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American Jews and Israel at a Time of Crisis



Eli Valley
Editor

Erica Coleman
Copy Editor

David Winter
Administration

Janet Mann
Administration

Yakov Wisniewski
Design Director

JEWISH LIFE NETWORK STEINHARDT FOUNDATION

Michael H. Steinhardt
Chairman

Rabbi Irving Greenberg
President

Rabbi David Gedzelman
Executive Director

Jonathan J. Greenberg z"l
Founding Director

CONTACT is produced and distributed by Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation, 6 East 39th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10016.

Phone: (212) 279-2288

Fax: (212) 279-1155

Email: info@jewishlife.org

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Jewish Life Network is dedicated to strengthening and transforming American Jewry to ensure a flourishing, sustainable community in a fully integrated free society. We seek to revitalize Jewish identity through educational, religious and cultural initiatives that are designed to reach out to all Jews, with an emphasis on those who are on the margins of Jewish life.

Photographs in this issue appear courtesy of contributors and Art Today.

American Jews and Israel at a Time of Crisis

The concept of *clal yisrael* teaches that the Jewish people are bound together in mutual experience, responsibility and destiny. In the United States and Israel, the countries in which the vast majority of the world's Jewish population dwells, it has not always been easy to apprehend our shared experience. Israel has struggled against hostile neighbors since its modern rebirth. American Jews, by contrast, have enjoyed domestic harmony and freedom from anti-Semitism for half a century. During the heady 1990s, however, the lives and culture of American Jews and Israelis finally seemed to be converging. Israel's economy was booming, anchored by the same high-technology sector that propelled the American expansion. A generation of Israelis, raised on the dream of Oslo, basked in a "peace dividend" marked by a decidedly American-styled culture. There was hope that once a final peace settlement was reached, Israel would be freed from its ongoing struggle for both existence and acceptance, and would achieve a degree of democratic stability not unlike America's.

In the past two years, the Palestinian war of terrorism has offered a bracing rejoinder to this dream. Not since the early 1970s has the daily experience of Israelis and American Jews diverged more. Despite the attacks of September 11, American Jews do not live in the same shadow of potential violence as do Israelis. Nor are we facing the fury of our neighbors or the same ostracism on the part of the international community. Although daily life in Israel is nowhere near as miserable as it appears in the media, the dissonance between the experiences of American Jews and Israelis has given rise to a sense of guilt and powerlessness on this side of the divide. We yearn to connect with Israelis, to do what we can to ease the pain of crisis and war. We have memories of the 1940s, when too much of American Jewry stood silent during the Holocaust, and we are determined not to let history repeat itself. If *clal yisrael* means that we are one people, then it is impossible for American Jewry to be at peace while Israel is at war.

This issue of CONTACT explores various ways American Jews are connecting to Israel during a period of ongoing crisis. For some, this means experiencing Israel physically through Israel programs and Aliyah. For others, it means engagement on campus and with our elected representatives. Each of our contributors offers personal and programmatic reflections on increasing the strength of *clal yisrael* during a period of crisis for the Jewish people.

Solidarity with Israel need not necessitate a demand for blind allegiance. It is an understandable if distressing product of crisis that our community has been less open to dissenting opinions in the past two years. Those who oppose Israeli policies or who sympathize with the suffering of Palestinians have often been labeled disloyal, self-hating or traitorous, even when they espouse positions favored by a majority of Israelis. Unfortunately, our leaders have not taken steps to quell the intolerance and indeed have adopted policies that inordinately express the views of a small but vocal segment of the community. While the advantages of a united leadership front are clear, we must ask ourselves at what cost we are advancing a unified agenda. It is time for the leaders of Jewish organizations to demand that the vilification end, and for our organizations to adopt policies representing not just the views of an extremist minority, but of all the American Jews they purport to serve.

Eli Valley
Eli Valley

WELCOME RABBI DAVID GEDZELMAN

Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation extends a warm welcome to Rabbi David Gedzelman, our new Executive Director. David assumes the position formerly held by JJ Greenberg, Executive and Founding Director, who died tragically after being struck by an automobile while bicycling in Israel in September.

David has been actively involved with JLN since 1995, when he was recruited to conceive and develop JLN's nascent Makor center in New York City. As the Creative and Rabbinic Director of Makor, David created and led a cutting-edge venue for Jewish New Yorkers in their 20s and 30s to experience innovative arts, cultural and educational programming.

Before serving at Makor, David was Director of Hillel and Rabbi in Residence at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. He also served as Director of Hillel at Pierce and Valley Colleges in Woodland Hills, California. At the same time, he was a Lecturer in Rabbinics at the University of Judaism Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies.

We look forward to working with David in the development and implementation of programs designed to strengthen American Jewry.



The Meaning of Israel Today

by RABBI YITZ GREENBERG

The connection between Israel and the Jewish people has been essential to the healthy Jewish soul for millennia.

Ever since the modern state of Israel became a reality, there have been recurrent claims that Israel is losing its emotional centrality in American Jewish life. In recent years, Steven M. Cohen has published surveys charting the declining intensity, by generations, of identification with Israel. Others cite the negative media images of Israel as alienating younger generations from the Jewish state. Both claims fail to measure the depth of the relationship between world Jewry and Israel. Indeed, the connection between Israel and the Jewish people has been essential to the healthy Jewish soul for millennia. While surface feelings for Israel are more volatile and subject to the vicissitudes of daily news, the deeper attachment is undiminished.

The true picture emerges in moments of crisis, when the full intensity of Jewish feeling for Israel erupts. The fierce rallying around Israel in 1967 retroactively debunked claims by leading American Jewish spokesmen that American Jews were “Americans first,” and that Israel’s importance had declined. Similarly undercut were those spiritual spokesmen

who diminished Israel’s importance, arguing that Diaspora Jewry was independent of and superior to the schools of Jerusalem. In parallel fashion, the closing of ranks and the overwhelming solidarity of American Jewry with Israel since Intifada II began in September, 2000, is a strong indicator of the unbroken bedrock of the connection.

The logic of Jewish attachment to Israel has grown stronger since 1948. The actualized state has proven to be even more magnetic than the commonwealth fantasized in Jewish dreams for two thousand years. This is because Israel is the realization of Jewry’s deepest beliefs. From earliest Biblical days, Jewish religion taught that Jewry has a special connection to the land of Israel. Rabbinic culture emphasized that, once national independence was restored, the history interrupted by exile would come to life again. Even more: the Jewish soul was so attuned to Israel that once the people was replanted in the promised land, the ground would sustain a higher demographic and cultural vitality.

The evidence of five decades is clear. Israeli Jewry is the only Jewish community whose population is growing by internal biological energy and not just by immigration from abroad. The majority Jewish population has created a comprehensive national culture in which

Rabbi Yitz Greenberg is President of Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation.



Israel is the place where the prime existential decisions of Jewish history taken in the twentieth century are validated.

the calendar communicates the catechism of Jewish faith and history to the masses. Hebrew is again a dynamic and explosively growing language, suffusing all of modern life with Jewish vocabulary and meaning.

The “density” of Jewish life in Israel is amazing. Israel contains 40 percent-plus of the world Jewish population, but 80 percent of youth attending full-time Jewish educational schools live in the Jewish state. The vast bulk of the Israeli population — even the non-observant — experience Shabbat as a special day. Kosher food is a widely available norm, not a minority ‘deviant’ cuisine. On Yom Kippur, the state of Israel exists on a different plane.

For most Diaspora Jews, these aspects of Israel may be irrelevant to their day-to-day lifestyle — but the cumulative effect of this total Jewish reality is transformational on them as well. Those who personally encounter Israel experience Jewish identity as a universal, primary, natural human reality. For many, this encounter liberates them from the Diaspora experience of Jewishness as a minority, second-class reflection of Gentile existence. Consequently, their inner lives and self-images as Jews are transformed.

Israel is also the place where the prime existential decisions of Jewish history taken in the twentieth century are validated. After the Shoah, world Jewry learned two primary lessons. First, that we are one people — united in fate and dependent on each other to restore and

protect the value of Jewish life. Second, that in order to live and uphold Jewish dignity, there is no choice but to reenter history and take power. This permits us to have a significant say in Jewish fate. Although Diaspora Jewry eventually also took up political action, Israel is the primary exerciser of Jewish power. There, a sovereign Jewish majority, guided by Jewish heritage, establishes political, economic and military policies and carries them out. Not surprisingly, Israel has become the image of Jews worldwide. Therefore, the credibility of Jewish religion and ethics is set by the judgment on Israeli behaviors.

Taking responsibility, Israel has rescued Jewries at risk on three continents. The fact that many Soviet and Argentinian Jews have sought security in lands other than Israel does not change the importance (or the nobility) of what Israel has done. In offering asylum to persecuted Jews over the years, Israel has taken in more than triple the number of people in its own original population. This absorption involved vast financial expense and a lowered standard of living — for the sake of immigrants! It was and continues to be an act of generosity unparalleled in human history.

The lives and fates of all Jews have become more intertwined. Israel’s victories and stature have given new dignity and status to Jews worldwide. Yet, in turn, Israel has faced hostility and even rejection because of its association with Western Jews, with the United States,

and with the processes of modernization and democracy. Now, Diaspora Jews find themselves under attack by the forces that lead the backlash against Israel for its unyielding policies of self-defense. Willingness to confront these pressures for the sake of each other is the litmus test of Jewish identity and loyalty today. This is why travel to Israel to connect personally to Israelis is the current criterion of taking responsibility for Jewish history. Those who do not go are, in effect, saying that “I am lucky enough to be out of the line of fire” and abandoning Israelis to their fate on the front line.

The act of returning to the land of Israel was not only an affirmation and fulfillment of the classic prophetic promise that the covenant is unbroken (“...there will again be heard in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem that are desolate... the sound of rejoicing and joy, the voice of the bridegroom and the bride...” [*Jeremiah 33, v. 10-11, 20-21, 25*])). The triumph of death in the Shoah raised doubts about Jewish belief in God and Judaism’s teachings of the ultimate victory of the good. The reestablishment of vibrant Israeli life after the Holocaust was the indispensable reassertion of the central Jewish teaching of redemption, i.e., the promise that life would be stronger than death. This validates the promise of the final perfection of the world.

After five decades, the entire Jewish people now experiences the astonishing fact that, in the land of Israel, the past is intertwined with the present, and history and tradition come alive. Despite Israel’s modernity and immersion in 21st Century culture, past, present and future interact in a palpable way. This transforms Jewish teaching into a personal experience. This is the secret and power of birthright Israel’s educational vision, for Israel is a peerless resource for Jewish learning and recovery of identity. In Jerusalem, learning and Torah absorption reach extraordinarily intense levels. In this atmosphere, classic norms become a force to be reckoned with and Jewish memory is a mirror of reality. No wonder Jewish values come alive in the land of Israel. To paraphrase Winston Churchill: the whole Jewish people must learn to bring in the new/old world of Israel to redress the balance [of assimilation versus renaissance] in the old/new world of America. 🌸

On a recent rainy evening, I attended a controversial talk with Peace Now's Galia Golan and Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, The Palestinian Authority's Commissioner for Jerusalem Affairs. While standing in line towards the entrance, I was greeted by protesters across the street shouting that I was "a self-hating Jew and an anti-Semite," along with things less appropriate to print. I thought to myself: I have tabled for Israel on campus for three hours today, attended two other Israel-related events this week, and I date a combat soldier in the IDF who is currently serving in the territories. What else



Pro-Israel With An Open Mind

by KELLEN KAISER

could they possibly want from me?

There are days where it isn't easy to be a Zionist. But my Jewish upbringing and faith in core Jewish values remind me there's a lot at stake.

I grew up in liberal Northern California, in a very untraditional household that was nevertheless welcomed into the local Jewish community. My family's values were reinforced through my involvement in Habonim Dror, a Labor Zionist youth movement, where I learned the benefits of critical thinking and the joys of communal living. In my mind, it is only natural to equate Judaism with pluralism, compassion and a respect for diversity. There is abundant evidence to agree with me. From halachic commentary on *tikkun olam* to Israel's modern socio-political climate, there are a myriad of examples of Judaism serving as the foundation for a just society.

It is with this conviction that I cannot be silent to injustices carried out by or within the Jewish state. While it is true that Israel serves as democracy's sentinel in the Middle East, and is far ahead of its neighbors on human rights issues, Israel still has work to do. It must address its internal issues — the treatment of Israeli Arabs and other marginal communities, for example, and its treatment of the Palestinian population currently under its control. It must address them even as it is under attack, because with acknowledgment to Jewish history, such obligations to justice must be fulfilled regardless of circumstance. We cannot wait until all is well.

We, as American Jews, are in a tricky sit-

uation. While I know my criticism of certain Israeli policy comes from my love for the state and the foundational values on which it is based, my comments are sometimes misinterpreted as disloyal. It is a careful balancing act, one that often leads me to preface any qualm I have with, "As a Zionist..." Obviously, I do not want to lend ammunition to Israel's detractors, to those who not only want a Palestinian state but who seek to destroy Israel. I do believe, however, that to avoid Israel's problems in the name of unity is not to our collective benefit.

There is a strong Jewish tradition of questioning and dissent, a process which some have argued has helped to maintain the vibrancy of our religion and has been the source of our ongoing strength and diversity. We see it, for example, in Israel's government, a parliamentary democracy, where debate is often so boisterous that it resembles a street fight. We cannot allow our values to be sacrificed to the current state of fear and grief.

There is a sense of disappointment in all corners of the Jewish community, a sense of our current reality not being what it should be. But those feelings are often directed against those who are closest to us, those whom we would otherwise trust if we didn't feel internally betrayed. The left feels silenced and ignored, while the right feels unfairly persecuted. Many of these feelings transcend the political boundaries and envelop us all. We must maintain a proactive vision if we hope to bring change to the situation. Instead, we are getting stuck in the details.

When I first came to NYU, I felt extremely alienated from the active Jewish

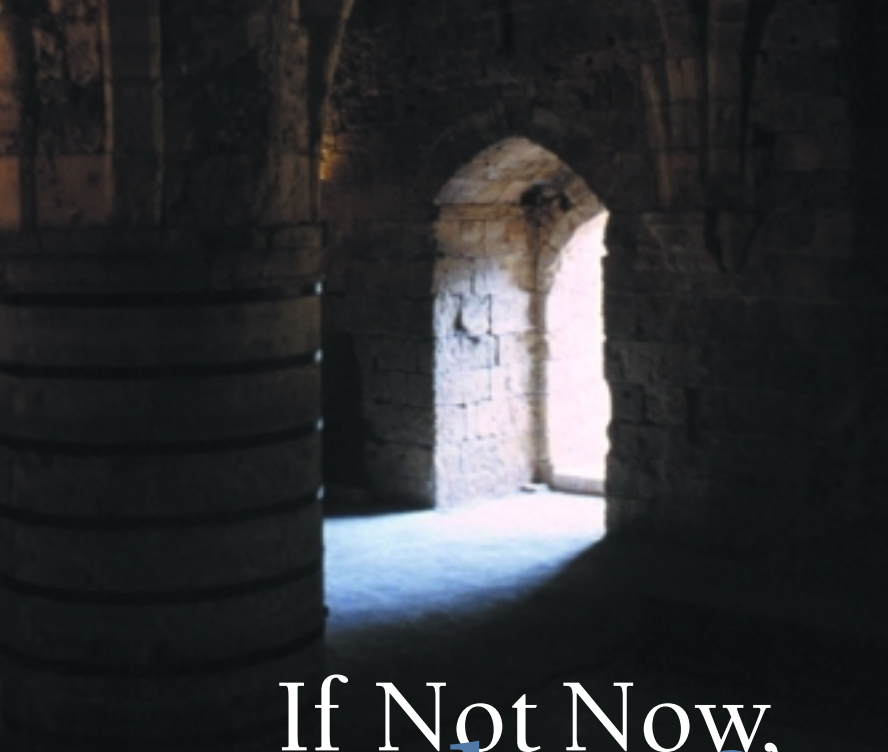
community on campus. Its members were certainly different from the Jewish community I grew up with. I initially resigned myself to four years without Jews. I saw my differences with them as being more integral to who I was than my similarities. I occasionally stopped by the Bronfman Center to attend political events, and took secret pleasure in being involved on at least some level.

So when I was hired as a Grinspoon Israel Advocacy Intern on the NYU campus, it felt like I was being welcomed home. I would be able to organize for left-wing pro-Israel activity. They had made space for me, as I was. It is my job now to manifest that niche for others. To create a sense of inclusiveness for those who might otherwise stand against us, unable to reconcile their desire for community and their desire for social justice.

It is a daunting task to endeavor the kind of paradigm shift I envision, even on a campus-wide level. I have only just begun the process. It will have to continue long after I graduate. But part of the work is foundation-building. When we bring progressive speakers to campus, it begins a history. We have worked to be proactive and positive in our focus, bringing in speakers who incorporate Zionism into their pursuit of social justice. I encourage the campus media to attend these events and invite a broad range of people who are currently unaffiliated. I also make sure to attend the events that the pro-Palestinian groups put on as well, in order to make sure my beliefs are represented. I try to keep a critical eye on everyone. Mostly, I attempt to be open-minded and active so that people know they can come to me.

Indeed, in our attempts to define who is with us, we run the risk of leaving people out. But as I've learned in my own work these past few months, it was the faith I had in my good intentions, after all, that brought me here. And in my exploration, I have found that those whom I perceived to be so different than me have good intentions as well. 🌸

Kellen Kaiser is the Grinspoon Israel Advocacy intern at New York University.



If Not Now, When?

by MICHAEL H. STEINHARDT

One of the ancient lessons of Jewish history is that when a Jew suffers anywhere, we all suffer.

We seem to be forgetting this lesson today.

While Israel continues to hold emotional resonance throughout the American Jewish community, we have yet to display the same levels of solidarity as in the past. Yes, we attend rallies. We telephone Congress and the President. We insist, in Letters to the Editor and open debates, that Israel is fighting a war against terror launched by those who rejected the peace process. Words, however, only amount to so much. A more profound indication of our support would be a substantially increased level of philanthropy to meet the crisis. While emergency funds have been raised, the levels are nowhere near the need.

Even more important than money is our physical presence. For the past 50 years, personal visits to Israel as well as the act of Aliyah have served as the most profound expression of solidarity with our brethren in the Holy Land. During the current crisis, American Jews have shamefully abrogated their responsibility. Quite literally, we are abandoning Israel when it needs us most.

True, day-to-day life in Israel is not easy. There are dangers inherent in even mundane tasks. The most primal parental instinct is to protect one's children, and it is not easy to urge moms and dads to send their kids to a region perceived as unsafe. But we must ask ourselves: if we exist only for ourselves in the comfort of American safety, if we do not stand united with Israel during its moments of crisis, what are we as a people?

Jewish unity is not an empty cliché, but a spiritual concept rooted in an awareness of our common destiny. It is for this reason that the severe reduction of American Jewish

visits to Israel is alarming. It calls to mind the image of a mercenary relationship: Israelis will fight for a Jewish future, and American Jews will cheer them on from the sidelines. The situation is exacerbated by the demographics. America has the most populous Jewish community in the world. Avoiding Israel inflicts hardship not only by decimating Israel's tourism industry. On a deeper level, it makes the unprecedented emotional claim that we are united with Israelis only when it is convenient for us. When the situation becomes difficult, they are on their own.

Now is the time to buttress and even expand trips to Israel for adults and youth alike. The need is crucial among young adults, who lack memories of Israel's galvanizing historical moments such as its heroic birth in 1948 or its miraculous triumph over annihilation in 1967. Young people are more prone to take Israel for granted or, worse yet, to view it through the lens of the media as an oppressive and unjust regional superpower. Israel's contemporary image as Goliath wins out over its historical experience as David. When I visit college campuses, I sense a greatly diminished interest in Israel as the bedrock of Jewish life. The only way to reverse this trend is to vastly expand our programs that bring people to Israel.

The unrecognized power of visits to Israel lies not in the ancient buildings and sites, although these too are vital, but in transformative encounters between people. Birthright Israel, the revolutionary program to reconnect young Jews with Jewish identity, also serves to reestablish Israel's centrality in the lives of Diaspora Jewry. One underlying premise of Birthright Israel is that Israel and Diaspora Jews are one people who cannot subsist in separation. Diaspora Jews need Israel as a foundation of history and heritage, while Israelis need Diaspora Jews as a reminder that Jewish identity transcends place and time.

In Birthright Israel, we learned the symbiotic power of peer-to-peer experiences when we implemented a major locus of Birthright programs, the *mifgashim*, or encounters, between Diaspora and Israeli Jews. The idea was to allow Birthright participants to meet with Israelis in their same age cohort. At first, because of the difficulty of scheduling time with Israelis who were serving in the Army, most *mifgashim* were short-lived, lasting less than a single day. But after speaking with the Education Officer of the Israel Defense Force, we learned a startling fact: Israelis were as moved and transformed by their encounters as were the Birthright participants! By making friendships with their counterparts in the Diaspora, they became profoundly aware of the Jewish, as opposed to the exclusively Israeli, aspects of their identity. The leadership of the Army was so impressed by the character-building nature of *mifgashim* that it granted soldiers five days to spend with Birthright groups. By the second year, the scale of *mifgashim* had been elevated. Ninety-five percent lasted between two and ten days. *Mifgashim* now form the heart of Birthright Israel trips. They emphasize the dual-pronged approach employed by Birthright Israel to inculcate Jewish identity: reuniting with Jewish values and history, and reuniting with the people of *clal Yisrael*.

At this critical juncture, we must do more than buy Israeli goods and write to Congress. It is time for all of us — individuals, philanthropies, Federations — to recommit to programs that bridge the gap between the wide varieties of worldwide Jewish experience and that teach, through tangible, peer-to-peer experiences, that each of us is responsible for the other. 🌸

Michael H. Steinhardt is Chairman of Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation.

I am a student in the Pardes Educators Program, and I live in Jerusalem. This past August, while I was in America for my wedding, a terrorist's bomb killed two of my classmates while they sat eating lunch in Hebrew University's Frank Sinatra Cafe.

Ben Blutstein's funeral was on Friday, my wedding was on Sunday, and Marla Bennett's funeral was on Monday. My wedding will forever be associated with this communal trauma. A number of our guests were at one or the other funeral. Rabbi Daniel Landes, the Rosh Yeshiva of Pardes and our officiant, traveled from Ben's funeral in Harrisburg to our wedding in New Jersey, then immediately to Marla's funeral in San Diego.

Our community came together for our wedding — some in spite of the pain, and others because of it. We had no idea how to proceed under the circumstances, but our friends insisted. They needed to dance and sing just to keep from crying. They needed to fulfill the mitzvah of gladdening the bride and groom. They needed to celebrate as well as mourn. And nobody knows better how to do that than those who have lived in Jerusalem.

My parents, and all those present at the wedding, felt the power of our community — the power of people drawn together by ideology and learning, shared danger and shared joy, but most of all by shared commitment. In tears at the end of the wedding, my parents told me how they finally understood why I live in Israel. And why, time and again despite the danger, I return. To live in Israel, in Jerusalem, is to experience how important, how precious and how sacred life can be.

The sadness of our friends and family at our departure was clearly deepened by their fear for our safety. But while we could understand their feelings, my wife and I did not consider, not even for a second, remaining in America. One expects that it should have been a more difficult decision. Let me try to explain why it was not.

First, and this for me is an essential distinction, I am not a tourist in Israel. I am an *oleh*, a new immigrant. Formally, this means that I am a citizen of Israel. I can describe in detail when and how this happened. I remember getting the necessary documents to prove my Jewishness. I remember the trip to the Ministry of the Interior. I remember getting my *oleh* identity card.

But I am also an *oleh* in a deeper sense.

Andrew Katz received a BA and MA from Stanford University in 1994, and has served as a leader and educator in a variety of Jewish institutions. He and his wife Emily Shapiro make their home in Jerusalem.

NOW MORE THAN EVER: Why I Live In Israel

by ANDREW KATZ



Israel is my point of reference, and I don't know exactly when or how that happened. But I do know that my formal change of status simply made explicit what had, for a long time, been implicit — that being a Jew was more central to my identity than being an American. And whether or not I planned to live the rest of my life in Israel, the clearest expression I could find for this epiphany was formally changing my status. It was an act aimed at harmonizing my internal and external realities.

I believe that how we live is a function of how we handle fear of our own mortality. We can either accept it, or live in denial. We can believe in something more, or we can believe that this is all there is.

Growing up in suburban America, the choice seemed clear — mortality was not to be faced. Instead, life is spent prolonging life. Install a security system. Buy a safer car. Go to the best doctor. Exercise

and take vitamins.

I did not feel part of something greater. Rather, the message seemed to be that this life is all you have; fill it with as much as possible. The idea that “you can't take it with you” did not mean one should devalue possessions. Rather, it meant making sure to get them early so you can enjoy them before you die.

I had a nagging feeling that no matter how long or full a life I might lead in America, it would still feel empty. And my fear of death is the fear of living an empty life. In Israel, I may have a higher risk of dying, but I have a lower risk of never really living.

Israel is of paramount importance to the Jewish people. On this, many American Jews agree. But I choose to demonstrate my commitment to Israel by living here, because I am not able to stomach the idea of other people paying the ultimate price to make it a reality while I sit comfortably in America. Is my blood redder than theirs?

Someday, Jews will look back at this moment in history and see clearly that Israel was the Jewish people's central project. Everything else will be seen as marginal.

I recognize that there are many who disagree. Of those who agree in principle, many prefer to do what they can from America. I spent two years working at United Jewish Communities with people whose commitment to Israel I do not question.

But living here, I regularly visit places mentioned in the Bible. I speak Hebrew every day with Jews whose ancestors were, just 50 years ago, dispersed all over the globe. I celebrate Shabbat, not only with my immediate community, but with the entire country. I do not just face East when I pray; I use local landmarks to orient myself toward the Temple Mount itself. Every purchase I make helps the Israeli economy. And, when I want to impact Israeli policy, I vote.

Most importantly, I am privileged to be surrounded by people who are lit up by the same passion. People like Ben and Marla, who, prior to dying tragically, lived heroically. 🌸

Solidarity Breeds Responsibility

by RABBI DAVID ELLENSON

Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel once observed that religion arises in the consciousness of human beings when life addresses us with questions that touch the very core of our being: issues that define our character as souls created in the image of God, and moments that mark the moral-spiritual fiber of a community. Sometimes the quotidian tasks of ordinary life provide the testing ground that reveals such character. At other moments, an extraordinary challenge arises that defines the essence of who we are both as individuals and as members of a community.

The task of maintaining the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Year-in-Israel Program for all our cantorial, education and rabbinic students during these past months of terror in Israel has provided such a trial for the HUC-JIR community. The resolve of our Board of Governors to maintain our program has revealed the character of our school and our deepest commitments during this time of crisis. As all decisions are made in context, let me attempt to provide an outline of the historical background and immediate

Rabbi David Ellenson is President of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.



We call upon our graduates to recognize that they are of a people, that Jews throughout the world share a covenant of destiny.

events that have framed and directed the response of HUC-JIR to Israel during this past year.

A brief recapitulation of the College-Institute and its attitudes towards Jewish national rebirth in *Eretz Yisrael* is instructive for an understanding of the central role *Medinat Yisrael* now plays in the life of HUC-JIR. Kaufmann Kohler, who served as President of HUC from 1902-1923, had authored the seminal Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, which promulgated what was then the philosophy of the American Reform Movement. In keeping with early Reform ideas, Kohler was unalterably opposed to the Zionist Movement. During the first years of the twentieth century, Rabbi Kohler dismissed every single faculty member

from the Cincinnati campus who viewed Zionism in congenial terms and he refused to allow modern Hebrew literature and language to be included in the curriculum. In the 1920s, Stephen S. Wise at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York and HUC faculty members such as Samuel Cohon in Cincinnati cast their own Zionist feelings upon the Reform Movement in general and HUC and JIR in particular. Wise was arguably the leading Zionist in the United States

during his lifetime. Cohon authored the Reform Movement's 1937 Columbus Platform, which maintained that it was the religious duty of all Reform Jews to aid in the task of rebuilding a Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. The influence of these men, combined with an influx of students of Eastern European descent in the halls of HUC

and JIR, reversed the stance that President Kohler had put forth on the question of Jewish nationalism. Nelson Glueck, the famed archeologist-President of HUC-JIR, walked in the footsteps of Rabbi Wise and Professor Cohon. Under his leadership, the Jerusalem campus of HUC-JIR was born in 1963. Alfred Gottschalk, in turn, applied and expanded the vision Nelson Glueck had put forth. Rabbi Gottschalk became the chief architect of an educational policy that has marked HUC-JIR for over three decades. Indeed, since 1970 a year of study in Israel has been a mandatory part of the course of study for every rabbi ordained at the College-Institute.

The reasons for this policy are several. On a basic level, Israel provides an

unparalleled laboratory for the acquisition of modern spoken Hebrew by our students. More profoundly, Jerusalem introduces our students to the reality of a diverse and vibrant Jewish people who have returned to our ancestral homeland from the four corners of the earth — an exposure to *kibbutz galuyot* that could never be matched in the Diaspora. Allied to this is the recognition that the State of Israel occupies a central position in the life of the Jewish people and religion today, and HUC-JIR therefore asserts that all persons whom the College-Institute educates for roles of leadership in the contemporary Jewish community must have an extended first-hand acquaintance with the reality of Jewish national rebirth as evidenced in the State today.

Our students' sojourn in Israel therefore ultimately bespeaks a religious-spiritual commitment that Shimon Rawidowicz captured in his famed work, "Jerusalem and Babylon." In this piece, the late head of the Near Eastern and Judaic Studies Department at Brandeis University employed the two sites contained in his title as emblematic of Jewish existence in both the Land of Israel and the Diaspora, and he utilized the metaphor of an ellipsis to capture the integral connectedness that binds Jews everywhere into one people. The ideals of *achdut* and *areivut* — Jewish solidarity and mutual responsibility — that emerge from these teachings are the foundational components of the education HUC-JIR provides for our students, and Israel constitutes the lynchpin in this educational process of religious formation.

We believe that the journey to Jewish religious leadership is much more than an individual spiritual quest. We call upon our graduates to recognize that they are part of a people, that Jews throughout the world share a covenant of destiny. This conviction animates and

informs our course of study at HUC-JIR. Our students must recognize that their responsibility extends to the Jewish family everywhere.

All this has been at stake in the discussions that have tested the ongoing commitment of the College-Institute to our Year-in-Israel program. Our Board of Governors and I are keenly aware of and have been deeply distressed by the marked escalation in the cycle of violence in Israel during these past two years. At the same time, members of our Board of Governors and I have made numerous trips to Israel during this time, and we have seen that life continues. We have had countless searching discussions with colleagues and students both in Israel and in the Diaspora. In the end, we are convinced that our unanimous decision to maintain our Year-in-Israel requirement for our students is both correct and responsible. It is also consistent with the religious mandate and moral undertaking that inform the mission of HUC-JIR.

Speaking on March 15, 1948, at his inauguration as President of Hebrew Union College, just a scant two months before the State of Israel was born, Nelson Glueck observed



that the soon-to-emerge Jewish State was "literally under fire." He went on to state that "to abandon" an embryonic Israel would grant "license to terror." Dr. Glueck refused to do so. We who have inherited his mantle can do no less. 🌸

RENEWING OUR TIES TO ISRAEL

by ANDREA FRAM PLOTKIN

In the face of the current *matzav*, the need for Israel education is greater than ever. We face a time when few teens and young adults are traveling to Israel. They lack the experience of personal engagement with the land that often leads to a lifetime love for the people and for the state of Israel. The question is, how do we "hardwire" the American



Jewish community to intensify its connection to, understanding of and support for Israel? This requires new approaches to Israel education that reflect the complex realities of the 21st Century.

The Jewish Renaissance and Renewal alliance of United Jewish Communities (UJC) and the Jewish Education Service of North America (JESNA) has been struggling with just these questions. We began almost two years ago with the development of the *Israel Education Resource Book*. The book, anchored with the *Israel NOW Solidarity Response Curriculum* developed by the Jewish Education Center of Cleveland, is a compilation of curricula, one-time programs, bibliographies and website listings. It serves as a resource aid to day schools and supplementary schools across the country. An online, regularly updated version of the book is available at www.ujc.org/content_display.html?ArticleID=38208.

The Jewish Renaissance and Renewal alliance sponsored the North American Alliance for Jewish Youth "Israel In Our Lives" summer camp retreat, in which teen leaders learned about Israel advocacy. We have also embarked on Israel Education Month (January 19-February 16, 2003), a collaborative effort between the Jewish Renaissance and Renewal alliance and the Jewish Agency for Israel's Education Department in cooperation with a host of religious education and communal organizations. Israel Education Month is the launching pad for a wide range of activities reaching children, youth, college students and adults. This endeavor will galvanize a continuing effort to renew and expand educational engagement with Israel in North America.

Andrea Fram Plotkin is Staff Associate for the Jewish Renaissance and Renewal alliance of UJC/JESNA.



We are ever respectful of the differences among us and always cognizant of the fact that we have equal ownership of this critical endeavor.

ONE VOICE: Us Hear Roar

by ADENA K. BERKOWITZ
and MADELEINE BRECHER

An old Jewish joke tells the story of two friends reading the newspaper in a cafe. The first friend says, "Do you consider yourself an optimist or a pessimist?" The second friend replies, "An optimist, of course!" The first friend then asks, "Well, if that's the case, why do you always look so sad?" The second friend replies, "Who said it's easy to be an optimist?"

These days it certainly hasn't been easy to be an optimist. The horrific episodes in Israel coupled with the virulent anti-Semitism rearing its head around the world have left many of us with a sense of despair and frustration. What could we do to show Israel that we

care, to show Jews living in embattled areas confronting anti-Semitism on a daily basis that they are not alone?

With these sentiments in mind, Blu Greenberg, the President of the Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance (JOFA), raised the idea of creating a coalition of American Jewish women's organizations that would come together to help Israel. Blu's vision rested on the premise that if we could harness the power of so many women, that which unites us would be greater than what divides us. And so the idea of One Voice: Jewish Women for Israel was born.

Implementing a Grass Roots Campaign

With JOFA serving as catalyst, women's groups from across the denominational and ideological spectrum were called together for an exploratory meeting. We could feel the electricity as women from fervently Orthodox groups broke bread with women from more progressive groups. These were women who might never have had a chance to meet and work together.

Our goal was to establish a working coalition that could mobilize the more

than one million women represented by our constituent organizations. Then, through consensus and conversation, we would draft a mission statement and devise a formula that would allow us to achieve our purpose. The perilous situation in Israel created a sense of urgency in our deliberations. Critical decisions were agreed upon in record time. However, the name One Voice created quite a stir at the start, with some perceiving the title as monolithic. With that in mind, we added the following sentence to our mission statement: *A unique coalition whose strength is that it represents a broad spectrum of Jewish political and religious views in a united effort.* This change added a greater comfort level for the diverse groups involved.

In a time of crisis, it was not difficult to find points of unity. We would stand in solidarity with the State of Israel and its people for a strong and enduring US-Israel relationship; with Israel and America in the fight against terror; and against the scourge of anti-Semitism, bigotry and racism wherever it exists. We, in One Voice, stand always in pursuit of peace.

Dr. Adena K. Berkowitz established the Hadassah National Center For Attorneys' Councils. She is a Board Member of the Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance and works as a private consultant in New York. **Madeleine Brecher** is a National Vice President of the National Council of Jewish Women and Chair of its Strategies to Prevent Domestic Violence (StoP) initiative. Together, they are Co-Coordinator of One Voice.

Debate continued on how to achieve our objectives quickly and efficiently. We decided to focus our efforts on national Call-In days, asking women to “Take Five” minutes out of their busy day to speak out for Israel. Coalition partners could easily distribute our step-by-step Take Five education/action guide on the current issue to their members. In addition, these same members could forward the message via e-mail to their own friends and relatives, thus expanding our clout exponentially.

Our first call-in day took place at the end of June 2002 and was directed at thanking Congress for its ongoing support of Israel and urging that they continue to uphold Israel’s right to defend itself against terror. We know that votes are a powerful tool and that Senators and Representatives listen to the views of their constituents. Through feedback from numerous congressional offices across America, we learned that calls for Israel were extremely high on that day.

The second call-in day took place in mid September 2002, between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. This day was directed toward calling the White House to thank President Bush for his support of Israel, and among other points, urging the U.S. government to bring the terrorist killers of Americans to justice. We recognized that the President listens to the views of American voters and makes decisions based upon his sense of public sympathy. Once again, through the network of our constituent membership, along with e-mails to rabbis urging them to announce this call-in day from their pulpits, the White House lines were jammed.

Most recently, in November 2002, a day was set aside to call the Finnish government to protest its decision to ban the export of sample units of a defensive chemical warfare alarm agent to Israel. The response was so great that, in a matter of hours, Finnish consulates around the country were forced to add a recorded message where callers could leave their comments on this specific issue!

Creating Unity

How has One Voice: Jewish Women for Israel succeeded, in a few short months, in fostering a sense of unity in an age of fractured alliances? We take great pride in our diversity. Eleven women’s organizations make up our coalition including the American Jewish Congress Commission for Women’s Equality; AMIT; Hadassah, The

Women’s Zionist Organization of America, Inc.; Jewish Women International; JOFA, The Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance; NA’AMAT, USA; National Council of Jewish Women; Women of Reform Judaism; Women’s American ORT; Women’s Branch of the Orthodox Union; and Women’s League for Conservative Judaism.

It is a tribute to these organizations that we have been able to focus on what unites us: standing in solidarity with the State of Israel and its people and speaking out against anti-Semitism, bigotry and racism. Clearly, though, there is another set of principles governing our actions which has played a large role in our success so far.

We are ever respectful of the differences among us and always cognizant of the fact that we have equal ownership of this critical endeavor. Therefore, we have gone to great lengths to obtain consensus before we move forward with any project. While we enjoy sharing the successes of

our individual organizations at our meetings, we never promote one organization over another and have, in the administration of One Voice, essentially done away with titles. Because of our commitment to advancing our mission, we have all worked hard at building trust between organizations and individuals.

One Voice: Jewish Women for Israel was born at a critical time, when American Jewish women had an urgent need to connect with and support Israel during this difficult period. It was clear to us that the sum of all the organizations — one million strong — wielded more clout than the individual parts. We came together to make our voices heard. As the Jewish Telegraphic Agency so aptly put it in a recent article, “We Are Jewish Women, Hear Us Roar!” We, the women of One Voice, take great pride in the opportunities we have created to help our beloved Israel. ✨

THE MIFGASHIM WILL BE TELEVISED

by SARAH H. WENDELL

Camp Young Judaea Sprout Lake, a Zionist camp sponsored by Hadassah, recently received a grant from the Foundation for Jewish Camping to set up a landmark program: a videoconferencing station at camp called Virtual Mifgashim. Drawing on the multiple meanings of the Hebrew word “mifgash,” which loosely translated means “peer encounter,” Virtual Mifgashim allowed campers at CYJ Sprout Lake and the Tsofim Camp in Park Ofek, Israel, to spend a few hours each day connected live through state-of-the-art video conferencing equipment.

With the recent tensions in Israel, coupled with the drop in tourism and sponsored Israel trip participation, CYJ Sprout Lake Director Helene Drobenare wanted to find a unique way to give the campers an opportunity to reach Israel without leaving home. “Our challenge is... to continually build new doorways of communication,” Drobenare noted. “In the ideal world we could bring all of our campers to Israel for the summer, but we can’t do that. So we figured, why not bring Israel to them?”

What made the Virtual Mifgashim program a deeply important aspect of this past summer was the common ground the two groups had in common: terrorism. According to Nicole Siegel,



a staff member at CYJ Sprout Lake responsible for the Virtual Mifgashim program, “the questions about terrorism and the current situation in Israel would come out, and they [the Israelis] would say that it was difficult in Israel, but they weren’t scared, and were committed to continuing life as normally as possible.” She added, “The Israelis always mentioned attitudes of ‘kadima’ — moving forward with life.”

“It was a good lesson for the kids at our camp, not only because of 9/11 but also because of the terrorist attacks [in Israel] this summer,” Siegel explained. “It was important for our kids to see that it’s not wrong to be happy even if things around you are scary and sad.”

Sarah H. Wendell is the Registrar, Organatrix, and Webmaster for Camp Young Judaea Sprout Lake.

STUDENT VOICES ON ISRAEL: Lessons from Listening

by WAYNE L. FIRESTONE



The mood regarding Israel identification is noticeably different this year from last year, and our community's collective approach should be guided by these positive developments even if exceptional negative cases continue to grab media attention.

For those in the community seeking to engage Jewish college students in Israel advocacy and education, there are several important insights to be gleaned from recent experiences on campus. The mood regarding Israel identification is noticeably different this year from last year, and our community's collective approach should be guided by these positive developments even if exceptional negative cases continue to grab media attention.

According to campus professionals and student activists across the country, some of the polarization, intimidation and general apathy that has characterized the campus environment for much of the *al-aksa* period of violence has started to subside in favor of a more inquisitive Jewish populace. Discussion and dissemination of information on the Middle East conflict is reportedly meeting less resistance, although the method and approach to such encounters often determine whether a student will be "turned on" or "turned off" to the message.

A central question that Hillel and other campus organizations are addressing is how to increase Jewish student identity and solidarity with Israel during a time of crisis. To be sure, efforts to fortify and refocus Israel education and advocacy efforts on campus should be prioritized in spite of, not necessarily because of the current violence against Israel.

In gauging responses from students and campus professionals regarding what is working and what is not working on campus this year, it is possible to identify some initial trends that may guide our collective reorientation and repositioning. The trends can be divided into three broad categories that relate to: (1) the peer approach dynamic, (2) methods for engagement and (3) operating parameters for college venue activity.

Regarding the first category, arguably the most successful initial approaches to students on campus today are made by peers, e.g., other students or recent graduates. Hillel has identified a corps of Israel mission alumni and participants in leadership programs to operate a network of Israel fellows —The Grinspoon interns— on over 50 campuses. The network is an example of a grass roots effort that is empowered by a national coordinator. The coordinator, a recent college graduate, helps facilitate and troubleshoot on specific campuses and simultaneously builds a support network of peers who are "in the know" about specific campus environments.

Wayne L. Firestone is Director of the Center for Israel Affairs at the Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life.

This local “intelligence” is translated into regular conversations, activities and programming in popular (and populated) hot spots around campus.

Also in this category, it is worth noting the success of the Israeli student participants in the Israel at Heart initiative, where teams of three diverse Israeli students engaged their peers in dialogue regarding day-to-day life in Israel from a peer—as opposed to professional or official—perspective. For many students on campus, Jewish and non-Jewish, this was the first time they encountered a female Jewish soldier, an Ethiopian Jew, a Jew from an Arab country, etc. Almost uniformly wherever the Israelis spoke, student audiences accepted the authenticity of their personal reflections and extended to them an opportunity to participate in meaningful discussions on campus. That they were not official government spokespersons and actually differed in their particular political and religious perspectives *enhanced* rather than undermined their credibility in the campus setting.

Regarding methods for engagement, the community has received some interesting student feedback, albeit mostly about what does not work, from a series of focus group sessions with unaffiliated and uninvolved Jewish students. Jewish organizations have been invited to share materials and suggestions about existing and prospective approaches and to observe student discussions. While it is probably premature to extrapolate definitive conclusions from these privately financed initiatives, it is important to recognize the strong negative attitudes regarding a number of top-down approaches. Students specifically criticized the generic use of lecturers, rabbis, official spokesman and other experts as well as national advertising efforts transplanted to local campuses. Moreover, unengaged students as well as core activists consistently rejected “scripted” materials and/or one-sided encapsulated histories that are perceived as propagandistic.

What should be noted in these initial polling exercises is that even the “unengaged,” when properly induced and offered a non-threatening environment, will actually talk and engage. This dynamic informs the second part of this discussion — what tools are considered effective? One empirical example from this semester is the AIPAC initiative to



Unengaged students as well as core activists consistently rejected “scripted” materials and/or one-sided encapsulated histories that are perceived as propagandistic.

empower local activists by circulating student-generated petitions and then publishing them in the local newspaper on sixty target campuses nationwide. The significance of this campaign is less about the number of students who actually sign, but more about the dialogue it has created. This effort should not be viewed as a litmus test or poll for Israel support on campus. The organizers of the effort report that for every signature they receive there are at least two students who do not sign, but expressed willingness to engage in dialogue on the subject, receive more materials, or attend educational programs in the future in order to become informed on the topic. To date AIPAC estimates that over 100,000 such conversations have taken place, some in Hillel houses, but many outside.

Finally, it is important to recognize certain inherent parameters that guide Jewish student life programming on campus. Namely, advocacy cannot be perceived by students as drowning out legitimate discussion and even criticism. Perhaps not ironically, it was the very same University of Michigan student

activists who successfully undercut the ineffectual divestment conference on their campus this October, who a year earlier coined an inclusive and proactive slogan that invited students to stand with Israel, “Wherever we Stand.” The slogan has caught on nationally at Hillel for many if not all students and campus professionals. The slogan operationally defines our organization’s “big tent” approach. Although we have been criticized for not having a uniform message, this perceived weakness can also be viewed as an asset. This is true where one views a college campus promoting debate and discussion as the *raison d’être* of the institution.

The challenge to our community now is to act and follow up on some of the successful introductory encounters from the Fall semester as opportunities for informal education, creative cultural and religious engagement programming, and genuine relationship and community building. All of these efforts must be guided by student voices. The latter should include an element of Jewish peoplehood that may have unwittingly faded — on and off campus — over the past several years. ✨

I have no compunction about actively supporting American efforts to encourage Israel's re-engagement with the Palestinians, at the earliest practical moment, while simultaneously demonstrating my solidarity with Israel.

The Necessity for Unity, the Place for Dissent

by **MICHAEL SONNENFELDT**

The past two years have been difficult for Israel and deeply troubling for all those who care about her future. In one respect, times like these present unique challenges for Jews in the Diaspora that do not confront Jews in Israel. After all, an Israeli does not have to find ways to express solidarity with the Jewish state. He does that simply by waking up, going to school or work, or shopping at the mall. In the Diaspora, it is somewhat more complicated.

Clearly, there are a myriad of ways for Diaspora Jews to demonstrate solidarity. Many of them are not political. Buying Israeli products, visiting Israel and lobbying elected officials to support aid to Israel are all both helpful and important. Some also choose to express their support by participating in pro-Israel demonstrations, solidarity rallies and marches.

At the same time, even as we demonstrate our solidarity with Israel, some of us have disagreements with specific Israeli policies or concerns about the vicious

cycle of violence that nobody — neither the Israelis nor the Palestinians — seems able to stem. We must ask ourselves: Are demonstrations of support sufficient? Do we not need to find additional ways to help achieve peace and security?

I think we can and we must.

I admit I was an unapologetic supporter of the course Yitzhak Rabin chose when he began the Oslo process. I do not categorize myself as left or right. Perhaps I would consider myself a “security hawk,” a term Rabin applied to himself.

It was out of a concern for Israel's security that Rabin made the decision to recognize the PLO and begin the process of negotiations. He did not do so out of an altruistic love of Palestinians, but only after concluding that a new relationship with them (and, in fact, with all of Israel's immediate neighbors) was essential to neutralizing the existential threat posed by weapons of mass destruction in the hands of Iraq, Iran, Libya or one of the terror networks.

Rabin also believed that Israel would only succeed in eliminating the threat posed by Palestinian terrorism when the Palestinian mainstream joined Israel in fighting it. He believed that any security

benefits that might accrue from possession of the West Bank and Gaza were more than outweighed by the continuing violence and the multitude of threats to Israel that retention of all the territories would guarantee.

I believe Rabin had it right.

It is widely conceded across the political spectrum that weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the terror-backing states pose the number one threat to Israel's existence, while the success that security cooperation had in reducing terrorism during the years following Oslo demonstrated that without Palestinian cooperation, terror will continue to be a blight on the Jewish state.

Nothing that has occurred over the past two years has altered the fundamental soundness of Rabin's beliefs. Events have certainly called into question the achievability of Rabin's objectives, but not the benefits of his plan. During the few years prior to the Camp David summit of 2000, Israel endured far less terror than before. The economy was booming with foreign investment. Hotels were built to accommodate the sharp increase in tourism. Trade and diplomatic relations were opened with nations in Asia and Africa (including Arab states), which had never considered deal-

Michael Sonnenfeldt, past Chairman of the Israel Policy Forum, currently serves as Co-Chair of the Capital Campaign for the JCC in Manhattan, and as a Vice Chair of Ben Gurion University of the Negev.



ing with Israel before.

That all ended when Yasir Arafat rejected Prime Minister Barak's offer at Camp David. Subsequently, he made no effort to end (and there is ample evidence he even encouraged) the violence that broke out. This violence was a rejection of Oslo's key tenet, which was that disputes would be resolved through negotiations and not violence.

Still, I have no compunction about actively supporting American efforts to encourage Israel's re-engagement with the Palestinians, at the earliest practical moment, while simultaneously demonstrating my solidarity with Israel. There still appears to be significant support on each side of the conflict for a two-state solution along the lines of (or some variant of) the framework hammered out at Taba in December 2000. I strongly believe that efforts to renew negotiations could be a step in the right direction. Although I fully support the prerequisite of a legitimate negotiating partner, I believe the status quo is not advancing Israel's security. As the opportunities arise, much more can be done to bring the parties back to the table. To be sure, this time, steps to insure compliance and real preparations for peace, including

the cessation of incitement and hatred, should be key elements in the negotiations.

The question is sometimes asked about the legitimacy of promoting positions that may be at odds with Israeli policies. As an American, I know that my primary role is as an advocate within my own country. That is why my main efforts are designed to encourage the U.S. government — our government — to fulfill its dual role in the Middle East: as Israel's most important friend and ally, and as a credible mediator of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

These views have not always been popular with leaders of the American Jewish community. With respect to the complex issue of the American role in the peace process, some have at times found themselves on a high wire act, trying to represent the views of the Government of Israel — even when such views were clearly out of sync with the views held by a majority of American Jews. Today, as Israel is threatened to a greater degree than at any time in the recent past, these differences have narrowed.

But still, it is important to remember that these differences do not hinge on the goals of security and prosperity, but rather the best methods to achieve them. There's

nothing wrong with that. Dissent is enshrined in American history, Israeli political life and Jewish tradition itself. Zionism itself was an act of dissent against a mainstream that was anti-Zionist. During the Holocaust, those American Jewish activists who were most vocal in promoting the rescue of European Jewry dissented from mainstream Jewish organizations that deferred to the American government.

Nevertheless, we must distinguish between those who differ on how Israel should confront her enemies, and those who differ on whether Israel has a right to exist. These are critical distinctions. Motive does matter.

Each of us who cares about Israel must find the course of solidarity most in keeping with who we are as Jews and as human beings. At times like these, silence or business as usual is almost unimaginable. We need not all choose the same route. But as long as we have Israel's best interests at heart, and we remain true to ourselves, we should each draw the courage to continue to support and pursue efforts to insure that the Jewish state will find peace with her neighbors, and be free of the threats that, sadly, continue to threaten her very survival. ❀



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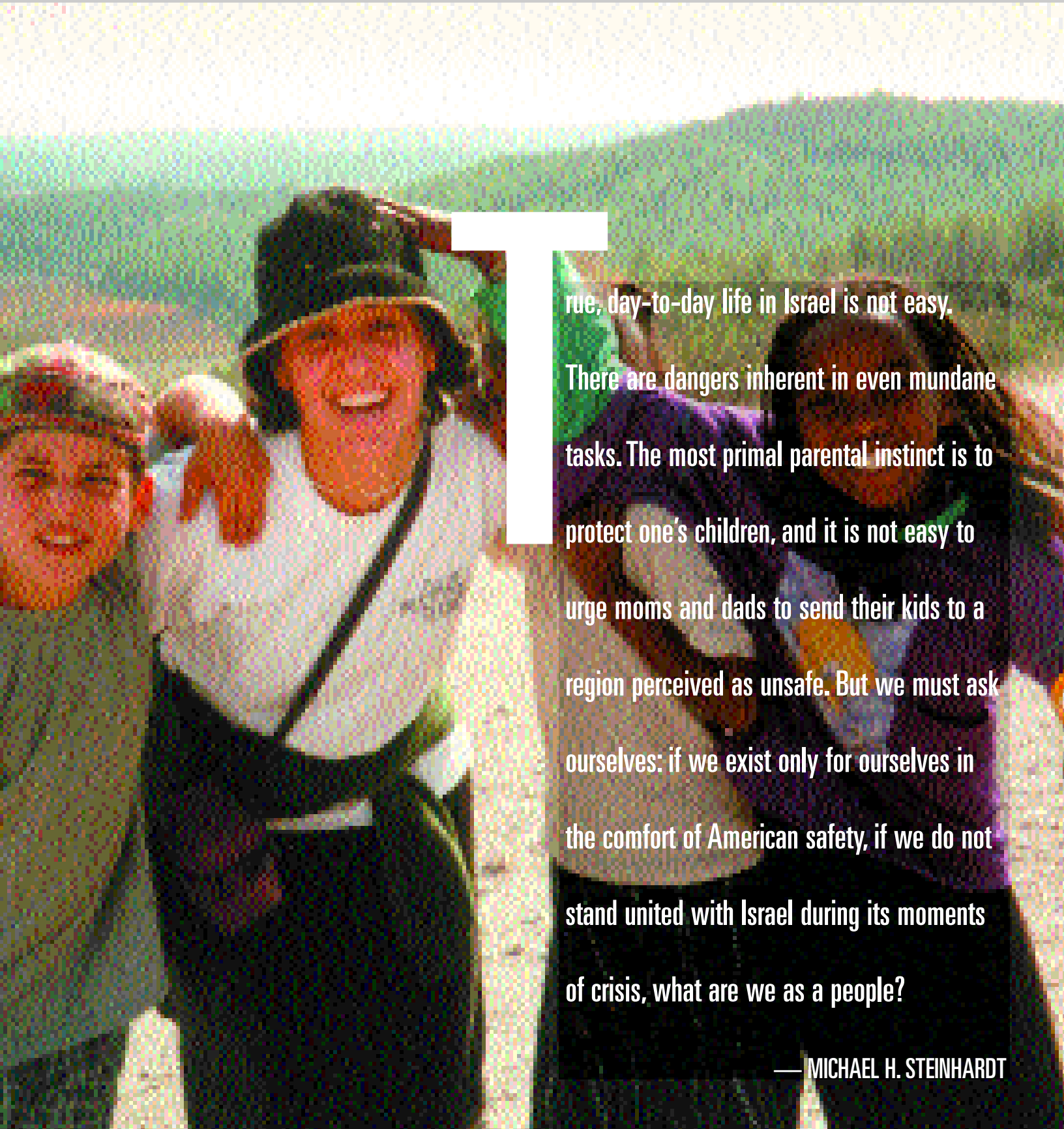
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T rue, day-to-day life in Israel is not easy. There are dangers inherent in even mundane tasks. The most primal parental instinct is to protect one's children, and it is not easy to urge moms and dads to send their kids to a region perceived as unsafe. But we must ask ourselves: if we exist only for ourselves in the comfort of American safety, if we do not stand united with Israel during its moments of crisis, what are we as a people?

—MICHAEL H. STEINHARDT