Raymond M. Patt; Exec. Dir. Karen Rubinstein. Consolidates the efforts of the existing Zionist constituency in such areas as public and communal affairs, education, youth and aliyah, and invites the affiliation and participation of like-minded individuals and organizations in the community-at-large. Seeks to conduct a Zionist program designed to create a greater appreciation of Jewish culture within the American Jewish community in furtherance of the continuity of Jewish life and the spiritual centrality of Israel as the Jewish homeland. Composed of 16 national Zionist organizations, 10 Zionist youth movements, individual members-at-large, and corporate affiliates. Maintains offices in Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, and New York. Issue Analysis; Spectrum.

AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH FOUNDATION, INC. (1963). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)751-6070. Bd. Chmn. Bernard S. White; Exec. Dir. Donald Adelman. Sponsors educational programs and services for American Jewish youth, including tours to Israel, programs of volunteer service or study in leading institutions of science, scholarship, and the arts; sponsors field workers who promote Jewish and Zionist programming on campus, and prepares and provides specialists who present and interpret the Israeli experience for community centers and federations throughout the country. Activist Newsletter; Guide to Ed. and Programming Material; Programs in Israel.


mobilizes finance and investment capital in the U.S. through sale of own debenture issues and utilization of bank credit lines. Annual Report; Prospectuses.


DROR—YOUNG KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT—HABONIM (1948). 27 W. 20 St., 9th fl., N.Y.C., 10011. (212)675-6168. Pres. Tova Hankin. Fosters Zionist program for youth with emphasis on aliyah to the Kibbutz Hameuchad; stresses Jewish and labor education; holds annual summer workshop in Israel; sponsors two garinim to Israel each year. New Horizons.


EMUNAH WOMEN OF AMERICA (formerly HAPOELE HAMizrachi WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION) (1948). 370 Seventh Ave., N.Y.C., 10001. (212)564-9045. Nat. Pres. Charlotte Dachs; Exec. Dir. Shirley Singer. Maintains and supports 187 educational and social welfare institutions in Israel, including religious nurseries, day-care centers, vocational and teacher training schools for the underprivileged in Israel. The Emunah Woman; Lest We Forget.


movement in U.S., which has four divisions: Young Judaea, Intermediate Judaea, Senior Judaea, and Hamagshimim; operates eight Zionist youth camps in this country; supports summer and all-year courses in Israel. Maintains in Israel Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center for healing, teaching, and research; Hadassah Community College; Seligsberg/Brandeis Comprehensive High School; and Hadassah Vocational Guidance Institute. Is largest organizational contributor to Youth Aliyah and to Jewish National Fund for land purchase and reclamation. *Update; Headlines; Hadassah Magazine.*

---, Hashachar (formerly Young Judaea and Junior Hadassah) (1909 reorg. 1967). 50 W. 58 St., N.Y.C., 10019. (212)355-7900. Pres. of Senior Judaea (high school level) Steven Eisenbach; Nat. Coordinator of Hamagshimim (college level) David Posner; Nat. Dir. Rabbi Avi Zabolcki. Seeks to educate Jewish youth from the ages of 10–30 toward Jewish and Zionist values, active commitment to and participation in the American and Israeli Jewish communities, with aliyah as a prime goal; maintains summer camps and summer and year programs in Israel. *Hamagshimim Journal; Kol Hat'nua; The Young Judaean; Daf L'Madrichim.*


Herut-U.S.A., Inc. (United Zionist-Revisionists of America) (1925). 41 E. 42 St., N.Y.C., 10017. (212)687-4502. Chmn. Eryk Spektor; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Dov Aharoni-Fisch. Supports Jabotinskean Herut policy in Israel for peace with security; seeks Jewish unity for Israel's defense; preaches Zionist commitment, aliyah. Jewish education, and mobilization of Jewish resources; advocates historic right to Eretz Israel and to Jewish residency throughout the land. Affiliated groups: Betar Youth Organization; Tagar Zionist Collegiate Activists; Herut New Leadership Division; Tel Hai Fund, Inc. *Shalom; Zionism Today.*


---, Theodor Herzl Institute. Chmn. Jacques Torczyner; Dir. Sidney Rosenfeld. Program geared to review of contemporary problems on Jewish scene here and abroad, presentation of Jewish heritage values in light of Zionist experience of the ages, study of modern Israel, and Jewish social research with particular consideration of history and impact of Zionism. Lectures, forums, Encounter with Creativity; musicales, recitals, concerts; holiday celebrations; visual art programs, Nouveau Artist Introductions. *Annual Program Preview; Herzl Institute Bulletin.*


Jewish National Fund of America (1901). 42 E. 69 St., N.Y.C., 10021. (212)879-9300. Pres. Charlotte Jacobson; Exec. V. Pres. Samuel I. Cohen. Exclusive fundraising agency of the world Zionist movement for the afforestation, reclamation, and development of the land of Israel, including the construction of roads and preparation of sites for new settlements; helps emphasize the importance of Israel in schools and synagogues throughout the world. *JNF Almanac; Land and Life.*

Hendler. Funds the Keren-Or Center for Multi-Handicapped Blind Children; participates in the program for such children at the Rothschild Hospital in Haifa; funds entire professional staff and special programs at the Jewish Institute for the Blind (established 1902) that houses, clothes, feeds, educates, and trains the blind from childhood into adulthood. Newsletter.

Labor Zionist Alliance (formerly Farband Labor Zionist Order; now uniting membership and branches of Poale Zion—United Labor Zionist Organization of America and American Habonim Association) (1913). 275 Seventh Ave., N.Y.C., 10001. (212)989-0300. Pres. Dr. Ezra Spicehandler; Exec. Dir. Ricki Waldman. Seeks to enhance Jewish life, culture, and education in U.S. and Canada; aids in building State of Israel as a cooperative commonwealth, and its Labor movement organized in the Hista-drut; supports efforts toward a more democratic society throughout the world; further the democratization of the Jewish community in America and the welfare of Jews everywhere; works with labor and liberal forces in America. Jewish Frontier; Yiddisher Kempfer.


RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA. 25 W. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)889-5260.

BNEI AKIVA OF NORTH AMERICA (1934). 25 W. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)889-5260. Exec. Pres. Danny Mayerfield; V. Pres. Alan Silverman; Sec. Yitzchak Fuchs. Seeks to interest youth in aliyah to Israel and social justice through pioneering (halutziat) as an integral part of their religious observance; sponsors five summer camps, a leadership training camp for eleventh graders, a work-study program on a religious kibbutz for high school graduates, summer tours to Israel; establishes nuclei of college students for kibbutz or other settlement. Akivon; Hamvaser; Pinkas Lamadrich; Daf Rayonot; Ma’Ohalai Torah; Zraim.

 Mizrachi-Hapelo Hamizrachi (1909; merged 1957). 25 W. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)689-1414. Pres. Hermann Merkin; Exec. V. Pres. Israel Friedman. Dedicated to building the Jewish state based on principles of Torah; conducts cultural work, educational program, public relations; sponsors NOAM and Bnei Akiva; raises funds for religious educational institutions in Israel. Horizon; Kolenu; Mizrachi News Bulletin.


UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC. (1925). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)688-0800. Chmn. Irwin S. Field; Exec. V. Chmn. Irving Kessler. As principal beneficiary of the United Jewish Appeal, serves as link between American Jewish community and Jewish Agency for Israel, its operating agent; assists in resettlement and absorption of refugees in Israel, and supervises flow of funds and expenditures for this purpose. Briefings.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE SPORTS FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1948). 275 S. 19th St., Philadelphia, PA, 19103. (215)546-4700. Pres. Robert E. Spivak. Sponsors U.S. participation in, and fields and selects U.S. team for, World Maccabiah Games in Israel every four years; promotes physical education and sports program in Israel and total fitness of Israeli and American Jewish youths; provides funds, technical and material assistance to Wingate Institute for Physical Education and Sport in Israel; sponsors U.S. coaches for training programs in Israel and provides advanced
training and competition in the U.S. for Israel's national sports teams, athletes, and coaches; offers scholarships at U.S. colleges to Israeli physical education students; elects members of the Jewish Sports Hall of Fame, Wingate Institute, Natanya, Israel. Report; Journal of the U.S. team in Israel's Maccabiah Games.


WORLD CONFEDERATION OF UNITED ZIONISTS (1946; reorg. 1958). 30 E. 60 St., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)371-1452. Co-Presidents Bernice S. Tannenbaum, Kalman Sultanik, Melech Topiol. The largest Diaspora-centered Zionist grouping in the world, distinguished from all other groups in the Zionist movement in that it has no association or affiliation with any political party in Israel, but derives its inspiration and strength from the whole spectrum of Zionist, Jewish, and Israeli life; supports projects identified with Israel; sponsors non-party halutzic youth movements in the Diaspora; promotes Zionist education and strives for an Israel-oriented creative Jewish survival in the Diaspora. Zionist Information Views.

WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION—AMERICAN SECTION (1971). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)752-0600. Chmn. Bernice S. Tannenbaum; Exec. V. Chmn. Isadore Hamlin. As the American section of the overall Zionist body throughout the world, it operates primarily in the field of aliyah from the free countries, education in the Diaspora, youth and hechalutz, organization and information, cultural institutions, publications; conducts a worldwide Hebrew cultural program including special seminars and pedagogic manuals; disperses information and assists in research projects concerning Israel; promotes, publishes, and distributes books, periodicals, and pamphlets concerning developments in Israel, Zionism, and Jewish history. Israel Scene; Five Fifteen.

________, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (1948). 515 Park Ave., N.Y.C., 10022. (212)752-0600. Exec. Counselor Arthur Levine; Exec. Dir. Yoel Rappel. Seeks to foster a wider and deeper knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature and a better understanding and fuller appreciation of the role of Israel in the destiny of Jewry and Judaism, to introduce the study of Israel as an integral part of the Jewish school curriculum, and to initiate and sponsor educational projects designed to implement these objectives.


PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS*

AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS (Religious, Educational)

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.
AMERICAN JEWISH CORRECTIONAL CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC. (Social Welfare)

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS ASSOCIATION (Cultural)

AMERICAN JEWISH PUBLIC RELATIONS SOCIETY (1957). 234 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., 10001. (212)697-5895. Pres. Martin J. Warmbrand; Treas. Hyman Brickman. Advances professional status of workers in the public-relations field in Jewish communal service; upholds a professional code of ethics and standards; serves as a clearinghouse for employment opportunities; exchanges professional information and ideas; presents awards for excellence in professional attainments, including the "Maggid Award" for outstanding literary or artistic achievement which enhances Jewish life. The Handout.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER WORKERS (Community Relations)

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CHAPLAINS OF THE ARMED FORCES (Religious, Educational)

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS (Community Relations)

CANTORS ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE (Community Relations)

EDUCATORS ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HILLEL DIRECTORS (Religious, Educational)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (Community Relations)

JEWISH MINISTERS CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC. (Religious, Educational)

JEWISH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION—MORIM (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER WORKERS (Community Relations)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SYNOGOGUE ADMINISTRATORS, UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (Social Welfare)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YESHIVA PRINCIPALS (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD COMMISSION ON JEWISH CHAPLAINCY (Social Welfare)

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS*

AMIT WOMEN (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN (Social Welfare)

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (1948). 415 South St., Waltham, MA, 02254. (617)647-2194. Nat. Pres. Cynthia B. Shulman; Exec. Dir. Carol S. Rabinovitz. Responsible for support and maintenance of Brandeis University libraries; sponsors University on Wheels and, through its chapters, study-group programs based on faculty-prepared syllabi, volunteer work in educational services, and a program of New Books for Old sales; constitutes largest "Friends of a Library" group in U.S. Imprint.

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (Social Welfare)

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

PIONEER WOMEN, THE WOMEN'S LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.
United Order of True Sisters (Social, Mutual Benefit)

Women's American ORT Federation (Overseas Aid)

Women's Branch of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (Religious, Educational)

Women's Division of Poale Agudath Israel of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress (Community Relations)

Women's Division of the Jewish Labor Committee (Community Relations)

Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal (Overseas Aid)

Women's League for Conservative Judaism (Religious, Educational)

Women's League for Israel, Inc. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Women's Organization of Hapoel Hamizrachi (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Yeshiva University Women's Organization (Religious, Educational)

Youth and Student Organizations*

American Zionist Youth Foundation, Inc. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

American Zionist Youth Council

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, Inc. (Religious, Educational)

B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (Religious, Educational)

Bnei Akiva of North America, Religious Zionists of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Bnos Agudath Israel, Agudath Israel of America (Religious, Educational)

Dror Young Zionist Organization (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Hashachar—Women's Zionist Organization of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Hashomer Hatzair, Zionist Youth Movement (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Ichud Habonim Labor Zionist Youth (Zionist and Pro-Israel)


Kadima (Religious, Educational)

Massorah Intercollegiates of Young Israel, National Council of Young Israel (Religious, Educational)

National Conference of Synagogue Youth, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (Religious, Educational)

National Federation of Temple Youth, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

Noar Mizrachi-Hamishmeret (NOAM)—Religious Zionists of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

North American Jewish Student Appeal (1971). 15 E. 26 St., N.Y.C., 10010. (212)679-2293. Pres. Simkha Weintraub. Exec. Dir. Roberta Shiffman. Serves as central fundraising mechanism for five national, independent, Jewish student organizations; insures accountability of public Jewish communal funds used by these agencies; assists Jewish students undertaking projects of concern to Jewish communities; advises and assists Jewish organizations in determining student project feasibility and impact; fosters development

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.
of Jewish student leadership in the Jewish community. Beneficiaries include local and regional Jewish student projects on campuses throughout North America; current constituents include Jewish Student Press Service, North American Jewish Students Network, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, Response, and Yugntruf; beneficiaries include Israel Education Day (Berkeley, CA), the Kansas City Jewish Students Coalition, the Jewish Action Coalition (Vermont), and the Jewish Journal at Yale (New Haven, CT).


NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH YOUTH COUNCIL (Community Relations)

STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY, INC. (Community Relations)

UNITED SYNAGOGUE YOUTH, UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

YAVNEH, NATIONAL RELIGIOUS JEWISH STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (Religious, Educational)

YUGNTRUF YOUTH FOR YIDDISH (1964). 3328 Bainbridge Ave., Bronx, NY, 10467. (212)654-8540. Chmn. Paul Glasser; Editor Itzek Oottesman. A worldwide, non-political organization for high school and college students with a knowledge of, or interest in, Yiddish. Spreads the love and use of the Yiddish language, especially among young adults, but activities also reach out to other age groups. Organizes artistic and social activities. Offers services of full-time field worker to assist in forming Yiddish courses and clubs throughout the U.S.A. Yugntruf.

ZEIREI AGUDATH ISRAEL, AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

CANADA


FRIENDS OF PIONEERING ISRAEL (1950's). 1111 Finch Ave. W., Ste. 154, Downsview, Ont., M35 2E5 (416)736-0977. Pres. Dov Barak. Acts as a progressive voice within the Jewish community on Israeli and Canadian issues; expresses Socialist and Zionist viewpoints; serves as a focal point for work of the progressive Zionist elements in Canada; acts as Canadian representative of Mapam and as the Canadian distributor of New Outlook—Mideast Monthly. Activities include lectures on political and Jewish topics open to the public; Jewish holiday celebrations.


CANADIAN YOUNG JUDAIA (1917). 788 Marlee Ave., Toronto, Ont., M6B 3K1. (416)787-5350. Nat. Pres. Michael Goldbach; Exec. Dir. Risa Epstein. Strives to attract Jewish youth to Zionism, with goal of aliyah; operates six summer camps in Canada and one in Israel; is sponsored by Canadian Hadassah—WIZO and Zionist Federation of Canada, and affiliated with Hanoar Hatzioni in Israel. Yedion; Judent; The Young Judean.

Israelis by sponsoring health, education, and social welfare services; seeks to strengthen and perpetuate Jewish identity; encourages Jewish and Hebrew culture in promoting Canadian ideals of democracy and pursuit of peace. *Orah.*


**Jewish National Fund of Canada (Keren Kayemeth Le'Israel, Inc.) (1902).** 1980 Sherbrooke St. W., Suite 300, Montreal, PQ, H3H 2M7. Nat. Pres. Alexander (Bobby) Mayers; Exec. V. Pres. Michael Goldstein. Fundraising organization affiliated with the World Zionist Movement; involved in afforestation, soil reclamation, and development of the land of Israel, including the construction of roads and preparation of sites for new settlements; helps to bring the message of “Keep Israel Green” to Jewish schools across Canada.

**Labor Zionist Movement of Canada (1939).** 4770 Kent Ave., Montreal, PQ, H3W 1H2. (514)735-1593. Nat. Pres. Sydney L. Wax; Nat. V. Pres. Abraham Shurem. Disseminates information and publications on Israel and Jewish life; arranges special events, lectures, and seminars; coordinates communal and political activities of its constituent bodies (Pioneer Women, Na'amot, Labor Zionist Alliance, Poale Zion party, Habonim-Dror Youth, Israel Histadrut, affiliated Hebrew elementary and high schools in Montreal and Toronto). *Canadian Jewish Quarterly; Viewpoints; Briefacts; Insight.*


**National Joint Community Relations Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress (1936).** 4600 Bathurst St., Willowdale, Ont., M2R 3V2 (416)635-2883. Chmn. David Satok; Nat. Exec. Dir. Ben G. Kayfetz. Seeks to safeguard the status, rights, and welfare of Jews in Canada; to combat antisemitism and promote understanding and goodwill among all ethnic and religious groups.

**United Jewish Teachers’ Seminary (1946).** 5237 Clanranald Ave., Montreal, PQ, H3X 2S5. (514)489-4401. Dir. A. Aisenbach. Trains teachers for Yiddish and Hebrew schools under auspices of Canadian Jewish Congress. *Yitonenu.*

**Zionist Organization of Canada (1892; reorg. 1919).** 788 Marlee Ave., Toronto, Ont., M6B 3K1. (416)781-3571. Nat. Pres. Max Goody; Exec. V. Pres. George Liban. Furthers general Zionist aims by operating six youth camps in Canada and one in Israel; maintains Zionist book club; arranges programs, lectures; sponsors Young Judaea, Youth Centre Project in Jerusalem Forest, Israel.
Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

BIRMINGHAM
BIRMINGHAM JEWISH FEDERATION (1935; reorg. 1971); P.O. Box 9157 (35213); (205)-879-0416. Pres. Jim Sokol; Exec. Dir. Richard Friedman.

MOBILE
MOBILE JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (Inc. 1966); 1 Office Park 404 C, (36609); (205)-343-7197. Pres. Mrs. Paul Brown; V. Pres. Dr. Joel Grossman.

MONTGOMERY
JEWISH FEDERATION OF MONTGOMERY, INC. (1930); P.O. Box 1150 (36101); (205)-263-7674. Pres. Ralph Franco; Sec. Barbara Marcus.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX
GREATER PHOENIX JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. surrounding communities) (1940); 1718 W. Maryland Ave. (85015); (602)249-1845. Pres. Irv Shuman; Exec. Dir. Lawrence M. Cohen.

TUCSON
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1942); 102 N. Plumer (85719); (602)884-8921. Pres. Saul Tobin; Exec. Dir. Charles Plotkin.

ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK
JEWISH FEDERATION OF LITTLE ROCK (1911); 221 Donaghey Bldg., Main at 7th (72201); (501)372-3571. Pres. Bruce Thalheimer, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Nanci Goldman.

CALIFORNIA

FRESNO
*JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION; 204 Tulare St., Ste. 424 (93721); (209)264-9429. Pres. Morris Horwitz.

LONG BEACH
JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF GREATER LONG BEACH AND WEST ORANGE COUNTY (1937); (sponsors UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND); 3801 E. Willow Ave. (90815); (213)426-7601. Pres. Emanuel Gyler; Exec. Dir. Oliver Winkler.

LOS ANGELES
JEWISH FEDERATION-COUNCIL OF GREATER LOS ANGELES (1912; reorg. 1959); (sponsors UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND); 6505 Wilshire Blvd. (90048); (213)852-1234. Pres. Osias Goren; Exec. V. Pres. Ted Kanner.

OAKLAND
JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE GREATER EAST BAY (1918); 3245 Sheffield Ave.

*This directory is based on information supplied by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. An asterisk (*) preceding a listing indicates an organization not affiliated with CJFWF.
ORANGE COUNTY
Jewish Federation of Orange County (1964; Inc. 1965); (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund); 12181 Buaro, Garden Grove (92640); (714)530-6636. Pres. Michael J. Pinto; Exec. Dir. Gerald Lasensky.

PALM SPRINGS
Jewish Federation of Palm Springs-Desert Area (1971); 611 S. Palm Canyon Dr. (92262); (619)325-7281. Pres. Robert Rose; Exec. Dir. Nat Bent.

SACRAMENTO
Jewish Federation of Sacramento (1948); P.O. Box 254589 (95865); (916)486-0906. Pres. Irving Levine; Exec. Dir. Arnold Feder.

SAN DIEGO
United Jewish Federation of Greater San Diego County (1935); 5511 El Cajon Blvd. (92115); (619)582-2483. Pres. Pauline Foster; Exec. Dir. Steven M. Abramson.

SAN FRANCISCO
Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties (1910; reorg. 1955); 121 Steuart St. (94105); (415)777-0411. Pres. William Lowenberg; Exec. Dir. Brian Lurie.

SAN JOSE

SANTA BARBARA
Santa Barbara Jewish Federation; P.O. Box 6782 (93111); (805)962-0770. Pres. M. Howard Goldman.

STOCKTON
Stockton Jewish Welfare Fund (1972); 5105 N. El Dorado St. (95207); (209)477-9306. Pres. Sandy Senderov.

VENTURA
Ventura County Jewish Council—Temple Beth Torah (1938); 7620 Foothill Rd. (93004); (805)647-4181. Pres. Jack Pavin.

COLORADO
DENVER
Allied Jewish Federation of Denver (1936); (sponsors Allied Jewish Campaign); 300 S. Dahlia St. (80222); (303)321-3399. Pres. Charlene Loup; Exec. Dir. Harold Cohen.

CONNECTICUT
BRIDGEPORT
Jewish Federation of Greater Bridgeport, Inc. (1936); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 4200 Park Ave. (06604); (203)372-6504. Pres. Joan Katz; Exec. Dir. Gerald A. Kleinman.

DANBURY
Jewish Federation of Greater Danbury (1945); 54 Main St., Ste. E. (06810); (203)792-6353. Pres. Peter Romanow; Exec. Dir. Norman Mogul.

EASTERN CONNECTICUT

GREENWICH

HARTFORD
Greater Hartford Jewish Federation (1945); 333 Bloomfield Ave., W., Hartford (06117); (203)232-4483. Pres. Simon Konover; Exec. Dir. Don Cooper.

NEW HAVEN
New Haven Jewish Federation (1928); (sponsors Combined Jewish Appeal); 1162 Chapel St. (06511); (203)562-2137. Pres. H. William Shure.

NORWALK

STAMFORD
United Jewish Federation (Reincorp. 1973); 1035 Newfield Ave., P.O. Box 3038 (06905); (203)322-6935. Pres. Stephen Epstein; Exec. V. Pres. Steve Schreier.
WATERBURY
Jewish Federation of Waterbury, Inc. (1938); 1020 Country Club Rd. (06708); (203)758-2441. Pres. Frances Weinstein; Exec. Dir. Eli J. Skora.

DELWARE
WILMINGTON
Jewish Federation of Delaware, Inc. (1935); 101 Garden of Eden Rd. (19803); (302)478-6200. Pres. Leo Zefiel; Exec. Dir. Morris Lapidos.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL—FEDERATION OF GREATER WASHINGTON, INC. (1935); 7900 Wisconsin Ave., Bethesda, MD. (20814-5268); (301)652-6480. Pres. Joel Breslau; Exec. V. Pres. Elton J. Kerness.

FLORIDA
BREVARD COUNTY
*Brevard Jewish Community Council; P.O. Box 1816, Merritt Island (32952); (305)-453-4695. Pres. Robert Mandel; Exec. Sec. Frances Singer.

DAYTONA BEACH

FT. LAUDERDALE
Jewish Federation of Greater Ft. Lauderdale (1967); 8358 W. Oakland Pk. Blvd. (33321); (305)748-8400. Pres. Edmund Entin.

JACKSONVILLE
Jacksonville Jewish Federation (1935); 10829-1 Old St. Augustine Rd. (32223); (904)262-2800. Pres. David Robbins; Exec. Dir. Judah Segal.

MIAMI
Greater Miami Jewish Federation, Inc. (1938); 4200 Biscayne Blvd. (33137); (305)576-4000. Pres. Norman Lipoff; Exec. V. Pres. Myron J. Brodie.

ORLANDO
Jewish Federation of Greater Orlando (1949); 851 N. Maitland Ave., P.O. Box 1508, Maitland (32751); (305)645-5933. Pres. Rabbi Larry Halpern; Exec. Dir. Paul Jeser.

PALM BEACH COUNTY
Jewish Federation of Palm Beach County, Inc. (1938); 501 S. Flagler Dr., Suite 305, West Palm Beach (33401); (305)832-2120. Pres. Jeanne Levy; Exec. Dir. Norman J. Schimmelman.

PENSACOLA
*Pensacola Federated Jewish Charities (1942); 1320 E. Lee St. (32503); (904)-438-1464. Pres. Joe Rosenbaum; Sec. Mrs. Harry Saffer.

PINELLAS COUNTY (incl. Clearwater and St. Petersburg)
Jewish Federation of Pinellas County, Inc. (1950; reincorp. 1974); 302 S. Jupiter Ave., Clearwater (33715); (813)446-1033. Pres. Charles Rutenberg.

SARASOTA
Sarasota Manatee Jewish Federation (1959); 2197 Ringling Blvd. (33577); (813)-365-4410. Pres. Gershom Cahn; Exec. Dir. Jack Weintraub.

SOUTH BROWARD

SOUTH COUNTY
South County Jewish Federation; 2200 N. Federal Highway, Ste. 206, Boca Raton (33432); (305)368-2737. Pres. Marianne Bobick; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Bruce S. Warshal.

TAMPA
Tampa Jewish Federation (1941); 2808 Horatio (33609); (813)875-1618. Pres. Michael L. Levine; Exec. Dir. Gary S. Alter.

GEORGIA
ATLANTA

AUGUSTA
Augusta Jewish Federation (1937); P.O. Box 3251, Sibley Road (30904); (404)-736-1818. Pres. Dr. Leon Meyers; Exec. Dir. Louis Goldman.

COLUMBUS
Jewish Welfare Federation of Columbus, Inc. (1941); P.O. Box 6313 (31907);
SAVANNAH
SAVANNAH JEWISH COUNCIL (1943); (sponsors UJA-FEDERATION CAMPAIGN); P.O. Box 6546, 5111 Abercorn St. (31405); (912)355-8111. Pres. Ronald Kronowitz; Exec. Dir. Stan Ramati.

HAWAII
HONOLULU
Jewish Federation of Hawaii (1956); 817 Cooke St. (96813); (808)536-7228. Pres. Alex Weinstein; Exec. Dir. Barry Shain.

ILLINOIS
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA JEWISH FEDERATION (1929); 503 E. John St., Champaign (61820); (217)367-9872. Co-Pres. Michael Faiman, Diane Gottheil.

CHICAGO
JEWISH FEDERATION OF METROPOLITAN CHICAGO (1900); 1 S. Franklin St. (60606); (312)346-6700. Pres. Charles H. Goodman; Exec. Dir. Steven B. Nasatir.
JEWISH UNITED FUND OF METROPOLITAN CHICAGO (1968); 1 S. Franklin St. (60606); (312)346-6700. Pres. Charles H. Goodman; Exec. V. Pres. Steven B. Nasatir.

QUAD CITIES

ROCKFORD
ROCKFORD JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1937); 1500 Parkview Ave. (61107); (815)399-5497. Pres. Jason Gesmer; Exec. Dir. Tony Toback.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS
JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS (incl. S.E. Mo. and N.W. Ky.) (1941); 6464 W. Main, Suite 7A, Belleville (62223); (618)398-6100. Pres. Sydney Pollack; Exec. Dir. Elliot Gershenson.

SPRINGFIELD
SPRINGFIELD JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); 730 E. Vine St. (62703); (217)528-3446. Pres. Dorothy Friedman; Exec. Dir. Lenore Loeb.

INDIANA
EVANSVILLE
EVANSVILLE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (1936; Inc. 1964); P.O. Box 5026 (47715); (812)477-7050. Pres. Alan Newman; Exec. Sec. Maxine P. Fink.

FORT WAYNE
FORT WAYNE JEWISH FEDERATION (1921); 227 E. Washington Blvd. (46802); (219)422-8566. Pres. Robert Goldstine; Exec. Dir. Michael Pousman.

INDIANAPOLIS
JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, INC. (1905); 615 N. Alabama St. (46204); (317)637-2473. Pres. David Kleinman; Exec. V. Pres. Louis P. Solomon.

LAFAYETTE
FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES (1924); P.O. Box 708 (47902); (317)742-9081. Pres. Harry Hirschl; Fin. Sec. Louis Pearlman, Jr.

MICHIGAN CITY
MICHIGAN CITY UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND; 2800 Franklin St. (46360); (219)874-4477. Pres. Nate Winski; Treas. Harold Leinwand.

NORTHWEST INDIANA
THE JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1941; reorg. 1959); 2939 Jewett St., Highland
JEWISH FEDERATIONS, FUNDS, COUNCILS

(46322); (219)972-2251. Pres. Alvin Levenberg; Exec. Dir. Barnett Labowitz.

SOUTH BEND
JEWISH FEDERATION OF ST. JOSEPH VALLEY (1946); 804 Sherland Bldg. (46601); (219)233-1164. Pres. Isadore Rosenfeld; Exec. V. Pres. Bernard Natkow.

IOWA
DES MOINES
JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER DES MOINES (1914); 910 Polk Blvd. (50312); (515)277-6321. Pres. James Galinsky; Exec. Dir. Melvin Bernay.

SIoux CITY
JEWISH FEDERATION (1921); 525 14 St. (51105); (712)258-0618. Pres. Jack Bernstein; Exec. Dir. Doris E. Rosenthal.

KANSAS
TOPEKA
*Topeka Lawrence Jewish Federation (1939); 3237-S.W. Westover Rd. (66604); Pres. Mark Greenberg.

WICHITA

LEXINGTON
Central Kentucky Jewish Association; 258 Plaza Dr., Ste. 208 (40503); (606)277-8048. Pres. Jack Miller.

LOUISVILLE
Jewish Community Federation of Louisville, Inc. (1934); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); P.O. Box 33035, 3630 Dutchman’s Lane (40232); (502)451-8840. Mrs. Martyn Goldman; Exec. Dir. Frank Fogelson.

LOUISIANA
ALEXANDRIA
The Jewish Welfare Federation and Community Council of Central Louisiana (1938); 1262 Heyman Lane (71301); (318)442-1264. Pres. Harold Katz; Sec. Treas. Mrs. George Kuplesky.

BATON ROUGE
Jewish Federation of Greater Baton Rouge (1971); P.O. Box 80827 (70898); (504)769-0561, 769-0504. Pres. Barry Blumberg; Exec. Dir. Michael Yuspeh.

MONROE
*United Jewish Charities of North-East Louisiana (1938); 2400 Orrel Pl. (71201); (318)387-0730. Pres. Morris Mintz; Sec.-Treas. Herman Dublin.

NEW ORLEANS
JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER NEW ORLEANS (1913; reorg. 1977); 1539 Jackson Ave. (70130); (504)525-0673. Pres. Louis Ripper; Exec. Dir. Jane Buchbaum.

SHREVEPORT
Shreveport Jewish Federation (1941; Inc. 1967); 2030 Line Ave. (71104); (318)221-4129. Pres. Sylvia Goodman; Exec. Dir. Monty Pomm.

MAINE
LEWISTON-AUBURN
Lewiston-Auburn Jewish Federation (1947); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 74 Bradman St., Lewiston (04240); (207)728-4201. Pres. Sheldon Nussinow; Exec. Dir. Morris Bernstein.

PORTLAND
JEWISH FEDERATION COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF SOUTHERN MAINE (1942); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 57 Ashmont St. (04103); (207)773-7254. Admn. Cecelia Levine; Pres. Robert Willis.

MARYLAND
BALTIMORE

MASSACHUSETTS
BERKSHIRES
*Jewish Federation of the Berkshires (1940); 235 East St., Pittsfield (01201); (413)442-4360. Pres. David Kalib; Exec. Dir. Rhoda Kaminstein.

BOSTON
Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston, Inc. (1895; reorg. 1961); 72 Franklin St. (02110); (617)542-8080. Pres. Sherman H. Starr; Exec. V.P. David H. Rosen.
FRAMINGHAM
Greater Framingham Jewish Federation (1968; Inc. 1969); 76 Salem End Road, Framingham Centre (01701); (617)879-3301. Pres. Judy Chyten; Exec. Dir. Lawrence Lowenthal.

HAVERHILL
*Haverhill United Jewish Appeal, Inc.; 514 Main St. (01830); (617)372-4481. Pres. Manuel M. Epstein.

LAWRENCE
*Jewish Community Council of Greater Lawrence (1906); 580 Haverhill St. (01841); (617)686-4157. Pres. Sidney Swartz; Exec. Dir. Irving Linn.

LEOMINSTER
Leominster Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1939); 268 Washington St. (01453); (617)534-6121. Pres. Martin Shaeval; Sec. Treas. Howard J. Rome.

NEW BEDFORD
Jewish Federation of Greater New Bedford, Inc. (1938; Inc. 1954); 467 Hawthorn St., North Dartmouth (02747); (617)997-7471. Pres. Rubye Finger; Exec. Dir. Steven J. Edelstein.

NORTH SHORE
Jewish Federation of the North Shore, Inc. (1938); 4 Community Rd., Marblehead (01945); (617)598-1810. Pres. Gerald Ogan; Exec. Dir. Gerald S. Ferman.

SPRINGFIELD
Springfield Jewish Federation, Inc. (1938); (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund SJF/UJA Campaign); 1160 Dickinson St. (01108); (413)737-4313. Pres. Belle Rosen; Exec. Dir. Joel Weiss.

WORCESTER
Worcester Jewish Federation, Inc. (1947; Inc. 1957); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund); 633 Salisbury St. (01609); (617)756-1543. Pres. Harold N. Cotton; Exec. Dir. Joseph Huber.

MICHIGAN

FLINT
Flint Jewish Federation (1936); 120 W. Kearsley St. (48502); (313)767-5922; Pres. Stephen Klein; Exec. Dir. David Nussbaum.

GRAND RAPIDS
Jewish Community Fund of Grand Rapids (1930); 2755 Elmwood S.E. (49506); (616)942-2279. Pres. Joseph N. Schwartz; Sec. Arlene Berman.

KALAMAZOO
*Kalamaoo Jewish Federation (1949); c/o Congregation of Moses, 2501 Stadium Dr. (49008); (616)349-8396. Pres. Allyson Gall.

LANSING
Greater Lansing Jewish Welfare Federation (1939); P.O. Box 975, E. Lansing (48823); (517)351-3197. Pres. Dr. Murray Vinnik; Exec. Dir. Louis T. Friedman.

SAGINAW

MINNESOTA

DULUTH
Jewish Federation & Community Council (1937); 1602 E. 2nd St. (55812); (218)724-8857. Pres. Manley Goldfine; Sec. Admn. Sharon K. Eckholm.

MINNEAPOLIS
Minneapolis Federation for Jewish Services (1929; Inc. 1930); 811 La Salle Ave. (55402); (612)339-7491. Pres. Reva Rosenbloom; Exec. Dir. Herman Markowitz.

ST. PAUL
United Jewish Fund and Council (1935); 790 S. Cleveland (55116); (612)690-1707. Pres. Merril Kuller; Exec. Dir. Kimball Marsh.

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON
Jackson Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1945); P.O. Box 12329 (39211); (601)944-0607. Pres. Elaine Crystal; V. Pres. Irving Feldman.
MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY
JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER KANSAS CITY (1933); 25 E. 12 St. (64106); (816)421-5808. Pres. Arthur Brand; Exec. Dir. Sol Koenigsberg.

ST. JOSEPH
UNITED JEWISH FUND OF ST. JOSEPH (1915); 509 Woodcrest Dr. (64506); (816)279-7154. Pres. Sidney I. Naidorf; Exec. Sec. Martha Rothstein.

ST. LOUIS
JEWISH FEDERATION OF ST. LOUIS (incl. St. Louis County) (1901); 12 Millstone Campus Dr. (63146); (314)432-0020. Pres. Harris J. Frank; V. Pres. Martin S. Kraar.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN
LINCOLN JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, INC. (1931; Inc. 1961); P.O. Box 80014 (68501); (402)464-0602. Pres. Harry Allen; Exec. Dir. Gary Hill.

OMAHA
JEWISH FEDERATION OF OMAHA (1903); 333 S. 132 St. (68154); (402)334-8200. Pres. Howard Kaslow; Exec. V. Pres. Allan Greene.

NEVADA

LAS VEGAS
JEWISH FEDERATION OF LAS VEGAS (1973); 1030 E. Twain Ave. (89109); (702)732-0556. Pres. Phil Engel; Exec. Dir. Jerome Countess.

NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC COUNTY
FEDERATION OF JEWISH AGENCIES OF ATLANTIC COUNTY (1924); 5321 Atlantic Ave., Ventnor City (08406); (609)822-7122. Pres. Marsha Grossman; Exec. Dir. Bernard Cohen.

BAYONNE
*BAYONNE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL; 1050 Kennedy Blvd. (07002); (201)436-6900.

President: Alan Apfelbaum; Executive Director: Alan J. Coren.

BERGEN COUNTY
UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF BERGEN COUNTY (1953; Inc. 1978); 111 Kinderkamack Rd., P.O. Box 4176, N. Hackensack Station, River Edge (07661; (201)488-6800. Pres. Andrew Sklover; Exec. V. Pres. James Young.

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY
JEWISH FEDERATION OF CENTRAL NEW JERSEY (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); (1940; expanded 1973 to include Westfield and Plainfield); Green Lane, Union (07083); (201)351-5060. Pres. Gerald Flanzbaum; Exec. V. Pres. Burton Lazarow.

CLIFTON-PASSAIC
JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER CLIFTON-PASSAIC (1933); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 199 Scoles Ave., Clifton (07012). (201)777-7031. Pres. Elliott Taradash; Exec. Dir. Yosef Muskin.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY
JEWISH FEDERATION OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY (1971) (inc. the Jewish Community Council & Allied Jewish Appeal); 629 Wood St., Ste. 204; Vineland (08360); (609)696-4443. Pres. Cy Baltus; Exec. Dir. Gail Milgram Beitman.

DELWARE VALLEY
JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE DELAWARE VALLEY (1929); (includes lower Bucks County, PA and Mercer County, NJ); 20-28 N. Penn Ave., Morrisville PA (19067); (215)736-8022. Pres. Martin Okean; Dir. Charles P. Epstein. (Also see listing under Pennsylvania.)

ENGLEWOOD
(Merged with Bergen County.)

NEW JERSEY CITY
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (1939); 71 Bentley Ave. (07304); (201)332-6644. Chmn. Mel Blum; Exec. Sec. Madeline Mazer.

METROWEST NEW JERSEY
UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION (sponsors United Jewish Appeal) (1923); 60 Glenwood Ave., East Orange (07017); (201)673-6800. Pres. Clarence Reisen; Exec. V. Pres. Howard Charish.
MONMOUTH COUNTY
Jewish Federation of Greater Monmouth County (formerly Shore Area) (1971); 100 Grant Ave., P.O. Box 210, Deal Park (07723); (201)531-6200. Pres. Bernard Hochberg; Exec. Dir. Marvin Relkin.

MORRIS-SUSSEX COUNTY
(Merged with METROWEST NJ)

NORTH JERSEY
Jewish Federation of North Jersey (formerly Jewish Community Council) (1933); (sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL DRIVE); 1 Pike Dr., Wayne (07470); (201)595-0555. Pres. Philip E. Sarna; Exec. Dir. Leon Zimmerman.

NORTHERN MIDDLESEX COUNTY
Jewish Federation of Northern Middlesex County (1975); (sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL); 100 Menlo Park, Suite 101-102, Edison (08837); (201)494-3920. Pres. Susan Mandell; Exec. Dir. Arthur Eisenstein.

OCEAN COUNTY
Ocean County Jewish Federation; 301 Madison Ave., Lakewood (08701); (201)363-0530. Pres. Michael Levin; Exec. Dir. Michael Ruvel.

RARITAN VALLEY
Jewish Federation of Raritan Valley (1948); 2 S. Adelaide Ave., Highland Park (08820); (201)246-1905. Pres. Milton Dorin.

SOMERSET COUNTY
Jewish Federation of Somerset County (1960); 2 Division St., P.O. Box 874, Somerville (08876); (201)725-6994. Pres. Rene Colen; Admin. Mgr. Elaine Auerbach.

SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY
Jewish Federation of Southern New Jersey (incl. Camden and Burlington Counties) (1922); (sponsors ALLIED JEWISH APPEAL); 2393 W. Marlton Pike, Cherry Hill (08002); (609)665-6100. Pres. Sam Lear; Exec. V. Pres. Stuart Alperin.

NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE

NEW YORK
ALBANY
Greater Albany Jewish Federation (1938); (sponsors JEWISH WELFARE FUND); 350 Whitehall Rd. (12208); (518)459-8000. Pres. Daniel Hershberg; Exec. Dir. Steven F. Windmueller.

BROOME COUNTY
The Jewish Federation of Broome County (1937; Inc. 1958); 500 Clubhouse Rd., Binghamton (13903); (607)724-2332. Pres. Bruce Becker; Exec. Dir. Jackie Jacobs.

BUFFALO
Jewish Federation of Greater Buffalo, Inc. (1903); (sponsors UNITED JEWISH FUND CAMPAIGN); 787 Delaware Ave. (14209); (716)886-7750. Pres. Gordon Gross; Exec. Dir. Morris Rombro.

DUTCHESS COUNTY
*Jewish Welfare Fund—UJA (1941); 110 Grand Ave., Poughkeepsie (12603); (914)471-9811. Pres. Milton Klein.

ELMIRA
Elmira Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1942); P.O. Box 3087, Grandview Rd. Ext. (14905); (607)734-8122. Pres. Edward J. Grandt; Exec. Dir. Mark Steiner.

GLENS FALLS
*Glen Falls Jewish Welfare Fund (1939); P.O. Box 177 (12801); (518)734-8122. Chmn. Walter Stern.

KINGSTON
Jewish Federation of Greater Kingston, Inc. (1951); 159 Green St. (12401); (914)338-8131. Pres. Judith Golub.

NEW YORK CITY


UNITED JEWISH APPEAL OF GREATER NEW YORK, INC. (incl. Greater New York, Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties) (1939); 130 E. 59 St. (10022); (212)980-1000.

NIAGARA FALLS
Jewish Federation of Niagara Falls, N.Y., Inc. (1935); Temple Beth Israel, Bldg. #5, College & Madison Ave. (14305); (716)-284-4575. Pres. Howard Kushner; Exec. Dir. Miriam Schaffer.

ORANGE COUNTY
Jewish Federation of Greater Orange County; 360 Powell Ave., Newburgh (12550); (914)562-7860. Pres. Jack Slobod; Exec. Dir. Marilyn Chandler.

ROCHESTER

SCHENECTADY
Jewish Federation of Greater Schenectady (1938); (sponsors Schenectady UJA and Federated Welfare Fund); 2565 Balltown Rd., P.O. Box 2649 (12309); (518)393-1136. Pres. Bette Kraut; Exec. Dir. Haim Morag.

SYRACUSE
Syracuse Jewish Federation, Inc. (1918); 2223 E. Genesee St., P.O. Box 5004, (13250); (315)422-4104. Pres. Alan Burstein; Exec. Dir. Barry Silverberg.

TROY
Troy Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1936); 2430 21 St. (12180); (518)274-0700. Pres. Richard Hanft.

UTICA
Jewish Community Council of Utica, N.Y., Inc. (1933; Inc. 1950); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal of Utica); 2310 Oneida St. (13501); (315)733-2343. Pres. Sharon Goldenson; Exec. Dir. Meyer L. Bodoff.

NORTH CAROLINA
ASHEVILLE

CHARLOTTE
Charlotte Jewish Federation (1940); P.O. Box 220188 (28222); (704)372-4688. Pres. Stanley Greenspon; Exec. Dir. Marvin Bienstock.

DURHAM-CHAPEL HILL
Durham-Chapel Hill Jewish Federation & Community Council; 1509 Crestwood Lane; Chapel Hill (27514); (919)933-6810. Pres. Elizabeth H. Gervais.

GREENSBORO
Greensboro Jewish Federation (1940); 713A N. Greene St. (27401); Pres. Albert Jacobson; Exec. Dir. Sherman Harris.

HIGH POINT
High Point Jewish Federation; P.O. Box 2063 (27261); (919)431-7101. Campaign Chmn. Harry Samet.

WINSTON-SALEM
*Winston-Salem Jewish Community Council; 471 Archer Rd. (27106); (919)773-2532. Pres. Arnold Sidman.

OHIO
AKRON
Akron Jewish Community Federation (1935); 750 White Pond Dr. (44320); (216)-867-7850. Pres. Judith Isroff; Exec. Dir. Steven Drysdale.

CANTON

CINCINNATI

CLEVELAND
Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland (1903); 1750 Euclid Ave. (44115); (216)566-9200. Pres. Henry Goodman; Exec. Dir. Stephen H. Hoffman.

COLUMBUS
Columbus Jewish Federation (1926); 1175 College Ave. (43209); (614)237-7686. Pres. Jack Wallick.

DAYTON
Jewish Federation of Greater Dayton (1943); 4501 Denlinger Rd. (45426);
STEUBENVILLE
Jewish Community Council (1938); P.O. Box 472 (43952); (614)282-9031. Pres. Morris Denmark; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Joseph Freedman.

TOLEDO
Jewish Welfare Federation of Toledo, Inc. (1907; reorg. 1960); 6505 Sylvania Ave., P.O. Box 587, Sylvania (43560); (419)885-4461. Pres. Joel Levine; Exec. Dir. Alvin S. Levinson.

YOUNGSTOWN
Youngstown Area Jewish Federation (1935); P.O. Box 449, (44501); (216)746-3251. Pres. Nathan Monus; Exec. Dir. Stanley Engel.

OKLAHOMA
OKLAHOMA CITY
Jewish Federation of Greater Oklahoma City (1941); 3022 N.W. Expressway #116 (73112); (405)949-0111. Pres. Dianne Schonwald; Exec. Dir. Earnest Siegel.

TULSA
Jewish Federation of Tulsa (1938); (sponsors Tulsa United Jewish Campaign); 2021 E. 71 St. (74136); (918)495-1100. Pres. Curtis Green; Exec. Dir. Nathan Loshak.

OREGON
PORTLAND
Jewish Federation of Portland (incl. state of Oregon and adjacent Washington communities) (1920; reorg. 1956); 6651 S.W. Capitol Highway (97219); (503)245-6219. Pres. Phil Blank; Exec. Dir. Murray Schneier.

PENNSYLVANIA
ALLENTOWN
Jewish Federation of Allentown, Inc. (1938; Inc. 1948); 702 N. 22nd (18104); (215)821-5500. Pres. Sybil Baiman; Exec. Dir. Ivan C. Schonfeld.

ALTOONA
Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (1920; reorg. 1940); 1308 17th St. (16601); (814)944-4072. Pres. Robert Neidorff.
CAMPAIGN); 1700 City Line St. (19604); (215)921-2766. Pres. Bernard Fromm; Exec. Dir. Daniel Tannenbaum.

SCRANTON
SCRANTON–LACKAWANNA JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Lackawanna County) (1945); 601 Jefferson Ave. (18510); (717)961-2300. Pres. Samuel Harris; Exec. Dir. Seymour Brotman.

WILKES-BARRE
JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER WILKES-BARRE (1935); (sponsors UNITED JEWISH APPEAL); 60 S. River St. (18702); (717)824-4646. Pres. Steven Schwarz; Exec. Dir. Robert Kessler.

YORK
*YORK COUNCIL OF JEWISH CHARITIES, INC.; 120 E. Market St. (17401); (717)843-0918. Pres. Tim Grumbacher; Exec. Dir. Alan Dameshek.

RHODE ISLAND
PROVIDENCE
JEWISH FEDERATION OF RHODE ISLAND (1945); 130 Sessions St. (02906); (401)421-4111. Pres. Melvin Alperin; Exec. Dir. Elliot Cohan.

SOUTH CAROLINA
CHARLESTON
CHARLESTON JEWISH FEDERATION (1949); 1645 Raoul Wallenberg Blvd., P.O. Box 31298; (29407); (803)571-6565. Pres. Nathan Rephen; Exec. Dir. Steven Wendell.

COLUMBIA
COLUMBIA UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1960); 4540 Trenholm Rd. (29206); (803)787-2023. Pres. Hilel Salomon; Exec. Dir. Alex Grossberg.

SOUTH DAKOTA
SIOUX FALLS
JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); National Reserve Bldg. (57102); (605)336-2880. Pres. Laurence Bierman; Exec. Sec. Louis R. Hurwitz.

TENNESSEE
CHATTANOOGA
CHATTANOOGA JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION (1931); 5326 Lynnland Terrace (37411); (615)894-1317. Pres. Abe Feigenbaum; Exec. Dir. Larry A. Katz.

KNOXVILLE
JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (1939); 6800 Deane Hill Dr., P.O. Box 10882 (37919); (615)693-5837. Chmn. Harold Leibowitz; Exec. Dir. Barbara Bogartz.

MEMPHIS
MEMPHIS JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Shelby County) (1934); 6560 Poplar Ave., P.O. Box 38268 (38138); (901)767-7100. Pres. Ronald Harkavy.

NASHVILLE
JEWISH FEDERATION OF NASHVILLE & MIDDLE TENNESSEE (1936); 3500 West End Ave. (37205); (615)269-0729. Pres. Peter Weiss; Exec. Dir. Jay M. Pilzer.

TEXAS
AUSTIN
JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF AUSTIN (1939; reorg. 1956); 11713 Jollyville Road (78759); (512)451-6435. Pres. Marilyn Stahl; Exec. Dir. Sandra Derrow.

BEAUMONT
*BEAUMONT JEWISH FEDERATION OF TEXAS, INC. (1967); P.O. Box 1981 (77704); (713)833-5427. Pres. Edwin Gale; Dir. Isadore Harris.

CORPUS CHRISTI
CORPUS CHRISTI JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1953); 750 Everhart Rd. (78411); (512)855-6239. Pres. David Feltoon; Exec. Dir. Andrew Lipman.

DALLAS
JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER DALLAS (1911); 7800 Northaven Rd., Suite A (75230); (214)369-3313. Pres. Arnold Sweet; Exec. Dir. Morris A. Stein.

EL PASO
JEWISH FEDERATION OF EL PASO, INC. (incl. surrounding communities) (1939); 405 Mardi Gras, P.O. Box 12097 (79913-0097); (915)584-4437. Pres. Bernard Schoichet; Exec. Dir. Howard Burnham.

FORT WORTH
JEWISH FEDERATION OF FORT WORTH (1936); 6801 Dan Danciger Rd. (76133); (817)292-3081. Pres. Jerry Wolens; Exec. Dir. Harvey Freiman.
GALVESTON
Galveston County Jewish Welfare Association (1936); P.O. Box 146 (77553); Pres. Henry Jameson; Treas. Harry Schreiber.

HOUSTON
Jewish Federation of Greater Houston, Inc. (1937); 5603 S. Braeswood Blvd. (77096); (713)729-7000. Pres. Avrohom Wisenberg; Exec. Dir. Hans Mayer.

SAN ANTONIO
Jewish Federation of San Antonio (incl. Bexar County) (1922); 8434 Ahern Dr. (78216); (512)341-8234. Pres. Stanley Blend; Exec. Dir. Alan Bayer.

WACO
Jewish Welfare Council of Waco (1949); P.O. Box 8031 (76710); (817)776-3740. Pres. Martin Clark; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Maurice Labens.

UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY

WASHINGTON
SEATTLE
Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle (incl. King County, Everett and Bremerton) (1926); 510 Securities Bldg., 1904 3rd Ave. (98101); (206)622-8211. Pres. Raymond Galante; Exec. Dir. Murray Shiff.

SPOKANE
*Jewish Community Council of Spokane (incl. Spokane County) (1927); (sponsors United Jewish Fund) 521 Parkside Plaza (99021); (509)838-4261. Pres. C. Eugene Huppin.

WEST VIRGINIA
CHARLESTON
Federated Jewish Charities of Charleston, Inc. (1937); P.O. Box 1613 (25326); (304)346-7500. Pres. Alvin Preiser; Exec. Sec. William H. Thalheimer.

HUNTINGTON
*Federated Jewish Charities (1939); P.O. Box 947 (25713); (304)523-9326. Pres. William H. Glick; Sec. Andrew Katz.

WISCONSIN
GREEN BAY
*Green Bay Jewish Welfare Fund; P.O. Box 335 (54305); (414)432-9347. Treas. Betty Frankenthal.

KENOSHA
Kenosha Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); 6537-7th Ave. (53140); (414)658-8635. Pres. Edward Chulew; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. S. M. Lapp.

MADISON
Madison Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1940); 310 N. Midvale Blvd., Suite 325 (53705); (608)231-3426. Pres. Gerald Stewart; Exec. Dir. Steven Morrison.

MILWAUKEE

RACINE
Racine Jewish Welfare Council (1946); 944 S. Main St. (53403); (414)633-7093. Co-Chmn. Robert Goodman, Arthur Schaefer; Exec. Sec. Mary Ann Waisman.
CANADA

ALBERTA

CALGARY
Calgary Jewish Community Council (1962); 1607 90th Ave. S.W. (T2V 4V7); (403)253-8600. Pres. Gert Cohos; Exec. Dir. Harry S. Shatz.

EDMONTON
Jewish Federation of Edmonton (1954); 7200-156 St. (T5R 1X3); (403)487-5120. Pres. Howard Starkman; Exec. Dir. Hillel Boroditsky.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER
*Jewish Community Fund & Council of Vancouver (1932); 950 W. 41 Ave. (V5Z 2N7); (604)261-8101. Pres. Arnold Barkoff; Exec. Dir. Isaac Moss.

MANITOBA

WINNIPEG

ONTARIO

HAMILTON
Hamilton Jewish Federation (incl. United Jewish Welfare Fund) (1934; merged 1971); 57 Delaware Ave. (L8M 1T6); (416)252-8570. Pres. Steven Tick; Exec. Dir. Samuel Soifer.

LONDON
*London Jewish Community Council (1932); 532 Huron St. (24), (N5Y 4J5); (519)-432-6337. Pres. Jack Rosen; Exec. Dir. Howard Borer.

OTTAWA
Jewish Community Council of Ottawa (1934); 151 Chapel St. (K1N 7Y2); (613)-232-7306. Pres. Harvey Lithwick; Exec. V. Pres. Hy Hochberg.

TORONTO
Toronto Jewish Congress (1937); 4600 Bathurst St.; Willowdale (M2R 3V2); (416)-635-2883. Pres. Irving Feldman; Exec. V. Pres. Irwin Gold.

WINDSOR
Jewish Community Council (1938); 1641 Ouellette Ave. (N8X 1K9); (519)254-7558. Pres. William Silver; Exec. Dir. Joseph Eisenberg.

QUEBEC

MONTREAL
Allied Jewish Community Services (1965); 5151 Cote St. Catherine Rd. (H3W 1M6); (514)735-3541. Pres. Dodo Heppner; Exec. Dir. Emanuel Weiner.
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COLORADO


CONNECTICUT


DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA


1The information in this directory is based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors. Inclusion does not necessarily imply approval of the periodicals by the publishers of the AJYB. For organization bulletins, see the directory of Jewish organizations.


FLORIDA


GEORGIA


ILLINOIS


INDIANA


KENTUCKY


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MARYLAND


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MICHIGAN


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MISSOURI


NEW YORK


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**PENNSYLVANIA**


**RHODE ISLAND**


**TENNESSEE**


**TEXAS**


**VIRGINIA**


**WASHINGTON**


**WISCONSIN**


**NEWS SYNDICATES**


**CANADA**


Sidney Goldmann (1903–1983)

Leading New Jersey jurist, Trenton's outstanding civic leader, and indefatigable worker for Jewish causes, Sidney Goldmann died on August 6, 1983 at the age of 79. In an editorial appearing four days after Goldmann's death, The Trentonian said:

He was a brilliant judge, a respected historian, an accomplished musician, and a community leader of tremendous stature. But most of all [he] was a man of great warmth, compassion, and sensitivity for preserving human rights and the dignity of all mankind. The city of Trenton and the state of New Jersey have lost one of their true legal and scholarly giants and we all deeply mourn his passing . . . Judge Goldmann was a pillar of the community and state, a leader, one of the truly great men of our time.

These laudatory words do not exaggerate in the least the qualities of Goldmann's character or the record of his accomplishments.

Goldmann was born in Trenton on November 28, 1903, to immigrant parents. He graduated from the local high school, where he won the most coveted honors and scholarships, including a scholarship offered by the Harvard Club of New Jersey. Goldmann graduated from Harvard College in 1924, magna cum laude in mathematics. In college, he was known as a mathematical prodigy. Had the opportunities for an academic career (especially for a Jew) been as open as they became after World War II, Goldmann might have gone on to do graduate work in mathematics. Instead, he entered Harvard Law School. He graduated with the LL. B. degree in 1927, and was admitted to the New Jersey bar the following year.

Goldmann was a proficient pianist; while in college he earned money playing in an orchestra. One summer he was engaged to play piano aboard a trans-Atlantic liner, and this gave him an opportunity to see something of several European countries.

After his admission to the bar, Goldmann opened a law office in Trenton. Unfortunately, the early years of his practice were lean, as the stock market crash of 1929 brought on the great depression. Goldmann, however, was not idle. With a colleague, he investigated the Trenton Transit Company, and later the Trenton municipal corporation and the police department. The successful prosecution of these efforts led to his appointment as city attorney and acting city manager, positions which he held from 1935 to 1939. From 1942 to 1944 Goldmann was executive secretary to New Jersey governor Charles Edison. He resigned this position to become state librarian, a position which he held for three years, and then became head of the New Jersey archives and history bureau.

In 1947, when work was about to begin on a new New Jersey state constitution, Goldmann was induced to assume three separate posts—librarian and archivist for
the New Jersey state constitutional convention, chairman of the governor's commission for preparatory research for the constitutional convention, and member of the New Jersey commission on the revision of statutes. Goldmann thus played a central role in the work on the new constitution, which replaced the antiquated one of 1844. The new constitution contained a strengthened, liberalized bill of rights, provisions for streamlined governmental departments, and a simplified judicial system. Goldmann edited the proceedings of the constitutional convention in five volumes.

In retrospect it seems as if Goldmann's career up to this point was only a preparation for the judicial career which he began in 1949, when he was appointed standing master of the New Jersey supreme court. Two years later, Goldmann was appointed a judge of the superior court. In the following year, he was assigned to the appellate division. In 1954, Goldmann was appointed presiding judge of the appellate division of the superior court, a position which he held until 1971. From 1969 to 1971 Goldmann was also administrative judge of the court. He retired in 1971, at the age of 68.

Goldmann's retirement, however, was by no means total: he became a member of the supreme court committee on opinions; member and later chairman of the election law enforcement commission; and consultant to the law firm of Katzenbach, Gildea, and Rudner. Goldmann was also frequently designated special hearing examiner in important public-interest cases. As a member of the committee on supreme court opinions, he edited 116 volumes of court cases, while unofficially editing 43 volumes of New Jersey equity reports. Toward the end of his career, Goldmann estimated that he had penned a total of 2,140 judicial opinions, an astonishing average of two per week. So busy was he with his work, that he permitted himself only two vacations during a 30-year period. One of them, in fact, was a working vacation: Goldmann served on the faculty of the Salzburg seminar in American studies.

Goldmann was a progressive judge. He gave due and respectful consideration to judicial precedents, but did not allow them to have a paralytic effect on his mind and will. An example of this is to be seen in a case involving a plaintiff who suffered injuries while descending the steps of a Y.M.C.A. swimming pool. At the time, the doctrine of charitable immunity obtained in New Jersey law, and under this doctrine the Y.M.C.A. was exempt from liability. Goldmann argued that the doctrine of charitable immunity from tort liability had found its way into American law through misconception or misapplication of previously established principles, and that, in any case, the doctrine was outmoded and should be repudiated. "In law, as in morals," Goldmann wrote in *Benton v. Y.M.C.A.*, "men must be just before they are generous. Charity should not be permitted to inflict injury upon some without a right of redress, merely in order to bestow charity upon others."

In another case, *Jenkins v. State*, Goldmann held that an indigent defendant was entitled to the appointment of counsel at every significant stage of a criminal proceeding, including the time of sentencing, unless he knowingly relinquished such right.

An opinion of Goldmann's that was cited with approval by the United States supreme court in several leading obscenity cases was *Bantam Books v. Melko*. The
case involved an instance of censorship by the prosecutor of Middlesex County. A citizens' committee had prepared a list of 36 books which it considered objectionable. The prosecutor gave this list to his agent, who informed book dealers and newspaper-stand owners that there was a drive against the sale or display of obscene literature. As a result, the books were withdrawn from sale. Goldmann held that this was a case of prior censorship, which was unconstitutional under the guarantees of a free press. The New Jersey legislature, he pointed out, had provided other means of protecting community morals; no law gave the prosecutor the power to censor books. (This decision and opinion were cited by Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., in his opinion for the United States supreme court in the leading cases of Roth v. United States, 354 U.S. 476, 1957 and Bantam Books v. Sullivan, 372 U.S. 58, 1963.)

Goldmann's contributions to the law and the legal profession include his term of office as president of the Mercer County Bar Association and his work on behalf of the Education Law Center, which provided free legal representation to public schools. Goldmann served as a member of the board of trustees of the Center for ten years, and as board chairman for five.

Despite Goldmann's manifold judicial and professional involvements, he found time for other endeavors: member of the board of trustees of the Trenton Public Library; president of the Trenton Council of Social Agencies; founder and president of the Trenton Council of Human Relations; co-founder of the Trenton Symphony Orchestra; and president of the regional Conference of Christians and Jews. Goldmann was active in the Trenton United Fund, and co-authored a history of Trenton. He also wrote a history of Morven, the long-time official home of the governor of New Jersey in Princeton.

Goldmann was Trenton's leading Jewish citizen. At various times he served as president of the Jewish Community Center, Jewish Federation of Greater Trenton, Jewish Family Service, and Greenwood House. Goldmann was a life member of the board of governors of the American Jewish Committee. Although he was prominently identified with Trenton's Reform Har Sinai Temple, in his biographical sketch in Who's Who in American Jewry he labeled himself as both Conservative and Reform. Such identification is a key to the character of the man—Goldmann could not be fenced in, especially when it was a question of where he belonged as a Jew. Goldmann's Jewishness was open-ended, eclectic, all-embracing. Nothing Jewish was foreign to him.

It is a measure of the respect that New Jerseyites accorded Goldmann, that when he retired from the bench in 1971, three former governors and the chief justice of the New Jersey supreme court spoke at a testimonial dinner given in his honor. Goldmann was a judge in the Biblical, Hebraic sense of shofet, i.e., a leader who manifests a concern for the totality of human relationships. In this respect he was an exceptional person, a well-nigh unique man in his time.

MILTON R. KONVITZ
Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881–1983)

The 20th Century in American Jewish history could well be designated as the Age of Kaplan. Mordecai M. Kaplan’s conception of Judaism as the evolving religious civilization of the Jewish people was so encompassing, so overarching, that no aspect of Jewish life stands outside its orbit. Kaplan’s magnum opus, Judaism as a Civilization—first published in 1934 and last reissued in 1981 on the occasion of the centennial of Kaplan’s birth—offers a blueprint of how the Jewish people can reconstruct its ideology and communal life so as to live creatively and find in Judaism the source of its salvation, i.e., spiritual fulfillment and human self-realization.

When Kaplan died on November 8, 1983, in his 103rd year, his death sent shock waves through the Jewish world; there was an awareness that his departure from the scene symbolized the end of an era. Gone was the thunderous voice to prod, challenge, and guide. Always ahead of his time, Kaplan raised the issues that needed to be raised when others preferred to ignore them. Fearless in diagnosing the ills in Jewish life, he was equally fearless in prescribing radical changes, and, indeed, in implementing them. The institution of bat mitzvah, the recognition of equality for women in all areas of Jewish religious life, the concept of peoplehood, the view of the synagogue as a Jewish center, the rejection of the “chosen people” doctrine, the reevaluation of Jewish tradition in the light of naturalism and transnaturalism, the revision of the liturgy, the recognition of the need for Diaspora Jews to live in two civilizations, and the appreciation of the revolutionary character of Zionism and of American democracy—these are some of the salient features that come to mind in contemplating Kaplan’s impact on contemporary Judaism.

Background and Activities

Kaplan was born on June 11, 1881 in Sweziany, a small town in the province of Vilna, which was then part of the Russian pale of settlement. His mother Anna came from hasidic stock, while his father Israel, a rosh yeshivah, was a mitnagged. Kaplan considered himself fortunate in having inherited a “tradition of deep piety and yearning for beauty, on the one side, and a tradition of intellectual sincerity and moral forthrightness on the other.” His early education followed the well-known pattern of the East European shtetl, with its cheders, and a “Jewish life so self-sufficient and untouched by modern trends that it might well have belonged to [the] 17th or 18th century.” In such a setting being a Jew was a full-time affair, with Sabbaths and festivals transforming the town into what then seemed an “earthly paradise of leisure, luster and cheer.” These early childhood experiences may have played a key determinative role in shaping Kaplan’s vision of Judaism as an
all-encompassing civilization. At the same time, Kaplan was fully aware that Judaism could not be perpetuated by mere nostalgia. On the contrary, he insisted that creative and original thinking, attuned to present-day realities and future possibilities, was indispensable for Jewish survival.

In his eighth year, Kaplan's mother brought him to Paris, even as his father preceded them to New York to assume the position of dayyan in the office of Rabbi Jacob Joseph. The move to Paris marked the beginning of what Kaplan later characterized as "living in two civilizations." Being a Jew became a "problem," in that the young Mordecai had to invent excuses for not writing in school on the Sabbath, and for refusing to participate in other activities as well. After a year's stay in Paris, Kaplan and his mother sailed for the United States.

Kaplan's education in New York was initially limited to the traditional curriculum of Talmud and Bible, with only a smattering of general education. At age 12, however, Kaplan was enrolled in public school. A few months before his bar mitzvah he was also admitted to a preparatory class at the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), then a small, struggling institution for the training of traditional, Americanized, English-speaking rabbis. Kaplan continued his secular studies at City College and Columbia University. In 1903 he was ordained a rabbi by the JTS.

Kaplan's JTS and college years had the effect, as he put it, of "deepening his Jewish consciousness, but troubling his Jewish conscience." His studies at the JTS did not help bridge the intellectual gap between the world of Bible and Talmud and modern philosophical and scientific thought. Kaplan's private studies with the Biblical scholar Arnold Ehrlich, as well as his readings in sociology, anthropology, and philosophical pragmatism convinced him of the human source of all religions, including Judaism. No longer could he subscribe to a belief in divine revelation, miracles, the Mosaic authorship of the Torah, and the objective reality of a supernatural God. Yet Kaplan was also fully aware that the religious quest was an indispensable part of human experience.

A year after his ordination, Kaplan accepted a position at Kehilath Jeshurun, an Orthodox congregation in the Yorkville section of New York. Kaplan's strict adherence to Jewish ritual and the fact that he did not have to raise theological issues when preaching enabled him to function in the post. However, his intellectual integrity, restless mind, and realization that Judaism could not survive by paying lip service to untenable beliefs soon prompted him to speak out. When Kaplan advocated a partial observance of the Sabbath if it could not be observed in whole, he was denounced for giving official sanction to desecration of the holy day. This incident convinced him that a constructive adjustment of Judaism to modern life could not take place as long as the supernatural world view of traditional Judaism was maintained.

At this point Kaplan formulated two ideas which became central to his thinking, forming the basis of his philosophy of Reconstructionism. He argued that the doctrine of Torah min ha-shamayim (Torah as divine revelation) should not be seen as an end in itself, but rather as a means of stressing the supreme worth and
 authoritative character of Torah. Divine origin, he maintained, was attributed to the Torah in order to establish its central role in the life of the Jewish people; the Bible was the diary of the Jewish people in its struggle to render life meaningful and just. Leaning on the writings of Matthew Arnold, Kaplan put forward the idea that God was the power in the universe that made for righteousness and salvation, enabling man to realize his full potential. God is man's ongoing discovery, a process, a form of becoming. Kaplan stripped supernaturalism of its doctrinal character and stressed its functional role in society.

Kaplan argued that throughout the ages, the Jewish people had been the central reality in Judaism's universe of discourse. Judaism existed for the sake of the Jewish people, and not the Jewish people for the sake of Judaism. God and Torah could only be understood in terms of their relationship to the Jewish people; they were dynamic by virtue of the dynamism inherent in Jewish life itself. Kaplan attributed this insight to the writings of Ahad Haam and the emergence of the Zionist movement. The survival of the Jewish people, he argued, was a function of its creative response to various challenges posed over the ages. As long as the Jewish people had the will to survive, it would continue to reshape Judaism as a source of individual and communal self-realization.

Kaplan first developed these thoughts in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rabbinical Assembly in 1909. In the audience was Solomon Schechter, president of the JTS, who immediately invited Kaplan to head the school's newly organized teachers' institute. Thus began an association that was to last for over half a century, until 1963, when Kaplan retired from the JTS faculty. Soon after assuming the direction of the teachers' institute, Kaplan began to teach homiletics. In later years he taught philosophies of religion and midrash.

Kaplan's teaching position at the JTS afforded him an opportunity to test out his ideas, and to reshape them as required. He exposed his students to the functional method of interpreting sacred texts, posing the following questions: what values did the text convey; how did the text relate to the life of its time; what import did it have for the universal aspects of human nature? The last question reflected Kaplan's concept of the polarity of the universal and the particular, as well as the community and the individual. Universal values, Kaplan argued, always found expression in concrete, particular cultures and situations, while the individual could only realize his destiny through the sustaining medium of a community.

On many occasions Kaplan shocked his students, most of whom came from traditional Orthodox backgrounds. He was intolerant of fuzzy thinking and artificial interpretations. Kaplan sought to impress upon his students the need to break with tradition, so that the Jewish people could live creatively. His intellectual touchstone was that ideas had meaning only in relationship to natural conditions and human relations. This applied with particular force to the God idea, which was to be judged by whether or not it made a difference in human conduct and character.

Kaplan did not limit his activities to teaching at the JTS. Ideas, he believed, required institutions where they could be translated into action. Thus, when Jews from Yorkville began to move to Manhattan's upper West Side, Kaplan urged the
creation of a new kind of synagogue that would be a “veritable sanctuary of the Jewish spirit, where everything of Jewish value would be represented.” In 1917 the Jewish Center, the first synagogue-center in the United States, opened its doors and Kaplan agreed to become its rabbi (while continuing to teach at the JTS). Before long, however, his heterodox ideas brought him into conflict with the lay leadership, and he resigned.

A number of families followed Kaplan in leaving the Jewish Center. They wanted him to be their rabbi, and with them he organized the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (SAJ) in 1921. The SAJ sought to develop an “organic, rational, ethical, and spiritual type of American Jewish life.” At the SAJ, the bat mitzvah ceremony was inaugurated, liturgical innovations were undertaken, and a journal, the SAJ Review, was launched. It was in the pages of the SAJ Review that the term “Reconstructionism” made its first appearance. In January 1928 Kaplan wrote that the principal task facing American Jewry was to “reconstruct the Jewish civilization”; the SAJ, he added, was to be a “branch of the Reconstructionist movement in Jewish life.”

Reconstructionism developed into a full-fledged movement only gradually. When The Reconstructionist was launched in 1935, its initial sponsor was the SAJ. Only in 1940 did Kaplan create the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation as an organizational umbrella for his followers in the United States and Canada. The Foundation became the publisher of The Reconstructionist; it also published Kaplan’s many books, as well as the various Reconstructionist prayerbooks, and the writings of other Reconstructionist thinkers. Kaplan’s chief interest at that point was to have Reconstructionism function as a school of thought, influencing the existing movements in Jewish life to move in the direction of Reconstructionism.

Kaplan was tireless in presenting his views to Jewish audiences across the length and breadth of North America. He gave direction to Jewish life by underscoring the need for content and meaning. The term “Judaism,” he argued, was no longer to be a synonym for the Jewish religion, but was to denote the entire civilization of the Jewish people.

The actual organization of Reconstructionism as a movement was undertaken by Ira Eisenstein, Kaplan’s associate from 1932 to 1945, and his successor at the SAJ from 1945 to 1954. In 1959 Eisenstein assumed the leadership of the Reconstructionist Foundation. Under his aegis Reconstructionist congregations and havurot were established in various places in the United States and Canada. In 1968 Eisenstein became the founding president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia. With the establishment of that institution, Reconstructionism became a fourth movement within the religious configuration of American Jewry.

Kaplan’s Philosophy of Reconstructionism

In addition to hundreds of articles appearing in publications of every sort, and countless unsigned editorials in The Reconstructionist, Kaplan penned ten major books. He also co-edited The New Haggadah, as well as four Reconstructionist
prayerbooks (Sabbath, high holy days, festivals, and daily). Reference should also be made to the daily journal that Kaplan kept for more than eight decades, and which will become available to researchers in five years.

Kaplan's major works are the following: *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934); *Judaism in Transition* (1935); *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion* (1937); *The Future of the American Jew* (1948); *A New Zionism* (1955); *Questions Jews Ask* (1956); *Judaism Without Supernaturalism* (1958); *The Greater Judaism in the Making* (1960); *The Purpose and Meaning of Jewish Existence* (1964); and *The Religion of Ethical Nationhood* (1970). To these, one must add Kaplan's critical edition and translation, with an introduction, of Moses Hayyim Luzatto's *Mesillat Yesharim* (The Path of the Upright), published by the Jewish Publication Society in 1936.

The starting point of Kaplan's approach to Jewish life is the view that without Jews there can be no Judaism, and without Judaism there can be no Jews. The Jew in the modern world is "maladjusted morally and spiritually as a result of losing the traditional concept of salvation"; he is "torn between the claims of the Jewish past and the pressing and immediate claims of the complex life about him." The traditional outlook of Judaism is supernatural in its assumptions, in the demands it makes of Jews, and in the promise of salvation it holds out for the individual and the group. Yet the worldview of contemporary man is this-worldly, informed by the scientific view of reality, which refuses to accord factual objectivity to the assumptions of traditional Judaism. Judaism has therefore become a problem to "those who find that they cannot be spiritually whole and happy if they repudiate their Jewish heritage, and who, at the same time, are fairly convinced that to expect that heritage to function in the manner in which it did in the past, is neither desirable nor practicable. The Jews who represent the most vital and promising element in Jewry today are those to whom Judaism is a problem."

For the problem-Jews of today—and they included the founder of Reconstructionism himself—Kaplan set out to provide a new program for Jewish life. This, indeed, was his lifelong concern; it is the main theme running through his writings. Kaplan stated: "The fact that there is a need for restating what Judaism should mean to the Jew of today, indicates that he wants a program that will help him to apply the general principles of Judaism to the manifold problems created by the new conditions of the contemporary world." He added: "Unless we feel that to belong to the Jewish people is a high spiritual adventure which has intrinsic value regardless of consequences and practical ends, our Jewishness is tantamount to the interest of casual tourists in foreign countries."

Kaplan's view that the Jews exist as a people, and not merely as a religious denomination, was the basis for his "Copernican revolution" in Jewish life. A people functions "through the medium of a living civilization, which is an organic ensemble of the following cultural elements having their rootage in a specific territory: a common tradition, a common language and literature, history, laws, customs and folkways, with religion as the integrating and soul-giving factor of those elements." As a civilization, Judaism is dynamic, subject to change. Change is inherent in all
life, giving it continuity and preventing it from becoming fossilized. The difference between change in the modern world and in previous ages is that now it must be conscious and deliberate. For Kaplan this meant primarily freeing Jewish civilization from its supernatural foundations and reformulating it in the key of naturalism.

Jewish life must function in a way which permits the multiple components of Jewish civilization to be expressed. Hence the vital importance of the State of Israel. However, Jewish life in the Diaspora must also assume the character of a civilization. Thus Kaplan advocated the creation of democratically constituted, organic communities, which would develop institutional structures reflecting the richness and diversity of Jewish civilization.

Given the broad scope of Jewish civilization, which makes it possible for people to relate to it on different levels, no one approach can govern all of Jewish life. "Judaism as a civilization allows for diversity of belief and practice for all forms of socially useful activity and all types of group associations, without in any way impairing the organic character of Jewish life." In democratic societies, Kaplan maintained, Jews will have to live in two civilizations, their own and that of the majority culture. The two civilizations should be seen as relating to each other in creative tension, making for mutual enrichment.

Since Judaism is a civilization, the scope of Jewish education cannot be limited to teaching the religious content of Judaism. Language, literature, history, art, and music must be accorded a place in the Jewish school curriculum so that Jews—Kaplan attached major importance to adult Jewish education—can become better informed about these aspects of their civilization.

Religion, the "soul" of Jewish civilization, exhibits a dynamic quality, serving to make the Jew aware of the essential worth of the life pattern of his people. This worth is conveyed through sancta, including Torah, synagogue, Sabbath and festivals, Hebrew language, etc. While sancta grow out of the particular historical experience of a people, at their best they express universal values. Kaplan attached great significance to public worship, seeing it as a "means of giving a people that collective consciousness which unifies its life and integrates all of its individuals into an organized totality." "Without religion, the energies of Jewish life are bound to be those of fear; with it, those of hope," Kaplan asserted.

Central to any religion is its God idea, which functions as a "correlate, or reflection, of that which [man] regards as salvation, or the fulfillment of human destiny." "Since human life is anything but static," Kaplan maintained, "an idea of salvation, or of God, must be dynamic." Kaplan's faith in God—and it was just that, a leap of faith—consisted in his belief that "there are forces and relationships in the world which are forever making a cosmos out of chaos." These forces and relationships are the "power on which we rely for the regeneration of society." Kaplan gradually moved from a naturalistic view of God to what he termed "transnaturalism": "Transnaturalism is that extension of naturalism which takes into account much that mechanistic, or materialist, or positive science is incapable of dealing with. Transnaturalism reaches out into the domain where mind, personality,
purpose, ideals, values, and meanings dwell. [It] has a language of its own, the language of simile, metaphor, and poetry. In that universe of discourse, belief in God spells trust in life and in man."

Kaplan's fundamental faith was expressed in a prayer which he penned, and which is included in all Reconstructionist prayerbooks.

God is in the faith
By which we overcome
The fear of loneliness, of helplessness,
Of failure and of death.

God is in the hope
Which, like a shaft of light,
Cleaves the dark abysms
Of sin, of suffering, and of despair.

God is in the love
Which creates, protects, forgives.
His is the spirit
Which broods upon the chaos men have wrought
Disturbing its static wrongs,
And stirring into life the formless beginnings
Of the new and better world.

No aspect of Kaplan's thought was subjected to more severe criticism than his repudiation of the "chosen people" concept. Ultimately, this rejection was rooted in ethical considerations: "The very assumption of a predetermined and permanent superiority, no matter in what respect, does not lend itself to reinterpretation. . . . By no kind of dialectics is it possible to remove the odium of comparison from any reinterpretation which makes invidious distinctions between one people and another." In place of chosenness, Kaplan advocated the notion of vocation. Every people, he argued, "should discover its vocation or calling, as a source of religious experience, and as a medium of salvation to those who share it."

Conclusion

In a major study of Reconstructionism, published in the 1970 AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Charles Liebman pointed out that while the ideas of Reconstructionism had many followers, the Reconstructionist movement was rather limited in scope. This should come as no surprise. The total concern of Kaplan's thought was such that no single movement or organization could possibly encompass it. Indeed, for many decades Kaplan hesitated to have Reconstructionism become a movement, preferring instead to have it function as a school of thought. By now, however, Reconstructionism as a movement is a fact of American Jewish life. It remains to be seen whether Reconstructionism can develop a full community program out of its own resources.
Kaplan's place in Jewish life is assured. He was at once radical and traditional, seeking to confer wholeness upon the Jewish people, even while reconstituting the basis for Jewish civilization. Forthrightly, Kaplan stated his position: "The Jew will have to save Judaism before Judaism will be in a position to save the Jew."

LUDWIG NADELMANN


BASS, HYMAN B., communal worker, author; b. Vilna, Poland, Nov. 27, 1904; d. NYC, Sept. 14, 1983; in U.S. since 1922; professional staff, United Services for New Americans, 1948; mem., Yiddish P.E.N.;

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1Including Jewish residents of the United States who died between January 1 and December 31, 1983.

DEKEL, ALEX S., communal worker; b. Cluj, Rumania, July 16, 1930; d. NYC, June 19, 1983; in U.S. since 1963; authority on international terrorism; frequent consultant to such TV news programs as “Sixty Minutes” (CBS) and “First Tuesday” (NBC); survivor of Auschwitz; Israeli Foreign Service officer, Eastern Europe and Soviet Union, many years; social worker, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Soc.; mem., Zachor; sr. mem., Israel Defense Mission; consultant on Israel and the Holocaust to major radio and TV networks, Time and Life mags.; researcher and co-editor, Israel News; initiated and researched the following articles exposing Nazi experimentalist Josef Mengele: “Angel of Death,” Time (1977); “Tracking the Fiendish Nazi Doctor,” Parade (1978); “Dr. Mengele,” Life (1981).


FEUERSTEIN, SAMUEL C., communal worker; philanthropist; b. (?), 1893; d. Brookline, MA, Sept. 9, 1983; leader of Amer. Day School Movement; Torah Umesorah Natl. Soc. for Hebrew Day Schools: founder, pres., 1943-83; Maimonides School, Brookline, MA; Union of Orthodox Jewish Congs. of America: v. pres.; hon. bd. chmn.; a founder: Torah Acad., Lakewood, NJ; Yeshiva U.; recipient, fellowship, Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary.
FIRESTONE, MILTON, editor; b. NYC, June 8, 1927; d. Kansas City, MO, March 6, 1983; mem.: Soc. of Professional Journalists; NAACP; Cong. of Racial Equality; Sigma Delta Chi; Phi Beta Kappa; Pi Sigma Alpha; pres., Jewish Students Union, U. of Kansas; Kansas City Jewish Chronicle: pres.; editor, 1964–83; Amer. Jewish Press Assn.: v. pres.; sec.; treas.; Beth Shalom Synagogue, Kansas City, MO: bd. of dirs.; ritual com.; school com.; Hyman Brand Hebrew Acad., Greater Kansas City: founding mem.; exec. com.; bd. of trustees; mem.: World Fed. of Jewish Journalists; Beth Shalom Men's Club; Kansas City B'nai B'rith; Beth Israel Abraham and Voliner Synagogue; Kansas City Jewish Community Center; Jewish Ed. Council; Friends of Shalom Plaza; recipient: Community Service Award, Heart of America B'nai B'rith Lodge, 1964; "Man of the Year" award, Heart of America B'nai B'rith Women, 1965.

GORELICK, JERUCHEM, rabbi, scholar; b. (?), Poland, (?), 1910; d. NYC, Sept. 10, 1983; in U.S. since 1940; faculty, Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, 1943–83; instructor, Yeshiva and Mesifta Tifereth Jerusalem, NYC; rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, Bronx, NY, more than 25 yrs.; founder: Yeshiva and Mesifta Zichron Moshe, Bronx, NY; Beth Jacob and Beth Miriam School, Bronx, NY; Yeshiva Gedola L'Metzuyonim, South Fallsburg, NY.

GRINBERG, ZALMAN, physician; b. Shavli, Lithuania, Sept. 4, 1912; d. Mineola, NY, Aug. 7, 1983; in U.S. since 1955; asst. attending physician, dept. of psychiatry and psychology, Nassau County Medical Center, East Meadow, L.I.; survivor of Dachau; founder, St. Ottelein Hosp., Germany, staffed by death-camp survivors; dir., Belinson Hosp., Petah Tikva, Israel, 1940's; chmn., Central Com. of Liberated Jews in Munich, Germany, 1945–46; author: Shuchrarnu Mi Dachau (1946); Keren Kayemet Yearbook (1946); speeches delivered before Amer. Jewish Com. and published in Best Speeches of 1946; recipient, award for leadership in cause of freedom and Jewish liberation, UJA, 1955.


HILL, HAROLD, communal worker; b. Baltimore, MD, July 29, 1926; d. Tarrytown, NY, Dec. 27, 1983; v. pres., Amer. Trade and Industrial Devel. with Israel; mem., World Zionist Org., Amer. section; Amer. Com. for the Weizmann Inst. of Science: exec. v. pres.; initiated extensive outreach programs, including "Impact of Science" symposiums for internatl. corporate leaders; recipient (posthumous), Weizmann Award in the Sciences and Humanities, 1984.


HOFMANN, ANNA R., governmental aide; b. Budapest, Hungary, (?), 1902; d. NYC, May 9, 1983; in U.S. since 1912; volunteer student nurse, WWI; consultant, personnel

INDELMAN, ELCHANAN, writer, editor; b. Zuromin, Poland, May 22, 1907; d. NYC, April 21, 1983; in U.S. since 1947; teacher of Judaica, Warsaw, 1928-39; editor: Olami, Warsaw, 1936-39; Olami Haktan, Warsaw, 1936-39; teacher of Judaica, high school, Helsinki, 1947; staff writer, editor, Lador Junior Hebrew Library, NY Bd. of Ed., 1947-76; Hebrew instructor, Teachers Coll., Yeshiva U., 1948-50; principal, Queens Hebrew High School, 1950-68; editor, Olam Hadash. NY, 1961-71; prof. of Hebrew, Herzliah Hebrew Teachers Inst., 1968-78; editor, Lamishpaha. Histadrut Ivrit of America, 1971-83; mem.: Hebrew P.E.N.; Yiddish P.E.N.; author: Hebrew and Yiddish poems, children's fiction, essays and drama; pedagogical essays, Warsaw, 1934-39; Bible for Children (1936); Jewish History for Children (1936); Geogrophy of Palestine (1938); Ashira Lsidai (1939); The Jewish State (1948); "The Treasure in the Cave" (1951); Sefer Hadash (1952); "In Those Days" (1952); Album of Hebrew Songs (1952); "Children of the Underground" (1953); "Rabbi Israel Salanter" (1953); Aleph (1954); "Rambam" (1954); "Life of Rashi" (1955); Even Li Ekach (1956); Hag Li-Shir Li (1957); King Solomon's Daughter (1957); Gut Yontef, Kinder (1958); Hasidic Stories (1962); B'hatzrot Yadutti (1979); editor: Udim, an anthology of Jewish writers who perished in the Holocaust; Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language; recipient, "Outstanding Educator of America" award, 1975.

KAPLAN, ALINE, communal worker; b. Bronx, NY, Oct. 23, 1934; d. Brooklyn, NY, Jan. 28, 1983; a leader in the teshuvah movement: staff writer, Maznaim Publishing Co.; editor, Jewish Life; mem.: Rabbinical Council of America; Assn. of Orthodox Jewish Scientists; Natl. Conf. of Synagogue Youth, Orthodox Union; author: many Jewish youth publications, Natl. Conf. of Synagogue Youth; Maimonides' Principles; The Real Messiah; Love Means Reaching Out; The Infinite Light; Water of Eden (1978); Shabbat. Day of Eternity: Jerusalem: Eyes of the Universe; The Way of God: The Torah Anthology; The Laws of Chanukah; The Handbook of Jewish Thought: The Light Beyond; The Book of Esther; Meditation and the Bible; Meditation and Kaballah; The Bahu; Made in Heaven, A Jewish Wedding Guide (posthumous); Chassidic Masters (posthumous); The Aryeh Kaplan Reader: The Gift He Left Behind (posthumous); translator: God, Man and Tefillin; The Living Torah.

KAPLAN, ARYEH, rabbi, author; b. Bronx, NY, April 21, 1904; d. Providence, RI, Aug. 5, 1983; mem., Phi Beta Kappa; bd. mem., Providence Public Library; trustee: Miriam Hosp.; Jewish Bureau Fed.; author: The Song the Summer Evening Sings (1937); Something of a Hero (1941); short stories in such mags. as Good Housekeeping and Collier's; translator: ancient Hebrew texts; Pesikta De Rab Kahana: R. Kahana's Compilation of Discourses for Sabbaths and
**Festal Days** (1976); selected for inclusion in *Who's Who in America*; recipient: Guggenheim fellowship; Sharpe fellowship; Natl. Jewish Book Award, 1976; Israel Kapstein English professorship established in his honor, Brown U., 1982.


MINKOFF, ISAIAH M., communal worker; b. Warsaw, Poland, (?), 1901; d. NYC, May 10, 1983; in U.S. since 1922; war refugee relief work, Moscow, WWI; imprisoned one year in Soviet Union, 1917; led efforts resulting in Fair Practices Employment Commission, Leadership Conf. on Civil Rights, and changes in Amer. immigration laws; helped bring displaced people to

POPKIN, ZELDA F., writer, communal worker; b. Brooklyn, NY, July 5, 1898; d. Silver Spring, MD, May 25, 1983; reporter, Times-Leader, Wilkes-Barre, PA, 1914–16; conducted public relations agency with Louis Popkin, 1919–43; mem., Amer. Red Cross, 1945–46; lectured throughout U.S. and Canada, 1949–69; contributing editor, Coronet mag., 1952–54; asst. public relations dir., Jewish Welfare Bd., 1918–19; public relations dir., Joint Distribution Com., 1943–44; exec. dir., Hadassah Org. of CT, 1954–55; public relations dir., America-Israel Cultural Found., 1957–58; community relations advisor, Amer. Friends of Hebrew U., 1958–60; author: Death Wears a White Gardenia (1938); Time Off for Murder (1940); Murder in the Mist (1941); Small Victory (1941); No Crime for a Lady (1942); So Much Blood (1944); The Journey Home (1945); Walk Through the Valley (1950); Quiet Street (1951); Open Every Door (1956); Herman Had Two Daughters (1968); A Death of Innocence (1971); Dear Once (1975); stories and articles in New Yorker, Harper's, The Nation, McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal, Pictorial Review, Reader's Digest, Coronet, American Mercury, American Magazine, and others; recipient, Samuel H. Danoff award for fiction, Jewish Book Club Assn., 1952.


SHATZKES, AARON, rabbi, scholar; b. Ivye, Poland, Nov. 8, 1908; d. NYC, Aug. 19, 1983; in U.S. since 1941; mem., Agudath


WISE, JAMES W., writer, editor; b. Portland, OR, Dec. 7, 1901; d. Nice, France, Nov. 28, 1983; Council Against Intolerance in America: a founder; research dir., 1930's–40's; reporter on Spanish Civil War, NY Post; editor, Opinion; author: Liberalizing Judaism (1924); Jews Are Like That! (1928); Swastika, the Nazi Terror (1933); Our Bill of Rights (1941); From Bigotry to Brotherhood (1941); Very Truly Ours (1943); Mr. Smith, Meet Mr. Cohen (1940's); Meet Henry Wallace (1948); Legend of Louise (1949); co-author, Nazism: The Assault on Civilization (1934).

Calendars
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<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, 1st day</td>
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<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, 2nd day</td>
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<td>Yom Kippur</td>
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<td>Sukkot, 1st day</td>
<td>Th Oct. 11</td>
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<td>Sukkot, 2nd day</td>
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<td>New Moon, Heshvan, 1st day</td>
<td>F Oct. 26</td>
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<td>New Moon, Kislev, 1st day</td>
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**Dates and Observances:**

- New Moon, Shevat
- Hamishah-bet bi-Shevat
- New Moon, Adar I, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar I, 2nd day
- Fast of Esther
- Purim
- New Moon, Nisan
- Passover, 1st day
- Passover, 2nd day
- Passover, 7th day
- Holocaust Memorial Day
- New Moon, Iyar, 1st day
- Israel Independence Day
- Lag Ba-Omer
- New Moon, Siwan
- Shavuot, 1st day
- Shavuot, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day
- Fast of 17th of Tammuz
- New Moon, Av, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tishri, 1st day
- New Moon, Tishri, 2nd day
- New Moon, Adar II, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day
- New Moon, Nisan, 1st day
- New Moon, Nisan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Iyar, 1st day
- New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day
- New Moon, Sivan, 1st day
- New Moon, Sivan, 2nd day
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- New Moon, Adar II, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day
- New Moon, Nisan, 1st day
- New Moon, Nisan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Iyar, 1st day
- New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day
- New Moon, Sivan, 1st day
- New Moon, Sivan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day
- Fast of 17th of Tammuz
- New Moon, Av, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tishri, 1st day
- New Moon, Tishri, 2nd day
- New Moon, Adar II, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day
- New Moon, Nisan, 1st day
- New Moon, Nisan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Iyar, 1st day
- New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day
- New Moon, Sivan, 1st day
- New Moon, Sivan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day
- Fast of 17th of Tammuz
- New Moon, Av, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tishri, 1st day
- New Moon, Tishri, 2nd day
- New Moon, Adar II, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day
- New Moon, Nisan, 1st day
- New Moon, Nisan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Iyar, 1st day
- New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day
- New Moon, Sivan, 1st day
- New Moon, Sivan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day
- Fast of 17th of Tammuz
- New Moon, Av, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tishri, 1st day
- New Moon, Tishri, 2nd day
- New Moon, Adar II, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day
- New Moon, Nisan, 1st day
- New Moon, Nisan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Iyar, 1st day
- New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day
- New Moon, Sivan, 1st day
- New Moon, Sivan, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day
- Fast of 17th of Tammuz
- New Moon, Av, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 1st day
- New Moon, Elul, 2nd day
- New Moon, Tishri, 1st day
- New Moon, Tishri, 2nd day
- New Moon, Adar II, 1st day
- New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day
### CONDENSED MONTHLY CALENDAR (1984–1986)


<table>
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<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 7</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Tevet 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day; Hanukkah, seventh day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1–15 7:48–53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hanukkah, eighth day</td>
<td>Num. 7:54–8:4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wa-yiggash</td>
<td>Gen. 44:18–47:27</td>
<td>Ezekiel 37:15–28</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fast of 10th of Tevet</td>
<td>Exod. 32:11–14 34:1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)</td>
</tr>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
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<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
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<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 5</td>
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<td>Shevaṭ 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bo’</td>
<td>Exod. 10: 113: 16</td>
<td>Jeremiah 46: 13–28</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ḥamishshah–‘asar bi-Shevaṭ</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mishpaṭim</td>
<td>Exod. 21: 1–24: 18</td>
<td>Jeremiah 34: 8–22, 33: 25, 26</td>
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<td>Feb. 3</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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 Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
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<tr>
<td>Feb. 4</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Adar I 1</td>
<td>Terumah, New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Exod. 25: 1–27: 19</td>
<td>Isaiah 66: 1–24</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 9–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tezawweh</td>
<td>Exod. 27: 20–30: 10</td>
<td>Ezekiel 43: 10–27</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ki tissa’</td>
<td>Exod. 30: 11–34: 35</td>
<td>I Kings 18: 1–39</td>
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<td>I Kings 18: 20–39</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wa-yakhel</td>
<td>Exod. 35: 1–38: 20</td>
<td>I Kings 7: 40–50</td>
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<td>I Kings 7: 13–26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 3</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Pekude (Shabbat Shekalim)</td>
<td>Exod. 38: 21–40: 38</td>
<td>II Kings 12: 1–17</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30: 11–16</td>
<td>II Kings 11: 17–12: 17</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
<td>I Samuel 20: 18, 42</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
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<th>Civil Date</th>
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<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 5</td>
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<td>Adar II 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wa-yikra'</td>
<td>Levit. 1: 1–5: 26</td>
<td>Isaiah 43: 21–44: 24</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Fast of Esther</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34: 1–10</td>
<td>(afternoon only)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Zaw (Shabbat Zakhor)</td>
<td>Levit. 6: 1–8: 36</td>
<td>I Samuel 15: 2–34</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Deut. 25: 17–19</td>
<td>I Samuel 15: 1–34</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Purim</td>
<td>Exod. 17: 8–16</td>
<td>Book of Esther</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(night before and in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the morning)</td>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Shushan Purim</td>
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<td>Shemini (Shabbat Parah)</td>
<td>Levit. 9: 1–11: 47</td>
<td>Ezekiel 36: 16–38</td>
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<td>Exod. 12: 1–20</td>
<td>Ezekiel 45: 18–46: 15</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
<table>
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<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
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<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 3</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Nisan 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mezora'</td>
<td>Levit. 14: 1-15: 33</td>
<td>II Kings 7: 3-20</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ahare mot (Shabbat Ha-gadol)</td>
<td>Levit. 16: 1-18: 30</td>
<td>Malachi 3: 4-24</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fast of Firstborn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Passover, first day</td>
<td>Exod. 12: 21-51</td>
<td>Joshua 5: 2-6: 1, 27</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Num. 28: 16-25</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Num. 28: 16-25</td>
<td>21-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Hol Ha-mo'ed, first day</td>
<td>Exod. 13: 1-16</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hol Ha-mo'ed, second day</td>
<td>Exod. 22: 24-23: 19</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 19-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Hol Ha-mo'ed, third day</td>
<td>Exod. 33: 12-34: 26</td>
<td>Ezekiel 36: 37-37: 14</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 19-25</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hol Ha-mo'ed, fourth day</td>
<td>Num. 9: 1-14</td>
<td>II Samuel 22: 1-51</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 19-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Passover, seventh day</td>
<td>Exod. 13: 17-15: 26</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 19-25</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Passover, eighth day</td>
<td>Deut. 15: 19-16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 10: 32-12: 6</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 19-25</td>
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<td>Ezekiel 20: 2-20</td>
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<td>May 2</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
## Monthly Calendar

### Iyar (29 Days)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>Sabbaths, Festivals, Fasts</th>
<th>PentaTEUCHAL Reading</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL Reading</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 3</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>Iyar 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Emor</td>
<td>Levit. 21: 1-24: 23</td>
<td>Ezekiel 44: 15-31</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Be-har</td>
<td>Levit. 25: 1-26: 2</td>
<td>Jeremiah 32: 6-27</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Be-ḥukkotai</td>
<td>Levit. 26: 3-27: 34</td>
<td>Jeremiah 16: 19-17: 14</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lag Ba-ʿomer</td>
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### Siwan (30 Days)

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<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>Sabbaths, Festivals, Fasts</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>June 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Naso'</td>
<td>Num. 4: 21-7: 89</td>
<td>Judges 13: 2-25</td>
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<td>Shavu'ot, first day</td>
<td>Exod. 19: 1-20: 23</td>
<td>Ezekiel 1: 1-28</td>
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<td>Th</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shavu'ot, second day</td>
<td>Deut. 15: 19-16: 17</td>
<td>Habbakuk 3: 1-19</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Be-ha'alotekha</td>
<td>Num. 8: 1-12: 6</td>
<td>Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7</td>
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<td>Korah</td>
<td>Num. 16: 1-18: 32</td>
<td>I Samuel 11: 14-12: 22</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 9-15</td>
<td>I Samuel 20: 18, 42</td>
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</table>
### 1984, July 1–July 29 | TAMMUZ (29 DAYS) | [5744](#)

<table>
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<th>Civil Date</th>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<td>July 1</td>
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<td>Tammuz 1</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Balaḵ</td>
<td>Num. 22: 2–25: 9</td>
<td>Micah 5: 6–6: 8</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pinheš</td>
<td>Num. 25: 10–30: 1</td>
<td>I King 18: 46–19: 21</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fast of 17th of Tammuz</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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<td>34: 1–10</td>
<td>(afternoon only)</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Maṭṭot</td>
<td>Num. 30: 2–32: 42</td>
<td>Jeremiah 1: 1–2: 3</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mas'e</td>
<td>Num. 33: 1–36: 13</td>
<td>Jeremiah 2: 4–28</td>
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<td>3: 4</td>
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<td>Jeremiah 2: 4–28</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### 1984, July 30-Aug. 28: AV (30 DAYS) [5744]

<table>
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<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<td>Av 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 4</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Devarim (Shabbat Ḥazon)</td>
<td>Deut. 1: 1-3: 22</td>
<td>Isaiah 1: 1-27</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fast of 9th of Av</td>
<td>Morning: Deut. 4: 25-40 Afternoon: Exod. 32: 11-14 34: 1-10</td>
<td>(Lamentations is read the night before.) Jeremiah 8: 13-9: 23 Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wa-ethannan (Shabbat Nahamu)</td>
<td>Deut. 3: 23-7: 11</td>
<td>Isaiah 40: 1-26</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>'Ekev</td>
<td>Deut. 7: 12-11: 25</td>
<td>Isaiah 49: 14-51: 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Re'eh</td>
<td>Deut. 11: 26-16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 54: 11-55: 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
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### 1984, Aug. 29-Sept. 26: ELUL (29 DAYS) [5744]

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<td>Deut. 21: 10-25: 19</td>
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<td>Ki tavo'</td>
<td>Deut. 26: 1-29: 8</td>
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<td>Jeremiah 31: 2–20</td>
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<td>Levit. 22: 26–23: 44 Num. 29: 12–16</td>
<td>Zechariah 14: 1–21</td>
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<td>Levit. 22: 26–23: 44 Num. 29: 12–16</td>
<td>I Kings 8: 2–21</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### 1984, Oct. 27–Nov. 24  
**HESHWAN (29 DAYS)**

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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Lekh lekha</td>
<td>Gen. 12:1–17:27</td>
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### 1984, Nov. 25–Dec. 24  
**KISLEW (30 DAYS)**

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<td>Dec. 1</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Wa-yeze’</td>
<td>Gen. 28:10–32:3</td>
<td>Hosea 11:7–12:12, Obadiah 1:1–21</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Wa-yishlah</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mi-kez, Hanukkah, fourth day</td>
<td>Gen. 41:1–44:17, Num. 7:30–35</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Hanukkah, fifth day</td>
<td>Num. 7:36–47</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Num. 28:1–15, Num. 7:42–47</td>
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<td>Tevet 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day; Hanukkah, seventh day</td>
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<td>Num. 7: 48–53</td>
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<td>Num. 7: 54–8: 4</td>
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<td>Ezekiel 37: 15–28</td>
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<td>Exod. 6: 2–9: 35</td>
<td>Ezekiel 28: 25–29: 21</td>
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<td>Isaiah 6: 1-7: 6</td>
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<td>II Kings 12: 1-17</td>
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<td>II Kings 11: 17-12: 17</td>
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<td>Fast of Esther</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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<td>Exod. 22: 24-23: 19  Num. 28: 19-25</td>
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<td>Ahare mot, Kedoshim</td>
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<td>Amos 9: 7–15</td>
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<td>Hosea 2: 1–22</td>
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<td>Ezekiel 1: 1–28</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
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<td>Korah</td>
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<td>34: 1-10</td>
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<td>Av 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
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<td>Re'eh, New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Deut. 11: 26–16: 17</td>
<td>Isaiah 66: 1–23</td>
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<td>Num. 28: 9–15</td>
<td>I Samuel 20: 18, 42</td>
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1985, Aug. 18–Sept. 15]   ELUL (29 DAYS)   [5745

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Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
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<td>I Kings 8: 54-66</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Be-re'shit</td>
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<td>Isaiah 42: 5-43: 10</td>
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<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1-15</td>
<td>Isaiah 42: 5-21</td>
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Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.
### 1985, Oct. 16–Nov. 13  
**HESHWAN (30 DAYS)**

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<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
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<td>Isaiah 54: 1–10</td>
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<td>Wa-yera’</td>
<td>Gen. 18: 1–22: 24</td>
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### 1985, Nov. 14–Dec. 12  
**KISLEW (29 DAYS)**

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<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28: 1–15</td>
<td>Malachi 1: 1–2: 7</td>
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<td>Hosea 11: 7–12: 12</td>
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<td>Wa-yeze’</td>
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<td>Obadiah 1: 1–21</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Wa-yishlah</td>
<td>Gen. 32: 4–36: 43</td>
<td>Amos 2: 6–3: 8</td>
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<td>Wa-yeshev</td>
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<td>8–12</td>
<td>S-Th</td>
<td>25–29</td>
<td>Hanukkah, first to fifth days</td>
<td>S Num. 7: 1–17 M Num. 7: 18–29 T Num. 7: 24–35 W Num. 7: 30–41 Th Num. 7: 36–47</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*

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<td>Num. 28: 1–15, Num. 7: 42–47</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Mi-kez, Hanukkah, seventh day</td>
<td>Gen. 41: 1–44: 17, Num. 7: 48–53</td>
<td>Zechariah 2: 14–4: 7</td>
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<td>Hanukkah, eighth day</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>Fast of 10th of Tevet</td>
<td>Exod. 32: 11–14, 34: 1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55: 6–56: 8</td>
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### 1986, Jan. 11–Feb. 9 [SHEVAT (30 DAYS)]

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<td>Exod. 21:1–24:18</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>New Moon, first day</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
### ADAR I (30 DAYS)

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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Tezawweh</td>
<td>Exod. 27:20-30:10</td>
<td>Ezekiel 43:10-27</td>
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<td>I Kings 18:1-39</td>
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<td>I Kings 18:20-39</td>
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<td>Exod. 35:1-38:20</td>
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<td>Exod. 30:11-16</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>Exod. 22:24-23:19</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hol Ha-mo'ed, fourth day</td>
<td>Num. 9:1-14</td>
<td>II Samuel 22:1-51</td>
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<td>Num. 28:19-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Passover, seventh day</td>
<td>Exod. 13:17-15:26</td>
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<td>Num. 28:19-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 1</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Passover, eighth day</td>
<td>Deut. 15:19-16:17</td>
<td>Isaiah 10:32-12:6</td>
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<td>Num. 28:19-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ahare mot</td>
<td>Levit. 16:1-18:30</td>
<td>Ezekiel 22:1-16</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1-15</td>
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### 1986, May 10–June 7

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<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Jewish Date</th>
<th>SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS</th>
<th>PENTATEUCHAL READING</th>
<th>PROPHETICAL READING</th>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Emor</td>
<td>Levit. 21:1–24:23</td>
<td>Ezekiel 44:15–31</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Be-har</td>
<td>Levit. 25:1–26:2</td>
<td>Jeremiah 32:6–27</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lag Ba'omer</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Be-hukkotai</td>
<td>Levit. 26:3–27:34</td>
<td>Jeremiah 16:19–17:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 7</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Be-midbar</td>
<td>Num. 1:1–4:20</td>
<td>I Samuel 20:18–42</td>
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### 1986, June 8–July 7

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<td>June 8</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Siwan 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28:1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Naso'</td>
<td>Num. 4:21–7:89</td>
<td>Judges 13:2–25</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Be-ha'alotekha</td>
<td>Num. 8:1–12:6</td>
<td>Zechariah 2:14–4:7</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1–15</td>
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*Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.*
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<tr>
<td>July 8</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>Tammuz 1</td>
<td>New Moon, second day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1–15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Sa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Կորահ</td>
<td>Num. 16:1–18:32</td>
<td>I Samuel 11:14–12:22</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 Sa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Հուքկաթ, Բալաք</td>
<td>Num. 19:1–25:9</td>
<td>Micah 5:6–6:8</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 Th</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Fast of 17th of Tammuz</td>
<td>Exod. 32:11–14 34:1–10</td>
<td>Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 Sa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Պինեհաս</td>
<td>Num. 25:10–30:1</td>
<td>Jeremiah 1:1–2:3</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 6</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Av 1</td>
<td>New Moon</td>
<td>Num. 28:1-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Devarim (Shabbat Ḥazon)</td>
<td>Deut. 1:1–3:22</td>
<td>Isaiah 1:1–27</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fast of 9th of Av</td>
<td>Morning: Deut. 4:25–40 Afternoon: Exod. 32:11–14 34:1–10</td>
<td>(Lamentations is read the night before,) Jeremiah 8:13–9:23 Isaiah 55:6–56:8</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wa-ethannan (Shabbat Naḥamu)</td>
<td>Deut. 3:23–7:11</td>
<td>Isaiah 40:1–26</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>'Eḵev</td>
<td>Deut. 7:12–11:25</td>
<td>Isaiah 49:14–51:3</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Re'eh</td>
<td>Deut. 11:26–16:17</td>
<td>Isaiah 54:11–55:5</td>
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<td>Sept. 4</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept. 5</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Elul 1</td>
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<td>Num. 28:1–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Shofetim</td>
<td>Deut. 16:18–21:9</td>
<td>Isaiah 51:12–52:12</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ki teze'</td>
<td>Deut. 21:10–25:19</td>
<td>Isaiah 54:1–10</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ki tavo'</td>
<td>Deut. 26:1–29:8</td>
<td>Isaiah 60:1–22</td>
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<td>Oct. 4</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Tishri 1</td>
<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, first day</td>
<td>Gen. 21:1–34</td>
<td>I Samuel 1:1–2:10</td>
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<td>Num. 29:1–6</td>
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<td>Rosh Ha-shanah, second day</td>
<td>Gen. 22:1–24</td>
<td>Jeremiah 31:2–20</td>
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<td>Isaiah 55:6–56:8</td>
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<td>34:1–10</td>
<td>(afternoon only)</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Ha’azinu (Shabbat Shuvah)</td>
<td>Deut. 32:1–52</td>
<td>Hosea 14:2–10</td>
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<td>Micah 7:18–20</td>
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<td>Joel 2:15–27</td>
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<td>Yom Kippur</td>
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<td>Afternoon: Levit. 18:1–30</td>
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<td>Levit. 22:26–23:44</td>
<td>Zechariah 14:1–21</td>
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<td>Levit. 22:26–23:44</td>
<td>I Kings 8:2–21</td>
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<td>20–23</td>
<td>M-Th</td>
<td>17–20</td>
<td>Hol Ha-mo’ed</td>
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<td>Deut. 33:1–34:12</td>
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<td>Gen. 1:1–2:3</td>
<td>Joshua 1:1–9</td>
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<td>Be-re’shit</td>
<td>Gen. 1:1–6:8</td>
<td>I Samuel 20:18–42</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1–15</td>
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<td>Dec. 2</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>30</td>
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**HESHWAN (30 DAYS)**

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<td>13</td>
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<td>Hosea 11:7-12:12</td>
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<td>Sa</td>
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<td>Wa-yishlah</td>
<td>Gen. 32:4-36:43</td>
<td>Obadiah 1:1-21</td>
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<td>Dec. 28-31</td>
<td>S-W</td>
<td>26–29</td>
<td>Hanukkah, second to fifth days</td>
<td>S Num. 7:18-29 M Num. 7:24-35 T Num. 7:30-41 W Num. 7:36-47</td>
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<td>Jan. 1</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hanukkah, sixth day; New Moon, first day</td>
<td>Num. 28:1-15 Num. 7:42-47</td>
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</table>

Italicics are for Sephardi Minhag.
The Jewish Publication Society of America

REPORT OF NINETY-SIXTH YEAR

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The 96th annual meeting of the Jewish Publication Society was held on June 10, 1984 at the Franklin Plaza Hotel in Philadelphia. Dr. Muriel M. Berman, president of the Society, presided over the meeting.

Bernard I. Levinson, executive vice-president, memorialized two members of the official family: Dr. Shalom Spiegel, professor of Hebrew literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary, noted author, and member of the publication committee since 1939; and Stanley I. Sheerr, Philadelphia businessman and trustee since 1978, who was interested in distributing JPS books to those institutions which did not have the resources to purchase them.

It was announced that specially inscribed JPS books will be presented to the Bernard G. Segal Law Library at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to honor Bernard G. Segal, life trustee of the Society, for his outstanding service to the Jewish Publication Society.

Professor Jonathan D. Sarna, commissioned to write the history of JPS for its 1988 centennial celebration, recounted anecdotes of the early history of the Society.

David Rosenberg, editor of the Society, reported on the new direction planned for JPS. “We need your help,” he told the members, “to reach out further to the caliber of writers who are now publishing with major commercial and academic publishers, for we have something special to offer
them: a Jewish focus that is not parochial in its approach to the market. We want JPS to take the lead in establishing a new context in publishing, one in which important Jewish books are remembered. Today many of these books are not properly noticed precisely because of the wide range of commercial publishers and their constantly varying levels of commitment to the Jewish market, not to mention to the Jewish community itself. Many authors are happy to hear that a new mandate for JPS is to nurture a Jewish context, a sense of community to inspire authors as well as readers."

Charles R. Weiner, chairman of the by-laws committee, proposed the adoption of a new set of by-laws that were discussed and ratified by the board of trustees on April 12, 1984. The membership voted approval of the new by-laws.

The report of the nominating committee was presented by its chairman, Marvin Wachman. Charles R. Weiner was elected president of the Society. A federal judge since 1967, Weiner was elected to the Pennsylvania State Senate four times. He has served on the executive committee of the Federation of Jewish Agencies and as chairman of the executive committee of Dropsie College. The recipient of numerous community awards, Weiner has served on the boards of directors of many cultural and civic institutions. Since ascending to the bench in 1967, Judge Weiner received a doctorate of philosophy in political science from the University of Pennsylvania. He lectures on political science and law at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania, and their law schools. Prior to his election, he served the Society as vice-president.

The newly elected trustees were D. Walter Cohen, former dean of the University of Pennsylvania School of Dentistry and active supporter of Hebrew University; Philip I. Berman, Allentown, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Hess's Department Store and leader of cultural, communal, civic, and business affairs; Judith S. Eaton, Philadelphia, president of Philadelphia Community College; Tom L. Freudenheim, director of the Worcester, Massachusetts Art Museum; S. William Pattis, Chicago, president of the National Textbook Company; Martin D. Cohn, Hazleton, attorney and member of the national board of the United Synagogue of America and the board of overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; and Arthur Hertzberg, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, Englewood, adjunct professor of history at Columbia University, award-winning author and past president of the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Policy Foundation. Both Mr. Cohn and Rabbi Hertzberg have served the Society as members of the publication committee.
Re-elected as trustees were Jack L. Cummings, Montreal; Stuart E. Eizenstat, Washington; and Gerald I. Wolpe, Philadelphia. Robert P. Frankel, Norma F. Furst, and Harriet Soffa, Philadelphia, and Robert S. Rifkind, New York, are trustees who have rejoined the board after a short absence.

Elected to serve as vice-presidents of the Society were Robert P. Abrams, Marvin Wachman, and Martin Meyerson, Philadelphia, Max M. Kampelman, Washington, and Jay I. Kislak, Miami. Leon J. Perelman, Philadelphia, was re-elected treasurer; Norma F. Furst, Philadelphia, was chosen secretary.

Dr. Berman, who stepped down as president of JPS following a three-year term, was elected chairman of the board. She is the first individual to serve the Society in this capacity.

The board of trustees approved the appointment of Dr. Chaim Potok, former editor of the Society and secretary to the Bible translation committee, as chairman of the publication committee.

Following the business proceedings of the annual meeting, Isaac Bashevis Singer, awarded the 1978 Nobel Prize for Literature, read one of his unpublished stories. Mr. Singer was introduced by Chaim Potok.

*From the Annual Report of JPS President Muriel M. Berman*

It has been said that introspection is good for the soul; indeed, it has been mandated for all Jews during the High Holy Days. On those days, we acknowledge to ourselves what has been good, what has been bad, and what has been omitted or ignored. Perhaps it is time for our organization to take a good look at itself as we approach our second century—and our board started more than a year ago—to do just that, to evaluate and seriously examine many of our policies.

Back in 1888, when this Society came into being, there were specific needs and specific reasons for its existence. Today, even though the goals remain exactly the same, some of the reasons have changed.

Let’s go back in time for a few short minutes and see how it all began, and why.

In the early 1800's, with the virulent growth of antisemitism and as the horrible inhumane pogroms spread throughout Eastern Europe, many Jews settled in America. Immigration of Jews from Germany also increased, and as the children of these immigrants accepted the English language as their
own, the need for books in English dealing with Jewish history, religion, and literature became apparent.

Jewish social and philanthropic organizations already existed, because the new arrivals had to be fed and started on a new life. Night schools were established to teach the immigrants to read and write English, since the newcomers were anxious to become full-fledged American citizens. But one thing was missing. The new generation, the children, were growing up knowing how to speak only one language, English. Unfortunately, there were no books in English about Jewish culture or history—not even a Jewish prayer book in English. It was not until 96 years ago, 1888, that the need was filled, and the Jewish Publication Society of America became a reality. The story of how we came into being is dramatic and exciting, too lengthy for now. Yes, JPS is an organization born of necessity.

Our evaluation continued, and we found that in spite of an intense effort on the part of a special membership committee, supplemented by professionals, our membership is good, but static. This led to an examination of our marketing and public relations departments, and, eventually, to ongoing discussions with the board in regard to its responsibility for policy in categories of book determination, in relation to and in conjunction with the publication committee. There were healthy and lengthy discussions and decisions.

The publication committee will be activated to read manuscripts in its areas of expertise. The publication committee will have a small editorial committee, which will receive reports of the readers and recommend to the board of trustees those books which, in its estimation, are worthy of publication.

Our new editor is a writer and poet who knows his way around the publishing world. The editorial department will take an aggressive role in trying to capture the best manuscripts written anywhere in the world that fulfill our mandate of content and quality. We will encourage contemporary Jewish authors, and on occasion we will commission books.

We were the first to recognize the need to establish this kind of a society; we will be the first to present whatever is necessary.

Our reputation for excellence in presenting and preserving both contemporary and classical Jewish literature goes back almost a century. We will guard it zealously; indeed, our board of trustees is a vital, concerned group, dedicated to the original goals of the Society while accepting the challenges to insure the future.
And now, a word about our books, for they are the heart and soul of our Society. The most prestigious awards in the field of Jewish writing, the National Jewish Book Awards, were presented at a ceremony at the 42nd Street Public Library in New York. You will be pleased to know that of the ten awards, the Jewish Publication Society received three, the only publishing house to receive more than one. The awards received were in the categories of: History—*Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia 1825–1855* by Michael Stanislawski; Holocaust—*The Quality of Witness: A Romanian Diary 1937–1944* by Emil Dorian, edited by Marguerite Dorian, translated by Mara Soceanu Vamos; Children's Literature—*The Jewish Kids Catalog* by Chaya Burstein. Additional awards were: Children's Literature—*In the Mouth of the Wolf* by Rose Zar (Association of Jewish Libraries); Translation—*At the Stone of Losses* by T. Carmi, translated by Grace Schulman (Kenneth B. Smilen/Present Tense Literary Awards); History—*A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Volume 18 (co-published with Columbia University Press) by Salo W. Baron. Dr. Baron also received a special award for his outstanding lifetime contribution to Jewish literature. Chaim Potok was the featured speaker at the awards ceremony; Highest Standards in Design, Printing, and Binding—*Jewish Legends of the Second Commonwealth* by Judah Nadich and *The Jewish Kids Catalog* by Chaya Burstein (Philadelphia Book Show).

Many more significant books are forthcoming, some long awaited. I will mention only one as an example, *Cyrus Adler: Selected Letters*. Adler was truly an extraordinary man. His influence was felt in every aspect of Jewish life in America and abroad, and always on the highest levels. It is almost impossible to fathom that he founded, chaired, and was involved with practically every major institution of Jewish learning and culture (all still in existence today), among them the Jewish Publication Society of America, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Dropsie College, and the American Jewish Committee. This book of Adler's letters is truly a window into history.

About 180,000 books were distributed last year, with the famous JPS Bibles leading the list. Of the 11 most popular books, four were in the category of children's literature. The best-selling children's book was *The Jewish Kids Catalog*. The others on the list were *The Jewish Catalog*; Blu Greenberg's *On Women and Judaism*; *At the Stone of Losses*, a sensitive book of poetry by T. Carmi; *Jewish Legends of the Second Commonwealth* by Judah Nadich, an incomparable source of learning, Jewish wisdom and values; and the *American Jewish Year Book 1983*. The latter, published each
year since 1899, is *the* authoritative source on events in Jewish life around the world.

An important milestone was achieved this year with the inauguration of the Society’s Heritage Library, a project unique to our history. The Heritage Library committee has a number of vital goals, among them: to create an enduring, quality library of JPS books in every Jewish home; to increase our readership by having books in public libraries; to give the Society greater national visibility, by holding heritage library meetings in cities throughout the nation. Last month the New York committee hosted a gala cocktail reception at the Plaza Hotel, where Chaim Potok was the featured speaker, followed by a tour of the exhibition “The Precious Legacy” at the Jewish Museum. The show presented Czechoslovakian art treasures confiscated by the Nazis from the Jews, who they believed were destined to become an extinct race. Other successful Heritage Library committee meetings have been hosted in Philadelphia and Chicago, and one is scheduled this summer for New Jersey. More are in the planning stage.

Members of the Heritage Library committee contribute $1,000 annually. They receive a complete set of prestigious JPS books which they designate as a gift to a college, university, high school, synagogue, hospital, Hillel house or any other institution of their choice. In addition, they receive a duplicate set for their personal libraries, or for gift giving. Each volume bears a handsome, specially designed bookplate identifying the donor and the recipient.

Sponsors are asked to pledge their participation for a five-year period, in order to enable the Society to undertake long-term research and publishing commitments of significance to the Jewish people. Participants, of course, have the right to withdraw from the five-year program at any time for any reason.

This project, still in its infancy, already boasts 37 members, and we are proud that a choice collection of books has been distributed to 24 institutions in 11 states and Israel. One of our new board members, Irvin J. Borowsky, conceived the idea, and the project is on its way. We thank him, the sizeable committee, and the board, who have been devoted to the Heritage Library committee idea.

Meanwhile, our Israel office is thriving, memberships are increasing, and our visibility has been enhanced through stimulating symposia and lectures. The office receives manuscripts from established writers and can be a haven for aspiring authors.

*Hadassah* magazine, with a circulation of 380,000, devoted a three-page spread in its December 1983 issue to a symposium entitled “The Israeli
"Writer and His Public," held during the Israel Book Fair last year in Jerusalem. Participants included many of our most noted authors.

Numerous other lectures in Israel are sponsored by JPS. These highlight the authors of our books. Rabbi Moshe Rosen of Romania spoke to mark the publication of Emil Dorian's *The Quality of Witness: A Romanian Diary*, which I mentioned as a prize winner previously. The rebbetzen, Mrs. Rosen, was instrumental in getting some of the manuscript to the U.S. by memorizing large portions of Emil Dorian's work.

In anticipation of our centennial in 1988, work has been stepped up on the Bible commentary project. Some of the most eminent Bible scholars in the world—Michael Fishbane, Baruch Levine, Jacob Milgrom, Nahum Sarna, Jeffrey Tigay, and the literary editor, Chaim Potok—are involved in this work.

As you know, our Hebrew Bible consists of Torah, Prophets, and Writings; it is the most sacred and cherished work in the Jewish tradition. It has been transmitted to us together with its commentaries, so that in Jewish tradition Bible has come to mean Torah, Prophets, Writings, and their commentaries. Since the time of Rashi, each major period of Jewish history took the commentaries of the past and then created its own commentaries, for its own time and its own needs.

It is interesting to note that the commentators were at liberty to disagree with one another as to the meaning of the texts. It is the very nature of the rabbinic Bible that on one and the same page, existing together in harmony, will be found divergent and often contradictory interpretations. Each has its validity in Jewish tradition.

Now, for the first time in history, we have the information and the methodological tools, including the study of archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, to explore the Biblical text in a way that could never have been done before. This new world of knowledge will be seen through the eyes and minds of our Jewish scholars, who are ever conscious of the fact that they are writing commentaries to the most sacred, primal, formative book in Jewish existence.

To date, more than 30 pledges of $5,000 each have been received for the JPS Bible commentary project. We are forming a committee of 100 persons and foundations to be patrons. We invite you to participate.

Being president of this Society has been a rewarding experience. The last three years have passed swiftly, and many programs were implemented, but the big story of this administration was the presentation to the world of a new translation of the Jewish Bible. As you know, this new translation was the product of a committee of learned and distinguished professors, as well
as rabbis of the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform traditions. Who can ever forget the magnificent dinner celebrating this great occasion (the first dinner to be held since 1917)? We honored the translators, the rabbis who participated, past presidents, trustees, the publication committee, and the editors. The honored guests read like a Who's Who of intellectual Jewry. Toasts were proffered to our special guests, the descendants of scholars involved in the original 1917 project. Elie Wiesel was the featured speaker and the theme was "Hope." It was an historic occasion.

Incidentally, we plan to bring out the new Bible in one volume next year.

A symposium with some of the brilliant Bible translators was held both at New York University and in Jerusalem. Our public relations activities were particularly outstanding. Time magazine devoted a full page to our Bible story. The New York Times reported on our New York symposium at length, and there were literally hundreds of newspaper articles throughout the country. We were honored with numerous awards from many institutions, among them the American Jewish Committee and the Layman's Bible Institute. The award from the city of Philadelphia became an official part of the city's Century IV celebration and will remain in its archives for posterity.

Another highlight was the presentation of our Bible to the President of the United States in the oval office at the White House. Present were Vice-President Bush, Pennsylvania senators Heinz and Specter, and all the JPS vice-presidents. President Reagan was truly appreciative and impressed with the history of our Society, briefly related by your president, and expressed the wish that other ethnic groups would emulate the Jews by translating their holy books into English, along with their research and creative writing. He was particularly sensitive to our mission, since he was going to a huge meeting for survivors of the Holocaust in Washington that very evening.

You will be interested to know that we received thoughtful letters of congratulation and appreciation upon the presentation of our Bible to President Navon of Israel, Pope John Paul II, Hebrew University president Avram Harman, John Cardinal Krol, and other dignitaries.

Our books seem to be everywhere. Our executive director, Bernard I. Levinson, attended the Moscow Book Fair, left a large number of catalogs, and showed books to the hundreds of Soviet Jews who eagerly explored our booth. Many came several days in a row, including the secret police. Some people hand-copied portions of the books to take home with them. One woman copied a Rosh Hashanah recipe; another spent a whole day copying
words and music to a Yiddish song, and a grandfather wanted the music for *kol nidre*. Mr. Levinson showed him the music in the *Yom Kippur Anthology* and whistled the melody as he pointed to the notes. Tears came to the old man’s eyes; he still remembered learning the song at home as a child.

In a few short years we shall rededicate ourselves to our second century. We have already embarked on a number of exciting programs. First and foremost will be the completion and publishing of magnificent volumes of the Bible commentaries. A comprehensive history of the Society has been commissioned.

Under consideration are an index of all the books published by the Society since its inception; a program of JPS scholars-in-residence; and an alumni reunion weekend-symposium, to include every living author who has ever had a book published by JPS. We plan *onegei shabbat* throughout the U.S. and Israel featuring JPS books. There will be sophisticated JPS book and art exhibitions.

We are overflowing with ideas; we would appreciate hearing some of yours. And now, I bid you “Shalom” as your president.

I want to sincerely thank each and every one of you: the members, the truly devoted staff, the executive director, the editorial department, the many committees and their chairmen, and especially the board of trustees for their dedication and cooperation.

Even as a little girl, I was always cognizant of our great Jewish heritage, instilled by my parents and their Zionist ideals. The greatness of our legacy is what it says to Jews as yet unborn, a legacy for our children and their children. It is a legacy of a living, vibrant people. Sometimes we wonder what has kept us alive through all these centuries. One of the explanations, I believe, is that we are people of the book, involved with learning and perpetuating our culture, continuing our devout prayers, respecting our traditions.

This, my friends, is one of JPS' contributions to the society in which we live. We publish outstanding books which teach and inspire, and have done so for almost a hundred years. Proud and cognizant of our historic accomplishments, we must approach our second century respecting our distinguished past, but knowing that the future is as important as the past. We are dedicated to fulfilling the dreams and visions, the goals and aspirations, of this Society. It has been said that the past is prologue to the future. If this be true, we face the future with confidence and anticipation, as we look toward our second century.
JPS Treasurer's Report for 1983

In my first report as treasurer, it gives me great pleasure to inform you that our financial situation is a sound one.

Income from the sale of books and memberships was $1,249,168 in 1983, a seven per cent increase over the previous year, while the costs of our books and administration expenses were $1,430,692, a four per cent increase over 1982. Income from donations and investments resulted in a bottom line of revenue exceeding expenses by $39,134, a five per cent increase for the year.

During 1983 we changed our accounting system so that our costs, which were previously expensed, are now treated on a cost-of-books-sold basis.

Our endowment funds, under the guidance of our investment committee and advisor, are carefully selected so that the Society may continue to publish important books in the future.

JPS Publications

In 1983 JPS published the following new volumes:

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<td>3,000</td>
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<td>TSAR NICHOLAS I AND THE JEWS: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825–1855 by Michael Stanislawski</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<td>THE JEWISH KIDS CATALOG by Chaya M. Burstein</td>
<td>11,400</td>
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<td>4,000</td>
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<td>THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WALL: Three Novellas by Nathan Shaham</td>
<td>4,000</td>
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<td>TO DWELL IN UNITY: The Jewish Federation Movement in America 1960–1980 by Philip Bernstein</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<td>IN THE MOUTH OF THE WOLF by Rose Zar</td>
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<tr>
<td>THE RESCUE OF DANISH JEWRY by Leni Yahil (paperback edition)</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<td>A SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion 1200–1650 Vol. XVIII by Salo W. Baron (joint publication with Columbia University Press)</td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK—Volume 83 Edited by Milton Himmelfarb and David Singer (co-published with the American Jewish Committee)</td>
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AT THE STONE OF LOSSES
by T. Carmi
(joint publication with the University of California Press)

IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL
by Amos Oz
(co-published with Harcourt Brace Jovanovich)

ELIJAH'S VIOLIN AND OTHER JEWISH FAIRY TALES
Selected and retold by Howard Schwartz
(co-published with Harper & Row)

1983 Reprints

During 1983 JPS reprinted the following books:

THE ALEPH-BET STORY BOOK by Deborah Pessin (3,000); A BOOK OF HEBREW LETTERS by Mark Podwal (2,000); THE BOOK OF JOB (2,000); HONI AND HIS MAGIC CIRCLE by Phillis Gershator (2,000); A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN CHRISTIAN SPAIN by Yitzhak Baer (2,000); THE HOLY SCRIPTURES (25,000); THE JEWISH KIDS CATALOG by Chaya M. Burshtein (7,500); THE JEWISH CATALOG edited by Richard Siegel, Michael & Sharon Strassfeld (15,000); JEWISH WORSHIP by Abraham E. Millgram (2,000); JUDAISM AS A CIVILIZATION by Mordecai M. Kaplan (2,000); THE JEWS OF ARAB LANDS by Norman A. Stillman (2,000); LEGENDS OF JERUSALEM by Zev Vilnay (2,000); LEGENDS OF THE JEWS, Vols. II and V, by Louis Ginzberg (1,500); MA'ASEH BOOK translated by Moses Gaster (2,000); ON WOMEN AND JUDAISM by Blu Greenberg (6,000); THE TORAH (10,000); VOICES OF A PEOPLE by Ruth Rubin (2,000); THE WRITINGS (5,000); THE YOM KIPPUR ANTHOLOGY by Philip Goodman (2,000).
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American Jewry, 1970: A Demographic Profile
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Antisemitism as a Policy Tool in the Soviet Bloc
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Concerning Jewish Theology in North America: Some Notes on a Decade
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The Condition of American Jewry in Historical Perspective: A Bicentennial Assessment
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