The New Jewish Student and Youth Movements, 1965-1972: A Perspective View

by

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to

PAM

who made it happen

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"Take fast hold of instruction, let
her not go;
Keep her, for she is thy life."

- *Proverbs* 4:13

"And it is said,
Yet will I remember the covenant I made with you
in the days of your youth,
And I will establish an everlasting covenant
with you."

- from *Tefilat Musaf*
(Afternoon service)
Rosh HaShanah

"I was a son unto my father
And he taught me, and he said to me,
Let your heart hold fast my words..."

- *Proverbs*

"There is one true path.
But every man must find his own gate
that opens on to it."

- Old Taoist saying

"Once your mother dies,
nobody really cares for you any more."

- George Cukor

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Goals

This study will attempt to give a perspective view and analysis of some of the major trends and developments in Jewish student and youth movements in the United States during and over the period of 1965 to 1972. It will concentrate upon youth groups and movements that existed, or were initiated, grew, developed, and changed during this period among the Jewish youth of college-age, or generally from ages seventeen through twenty-five, within the Jewish community, and in the context of American societal developments. Its main emphasis is upon groups and movements that arose among Jewish youth in the "college world." It will not, on the other hand, attempt to deal with the wide range of "normative" events and patterns among the great masses of Jews or Jewish youth as individuals, and with normative studies of feelings, attitudes, and changes in Jewish life, and reactions to and perceptions of events in the surrounding world as perceived by Jewish individuals per se. The focus of this study is upon "collective" aspects of Jewish youth attitude, behavior, and perception of and con-

ception about the surrounding world, and the patterns of group formation, behavior, and relationship of Jewish youth within formal and less formal organizations. This may be illustrated by the study and analysis of different Jewish youth organizations and movements that appear to be largely representative of the major "group" trends and patterns in the world of those Jewish youth in the period studied. It will also discuss some plausible bases for these developments. Moreover, it will discuss ways in which these trends and developments among different Jewish youth have been functional or meaningful to them, and some realms and possibilities and directions for changes and further developments in those groups as well.

The period under study is interesting and was chosen for study, in that a number of differing sources, as shall be seen, suggest that this was a formative period for the development of three intertwined types of social and self-consciousness among segments of American society: the period 1965-1972 saw the emergence of self-pride and self-confidence among American ethnic minority groups, preeminently Blacks, followed by a similar growth among members of other minority groups such as Mexican-Americans; this period saw the emergence of a strong and self-confident politically-oriented youth culture centered around college campuses and often but not pervasively of a radical-leftist persuasion, a movement that gave "youth" a consciousness of themselves

as a political force distinct from their parents; and the emergence of new approaches to that component of social morality and human relations ideology represented by religion rather than by political activism, with the concomitant growth of alternative religious belief systems, alternative religious life-styles, and a return of many youth to religious belief systems and life-styles characteristic of previous eras in American history. Many social sources also suggest that by 1972 or 1973 at the latest, as we shall see, the impact of the economic recession on American life, the tenure of a more conservative group of leaders in government at a national level and also at local levels, and the growth of divisiveness and fragmentation among different sectors of both political and other youth movements spelled a demise of what had been termed a broad "youth movement" in American in the middle and later 1960s. It is unclear even at this time as to what forces in what proportion spelled the downturn of the youth developments of the period 1965-1972, as some students of the phenomenon say. However some effort to deal with aspects of this downturn will be dealt with in this study. And an effort will be made to study and elucidate the parameters, the patterns and the problems of what can be seen as a "landmark" period of youth political and related ideological culture and behavior.

The developments of the period were as we indicate preeminently a product of the campus and a consciousness

evoked on and by the campus; and fully ninety percent of American Jewish youth of college age in this period attended college. It is to the patterns and problems of the "group life" of the Jewish youth of the collegiate age realm, roughly aged seventeen through twenty-five, over this period of 1965-1972, that this study is addressed.

Rationale: Why This Population?

This population is interesting for a number of reasons, to the researcher and theorist in political science and government who is interested in the political consciousness and growth towards maturity of American youth.

For one thing, this group, American Jewish youth, is predominantly a school population. It can be said that these young people were conditioned preeminently to their moral and political outlook by two major factors: the home, including its religious components, and the college campus, typically the university campus of the large city. Thus it may be of interest to observe the behavior of American Jewish youth when one wishes to investigate the way in which college and university realms, as the preeminent environment of a group of American youth in their late teens and early twenties, has affected and brought about political socialication and the political orientation of youth as it has.

For another, the American Jewish youth group is interesting in that it defines itself neither predominantly as

a "religious" group or an an "ethnic" group. Unlike youth of other American minority groups such as Blacks, Armenians, Mexican-Americans, or Koreans, this group has the characteristics of both. And it may be evaluated along lines of inquiry common to the political, sociological, psychological or historical study of either "religious" or "ethnic" groups, or both at the same time. Some evaluators and students of American Jewry feel that this group is equally a religious and ethnic group. Given this outlook as a methodological starting point, independent of whether this outlook is "valid" as a perspective as one looks at different perspectives, one might additionally be able to learn something more about the way in which religion affects ethnicity and ethnicity affects religion in American youth, and how both ethnicity and religion affect political values and political behavior in a group of American young people, by studying and assessing what transpires in one such population and cultural universe as observed. The way changes in one dimension appear alongside changes in the other--religious or ethnic--may be observed and causative, interactional or confounding and intervening factors postulated them, and their courses charges over a period of time.

Perhaps the greatest significance of the population studied here to the student of political science and government lies in the following. American Jewish youth, and American Jewish youth in the period 1965-1972, are of

interest in that American Jews are a minority group that is both a religious group and an ethnic-cultural group. American Jews are seen by outside observers to be, and define themselves to be, both a distinct religious minority and a distinct ethnic minority as well. They see themselves as both, and share the characteristics of both types of minority identity in American, to be more precise. It can be argued then, that the American Jewish group is interesting in a unique way because when one observes their political and related behavior one is observing the way in which both a religious distinctive tradition and a distinctive ethnic-cultural tradition, shape in one group, a political consciousness, political values, identities and priorities for political action, and reaction to political events around them. And when one looks at American Jewish youth one can see the way these processes occur in "young" people who are members of such a minority and who are still "developing," developing in their grasp of the political realities of the surrounding world, trying to comprehend them, trying to cope with them, and trying to adjust to that surrounding world. It is thus suggested that American Jewish youth comprise an interesting and worthwhile laboratory for the examination of how religious distinctness, and ethnic distinctness in one American group relates to political ideology and behavior, and at the same time for the examination of how such phenomena develop and change in

people who are just "coming of age" in American and learning to develop political ideologies and behavior that characterize adulthood in that society.

The Approach of the Study

This study will look at events in the world of American Jewish youth from along the lines of three areas of involvement:

1. Religious developments and activities of Jewish youth in the religious dimension of their lives.

2. Activities of Jewish youth in the dimension of "general cultural" involvement, in things that are neither religious nor political but cultural, such as artistic, literary, scholarly, and miscellaneous educational and self-help efforts and arenas of behavior. This will include communal living schema of the period 1965-1972, educational programs and institutions, and efforts at scholarship and study by Jewish youth in efforts to find out something about their own identity and past.

3. Activity in the political dimension, and particularly in the realms of political activism by youth for general political causes and candidates, radical political activity, advocacy of political and government programmes on behalf of specific groups in society such as the disadvantaged or Jewish population groups, and the development of political ideologies consistent with major American polit-

ical ideologies or in opposition to these. This arena also includes patterns of support for and enthusiasm for various government programs and goals, as evidenced in youth participation in such programs as the Peace Corps, community projects, Head Start, community-police cooperation efforts, and the like.

And this study will attempt to give a panoramic but at the same time incisive view of events that transpired in these three conceivable dimensions of youth existence and attempt to analyze where the youth involved did as they did in reaction to specific societal events and trends.

Finally, an effort will be made to characterize the position of the Jewish youth in the midst of surrounding American youth society, and surrounding American society, as member of a minority religious group, members of a minority ethnic group, and youth coming of age into an understanding of the perceived political realities of American society and life as it is.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be posited and explored:

1. That Jewish youth group behavior will reflect itself in three definable dimensions, as reflective of the mixed nature of Jewish identity in America: in the religous, in the general-cultural, and in the politically directed. This will be a function of the fact that American Jewish

life exists and has existed in these three dimensions and American Jewish youth have problems and interests in these three dimensions of life that they must address themselves to.

2. Much of the behavior of Jewish youth will be very like that of other Americans and much will be very oppositional, reflecting the minoritarian, unique, and ethnically, historically, and religiously distinct aspects of American Jews as a population group in America.

3. Much of the behavior of American Jewish youth will be unique in the American context, and in the context of American youth as an age realm, as reflective of unique patterns and problems in Jewish life and reflective of unique elements and motivators for behavior in the Jewish past. Other behavior will be imitative of other American realms, and youth realms, as reflective of the possibility that American youth of different backgrounds, as part of one large, populous, mobile culture and society, interpenetrate each others' subcultures, cross-fertilize each others' concepts of identity and identity-formation, and learn patterns of coping with adult life from each other, in the American "amalgam" context.

4. It is hypothesized that some forces at work will lead American Jewish youth and have in the period of study led American Jewish youth to become more American in the sense of becoming more like majority American youth, whilst

other forces at the same time have been at work to make some youth become less like other American youth in general, more distinct, different, or even isolar. And it is hypothesized that within the broad realm of American Jewish youth both tendencies were present during the period of study, even as "radical" and as oriented to "identity searching" as that era was for American youth. It is suggested that this phenomenon was reflective of and understandable in the context of the fragmented and culturally multi-centered nature of the makeup of the adult American Jewish community, and the American Jewish youth community, in the United States during this period.

5. It is hypothesized that all patterns of behavior and affiliation, definitively "political" in their presumed goals as defined by youth or not, will have had specific, identifiable and important "political" significances and also political-moral significances vis-a-vis the effectiveness, appropriateness, and usefulness to broader society and to American Jewish society of members participating in these youth movements. Some patterns of behavior will spell trends in the direction of helping general society, or American Jewish adult society, and others may be termed isolative, regressive, withdrawing, or unproductive in terms of what they appear to have gained for general American society or for American Jewish society. Major areas of political and political-moral significances of developments

in American Jewish youth groups with special reference to problems that emerge, will be discussed and analyzed in a Chapter.

Finally, various other specific findings about the appeal of particular movements, courses of social or political or religious action, and patterns of affiliation will be discussed as they emerge.

Some Methodological and Conceptual Considerations

This study is intended to give a perspective view of events over the period of 1965-1972, rather than a detailed analysis of only one of a few aspects of that which has transpired in the lives of the youth concerned. As such it will not be, nor can it be, as intensive analysis in any one particular area of Jewish youth life as one might hope for. The writer originally thought to include in this study two specific "embedded" studies of specific phenomena at some length: one of the living patterns and patterns of appeal of a neo-religious youth organization in San Francisco founded in 1967 that rehabilitated drug-abusing youth; and another, in the "political" as distinct from "religious" realm of developments among youth, of a relationship between a radical and non-radical Jewish youth group in Berkeley during the tempestuous and formative period of 1967-1969. Both of these descriptive studies have been written and it was hoped to include them in this larger study; for reasons

of brevity they were deleted.

But I believe I will be able to offer the serious student of the politics of youth, the behavior of American youth, and the behavior and ideology of American Jewish youth of this period of study an overall picture of the developments, trends, problems and opportunities of the youth studied. Attempts have been made here to discuss events that have occurred among Jewish youth across the United States but I have drawn for purposes of illustration more heavily from California where the author has resided, worked, and researched in this field for fifteen years. Nonetheless developments in other parts of the country during and over the period of study are not neglected herein.

By way of a final word about the author's methodological approach, wherever possible events in the Jewish youth world have been culled from observations and from memos, conferences, transcripts of meetings, organizational meetings, personal communications and community events as well as from more "formal" written works and other sources substantiating events and developments that have transpired in the world of Jewish youth during this period. Hence this study assays a series of primary documentary sources of several kinds, and makes use of a series of "naturalistic observations" over time of Jewish youth in different settings, as well as employing a survey and review of the

existing literature by establishing scholars, researchers and writers and what this has to tell us. The author believes that although this approach, making use of "diplomatic" as well as "literary" sources as this is termed in the field of history, broadens the base of data that the reader must assimilate and judge, and also is traditionally more the genre of the historian and the anthropoligist than the political scientist and student of government today, has enriched the study. It is hoped that the findings of the writer and his theoretical stance rests thereby on solid items of evidence and on most plausible interpretations of that evidence gathered from the widest available range of settings.

Needless to say effort has also been made here to garner source material from a wide range of literature in and about Jewish youth and Jewish youth groups of more ready availability to the interested reader, from scholarly books, popular books, dissertations, popular newsletters and opinion columns in the American and in the American-Jewish English-language press.

The notes and references cited, moreover, are intended not only to provide sources of documentation and substantiation for the points of the study, but they are also intended to provide a guide to the reader for further reference and reading in the several different realms of Jewish youth life explored in this work. It is hoped that

the motivation of other students of the subject at hand will be assisted towards further knowledge or understanding on the basis of more "available" references and directions for further study provided in this research. If and when such effort is enhanced this study will have accomplished an additional purpose.

The author has been involved in numerous campus and off-campus youth groups during the past fifteen years. And among the organizations that he has contacted or worked with have been the Hillel Foundation student societies at UCLA and at The University of California at Berkeley, the Union of Jewish Students chapter at Berkeley, the Student Zionist Organization, the Yavneh religious Jewish students' organization, and others. It has been his experience with, or in these organizations and his contacts with large numbers of Jewish students in the leadership or in the rank and file of such organizations, that has lent the better measure of his understanding of the subject to the efforts of this study.

Chapter I: Footnotes

[1] Cf. Roberts Ash Garner, Social Movements in America. (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally, Second Edition 1977), pp. 192-213 on youth movements of the 1960s and earlier 1970s.

[2] Garner, op. cit., pps. 204-206.

[3] Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, Jewish Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), chapter on "The Changing Social Class Profile," pps. 62-100. Also Alvin Chenkin, "Jewish Population in the United States," The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 71, 1970. (New York, New York: The American Jewish Committee Annual).

[4] Cf. Goldstein and Goldscheider, op. cit., their chapter on "Separation or Integration," pps. 1-17. This chapter in their work also discusses Jewish identity in the United States.

[5] Cf. David O. Sears, "Political Behavior" in Gardner Lindzey and Elliott Aaronson, Eds., The Handbook of Social Psychology, 5 Vols. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968-1970), Vol. 5, pps. 315-458, esp. pp. 371-377, on political socialization of youth, and p. 378 on religious attitude formation.

[6] See Chapter VI, of this work, infra.

[7] M. Maibaum, "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth: A Field Study of a 'Hip-Hasidic' Youth Community." Unpublished manuscript, Los Angeles. Hasidism is a religious movement within religious Judaism that originated around 1660 in Eastern Europe, characterized by a highly emotional celebration of Judaism, emotive religious ritual and services, and emotional and spiritual expression. It grew very much in contradistinction to the intellectual scholarliness, and some say emotional dryness, of existing Orthodox Jewish life and is roughly analogous both in style and in the time of its appearance in history to that trend within Christianity in Western Europe and North America that has been termed "Revivalism." See for a discussion of Hasidism, within a modern American Jewish context, Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 66, 1965, pps. 3-81. Hasidism appears to have had a distinctive emotional and intellectual appeal to middle-class and also lower-class American Jewish college-aged youth during the 1960s and earlier 1970s.

[8]M. Maibaum, "The Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students: The History and Functions of an Intergroup Conflict." Unpublished manuscript, Los Angeles.

[9]Eugene J. Webb, Donald T. Campbell, et. al, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally, 1968) provided the guidelines for the author's conceptualization of this approach.

[10]The term "Diplomatic" relating, i.e., to researsh in a historical topic or in a historical manner that makes use of artifacts or of primary source evidence material (from the Latin term diploma, "document") as distinct from research ("literary") that refers to descriptions of historical events by other observers and a reiteration of these. Cf. "Diplomatic," in The Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago, Ill.: William Benton, 1964 Edition), Vol. 7, pps. 476-479.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND PICTURE

Chapter II:

The Background Picture

Introduction

Any understanding of the events and developments among the Jewish youth of the 1965-1972 era must be seen within a historical context, and in terms largely of what those original motivating factors were, and general background environmental factors, that were precipitative in the environment prior to 1965 that provided the backdrop against which the development of Jewish youth movements can be evaluated.

The period 1965 to 1972 was a special time in Jewish youth history, in marked contrast to quiesence of Jewish youth previously. They were years marked by the emergence of Civil Rights, the drive for the equalization of rights and opportunities for first the Black minority and then all minorities, and by vocal and self-confident and effective protest against social inequality. We are now in a society trying to cope with a genuinely age-specific and in some ways inter-national "youth culture" that developed its own age-specific values, ideals, political systems, avocations and orientations to history, and to the world. Those years comprised an age that saw first the emergence of

collective action by minority segments of society, including youth, then organized protest as a dimension of life and way of life, soon paralleled and superceded by the development of violent protest and confrontation between liberal and conservative, youth and older adults, ethnic minority and majority, and iconoclast against moderate. In retrospect, what we saw was an institutionalized and self-perpetuating ideology and a vast social movement. Today the Jewish adult or other adult familiar with this pattern may be tempted to look back upon those 7 years as constituting a sort of new era quite unlike, in its range of involvements, developments, and changes, any era of comparable length before it in American within memory.

Jewish youth were one mainstream and kingpin of all that developed and transpired in this era. At least some of them were leaders and guides of movements and groups, core administrative segments of such groups, ideological figures at the head of such movements. They were also the unsung faceless mass of many activist and committed movements that did the backup work in countless drives for food, clothing, funds and other support for disadvantaged and threatened groups in the Americas and in other parts of the globe, Bangla Desh, India, Israel, African countries such as Ethiopia, or Latin America.

In retrospect, one finds it hard to look back before this era in the same way. The year 1965 was a turning point

of all that happened, surprisingly, in multiple ways. It was one year after the Beatles, with their newly energy-invested electronic sound overran and won American, and with their once comically viewed long hair. It was the year of the emergence of a new strange group of young people of college age and younger, the "Hippies," beatniklike iconoclastic and nonconformistic youth whose numbers and variety grew as they grew across the country. It was the year in which the "Ban the Bomb" focus of emergent leftist-liberal and liberal activists on the college campus and in the cities of the United States, was at first gradually and then rapidly replaced and outdistanced by the cry of and effort towards "Get Out of Viet Nam," in response especially to the October 1965 commitment by President Johnson of American ground troops in large numbers to the emerging war in Viet Nam. And it was a year of traumatic subjection of millions of American college and working youth to the imposition of the military draft, and possible death in an undeclared foreign war in Viet Nam, as for the first time in twenty-four years American saw once again a large, active peace-time drafting of its youth for a military action whose purpose, logic or efficacy was yet unresolved in the minds of most Americans and American youth. And it was a year in which "drugs" made an unprecedented appearance, first marijuana, and then synthetic pills and capsules in numerous types and large quantities, to add their own problems,

offerings and cultural folkways to an emerging pattern of experience-oriented, exotic-oriented and subjective-oriented youth culture that was consolidating itself. As such, 1965 was a year spelled itself as the harbinger, albeit unknown at the time, of what was to be hailed a bare two years later as a new age of "youth consciousness," radical solutions to social problems, and new political and social commitments of the individual.

Jewish Youth in General Context

In the period 1965-1972, Jewish youth of college age appear to have comprised between 400,000 and 450,000 people, relative to a college population of around four million in American; and twice their proportion in the population attended college.[1] Particularly in the top-ranked "prestige" colleges and in the leading state Universities of the country in the East and West, Jewish youth were numerous and active and an important intellectual, scholastic, governing and creative artistic and also non-conformistic element in all. This indeed was true before the era of political activism and consciousness was well underway. From fourteen to thirty-three percent of the students of UCLA, most of CUNY, Barnard College and Columbia, sixteen to twenty-five percent of Harvard and Yale, fifteen percent of the Harvard Business School, thirteen percent of Berkeley and Michigan Universities we find to have been Jewish youth of varying

degrees of commitment and socialization to Jewish culture and religion. Supposedly in 1971 around 350,000 students at colleges and universities in the country were Jewish.[2] An even higher proportion of students at graduate and professional schools, particularly in the sciences and mathematical fields and in the social sciences, were Jewish students, and this trend will probably remain as it was for some time to come. The impact of Jewish youth by their numbers, if by nothing else, was striking, relative to their overall population in the population in the country.

Who are the Jewish students and youth?

The students and youth of the 1965-1971 era in the United States, among whom one found the core and the membership of Jewish student and youth movements, were generally classifiable into two groups. One comprised those who attended college and were primarily students, and whose lives were oriented around education for a career or other work in the future. The other comprised those people who were working, or planned to work, and who were generally independent of their parents' support and existed much as other young adults in the greater community in the United States.

These two categories offer some good basis for classification. In the United States, educational requirements and educational processes which comprise more and more the adequate preparation of one for his adult life and earning

potential, have taken up more and more of one's time. Education is taking up perhaps the first one-third or even more of a person's life, after which he earns a living as a productive adult, after which he retires. As Eric Trist and other students of modern technological society note the proportion of one's life one spends on "preparation" as opposed to "production" of goods and services has risen and is rising such that today people are spending as much as one-half of their life studying and learning applicable or general things, and more and more people are engaged in "lifelong" learning and retraining.[3] The educational establishments of the country have created in their population today of around six million college students and over the past forty or fifty years an entire way of life centered about the college and university and one oriented to issues and ways of behavior and thought that can be marketed, heard, expressed and traded about the college environment. College society is a control part of the American way of life, and it has become even more centrally so for the Jewish youth.

In distinction to this is that yet larger segment of society that represents college-aged students in the population who work, who are seeking employment or who are unemployed, and who otherwise are not presently engaged in the structured process of education at a college or university. Many of these individuals are engaged in some type of

education: a job training program, technical or other training in the Armed Services, on-the-job advancement training, technical or scientific ongoing education such as in a medical residency, individual studies of "classical" Western culture, studies of world cultures and religions and literature, or indulgence in and pursuit of study and interest in avocational and other types of interests and creative experiences such as in evening or night school. All this is education. But in the general American context none of these have carried the weight of formative power in socialization, life style formation, and attitude formation and change, and preparation of people for some "accepted role" in society, among so many young people, as the college.

In the period 1965-1972 about sixty-seven percent of the students who started high school graduated from it, and of these about fifty-two to sixty percent went on to a junior college or to a college or university. Thus about one-third of the students in the United States today of college age attend college, in some areas up to forty-five percent or so. A small but increasing proportion of these students went on to graduate school, professional schools and professions, and on to other special schools and educational experiences. Of the rest most found jobs and work, including women. Youth culture in the United States has been characterized in the media and in literature as being "college aged" and centered around college life.

The image of the American youth who attends college after high school rather than getting a job, who studies the arts and sciences, including many things by and large not of "practical use" to employment and earning, who socializes within a college-oriented society of other youth centered about study, college recreation, and peer relationships that develop their own patterns on the campus, more or less aside from relationships with older other people, children and families for the most part, has been the dominant one in this society, and also in other countries' perceptions of American youth. And this model has been implicitly held up to be a sort of "ideal" model of how one should live, what is a desirable way to live, and indeed how one must live in American society between the ages generally of eighteen and perhaps twenty-four if one is to be where "life really is" and be part of the societal life of one's peers, and to gain the knowledge that enables one to make a proper living. This image has had powerful consequences not only for the formation of youth identity in later adolescence in the United States at large but also for the formation of or re-casting of or synthesis of Jewish identity among Jewish youth as such in the United States, over the last fifty or sixty years and crucially over the period of this study.

In the Jewish sphere, the proportions of people of college age who attended college was almost double what it was among general American youth. Fully ninety percent of

Jewish youth of college age, it has been found, attended college of some type. A higher proportion of these students similarly finished college, and a higher proportion than general also go on to graduate schools and the masters or doctoral degree, or to professional schools and beyond.[4] At Brandeis University, a university under Jewish auspices with a population eighty-five percent Jewish, fully sixty-six percent or so of the students went on to graduate schools, and this university is one of the top universities in the United States rank-ordered in terms of the percentage of students attending graduate school.[5] Similarly in the Jewish sphere the "quality" of student work and achievement measurable in grades, awards and distinctions won, class rank, and admissions to leading lucrative or desired graduate programs, tended to be significantly higher generally and in some cases much higher than the performance of other students at the same schools, from the same circumstances economically or geographically, and from the same prior educational level. Yeshiva University graduates as such, predominantly Orthodox and at the same time secular-educated, have in the past won a phenomenally high proportion of awards and fellowships to graduate school in the country: this can be seen also perpetually at Columbia, Brooklyn College, C.C.N.Y. (now CUNY), U.C.L.A., Berkeley, Harvard, Yale and Michigan, where Jewish students of varied backgrounds have been numerous.

Jewish students by and large appear to have been spread in the larger and more well-known universities for the most part. A large eastern, midwestern, or western university will have several thousand Jewish students most frequently while small college may not have many. Of the approximately 2,000 colleges and universities in the United States in 1969 Jewish students were concentrated or clustered for the most part in perhaps the top 150 in the country in rank by size and quality. Also, Jewish students by and large tended for this period, as earlier to be clustered in colleges and universities located in major metropolitan centers such as the Greater New York area, the Chicago area, the Great Lakes region, Boston, the San Francisco area, and Southern California, an area that comprises ten states. The clustering patterns of where these students were to be found evidently relates very much to the social and demographic and economic circumstances of Jewish populations generally themselves. Most Jews of the United States have lived in the Greater New York area, New England, Pennsylvannia, and in California. Of the estimated 5.8 million in the United States in 1972, fully 2.5 million lived in New York State. Of these, 1.6 million lived in the five boroughs of New York City. California, far in the west, had nearly 700,000 Jews with 535,000 in Los Angeles and 70,000 in San Francisco. The students who went to college were basically middle-class children of Jewish

residents in these areas, and attended colleges that were within easier reach, economically feasible, and not too far from family and other ties. In more traditional or "strongly Jewish" families to travel a far distance to college would disrupt family ties, relations with peers and friends and other contacts, and might place the student in an environment superfluous to or at odds with Jewish life, moreover. Among the religious Jewish youth particularly, the maintenance of local societal, organizational and educational ties was very important and one wanted to maintain these. And often college is thought of very much in terms of an institution one goes to learn a vocation and study a field of future work in practical depth, rather than a "social adventure" and a place to cast off one's complex psychological and social past values and to adopt new ones as well.[6] Also importantly the better univeristies and colleges tended to be located in these areas, and were schools to which Jewish students and their parents were attracted because of their quality. Very often too, although this may not have been openly admitted, these were schools for which there was a feeling among Jewish parents and students alike. It was a feeling that these schools were more tolerant of, more understanding of, more easily accessible to and thus more accommodating to Jewish students. And it was a feeling that these were schools which historically Jewish students have been able to enter

Further, its importance to Jewish student and youth movements, the college cannot be ignored in terms of its relationships to different "kinds" of Jewish background. College has provided roles and functions that were different, even opposite, for Jews of <u>differing</u> backgrounds within the general American Jewish group. Many students came to the campus in the period 1965-1971 from families and environments that were basically religious, often rigorously so, and that tended to be located in cities and towns among similar people where an almost totally Jewish or "Jewishly mediated" existence was to be found. When these students went to the college campus to study on the one hand they took many Jewish ideas, events and social system aspects and behavior patterns with them, and established them there or found them there. But at the same time these people felt the clash of and impact of the forces of the non-Jewish world operating upon them there. Many students come to the campus from backgrounds where they lived in a Jewish neighborhood or environment where most people were Jewish, and were conscious of their Jewish existence although not necessarily commited to it exclusively or to living as an active Jew. Many participated in family Jewish events, for the most part ritual and ceremonial events without much underlying Jewish education or depth and looked rather negatively upon doing things in their life that were "only Jewish" as they preceived it, even when the Jewish content

where they were able to work well, and where they were able to win respect and leave their mark upon the institution. What of the impact of the college existence upon the Jewish student?

Just as the existence of Jewish students has affected the tenor of life on the college campuses, and as Jewish society has given to the academic and scientific world many great minds, similarly that typology of existence for young adults called "college life" and the institutions in and dependent upon the college for their existence, have made a truly vast impact upon Jewish individual and communal life in America. Basically today, and for the last thirty years at least, the main avenue for upward mobility, finding career and job and economic solvency, and for finding a medium of social respect from others, has for the Jew been the college experience, and fields one could learn in college. This image is a powerful and consistent one in the folklore--and the reality--of American Jewry. And too, the statistics are impressive. Today and for many years prior most of the Jewish youth of this country between the ages of seventeen and twenty-four have been "funneled" through the institution of college and most have spent some time there. And the impacts of what they find there have been very significant in shaping both the individual's future life style, and attitudes about a wide range of things.

and depth of these things as such were not themselves high. When they went to college, it functioned for them as an opportunity for "jumping off" into involvements of various kinds of non-Jewish behavior typical of general American society, and where they could become part of "all kinds of things" that the general college society's America appeared to offer them. Some of these involvements have appeared as observably useful and very worthwhile (study) whilst others (e.g. drugs) wasteful or dangerous or foolish in the long run to them as individuals or as Jews. Still other students come from families and environments that were located in the midst of non-Jewish surrounding American communities and had some strong level of interaction with non-Jews in a primarily non-Jewish day-to-day existence, but who were strongly conscious of their Jewish past, background, and belonging, and had positive concepts of what being a Jew entailed and required. Many wanted to find some way of realizing and living a Jewish, or at least a more Jewish, type of existence. Still others sensed or suffered at the hands of genteel or blatant anti-Semitism in the non-Jewish neighborhood, in job hiring, neighbor relations, public school involvements, with relation to community politics events or other incidents to reaffirm their Jewishness--and Judaism--and perhaps secretly move away from that all. Most indeed realized they were maturing and that adult life, on some acceptable model to them, nonetheless was in the near

future, and they wished to acculturate themselves to some kind of Jewish youth "group existence" that would allow them to meet new friends and acquaintances, mates, girl or boy friends, and interests, within the framework of a both Jewish and American existence. For the heavily acculturated student college was a place very often, and often unconsciously, that was a "meeting ground" for the student, a place where the student from an essentially non-Jewish neighborhood could go, and among other things, become part of a mode of Jewish filiation and group existence for the first time, that he could not find at home. This kind of student from this particular background went to college and, when he went to college, became "more" of a Jew in a sense when there.

It is the confluence of these efforts, personal and group needs, attitudes strivings and needs and need-fulfillments of these three major typologies of Jewish students, when they meet and intertwine on the college campus, that gave rise to the particular directions of Jewish student and youth movements in the 1965-1972 era.

Adjustments to be Made
by the Jewish College-Age Youth in Society

The sociologist Liebman points out that there are four types of adjustment that the young Jew has to make to life in American involving his growth and his gaining of

appropriate skills. He must meet his needs as a member of Jewish society, interpreting Judaism and living it, in a way that is useful to him and considered viable by Jewish society; he must meet his needs as part of general society, adapting its offerings to him, and his skills and abilities to it in some way; he must meet the general needs of general society with his unique personal talents and skills and energies; and he must meet the general needs of Jewish society, with its unique needs and wants and requirements and offerings, with his singularly unique capabilities and offerings and talents.[7] We might suggest that going further than this, the Jewish youth affiliated with or in sympathy with a particular youth movement, Jewish or non-Jewish, religious or non-religious in focus and character, has indeed two other apparent problems and areas to relate himself to. For one thing he must find fulfillment of his needs within this youth movement or group or idea-realm, and he must meet the needs of this movement or group or "idea-realm" as an individual within it; for another he must internalize and integrate some values or most values of that particular movement or group and its ideology into his life, life-style, and attitude-complex as an individual who must formulate and actualize a relationship vis-a-vis an actual group, and a "working role" of himself in it. Thus, it can be said that he has six identity-issues and identity-relationship issues to resolve, not four. The

religious Jew, in particular, must formulate a viable relationship of himself to religious Judaism and Jewry and find segments of it both socially, and ideologically and spiritually, that fulfill his needs even whilst his feelings of general identity in Judaism or Jewish society, and within general society, may be troubled by the treatment that "religious" youth might receive from both Christians, and from anti-religious Jews. Should a youth also for that matter be interested in other movements, such as Radical Zionism, Labor Zionism, or Yiddishism (Yiddish culturalism), or one of a variety of American leftist-radical positions, he has to resolve a relationship of fulfilling the needs of the two types of groups, and one of fulfilling his "personal" needs both as a member of one group and simultaneously as a member of another. The social milieus of one group may well excoriate him for his interest in another group at the same time, as many movements tend to make conscious or unconscious exclusivist claims upon the time and energies and belief of members, and thus heighten his anxieties and identity-crises. And his efforts demanded by both groups might dissipate his energies. Also, when he internalizes the ideology and style of either movement, he may find that there are sub-current ideas and themes in each and every movement or group that mutually deride, attack, discredit, disprove, or otherwise put blocks in the way of the attender's accepting ideas of another group. The student

interested in multiple movements must resolve these "cross-pressure" conflicts individually and often exhaustingly, and painfully, over many years, finding ultimately that often his having to discard some elements of any one group ideology puts a strain upon his relationship to other members in any one group to which he belongs or which he supports.[8] Thus the Jewish student, faced with indeed the vast diversity of movements and causes, at least as they are structured officially within American society today, finds himself knowingly or unknowingly caught at a time of great personal stress and emotional and psychological growth and need, trying to resolve identity, and societal relationships based upon "identity choices," within the framework of as many as eight overlapping, often contradictory "life spaces" of involvement in his life.[9] It is against this group sociology panorama faced by the Jewish student, that we would do well to consider the reasons, the history, and the functional gains and symptomaticities of Jewish student and youth movements of our immediate past.

First we shall look at religious movements and phenomena that have been prominent in this period in the Jewish youth and student realm; then at evident "general ideological" movements of a less structured type; and thirdly, at the whole realm of primarily radical, non-Jewish and Jewish social and political groups that have been most prominent and significant in Jewish youth and

student life in this recent youth generation. By way of introduction there is a crucial difference between the concept of "movement" and that of "group." The former is employed here to characterize sociologically a general social, intellectual, spiritual or behavioral tendency across many individuals towards doing the same things irregardless of any formal organization of them. A "group" is essentially a number of people organized formally and socially into some recognizable pattern of ongoing cohesiveness in the pursuit of an idea, interest, activity, or group of activities.[10]

The most characteristic lines for division of Jewish student and youth groups of this era are those between what can be considered predominantly "religious activity" oriented groups (movements and groups and movements where Judaism as a "religion" is central in importance to what is done), and those that have as their center of focus of activity and interest social and political ideas, ideals and pursuits as the center of interest. Many groups that we shall discuss, as we shall see, featured a mixture of both kinds of elements and ideologically and behaviorally stress to a greater degree one or the other realm, out of the total "gestalt" that Jewishness and Jewish existence is. And too, although some movements have not led to the forming of any strong or lasting "groups" within them among youth, most "movements" have given rise shortly to a whole number

of groups of differing orientations.

	Specific Psychological-Cultural Commitments	
Level	General American	Jewish Individual
Group	affirm democratic system, unity of America, primacy of its needs	maintain unity of group; maintain identification; defend group
Personal	confronting the problem of values, alienation, anomie in advanced society	interpret historic culture in light of own needs

Table 1.

Tabled Representation of the Four Types of Adjustments to be Made by the Jewish Individual to the American Society, after Liebman

	Specific Psychological-Cultural Commitments		
Level	General American	Jewish Individual	"Activist" Jewish Youth
Group	affirm democratic system, unity of America, primacy of its needs, defend it	maintain unity of group; maintain identification; defend Jewish group	maintain subculture; relate it to Jewish and general societies, defend it
Personal	confront the problem of values, alienation, anomie in advanced society	interpret historic culture in light of own needs	interpret, and contribute to, one's subculture within Jewry in terms of personal characteristics, talents

Table 2.

Tabled Representation of the Theorized Six Types of Adjustment to be Made by the "Activist" Jewish Youth in American Society

Chapter II: Footnotes

[1]Population figures from The Jewish Population Study, 1972 (New York: Office of Jewish Population Research, December 1972), and from Jewish population study data from the National Jewish Population Study, the Buraeu of Jewish Population Research, Los Angeles, December 1972, and computed also upon the basis of the population material in Sidney Goldstein, "American Jewry, 1970: A Demographic Profile" in American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 72, 1971, and Alvin Chenkin, "Jewish Population in the United States," in the American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 71, 1970, Pp. 344-347. For a general picture of the population and demographic, economic and geographic contect in which Jewish youth and college-aged students of this period lived, the above monographs by Goldstein and by Chenkin are recommended to the reader and give broad, inclusive as well as detailed and specific analyses of the population characteristics of Jewry. Of note are a few crucial characteristics: out of the estimated 5,869,000 Jews in the U.S. in 1968 (Chenkin, op. cit.) about ninety percent of those of college age attended college; around nine to seventeen percent of the Jewish population in fourteen select cities of large, medium and small size (Goldstein, op. cit., Pp. 58) were in the fifteen to twenty-four year old range, and another twenty-one to twenty-six percent in the twenty-four to forty-four year old range; and the Jews of the U.S. are still predominantly a Middle Atlantic, New England and Great Lakes situated population, with only 13,2 percent of U.S. Jewry residing in 1968 in Mountain and Pacific states (Goldstein, op. cit.). Perhaps a "generational-specific" analysis of the age structure of Jewish youth, as such, is also useful and indicative; of third-generation born American Jews, in 1971, 86.6 percent were under fifteen years of age, 76.4 percent were fifteen to twenty-four years of age, and 27.7 percent were twenty-five to forty-four years of age. (Goldstein, op. cit., Pp. 55). In terms of academic and educational parameters, there were an estimated 330,000 Jewish students enrolled in 1970 in public and private, elementary and secondary schools in the United States in 1970 (The United States Government, Bureau of the Census, Population Survey, 1970; reported in Goldstein, op. cit., Pp. 65). In 1963, before the "radical" era, 13.4 percent of Jewish youth in college continued on to graduate school towards a masters or doctoral degree (Goldstein, op. cit., Pp. 64). And as for the staff and teachers in colleges and universities themselves, in this period, nineteen percent of the faculty in "elite" selected colleges and universities was Jewish, in 1971, and the most recent group of emergent faculty members here, those under twenty-five years of age, were 12 percent Jewish (Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett

Carll Ladd, Jr., "Jewish Academics in the United States," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 72, 1971). Several sources substantiate that ninety percent of Jewish youth of college age attend college: Jewish youth is predominantly thus, or entirely almost, a college-oriented, and college-based generation. Here, too, around 400,000 or more Jewish youth of college age, taken here to be youth aged seventeen through twenty-one roughly, existed at any one year in the period 1965-1972. The inclusion of those youth over this period who began, experienced and left college during this seven year period, together with Jewish youth in this period of "graduate-school" age affiliated with college related youth groups, ideals, or movements during this period, and together with non-collegiate Jewish youth, would appear to suggest a total figure for Jewish collegiate age youth of around 450,000 for this period, and it is this broader demographic and sociological picture to which this discussion is addressed.

[2]Cf. Lipset and Ladd, "Jewish Academics," American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 72, 1971.

[3]Cf. Lipset and Ladd, op. cit.

[4]Cf. Eric Trist, "The Next Thirty Years." Paper presented at the Town Planning Institute of Canada, Ottawa, 1968. Also published by The Graduate School of Business Administration (now The Graduate School of Management), The University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, 1969.

[5]Cf. Lipset and Ladd, op. cit. They cite a figure of 13.5 percent of Jewish youth who go on to graduate school in some field, and cite a figure of 88 percent for Jewish youth of college age who attend college. (The age group here in question is taken as ages seventeen through twenty-one roughly).

[6]National Council of Graduate Education figures (New York City), 1971; Files of the Graduate School, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1971.

[7]Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 66, 1965, Pp. 39-42.

[8]Charles S. Liebman, op. cit.

[9]An outstanding study of the impact of "cross-pressures" within political science is found in: see Lucian W. Pye, "Personal Identity and Political Ideology," Behavioral Science, Vol. 6, No. 3, (July 1961), pps. 205-

221. See also David B. Truman's discussion of the problems cross-pressures present to the individual adherent of multiple overlapping causes or interest groups in his discussion of "Cohesion and Membership" in his The Governmental Process, (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pps. 157-157. Truman says,

"Felt conflicts of this sort are painful. The compel the individual to seek a readjustment by altering the character of his participation in the groups or by changing his group affiliations." (p. 162). Stressing the cohesion of members of American society at least, however, in the face of cross-pressures and multiple allegiances and interests, Arthur F. Bentley says,

"The very nature of the group process... is this, that groups are freely conbining, dissolving, and recombining in accordance with their interest lines. And the lion, when he has satisfied his physical need will lie down quite lamb-like, however much louder his roars were than his appetite justified." (The Process of Government, quoted in D.B. Truman, op. cit., p. 167).

It is suggested that behavior following both of the above patterns have occurred in this groups under study here. What remains unclear is what relationships among the variables group orientation, group behavior, member personality, and external environment determine alternatively, movement towards greater cohesion, greater narrowing of range of involvement, greater diffusion of interest, or withdrawal from participation altogether, in members of these youth groups.

[10]The term "life space" is employed here as it has been characterized by Kurt Lewis in his Field Theory in Social Science, (New York, N.Y.: Harper, 1951).

Chapter III:

Religious Developments Among Jewish Students and Youth

Introduction

The realm of religion in the life of Jewish youth in this period has been many ways the most interesting. Religion for all American Jews has been considered almost consistently by social scientists and historians alike to be the central kernel and springboard for all subsequent Jewish social experiences and movements. Even where religion is later rejected by people, its values and ideas have left their mark on other millenialist, socialist, Zionist, humanist, and Jewish culturalist movements, and groups that Jewish youth and adults have joined.[1] Also, Judaism itself and the existence of its religious institutions, synagogues, shtiblach (prayer houses) and temples (Reform synagogues), religious schools and seminaries, has been the longest-lasting continual element in the life of the Jewish people in America, the center of Jewish social life in inner city and suburb and on the campus in most places, the places in which Jewish youth are socialized. Leaders of thought in Jewish life, where recognized, speak from these spheres, not from platforms of politics, bureaucracy, the military, the arts, or the university. Ironically, through the 1960s it was precisely the religious

realm that appeared to be most stagnant, most unmotivating, and most un-revered within Jewish society in the eyes of many Jewish youth. Religiosity was ignored or looked down upon by students. And religious institutions, on the Christian model, were regarded as dissemination centers of a faith and belief-system and attendant ritual system often considered repressive, quaint, pointless, and thus no longer worthwhile. Also in a neither positive nor negative way, such institutions were often considered "irrelevant" in their interests and ideas by youth supposedly committed to broad, sweeping multi-ethnic social change, and their historic generalist moral and social ethic messages were rejected flatly as part of the schema of general society. Jewish religion was simply labeled with little or no examination, parochial and "conservative," and thus to many at least worthless as a pursuit, and rejected.[2] Yet it is institutions here more than any others, that persisted through this period and up into the present, much as they were before, to still be there when Jewish students and youth emerged from tumultuous identity crises and identity-finding. There was a vast renewed interest among a substantial, very active if still minority segment of Jewish youth in the United States in 1965-1972 in Judaism. And this was noted in the educational and communal offings of religious institutions, while it interestingly expressed itself for the most part outside of the "establishment"

organizational and communal and local life of these institutions. There were several developments among Jewish youth and several categories and models of movements that have appeared. For reasons that will become clear, we shall subdivide this into the study of assimilated youth, Neo-Religious youth, Orthodox youth, and the Neo-Traditionalist Jewish youth of several varieties.

Assimilated Youth

In the United States in 1965-1972 the largest single group of Jewish youth in existence represented the children of parents who were largely assimilated and acculturated and whose participants in Jewish life was generally marginal, and who communicated little of Jewish culture, religion and ethics and their attendant values to their offspring. Out of the approximately 5,850,000 Jews of America in 1972 around 3.5 million belonged to synagogues of some type. The other two million did not, and many of the youth of parents affiliated with a synagogue as well did not teach a sizeable amount of the content of Judaism to their offspring, or a commitment as well to religious behavior and participation in any communitarian or private Jewish life.[3] They were the third generation descendants largely, of the outwardly Jewish but inwardly unbelieving and disinterested assimilation-eager Jewish immigrants who came to America sixty to eighty years ago. Most of these youth are descend-

ants of the East European, at least marginally religious Jews who comprise ancestors of eighty-five percent approximately of the present American Jews, although many of these youth are descendants of the earlier quarter-million German-American Jews as well. These youth account for well over half, of the Jewish youth generally and on the campus. They comprise it appears over fifty percent of the Jewish youth in some communities college around the country, where 350,000 or more Jewish youth attend college. And whilst most do not leave Judaism and assimilate entirely, many do, and an increasing proportion does. In the period 1965-1972 one-third of the Jewish youth going to college intermarried with non-Jews and in most cases drifted into non-Jewish society generally. There are some indications that between 1960 and 1970, on the basis of birth rate and fertility figures available at the time related to Jews in America, there should have been 800,000 more Jews in 1970 than there were ten years before even accounting for yearly and seasonal fluctuations and population shifts, and that thus in this period around 800,000 people became predominantly "dis-identified" with, or in other words, "lost," to the Jewish community in the United States.[4] Of these 80,000 Jews per year on the average assimilating completely, and losing their identity as Jews, a high proportion were Jewish youth between seventeen and thirty years of age out-marrying or otherwise disassociating from the Jewish group.

The most religion contact one found among the assimilated, too, was attendance by many of these youth, and increasing numbers of them, at Hillel Houses around the campus. They went there often for weekly services that also provided social functions sometimes in coordination with folk-dancing and other activities afterwards, and more usually for yearly High Holiday services at Rosh HaShana and Yom Kippur (the New Year and the Day of Atonement, in the Fall), to which services their assimilated parents also went yearly. Few however attended weekly services at parental or other synagogues, few at synagogues they found on their own, especially in the case of college youth away from home. Very few attended weekday (Shachris and Mincha) services or celebrate Jewish holidays and festivals on their own, although large numbers attended some holydays and festivals with their parents. Sizable numbers investigated Jewish culture and Judaism and Jewish literature through the medium of general education, and in University courses there was a substantial increase in the number of Jewish young people in the 1960s studying Jewish and other religion, "the Bible as Literature," and the like. And a significant minority of youth here followed a cultural path into some form of Jewish affiliation and religious existence. Out of this element there also arose alternatively the phenomenon of many, and increasing, Jewish Christians and "Jews for Jesus," and such cultural oddities as Jewish anti-Semites, and even some far-

right political actives among youth. This appears to suggest that among un-Jewish Jews, there were and can be found Jews who share the same prejudices, aberrancies of social view, ignorance, and ethical and moral systems and socio-political viewpoints that can be found in American youth generally, and that the supposed Jewish values, behavioral patterns and world-view that deter more identifying Jews from veering into such extremes of judgement and attitude may thus be very real. On the whole, the members of this group appear to be a segment of the Jewish population drifting away from any Jewish existence and identification and into complete dilution in the general populace.

Normative Reform and Conservative Youth

Jewish youth affiliated with or who attended Conservative and Reform synagogues and generally fell into these two movements formally at least, appear to have comprised the largest single body of Jewish youth of those who were committed to or actively involved in Judaism and Jewish society in some way. Adults and young adults and a few youths who belonged to Reform and Conservative synagogues in 1965-1972 numbered around 2,500,000 individuals. Approximately 1,000,000 people were affiliated with Reform congregations and about 1,500,000 people were affiliated in one way or another with Conservative congregations, or were in families where family heads belonged to such congregations

respectively.[5]

Since the 1940s, the overall numbers of Conservative movement affiliate or "members" went up strongly and since the late 1950s the overall numbers of the Conservative movement have gone up by some measures from one million to 1.5 million. This may indicate a similar trend on non-affiliated youth or Reform-affiliated youth to gravitate into the Conservative realm over the last twenty years as well, but evidences of this are incomplete. The Conservative Movement has had a youth movement, United Synagogue Youth (USY) for younger members, and a group known as ATID for college-aged and post-college-aged Jewish youth. ATID groups tended to meet regularly for social, and cultural and educational activities in Conservative synagogues and in members' homes, and in 1965-1972 managed to maintain their sizes in many communities even with the defection of members to the "Hippie," other collegiate, radical or more-religious realms. Some ATID groups were very large and among the largest single youth organizations among Jewry in the country. One chapter in West Los Angeles had in 1966, 200 paid members and was the largest Jewish Movement-sponsored local youth group in the United States at the time. The popularity of this group at least in the period of from 1960 to 1965 was evidently due to the middle-class and upper-middle class quality and attractiveness of the synagogue and other facilities employed, the quality of

the lecture programs, discussions, meetings with rabbis and speakers and social events; the appeal on a broad ideological and class basis that the group engendered with its open tolerance of viewpoints and deemphasis of ideologic or social dogmatism (stressed generally in Conservative organizations and groups); its balanced social and cultural offerings attractive to essentially middle-class and upper-middle class Jewish suburban and city youth; and the proximity of ATID chapters to areas with large ideologically-mixed, and available Jewish adult and youth populations.

In the Reform sphere similar developments occurred and continued in the 1960s. In this least ritualistic of Jewish movements, its own youth group, the National Federation of Temple Youth (or NFTY), involved the interested and efforts of many Jewish adolescents, collegiate members and advisors and workers and some adults, in a vast number of scattered Reform synagogues and temples across the cities and suburbs of the country. As Reform continued to exist as essentially a suburban-based Movement, with far-flung families and few ongoing day to day activities, the problems of bringing a "forced cohesion" of its Jewish youth of post-bar mitzvah age continued, whilst countless hundreds of Jewish collegiate youth drifted off into non-Jewish society, and some into New Left groups, while at the same time excelling in the secular cultural and educational world. At the same time increasing numbers of youth, coming

into contact with "Religion" in university courses and in general Jewish youth organizations such as Hillel, continued or enhanced an essentially mixed religio-cultural Jewish existence based essentially upon "individual" education to and adaptation of Judaism. The Reform movement also had in this period a small but diehard "Mitzvah Corps" of youthful workers engaged in some inner-city and suburban cleanup and reconstruction, financial assistance, neighborhood counseling, tutoring and other social helping efforts in Black and other neighborhoods primarily in the Northeast, paralleling at least formally the general Reform emphasis upon Jewish commitment actively to general society and its needs.

The relationship of normative Conservative and Reform youth developments in this period to ongoing Jewish youth and adult life is complex. On the one hand Reform and Conservative youth and adults demonstrated continuing rise in overall income levels and social secureness generally, and acceptance into broader society, and youth numbered among these Movements continued to excel in the college world as both students and leaders and in the successes that follow upon this in early-adult and middle-adult life in the work world. However at the same time large numbers of these youth gravitated into the "assimilated" realm, and regardless of parental credal beliefs or ritual levels themselves drifted off into non-Jewish society and assimilation, and lost relationships of any meaningful, pragmatic,

sustained type with the rest of Jewish youth or adult society. The one-third of Jewish youth from the campus world intermarrying with non-Jews in 1965-1972 came mainly as might be expected from the assimilated, Reform and "left-wing-Conservative" realms. On the other hand it has been argued, and there seems substance to this, that the existence of relatively permissive and undemanding framework for Jewish existence such as Reform and Conservative Judaism permitted the continued existence within social and intellectual Judaism of large numbers of youth who, if were Reform and Conservative more rigorous and demanding than they are communally and ritually and intellectually of youth, would have fled from Jewish society altogether. It may be said also that these Movements that allowed for "personal choice" of levels of ritual or communalism far below what their religious leaders called for allowed for the continued place within the Jewish realm of on the whole youth who regardless of credal beliefs, or responsibilities dutifully carried out to the community on the whole, made available to the Jewish community their talents, interests, motivation, and knowledge and learning from which the American Jewish adult and youth communities benefited and upon which they were ablt to call.

Neo-Religious Youth

Generally since the early 1960s there was a marked

return of Jews from other background to religious Judaism. Among this movement there was not really any separate definable "group" of its own. Here peculiarly, one saw the passage of Jewish youth as individuals from one "movement" or Jewish youth subculture, the Reform and Conservative models, into Orthodoxy or their own adaptation to some of its elements on their own as individuals. This "re-religionization" or to be more accurate, "neo-religiosity" at least appears to have been a "migration" of Jewish youth in a social process underway, but not as such an organized social "movement" of consistent, defined parameters.

Many Conservative and Reform youth found in association with Orthodox youth groups, synagogues, classes, shuls, and among Orthodox fellow students and rabbis and teachers, a satisfaction of personal needs, and have become more interested in and emotionally committed to the practice of kashrut, religious prayer (tefila), the study of Jewish sacred books and ideas, and the living of life with greater attention to Jewish communality, festivals and ceremony. It was often said by rabbis counseling countless students, and by others in communication regularly with the student world, that Jewish students suffered from the alienation they felt at the hands of de-personalized university and general society, from the pressures to succeed in a generally accepted academic and vocational system, from the falseness, duplicity and bewildering

nature of highly complex and sophisticated college youth society, from the anomie and lack of sure-guiding traditional values of some type, and from the lack of supportive transcendent "realities" and belief systems to have faith in. And they sought and found in Jewish religious activity, fellowship, and thought and ideation emollients for and substantive fulfillments for these needs.[6] Many of these youth in a sense came to approximate in their behavior ritually, and the depth of their substantive "fundamentalism" of thought and ideology, a mixture and balance that approximates the kind of Jewish life the Conservative Movement has historically stressed for its adults and youth: an existence both substantively and extensively within the Jewish world ritually and ceremonially and ideologically and ethically, and yet existentially and personally "flexible" within the surrounding American society at the same time. However it may well be ironically that it was precisely a normative poverty of ritual concern and ideological and spiritual substance of most actual Conservative and Reform adult congregations and their "lack of life," in the suburban world particularly, whence come hundreds of thousands of Jewish children and young-adults, that led to an exodus ultimately of many Jewish youth from the Conservative world. This is indeed occurring presently and has been apace for many years, as thousands of Jewish youth of marginal backgrounds have flocked to more reli-

gious sites. These included Chassidic concerts, Simchas Torah and Pesach celebrations at traditional synagogues, Chabad Chassidut (Lubavitch) centers in cities and near campuses, educational classes in Talmud like Hadar HaTorah of the National Council For Jewish Education, classes in mysticism and Jewish music, Jewish religious communes in a variety of cities, and even the glumly neglected and supposedly sedate Seminaries for cognate Jewish or rabbinical studies.[7] The fact that Conservative and Reform Judaism normatively, as societies, may not have seemed to live up to the Judaism that they preach and teach about, made necessary that many committed Jewish youth took flight from these realms and found new spiritual and ideological homes, and often social and organizational homes, in Orthodoxy, which appeared to "live the things it teaches," at least more, and to live the things in a sense that these students learned and believed in. Some adopted to quite individualistic ways of some modicum of existence in or on the borders of Orthodox communities; some attended Orthodox synagogues, some studied in yeshivot or in similar organizations like Hadar HaTorah or synagogue classes;[8] some practiced Jewish ritual extensively and did not study; some become highly active in more traditional Jewish organizations and youth groups such as Yavneh around the country or any number of local religious-oriented or substantive Jewish youth and radical youth groups. Some affected dress

and appearance styles of a rather stereotypic "formal" Orthodox appearance with black suit and hat or yarmulka, or even that of the Hasid, with beard, capote and pushta (peaked cap) or shtrymel (broad beaver-hair hat). Some did not observe kashrut everywhere, but studied Jewish sacred books and ancient history and practice rituals. Some placed the study and practice daily of musar (Ethics) foremost and were active in social, philanthropic charitable, and "helping organizational" activities, some of which blended into political and radical protest and legal social activism. Paralleling the activities of both Lubavitch and various local, exotic or sectarian groups, and in response to felt needs for attractive, and yet in-depth Jewish education that might appeal to such neo-religious and neo-traditionalist youth, the National Council for Jewish Education, an organization of mixed Orthodox and Conservative leaders, sponsored and organized a "Hadar HaTorah" program around the country, where large numbers of assimilated students went to study Jewish religious ideas. Leaders pointed out that students who did not know "a word of Hebrew six months ago" were among the best students.[9]

Numbers of youth here are difficult to determine and so are the normative parameters of the complexities of practice of these traditional elements that existed in and across individuals. Parameters of personal dedication or discontinuities in them according to Jewish law (halacha)

are embarrassing and not comfortable revealed. Overall numbers appear to have been large, relative to the numbers of such youth in the 1950s and up to 1965. Some idea can be culled from Orthodox youth organizations and other "formal" organizations over the period 1964-1972. In Yavneh, the national Jewish religious students' organization founded in 1962 by Orthodox youth in New York City and made up primarily of college youth, of the 1,000 paid members in 1964 in forty local chapters across the country, it was estimated that up to twenty-five percent of the members of any one chapter were "non-Observant" or "non-Orthodox" affiliates who found satisfation and personal fulfillment in these groups and participated generally in their social, intellectual, religious and supportive activities.[10] (We might add that "non-observant" or "non-Orthodox" tends to connote here, marginal members or new members of a local Orthodox community, or members who may be learning-oriented and ideologically committed to "Torah Judaism" or traditional Judaism but whose observable group-based ritual behavior is not as meticulous or extensive as others.)[11] Similar if not higher proportions of such "neo-Traditional" youth are probably reflected in a thousand or more of the several thousand former, or seasonal Yavneh members around the country that there were between 1965 and 1972. In other areas, in near-campus synagogues, and urban synagogues near universities, many young students discovered the synagogue

evidently in their reassessment of their life-styles and goals, and in their experimentality, and it proved a contact point with a more substantive Jewish way of life. Many affiliated with local synagogues or came to attend them or meet with the rabbis of Traditional background who populated and headed a few Hillel Houses, the general meeting centers for college-aged members of this "returnee" Jewish social life. Rationales and functional analyses are hard to make with deft precision but a few reasons for this might be given. In an age and situation where the youth of America, including Jewish youth, utilized college time often away from home for reflection and reassessment of life gains and life goals and one's orientation to the world, many came to believe that they wanted a "deeper" and "more substantive" Judaism for the Jewish, or spiritual and emotional and transcendant aspect of their lives, than what they had, culturally and ideologically and spiritually. Many found it in normative (or in idealized) Orthodoxy, particularly among substantively active but yet rather permissive Orthodox leadership of the city or surrounding college community.[12] Some forced this too in peer relations with Orthodox youth, who sometimes provided alter-ego fulfillments for some. But for others, social and ideological clashes with normative Orthodox youth not particularly fascinated with Jewish lore or cognate learning or with romanticist embellishments of ritual, forced these youth farther and faster

into their own modus of tutelary relationship with spiritual leaders, and into their own patterns of study and interest-fulfillment, within the Orthodox fold. Their "special status" here thus meant that they were not "within tradition" Jewishly, and yet it at the same time set them apart within it from others their age, and as well from other Jewish youth. Still others, unhappy and bitter about the way of life they have had in a depersonalized, sometimes brutal general society that sometimes seemed to offer them few real amenities or few real non-materialistic intellectual comforts and spiritual and moral fulfillments, found in Orthodoxy an alternative to this general society that did offer them these things. This mentality became more widespread particularly since the upsurge of the Viet War and the paralleling "crisis of society" and divisiveness that descended upon Americans in the middle 1960s.

Others were reasonably secure in their place in America, but were intellectually active, aspiring and committed to some kind of intellectual and spiritual and ideologic world-view and unable to find others similarly interested among what were preceived to be essentially extraverted and shallow and intellectually uninterested and uninspiring fellow-students on the campus and fellow adults in the suburban synagogue. And they moved into Orthodoxy and its cognate social academic and intellectual world--usually of a high cerebral caliber and one that

evinced little of the "bad manners" and "grossness" of the college world-- and found a "we-feeling" and with it a "we-living" and society environment of Jewish depth and substance that they sought. Still others, more than will admit, were tired of a world of endless and often seemingly pointless "social games" and competitiveness of adolescent type with fellow students. And, yet others at the under graduate or graduate level sought finally the man-woman companionship of a kind of solid mentality that makes for close bonds, good companionship, good parenthood, and a good relationship of husband and wife.[13] Yet too, many but not a great number of youth in the campus communities in their search for the "exotic" in religion, society, culture and personality life-styles, around them in the "Age of Aquarius," came across the local <u>shul</u> or the synagogue attended by professor, department head, or fellow more-religious student in their wanderings through Oriental religion and society, <u>ashrams</u> (Hindu and Buddhist prayer, fellowship and meditation houses), Black neighborhoods and student-fad establishments. And under the impact of various social and cultural and psychological fulfillments they found there on the basis that they found things in other "novelty" situations, they maintained the association; probably, if not proveably, their long suppressed or unacknowledged own Jewish element predisposed many to stay and to search out their newly-discovered odd alliance with their own past. Finally,

others come to the campus or the city work community as young adults or college youth from families where a "residual Orthodxy" of one or both parents, or even a grand-parent as well, brought earlier in life elements and ideas about Judaism and how one lives as a Jew, into the mind of the person, and formed a perceptive undercurrent that was persistent, or disturbing, or both. In efforts sometimes experimental to resolve one's thought and feelings about this corner of one's experience such students occasionally attended a <u>shul</u> or Orthodox synagogue, usually the more exotic and now fashionable shul or <u>shtibl</u> to see what this piece of their past could offer them when a corresponding model of it in the real social world was found. Many felt good from the experience or found a new interest in life that appeared to have many good points to them, and they stayed or expanded their contact into the more traditional Jewish religious world.

Orthodox Youth and Their Developments

Orthodoxy saw perhaps the most interesting and perhaps too the largest and deepest growth of a new movement and identity among Jewish youth of any "movement." This is interesting from three points of view. Firstly, it was in sectors not traditionally associated with the "staunchly" Orthodoxy of the yeshiva world themselves or among them, but among people who subsequently indentified with Orthodoxy

"from the outside." And secondly, it was not a movement that was designed by elite Orthodox bodies or organizations, but one that sprang up and evolved towards them under its own momentum, seeking support from them.

In a third sense, on another level, historical and social-scientific, this movement was significant in what is spelled symptomatically for one's present historic views, at least dominant ones, of Jewish growth and change and adaptation of America over the last sixty to eighty years. As is widely known, American Jewish life has been seen by most historians and sociologists as a progressive movement of American Jewry away from Orthodoxy and away indeed from religion, and into secular existence, non-Jewish values and life styles, and away from cohesive social contacts and bases for ongoing Jewish life into fragmental, existential and highly personalistic patterns.[14] The above present developments as we shall see refuted this thesis, and indicated or appeared to indicate that movement of Jews and of Jewish youth especially is not unidirectional on the continuum of "religion" versus "secularity" or "social relativism," or in the continuum Jewish filiation and social cohesiveness versus generality and assimilation. And that more properly perhaps, each generation's members seek and find functionalistically some modicum of position and balance of "Jewish" versus "general" substance (e.g., Jewish versus general religiosity, Jewish filiation versus general American patterning, Jewish values and particular outlook offerings

on life versus personalistic and relativistic ethical and social patterns) to suit their own particular existentially perceived personal needs at whatever time. It also appears to disconfirm the concept, widely proffered by some anti-traditionalists and "leftist" social thinkers, that religion has been devoid of psychological and sociological functionalities and offerings for the Jew (or for others) and particularly for the supposedly cosmopoiltan and rationalist Jewish youth of today.[15]

There was a continuing body of Orthodox youth in the United States in 1965-1972, representing the youth segments of the one to two million Orthodox Jews in America. Of this group 200,000 or more adults and youth were male, Sabbath observers in 1966.[16] Orthodox young adults, boys and girls, and young marrieds, number it would appear to be between one-fourth and one-half the Orthodox Jews in the country fully, as Orthodox families number around three to four children to a family, and up to six or seven children in some families, among the Williamsburg Hungarian and other Hasidim, some Hasidic sects and groups throughout New York State, and other groups and communities of Orthodox Jews in the country.[17] Large youth proportions in the families of Orthodox Jews indicate that in the near future, as well, the proportion of youth and the high family child sizes will be crucial not only in the overall proportion of youth within Orthodox society, but that even with some defection to

other Jewish realms the Orthodox boy and girl will be an increasingly numerous and proportionate part of the entire Jewish youth world. An increasing number too of even the external "Absolutist" (or "Obgehitener Yidden") youth attended college, where these Orthodox youth of several types participated in, took from, and contributed to Jewish student movements and student life. A strong characteristic of the Orthodox realm was the very high proportionate involvement of Orthodox youth in groups, movements and organizations of several types: Yeshiva education, local synagogue groups, Talmud Torah groups, University Judaism groups, religious institution, religious intellectual, and scientific study groups, for example. Orthodox life on the adult level stressed, and required, tremendous levels of group-preserving and service-providing involvements of community members for proper prayer and study, life-long education of various types, kashrut, rabbinical education, <u>mikvaot</u>, and the like,[18] and also the traditional orientation to living by Jewish ethics and the pursuit of <u>mitzvot</u> in a communitarian dimension and sense and through the modicum of social organization, rather than in personalistic and sporadic individualist terms more akin to the suburban Jew.[19] Orthodox youth socialized to whatever degree by endless Talmud Torah institutions, Bnei Akiva (formerly the HaShomer HaDati, or "Religious Zionists" youth group), synagogue groups and community groups, and local informal

prayer and festival-observing groups of individuals raised in the same ways and often under the same educational and local leadership figures, maintained and on the college level found it typically easier to think in terms of social organizations and "groups" and societies to meet and fulfill purpose. Also their higher level of Jewish knoweldge, and higher motivation to act and live daily in Jewish cultural and religious and also philosophical and social terms, contributed to their prominence in general groups of Jewish youth, and to their popularity with the increasing numbers of neo-religious youth and neo-traditionalist youth. These were seeking both peer friendship and "expertise" in new found Jewish fellowship, and many Orthodox youth filled this need. Yavneh, the national Jewish religious students' religious organization, was more the outgrowth naturally of a life-long pattern of communal socialization and "group existence" recast on the adult social and intellectual "collegiate world" level, than a radical break from the past or a new adventure in synthesizing Judaism and general interests and intellectual inquiry that most other Jewish "establishmentarian" groups and new or radical groups were for most of their collegiate and post-collegiate members. The relatively vast involvement of at least many Orthodox youth in "group life" usually of some group-preserving, culturally educational and socially constructive and remediative sort was largely ignored by others. But the

halachic and ethical orientation towards lernen (learning, study), learning and self-improvement through learning, and hiddur mitzvot, (the learning and doing eagerly of good deeds), motivated and exacerbated the development of such an organizational society. Chief among the youth groups was Young Israel, an organization founded in the 1930s for fellowship and sociation of young American-born often University-educated youth; Yeshiva University's alumni program and groups, made up of chiefly young-adult and older Orthodox rabbis, teachers, and academicians; Yavneh, an Orthodox and also general-appealing youth organization appealing to students in college, also high school and graduate students, offering speaker's programs, social events, forums and educational classes; and many formal small societies centered in specific localities, around and in specific yeshivot and synagogues, or set up for specific social, cultural and ritual purposes.

Most Orthodox youth in the country lived in the Greater New York area where 2.5 million of the 5.8 million United States Jews lived.[20] Four thousand young men or more were studying full time at adult yeshivot in 1966 and many other students studied part time or otherwise participate in such study. And these youth constituted in a sense an educational movement or subculture within this larger one as well.[21]

There existed vast variations within this community as

well, that we might do well to mention due to their depth, and range of involvements. They in a sense were symptomatic of the kinds of patterns, problems, successes and involvements in Jewish society and in the general world that any Jewish youth could duplicate or emulate to good purpose, with often higher incomes and funds available and larger populations available, were they to develop the same mentality and discipline of dedication, adherence to plan, and organization. The Young Israel of Flatbush, New York, for example, had the highest per capita (worker's) success in "remediating" students its youth worked within its Black tutoring program of any youth group in the nation, due to its efficiency and involvement, in 1968-1969.[22] Student graduates of Yeshiva University on the whole during the period 1965-1972 ranked among the very few top 2,000 colleges in the United States in fellowships, scholarships, and prizes, for work and accomplishments, to higher doctoral programs in the sciences and social sciences in the United States.[23] Interestingly too, ninety-three percent of its graduates were expected to go on to graduate study, as opposed to around eighty-five percent of all graduates at Harvard College, sixty-six percent at Brandeis Univeristy, and fifty-five percent at the University of California.[24] The Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, first of several groups that brought the problems of Soviet Jewish life to American attention and to the forefront of American Jewish

concern, was originally founded, organized and administered by Orthodox students in New York City in the early 1960s, when the idea now accepted of "Jewish protest" or "fighting for Jewish rights" was greeted with incredulity in the United States and largely moribund with respect to Jewry in the rest of the world at large. Jewish groups of young adults, as well, such as members of the Lubavitch Hasidim (Chabad Chassidut) and Young Israel, succeeded in establishing around the country since 1962 networks of childrens' schools and of _yeshivot_ for college-aged students and young adults that as educational institutions were the envy of the Jewish educational world, many of these by kindred spirits and anonymous young adults themselves committed to a populist ideal of Jewish education that they did their own part here and there to enhance. Symptomatic of this was Young Israel itself. Under the auspices of this organization college-aged and post-college Jewish youth migrated veritably not as Jews alone, but as communitarian Orthodox Jews to far suburban and town areas like Spring Valley in lower New York State, Far Rockaway, outer Long Island and even Berkeley (in 1972) and have founded living Orthodox communities with _kashrut_ facilities, _yeshivot_, childrens' schools (Talmud Torahs, day schools and _yeshiva katanot_), synagogues and study classes, and a communal life. In Berkeley, traditionally seen as the "end of the earth" in the East, a yeshiva was founded late in 1971 by a number

of students and former students and is functioning there now, to supplement a small local synagogue populated variously by thirty to one hundred students, University faculty and department heads.[26] "Spin-off" social groups of young campus-near Orthodox or largely Orthodox youth, such as the original earlier day Union of Jewish Students in Berkeley of 1967, often arose about the country in collusion with or out of such communities.[27] Likewise Lubavitch the "progressive-intellectual" Hasidic movement, developed "centers" in such places as Long Beach, Californis and Princeton, New Jersey. The particularly romantic and exotic appeal of Lubavitch and of the Hasidism it represents to many Jewish residents and more so college youth roughly analogous to revivalism, lead in such places to varying levels of dialogue and communication of other Jewish youth with such movements and idea-worlds and of the adoption of their ideas, religious patterns, philosophies of life, and life styles, by many students who are personally still evolving. Old style pre-radical, essentially adult-conceived organized Jewish youth groups and young adult groups of this type in a sense thus formed a Jewish migration and settlement across America that existed in its own sociological dimension and that parallels other past Jewish movements in some ways geographically. This pattern will probably increasingly contribute new offerings and patterns ideologically, educationally, spiritually, and

socially to the molding and remolding of Jewish youth life in many parts of the country outside its own original internal sphere. Indications of an ostensibly Orthodox impact upon other sectors of Jewish life are difficult to quantify. However, each year on the newly revitalized holiday of Simchas Torah in the fall, in line with Soviet Jewry solidarity rallies originally, countless hundreds of Jewish youth visited Orthodox synagogues to participate and watch. In Los Angeles in the late 1960s and early 1970s, around 1,000 visitors passed through Lubavitch Centers similarly to take part in celebrations.[28] Their wider social impact was strong and grew.

Orthodox youth normatively as a group of individuals faced emergent problems and issues that were serious, even as their organizations and their imagery was being spread across widening segments of Jewish youth society. For one thing, there was since 1940 a growing and increased concern for <u>halachic</u>, ritual and ceremonial observance at least on the part of Orthodoc bodies, rabbis, and "opinion makers" that made demands upon not only the time and the effects but also faced with an amorphous and "open" America.[29] And many extreme Orthodox youth no longer sought college, viewed as an unnecessary "conceit" of a suspected general civilization. Many Orthodox youth, particularly the farther right "Absolutist" Orthodoxy, settled and now comfortable middle and upper-middle class Orthodoc students, and <u>baalei</u> <u>techuva</u> who have

moved into Orthodoxy, tended to show this trend markedly, whilst many of the "regional Orthodox" youth outside the major Jewish city centers in outlying parts and cities of the çountry, children of identifying but permissive or lax Orthodox parents on the older "semi-observant model," and disenchanted urban and collegiate "yeshiva dropouts" did not.[30] This indicates there was a perceptible and somewhat ignored breach between the increasingly militant, and observant and re-hakachized large-city and well-organized Modern Orthodox and also Absolutist Orthodox youth, and the more lax, and permissive and often more marginal Orthodox of backgrounds scattered across the country and who merge off into less religious Jews. This breach was in 1965-1972 bridged by inmarriage across religious Jews themselves and by the persistent liberality of many "central" Orthodox youth, together with increased concern for meticulousness and increased Jewish content in adult education and individual and ongoing study among the more dispersed Orthodox youth. But the problems remained.

Still, the regional and physical but not ideological diversification of Orthodox youth living-units well-organized in terms of an idea, across the country, as in the case of Young Israel chapters and some other groups, and the evangelizing orientation and effort on a well-organized and widespread scale, as one finds in such groups as Lubavitch Chabad Chassidut, brought Orthodoxy to diverse realms

of nonobservant Jewish student life today and with their offerings enticed more young Jews into a Jewishly more substantive way of life, and arena of thinking. They brought on in many college and other youth an increased interest in halachic observance and celebration of festivals and ceremonies particularly, although substantive learning and living of the wide-ranging Jewish ethics, and dedication more formally to Jewish organizational and philanthropic and other supportive activities necessary to Jewish life were yet to follow. One can forsee the possibility that in the future, various Orthodox institutions and groups will move out and become established in a host of campus communities, far suburban areas and small cities and will make their cultural and sociological mark upon the future destinies and styles of Jewish youth life there, much in parallel of the way that in the past, ancient Orthodox synagogues and institutions in far-flung towns and urban areas were superseded by more wealthy, populated and organized Conservative and Reform communities that grew up there as Americanized and less observant Jews moved in to such areas.[31]

Neo-Traditionalists and Ba'alei Teshuva

Outside of old-established and often noncollegiate Jewish religious and religious-youth movements among Jewish youth related to Orthodoxy, there was one further social movement that was of increasing importance. This is what

might be called the "Neo-Religious" revolution. Since the early 1960s, there was a movement of increasing numbers of young Jews from a variety of backgrounds into various forms of Orthodox-like ritual behavior, world-view and social and communal behavior patterns. In the 1940s particularly Jewish adults and lay leaders bemoaned or dismissed the "pointlessness" and "lack of future" of either Orthodoxy or Judaism in America. Many Jewish community leaders of the era 1940-1965 abandoned their observant behavior because they felt Orthodoxy to have no future for Judaism in America, regardless of their credal beliefs.[32] Philosopher A.J. Heschel points out how in the 1940s Jewish educators, community leaders and rabbis bemoaned the fact that "there is not future for Judaism in America" and by 1972 they had to reverse themselves.[33] Particularly since 1967 one witnessed a return of Jewish youth to traditional Judaism in significant numbers unprecedented in American Jewish history.

One most significant area of youth involvement in Judaism of a religious nature, besides the flocking back to Jewish learning and ideas of accultured and partly-assimilated but identifying Jews, and the increasing growth and organization and physical spread of organized Orthodox segments, is the increasing involvement of numbers of Jewish youth specifically in Hasidism. Hasidism, one recalls, was the vast spiritual and intellectual movement consolidated

by the Baal Shem Tov in Poland in the early 18th century, that swept over masses of Eastern European Jewry after a time of great suffering during and after the Chmielnicki massacres in Poland (1648), and after a short and bizarre era of license and asceticism among some Jewish communities there.[34] Even as historical analogies are difficult to make, it constituted a type of emotive, populist "Jewish revivalism." It laid emphasis upon the spirit and upon feeling where Rabbinic (or <u>misnagedische</u>) Judaism stressed study, intellect and learning. And it has been considered also to constitute a revolt of the <u>am</u> <u>ha-aretz</u>, or relatively ignorant, "unscholarly" common man against what he perceived to be the educational and intellectual distance and elitism of Rabbinic Judaism.[35] And as far as can be told its impact was vast, its numbers variously including thirty to fifty percent of Eastern Jewry at any one time. Considered by some the greatest social revolution in Jewish diaspora history and certainly in that of East European Jewry, its impact floundered against the immigration tide to America, and by the second decade of the 20th century, Hasidic Jews of the United States, or those of Hasidic community ancestry, were observably supposedly not unlike other immigrant Jews in the country.[36] The interest and involvement in Hasidism of Jewish youth was perhaps the most unique and unusual development in Jewish youth groups and collective behavior, if not the largest and most populous

development, in this last half century, in that it is in a sense a classic reversal of what has been thought heretofore to be the dominant, and irreversible trend among Jewish adults and youth: that of progressive withdrawal of Jews from religious and a religious way of life and from traditional Jewish religious and cognate values with a rise of social status, acculturation on the whole, and income levels and with the passage of time.[37]

Since the early 1960s Lubavitch Chabad attracted increasing numbers of Jewish youth, most of them students of college age, many students who had been to college and had sought some resolution of their identity, conflicts and problems. This is a Chassidic sect now grown into a movement of wide proportions that originated in Lithuania and was brought to the United States. It stresses the concept that there are two kinds of Jews: observant and believing Jews, and Jews who are "potentially" observant and believing, once an active Jewish life and identity has been inspired in them, once their neshama or nefesh yehudi or "spark of the Jewish soul" has been ignited. This outlook has had the profound social consequence that the Movement maintains active centers in cities across the country where students come into contact with Lubavitch, and move broadly with Hasidism on the whole, and where students can be attracted to Hasidism, and to various different aspects of it. Lubavitch itself has actively sought "conversion" or

"return" of Jews to its makeup.[38] Centers have prayer, libraries, a host of classes in Torah, Talmud, Midrash and Jewish thought of various types, and Jewish mysticism and legends which particularly appear to attract many students, and efforts have been made to place at least newer centers close to campuses, and even in some outlying areas with large Jewish youth populations. In 1962 a Chabad center and school for children (Talmud Torah) was set up in almost totally sentile Long Beach, California,[39] and in 1969 another was established in Westwood in Los Angeles, across the street from U.C.L.A., with its thousands of essentially middle-class and nonobservant Jewish students. And a newer Chabad House was founded in 1971 around the corner from the U.C. Berkeley Hillel House there now rejuvenated with an active influx of more observant Jewish youth.[40] Numerous young Jews from a variety of background found solace, fulfillment and a new way of life in Hasidic Judaism, or in specifically Lubavitch Hasidism. In 1966, 150,000 young Jews were members or affiliates in one form or another of the Lubavitch movement alone,[41] many ranging from student youth with little substantive Jewish background, to former Orthodox students and yeshiva students who, in the words of Orthodox Rabbi Grunblatt, had "had it" with the structured Orthodox way of life[42] and had foregone their Orthodoxy to later return. This number is particularly significant when we realize that there were 350,000 Jewish youth and students

attending college and in the "college world" at the same time, many of whom comprised these Lubavitch visitors, counselors, affiliates and active members. In New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, and Berkeley since 1970, there are yeshivot full of baalei teshuva (literally, "Sons of the Return," "returnees") to some form of Orthodox Judaism engulfed in studying Torah and Talmud. Many of these expanded their life styles to incorporate other forms of Jewish commitment in broader Jewish society as well, such as some social concerns in a specifically Jewish area (like the plight of poor Jewish education in cities, urban older Jewish poor, and Soviet Jewry), activities in Jewish education and student tutoring, and the like. This is quite significant in some cities, if not publicized. Some moved out of Lubavitch Hasidism, other "organized" social contexts with Orthodoxy, or away from strict observance into more flexible or permissive forms of Jewish commitment. And some combined the hasidic flavor of thought and mysticism, with the ritual meticulousness stressed by Lubavitch with interests in other areas of Judaism to be at least "borderline" or semi-committed practicing and thinking Jews within a more general Orthodox or even "Right-wing Conservative" Jewish framework. Some of these people are "non-Orthodox hasidim" in ceremonial adherence, ritual and dress, and in thought, a new phenomenon itself that exemplifies an infusion on a broad scale of historic Jewish substantive

ethical, ceremonial, ritual and historical values associated most with Orthodoxy as we know it, into the hitherto acculturated and nonobservant and "non-Jewishly-conscious" or unpracticing Jewish youth world. Of these 150,000 affiliates or sympathizers with Lubavitch in 1965 nationwide, approximately 35,000 individuals were Orthodox members of Lubavitch Hasidism.[43] Approximately 100,000 were non-Orthodox youth who incorporated Lubavitch and Hasidic and Orthodox life-style, attitude and ritual elements.[44] Many were crucially located in, active in or leaders in Jewish campus youth organizations. And they exerted a powerful actual and potential and increasing administrative, political, personal and educational influence upon masses of their fellow students in "reJudaizing" these segments of Jewish youth society, at least in the realm of young Jews affiliated with various types of organizations.[45]

At this point, it appears to have been the emotional and spiritual affiliation with Hasidism as idea, and as an orientation of the individual to the world, that predominated, together with it an exotic outlet for interests, feeling, and mental involvement. In many Lubavitch centers and study groups, and other classes, interests in mysticism and spiritualism equalled interest in serious study of Jewish law, Torah and Talmud. Also, Hasidism was looked upon in highly "personal" terms, personalistically, by many youth seeking fulfillment with it, in terms of what it

could "give them,"[46] rather than in terms of their joining a new community where they will happily assume a range of responsibilities in ongoing and efficient fashion to maintain that community and its growth and direction in turn, thus a "reciprocal" relationship. Rabbis of Conservative and Reconstructionist congregations noted that in services they feature, offering "creative" elements interwoven with Hasidic song and dancing and rituals, the appeal to the surprisingly large numbers of youth that occasion them was primarily "emotional."[47] The appeal of belief in transcendent forces that supercede the "failing" ways of "rational/ irrational" Man, the belief in a personally communicatable to and communicating God, and the indulgence in study and living of rituals and ceremonies and ideas that combined what for youth were an exotic appeal with a systematic way of interacting in warmer fellowship, appear to have been and were communicated by many youth to be the chief drawing points of Hasidism.[48] Other systematic and organizational aspects of how to live as a Jew, as how and why to join a Jewish community and function within it in an ongoing organized basis and make personal sacrifices of time and energies, and the study and living of Jewish ethics and manners and propriety systematically and continually, appeared to take a small place, in the personal pursuits of most of these groups and individuals. One reason is perhaps that the teaching of rituals and ceremonies and how and when

to study sacred books, is essentially a complex but yet "technical" function by nature, and is easier to communicate by a rabbi or Jewish educator to whom these youth come. Rabbis, educators and other leaders that were found typically in Habad Houses or in communities or neo-religious institutions, were forced by the nature of circumstances of large numbers of students coming, and some time pressures, to deal with behavioral pragmatics and began with the teaching of these ritual aspects to "set students in the right direction." Also, youth tended to fall eagerly into these patterns as they were an acceptable means of "structuring of one's life" often felt to be needed. By contrast the world of values, and ethics, is more complex intellectually and more elusive. Also, many youth accepted a basically "behavioristic" definition of what it was to be an "authentic Jew," or "Orthodox," or "Hasidic," in terms of rituals visibly performed, clothing style worn, and ceremonies observed in groups, that was also enforced by dominant patterns in assimilationist American and American Jewish culture, and ignored other and more subtle and more profound concerns. Also, peculiarly, the pursuit and teaching of ethics and values of living, conscientiousness and social helping on the Jewish model of mixed personal activity and group-organized activity as an accepted part of everyday life, involved necessarily the rebuilding and reconstructing of much of the individual personality; of wants and dis-

likes, of commitments and taboos, and the introduction of disciplines, and personal sacrifices, that brings also a whole range of problems and realms for personal embarrassment for youth brought up and used to an essentially individualistic, libertarian, and undisciplined way of life dominant in middle-class America. As the discipline and restructuring of life-styles necessarily occuring at the hands of ritual and ceremony in such groups continues, however, individuals and their teachers and rabbis too may both be able to turn with increasing attention and depth to the active and realistic pursuit and study of the ethical and communitarian functions within Jewish life that similarly have to be performed. Perhaps it will be, as some say, that first they must be attracted and introduced to "the concept" and know it exists, then be involved in the behavioral correlates of the idea. And only when then in the "habit" of affiliating socially and behaviorally with society that stands for the idea, can they go with greater energy and commitment into the substrata, the intellectual and moral ramifications of the idea itself.

One exemplary institution of colorful interest now emulated elsewhere increasingly around the country in Jewish communes, fellowship societies and the like among youth, is the "House of Love and Prayer," in San Francisco, a rather unique Jewish youth "group" and institution of its own. The "House" is in a small two-story townhouse located

near San Francisco's Golden Gate Park and not far from the Haight-Ashbury district of Hippie fame. It was founded late in 1967 by Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach, a graduate of the Lakewood Yeshiva Beth HaMidrash Govoha, well-known songwriter and singer who has recorded many songs over the years, as a kind of Jewish "community of the spirit where young Jews could congregate, meet, celebrate Jewish life and ceremony and festivals, and study together. It attracted many Jewish youth mostly of college-age, ranging from high school to their late 20's, from all over the San Francisco Bay area, including many from strife-torn Berkeley, to its group celebrations of Sukkos, Pesach and Simchat Torah, to its weekly folkdancing and singing and to its Friday night services and fold-singing and dancing activities. On Fridays and Saturdays for Shabbat, it attracted around 200 people, up to forty percent of whom, at one time or another, were non-Jews interested in what the House offered. Any day of the week between three and twenty-five people, from "hippie" and "drug scene refugees" and transients to well-educated graduate University students, former Yeshiva students, yeshiva dropouts, and students interested in Jewish education or the Rabbinate, ultimately, could be found studying there. The House in September 1972, five years later, had a mailing list of 3,000 names. It had a library of 1,000 books, mostly sections (tractates) of the Talmud, Torah, later and earlier commentators, and largely

too, on Jewish mysticism, Hasidism, spiritualism and humanism, on ritual, and legends of the Hasidim. The House began in the Fall of 1971 a yeshiva class with twenty students to supplement its long-time offerings of "free university"-like classes in Jewish ritual, Jewish mysticism, and Jewish thought. Most scrupulously attended to of all areas by members and by the two or three guiding and leading "co-directors" or "Co-leaders" in Rabbi Carlebach's absence, were attention to learning and practice of ritual and "proper" observance of the ceremonies and festivals and the study in Midrashic fashion of Jewish mystical ideas, from the standpoint not of criticism but of personal fulfillment and personal adaptation. Also, the House provided the little-known function of being a kind of therapeutic community as well for the social and psychological problems of some, but by no means most, of the people who have attended the house. For example, in the Fall of 1970 there were up to twenty-five young people living regularly at any one time in the House who had overcome drugs, and countless more over the past ten years with such problems and the other problems that caused these problems found community, friends, viable and fulfilling life style and a supportive iedology or orientation to life there. They either stayed affiliated with the House, joined the realm of this kind of relatively lenient religiously observant youth Judaism in the San Francisco area, or went their separate ways. In-

terestingly the House also provided the first step in a kind of ladder of successive gradual movements of young Jews back to Judaism. Many who came to the House for Shabbat, later came again and again and for festivals like Sukkot, Shevuot or Simchas Torah. Many joined study groups and frequent the house; some attempted the deeper yeshiva classes and made these the focal point of their involvement of Judaism. Of these some youth, having learned much at least the rudiments of ritual and conceptual Judaism and having studied in the yeshiva classes, moved out completely and to New York where they attended yeshivot under more established Orthodox auspices sometimes aspiring up to the level of smicha (rabbinical examination and certification), and genuinely moved into the greater attitudinal and social and ritual world of the modern Hasidic (or sometimes other) rigorously Orthodox community, like those of the New York Lubavitch, Young Israel communities, or a variety of groups in the yeshiva world. According to some accounts "some of the best students" left the House and made the "big step" into more general traditional Jewish society by going to New York. And from here, some moved yet once more to Israel. This House and the different progressive steps often from non-observant or marginal Jewishness, or even occasional gentile background, to successive levels of commitment to substantive Judaism, cumulating in divrei Torah ("speaking and learning" Torah) at yeshivot and in moving to Orthodox

New York, or to Israel, has been an entire story in its own deserving of attention.[49]

The General Picture: Changes and Developments In the Observance of Jewish Holidays and Festivals

It is apparent that during the period of 1965-1972, observances of religion, belief systems and ideologies, and attitudes about the mode of organization and institution that one finds acceptable for group fellowship, all underwent changes and reassessments among identifying and concerned Jewish youth. The "ritual and observance dimension" of Jewish youth life, or moreover of general Jewish life in the religious realm, can be looked at in terms of two parallel dimensions. One is the dimension of "mass-based" versus "communal-based" expression of religious affiliation and expression in public and other, organized group ceremonies, involving the celebration of holidays, festivals, and special events with religious significance. The other is the dimension of "private" observance and ritual among individual members of some religious movement, or persuasion, and the beliefs and personal habits underlying these, which lead the individual to affiliate with one or another Jewish youth group. Having looked at developments somewhat in the "individual" dimension, we shall now look at developments in Jewish youth and youth groups from the perspective of rituals, ceremonies and festivals as celebrated themselves.

It appears that a fundamental series of changes were

introduced by extant Jewish youth groups over the period 1965-1972 in the religious sphere. Noticeable particularly in the period 1970-1972 was the reinvigoration of the Jewish holidays of Pasach, Simchas Torah, Purim and Rosh HaShanah, and to a lesser extent Lag B'emer, by Jewish youth and their development more fully into practiced and well-attended holidays, and the development primarily by Jewish youth groups of the newer holidays, Yom Hatzmaot (the Celebration of the birth of the State of Israel) and Yom HaShoa, commemorating the destruction of and the resistance of the Jews of Eastern Europe in World War II. Since the late 1960s efforts by Jewish student groups, both radical and nonradical, were made across the country to reinvigorate and make "more meaningful" to Jewish youth generally, classic Jewish holidays. This was conceived by both members of radical groups, and of general, nonradical groups like Hillel House student councils, to be both an expression of their own feeling of solidarity with and passion for their traditions, and to be also a means whereby the vast numbers of unaffiliated and supposedly Jewishly undereducated and "less-conscious" youth could and would be made aware of and proud of their identities as Jews and would be drawn into active participation in the Jewish community. In 1968 in San Francisco, shortly after the Rosh HaShanah and Simchas Torah holidays, a massive rally was held in Stern Grove, in sympathy and solidarity with

Soviet Jewry. Since 1964, students and other youth affiliated with or attending Beth Jacob Synagogue in Beverly Hills, adjacent to the predominantly Jewish Pico-Robertson area, have celebrated Simchas Torah and danced in the streets outside, paralleling the celebrations of Jewish solidarity by Soviet Jews in Leningrad and Moscow, and since that time, Jewish radical and other youth have adopted this celebration widely at Simchas Torah around the country.[50] Also Sukkot, coming as it does shortly before Simchas Torah in the Fall, has seen increased attention from students and youth and their groups. "Radical" and other sympathetic elements, including local hippies, reintroduced in September 1967 the traditional Sukkah at the University of California at Berkeley's Hillel House where there had been none for several years, and also brought back after two or three years' demise, a more refined one at the local Traditional (Orthodox) synagogue that was populated by many local professors.[51] The presence there of a new Chabad House since 1970, an Orthodox organization, meant also the arrival of another source of Jewish impetus and also another place for Jewish youth gathering. Similar reinvigoration of Jewish holidays of the Fall occurred in New York, throughout the East, and elsewhere in the country in the late 1960s, and particularly since 1971. In the Spring, increasing absolute numbers of young adults and college youth, and increasing proportions of them among the overall

attenders came to and participated in Lag B'emer celebrations. In Santa Susana, California, site of the Brandeis (summer) Institute for Jewish college youth and adults, over 200 people participated in the period 1969-1972 in the planting of new trees there, and numerous synagogues then noticed the increased participation of Jewish youth in this festival at parks and sites where trees are planted on this day each Spring.[52] Perhaps the most noticeable events here occurred among Jewish radical groups themselves which, having been formed under the impetus of their own members, trekked to vacant areas, open land, and Jewish communal sites to plant trees under their own auspices, and with their own adaptations of traditional ceremony. Some Jewish active youth did this in Israel while outside the United States on study or work trips or on special holyday trips there. Pesach similarly became the subject of intensive effort by Jewish radical and religious youth group efforts, and has perhaps received most attention in terms of reintroduction of tradition, and in fact some addition to it. 1969 was marked by the appearance of Arthur Waskew's "radical Haggadah," which featured modern analogues of ancient slavery and injustice tales, which quoted such modern figures such as Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panthers and poet Allen Ginsberg, and which sought to draw together Jewish ceremonial and moral tradition with universalist principles of moral concern, and with modern-day

events and interpretations of them.[53] This Haggadah was utilized for example at the radical Seders held by the Union of Jewish Students in Berkeley in 1968 and 1969 shortly after the regular family seders that many of this group's members attended or had had first.[54] After 1969 other radical Haggadet appears. Among them are the 1970 Jewish Liberation Project Haggadah of New York City.[55] This Haggadah, edited by three students and developed by several others, termed "The Jewish Liberation Haggadah," saw wider use after 1970 at a variety of college campuses across the nation during Pesach. It combines elements from the traditional Haggadah with readings in English drawing from contemporary politics, social justice, and civil rights needs of Jews and other peoples, and with passages from such modern-day socially conscious writers as Albert Memmi, Libyan Jewish thinker and philosopher. It also contains a collection of sketches and reiterations of ancient Near Eastern drawings and paintings, similar to those found in archeological texts, and also contains most of the traditional prayers and blessings in English and Hebrew. An adapted edition of this work was in use in Los Angeles by the Radical Zionist Union which group used it at its radical, "third" Seder in 1972 and 1973.[56] As well, Jewish religious-oriented youth took veritably the lead in organizing and creating the new holidays of Yom Hasoa and Yom Hatzmaot in the United States. Since 1968 and 1969, Yom

Hashoa has been celebrated as both a day mourning the lost six million Jews of Europe, and as a testament to the courage and resilience of Jewish resistance fighters to the Germans and their allies during World War II. The day is celebrated with mass meetings and observances of youth and adults, with a memorial service and also with readings from diaries and other writings by now perished Jews, like Yessel Rackover or Chaim Kaplan (whose diaries were published as The Scroll of Agony),[57] and with writings by Jewish partisans and resistance fighters and Underground, and Bricha (refuge escape and aliyah) organization members of the War period and after. Yom HaShoa, celebrated each Spring close to the time of Israel Independence Day, and traditionally on the date of the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt of 1943, brought out the largest numbers of Jewish youth of any Jewish holiday at mass rallies, in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and other cities, save for Israel Independence Day rallies and celebrations in the streets and perhaps Simchas Torah celebrations of any holiday during the 1970s. Yom Hatzmaot, Israel Independence Day, is also largely a product of radical religious youth and other Jewish active youth, and has assumed the proportions of most important holiday of the year for a great many Jewish conscious youth, even though it is a relatively new holiday (observed since 1948). Celebrations of Yom Hatzmaot typically are centered around mass rallies and organized programs, featuring adult

and youth speakers, a range of participating youth cultural and political and other groups, Israeli dance group performances and sometimes as well even Hasidic-like "traditional" Jewish dance groups as well, and varieties of Jewish music and song. Often, "official" celebrations that were much the product of youth conscience and youth organization although funded largely by adult community organizations in recent years, became more organized and "regulated" and even dominated by adult speakers and adult Jewish organizations and their own plans. And partially in response to this, other varied celebrations of Israel Day also grew up simultaneously, in local Jewish radical groups, that many Jewish youth also attended. This holiday, and its varied and extensive celebrations, have had a dramatic appeal on many Jewish youth in larger cities like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco. In New York in 1972, 100,000 to 150,000 Jewish youth and adults attended and participated in mass celebration in New York City on Israel Day,[58] one strong element in the holiday being the celebration simultaneously of the emigration of large numbers of Soviet Jews to Israel and of the courage of countless others in seeking and planning emigration. Much of the impetus for these celebrations, similar in many ways to those at Simchas Torah in the fall, came from the example set in the earlier 1960s by Soviet Jews in Leningrad and Moscow, whose open defiance of Soviet repression

of their Jewish identity inspired American Jewish youth.

Not only in this era did new holidays emerge, and did there appear marked upsurges in both the numbers of Jewish youth engaged in their celebrations, and in the depth of involvement of many Jewish youth in these observances. But as well the style of ritual and of ceremony itself became revitalized. Also "older" traditions were reintroduced by religious radical youth into their own lives, and into the sectors of adult Jewish life that they have made their mark upon. For example, many ritual elements of the seder, the Purim celebration and Megillah reading, Sukkes and Simchas Torah have been observed by Jewish active religious youth with increasing meticulousness and attentiveness to detail and perfection, approaching in some areas what could be termed even "historical reconstructivism." Members of the Jewish Radical Community of UCLA, for example, at Passover time in 1969 and 1970, traveled out into the Mojave Desert to the east of Los Angeles and roasted a paschal lamb over a fire, to replicate the way that Moses and the ancient Israelites in the Sinai celebrated Pesach originally.[59] They wrote a testament to this reintroduction of tradition to the Hillel House at UCLA, claiming that they "deplored" the representation of the peschal lamb with the accustomed "impoverished" lamb shank-bone alone, and preferred to replace this with a more representative, "more authentic" regular piece of roasted

lamb.[60] They featured this paschal lamb, and their "real-life" lamb-roasting ceremony, as an integral part of their celebration of Pesach in 1969 and 1970. Their efforts were emulated by other Jewish youth, and similar events occurred in groups around the country. Less traditional, prefabricated or even metal _sukkas_ have been replaced in a host of Hillel House lots, private homes and synagogues by authentic _sukkas_ built in detail to _halachic_ specifications (using authentic palm _schach_, no nails, and no boards strong enough to bear the weight of a man) all over the country by religiously radicalized youth of both former residual Orthodox and formerly acculturated and nonobservant backgrounds, including such Jewishly far-removed sites as Princeton, Berkeley Hillel, San Francisco State College, Brandeis University, Boston, and cities in the Midwest.[61] Neo-religious radical youth in San Francisco and its outlying areas since 1967, including many from the "House of Love and Prayer," have obtained palm fronds from Vallejo, sixty miles away, and carried them in to make their _sukket_,[62] as has been the case with Lubavitch-affiliated youth as well. During Simchas Torah celebrations in 1965-1972, hundreds of attending youth joined in vast and lengthy _zmiret_ (singing) and dancing at Chabad Houses and at other reinvigorated Jewish youth-oriented institutions like Hillel Houses, and participated as not before in the Torah _aliyahs_ and other ceremonies, in marked contrast to the often sedate and much

less well-attended Simchas Torah services in synagogues and in campus Jewish organizations in prior years.[63] Many Jewish youth once unaware of such holidays as the 17th of Tammuz, Tish Be-Av and others observed them scrupulously as religious obligations, personal disciplines, moral symbols and obligations, or all of these, throughout the country. And larger numbers of youth became involved in Lag B'emer, Tu Be-Shevat, and Shevuet and what these holidays entail, during the year, as in the case of planting of new trees on Lag B'emer by radical youth on Jewish-owned properties or in unplanted areas with the permission of local authorities.

It is apparent increasingly that the increased overall participation of Jewish youth, and especially and predominantly of group-affiliated youth, in Jewish ceremonies and holidays, the increased importance of traditional holidays to these youth and their overall groups both as traditional holidays and as grounds for religious innovation, and the reintroduction of ancient and other revitalized rituals and religious attentiveness and meticulousness in 1965-1972, signify a variety of things. For one thing, it appears that in this era there was an increased role of Jewish "communal" religious ceremony, and group gathering in the religious dimension, in the life of the committed Jewish youth. The yearly holidays now celebrated as they were not in 1965 by Jewish youth became a more or less integral part of the

"American" and universal calendar of these youth. Secondly, from their beginnings as experimental efforts by Jewish youth, or even in some groups as "protest" efforts by some Jewish youth in the later 1960s religious ritual reintroduction or reconstructivistic efforts matured into more or less integral, expectable, and more meticulously practiced and integrated elements within Jewish religious youth services in radical and progressive groups. Thirdly, the Jewish active youth of that era met with possibilities for year-round, and rather comprehensive participation in religious communality and ceremony on holidays throughout the year, above and beyond shabbat, and similarly could make use of these opportunities as outlets for his spiritual and creative aspects and energies, even if to some degree his innovative ceremonial styles conflicted with the norms of the organized synagogue he attended or with the prevalent patterns of the local Jewish community. Fourthly, there came to be a noticeable centering of Jewish communal ceremony and fellowship and religious participation by active youth around the month-long period of Rosh HaShanah through Simchas Torah,[64] and similarly also around the period of Purim, Pesach, Lag B'emer, Yom HaSheah, Yom Hatzmaot and Shevuet, conceived as two "polar" periods of the year. Fifthly, there has been increase in observance of holidays throughout the year as well, and at the same time a de-emphasis of such "Christian calendar" holidays as Hanukah

and Eastertime. Noteworthy in the winters of 1970, 1971 and 1972 was the decreased importance attributed to Hanukah among Jewish youth, and its deemphasis to a classic role of a "minor" freedom festival of minor religious importance, relative to the increased importance of the Fall and Spring Jewish holidays. This appears to represent part of a "retraditionalized" pattern of more in-depth observance of Jewish holidays yearly. The patterns as observed in these many nationwide-movement groups, and more local groups, appear to have represented as we have seen both "innovative" and "novel" events in Judaism, when looked at in terms of traditional Judaism and in terms of the normative accultured American context. And they also represent reintroduction of and a reaffirmation of that tradition and its many different elements, for these Jewish youth and youth groups involved in them.

Some General Analyses on The "New" Jewish Religious Group and its Members

It appears that many new things transpired in the period of 1965-1972 among both the individual identifying Jewish student and youth, and the religious radical, progressive, or other group to which he belongs, particularly where new youth-originated groups are concerned. It appears that some classic theories about "what makes Jewish youth Jewish," or what would lead them to want to be Jewish, have been borne out by the historical record to be untrue, whilst

others are supported. Similarly, classic patterns of affiliation of Jewish youth organizationally and socially in general changed markedly over the 1965-1972 period and new ones that are the legacy of the 1965-1972 years, of "the involved era" have manifest themselves. And some new problems stemming from differences in the "style" of or orientation to Jewish identity by numerous Jewish active youth, as individuals, presented emergent problems. We shall discuss these realms briefly here.

Some Notes on the General Form And Direction of Religion in the "New" Youth Groups.

The general picture of the "returnee" youth is a more religious Judaism and to especially rigorous or "absolutist" types of Orthodoxy, and the strong interest and passion particulary for the very details of ritual and ceremony, and heavily in the intellectual realm for mysticism and aggadah (popular histories, explanations, aphorisms) tends to indicate that traditional Torah-based Judaism was not devoid of appeal for sophisticated and middle-class, Western educated Jewish youth of America in late 1960s and the 1970s. On the contrary, it appears for many of these people, as sophisticated as they in actuality are in several ways, more traditional Judaism provided fulfillments of needs that were unmet by their previous life socially and emotionally. And it complemented their general American spiritual and intellectual and psychological composure

with elements relating to those specifically of their own cultural past within the greater American pattern.

For one thing, it appears that the broad spiritual and ideological imagery that Judaism offered in the area of ideas about how one comes into touch with a "transcendent reality" of truth and proper human behavior through prayer (tefila) and study (lamdut) and the practice of mitzvot, fulfilled the apparent need of thousands or tens of thousands of youth for the spiritual and emotional dimension in life. Perhaps general American civilization, and with it normative Conservative and Reform Judaism, with their essentially normative lack of substantive depth of Jewish living as such, with the stress upon external social behavior, materialism, and the reductionistic mentality of assessing the value of things up by their cause, result and practical usefulness, indeed did not satisfy the needs within many Jewish individuals, "intra-individually," that needed to be fulfilled.

The attendance to ritual rigorousness as well, to prayer and ceremoniality may likewise have functioned to satisfy the needs of Jewish youth in their needs and efforts to find some worthwhile, organized structure in the world in the form of a "template" or design for living that could provide an able guide for one's life and crucially for interpersonal relations, and that would allow the individual to order his life into some determinable pattern in a

society where impersonality, lack of communication between people and groups, and chaos was perceived to dominate too much one's way of life.

Still to be determined is the significance of the lack of strong concern with and stress upon the study and active practice of Jewish interpersonal and social ethics, and the social and organizational manifestations of these, social responsibility and "social helping." As before, many youth appeared to be searching in 1965-1972 for themselves and their own social and pyschological "salvation" and were essentially unable, and plausibly psychologically disinterested in thinking in terms of, their responsibilities to "the group" in turn. Secondly, it is possible that social ethics and social helping, particularly the charitable, philanthropic and organizational-remediative aspects of this, were associated correctly or incorrectly with "organizations" and "the Jewish establishment" which were suspect and eschewed as being "hypocritical," really not effective, dull and therefore undesirable. And thus involvements here presented a sardonic and odious image to many youth. Whilst the pursuit of what these groups did is in reality ironically, in many ways the epitome of the organizational and systematized modern-day fulfillment of the Jewish ethical and socially-oriented concern for justice, they were not perceived to be this because of their "organizational" and "nonpersonalized" basis.[65]

Whatever the broader symptomaticities of this movement of return to religion on the whole of several thousands of Jewish youth of differing kinds and in different degrees, and levels of overall consistency, it appears to suggest one point. For Jewish youth, return to one's "Jewish way" was seen in the main to be a return to Jewish religion, in its ideational aspects, rather than a return to some mixture of elements from Jewish secularism, culturalism, assimilationism and religion together wherein religion was one part among many. This tends to support the concept that normative Jewry perceives Judaism to be essentially a collection of realms of attitude and feeling and behavior centered of necessity around "religion," and specifically the practice and active living of it, and not around concepts of nationhood, political opinion, intellectual style or other theoretical typologies. And it also specifically points more strongly to the phenomenon that among Jewish youth of today not formerly religious, but turned religious in feeling and in attitude and ideology, Orthodoxy or some development upon it was perceived generally to be the "most viable" model of religious existence for the Jew, other identified Movements, however elaborated and respected in their offerings at the elite social level or on an intellectual level, notwithstanding.

Major Divisions and Rifts in Jewish Youth In the Religious Dimension, 1965-1972.

There appear to be grounds for a new perspective on the manner in which Jewish youth in the United States may be grouped sociologically in the religious dimension. It has been assumed in Jewish rabbinical and leadership circles, and among some sociologists and lay thinkers, that there is today a rift in the United States between the Jewish students of Orthodox background and ritual feeling, and the Jewish youth of Conservative and Reform affiliated and assimilationist backgrounds. Supposedly, and as was stressed in most analyses, especially sociological analyses, the life of the Orthodox student as a social pattern was built around fundamental religious and ethical beliefs that served to make "totalistic" and integrated claims upon the time and the social involvements of the Orthodox youth and regardless of whatever else they may have done, kept him from a wide range of involvement with other Jewish youth of various backgrounds and various degrees of accommodation to "general" American life. One Reconstructionist Rabbi in 1966 went so far as to say before his Conservative congregation that probably in the future we would see the joining of Conservative and Reform movements and the reinvigoration of unreligious but yet non-assimilated Jewish people on the one hand, and the increased isolation and retrenchment of Orthodoxy on the other.[66]

This pattern does not seem to have been borne out it appears, in the record of 1965-1972. It appears indeed that with the renewed reinvigorated organizational discipline

and regulation within the Orthodox organized community of adults and youth leaders, there was and will continue apace, a disciplined ingroup structuring and disciplining among some sectors of Orthodox youth in America that will serve to segregate them socially from other realms of Jewish youth, and indeed in a sense from the more lax and permissive "un-observing" Orthodox youth. And likewise the continuing permissivity in social manners and ideals (in dress, sexual freedom, employment attitudes, family attitudes) among a broad range of nontraditional Jewish youth will continue to draw the bulk of American Jewish youth and most more-religious and Orthodox youth apart at least in some social contexts. This will pose continuing problems, and a greater intensity of existing problems at organizing diverse Jews, for Jewish youth-oriented "umbrella" organizations serving the total community or aspiring to do this, and to youth-interested Jewish adult organizations, even whilst youth groups in themselves might be contented with their own lot and their own directions. But new trends and ongoing trends have emerged over the period 1965-1972 that serve to dispute this classic characterization, and to demonstrate new patterns. Since the early sixties and well noticeable by 1967 was the influx and activity of Orthodox and practicing Orthodox students not only in a wide range of student administrative groups and helping groups such as the Hillel, U.J.W.F. and Zionist groups, but also in more cosmopolitan

social groups and also in "radical" and "activists" groups like the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, Union of Jewish Students, Jewish Radical Communities, and the Radical Zionist Alliance, in communities across the country. Orthodox students in fact founded the student struggle for Soviet Jewry in New York City in 1963, and have been increasingly active in social activity on efforts in general Jewish groups on campuses since that time, contrary to some earlier assessments that pointed unhappily to the low general involvement in Orthodox youth in "wider society" socially and morally significant activities.[67] At Berkeley too most of the early Radical Union of Jewish Students, which published the Jewish Radical, was composed of ostensibly Orthodox students.[68] As well, the liberal and open, predominantly social Yavneh groups have attracted in turn sizeable minorities of active and committed non-Orthodox youth who find fulfillment in the Yavneh form of youth activities, Orthodoxy, and intellectual and communal pursuits.[69] In the Greater New York area from Long Island to northern New Jersey, Orthodoxy has been able to form itself with linked and somewhat interlocking sub-communities and it has been able to establish a communitarian life-style with a full range of supportive institutions that are also dense in number. This has worked in the direction of structuring more fully and integrally Traditionalist life-style. But is has also worked to decrease the possibilities

for consistent interaction of these pre-adolescent and late adolescent and college-aged youth with Jewish youth of other backgrounds. In other communities where there has been less of an overall impact from any ongoing, historic, traditional Orthodox organization or from an East European immigrant leadership influx, there are less grounds for large, and yet cohesive and intensive communitarian life-styles for their youth particularly. This is the case more so in the Los Angeles, San Francisco, Northwest and Arizona areas for example. Here there is a social atmosphere that is generally freer and more open for most and there is a great deal of adaptable social and organizational inter-cation between Orthodox and other Jewish youth specifically in the public school, Hillel or Memorah Society, Jewish Students' Club of some type, and on the intellectual level, across groups and among individuals.

It appears that there indeed is an emergent pattern of splits socially within American Jewish youth, but that it is not necessarily where it has been supposed to be by many sociologists. And in fact there are not one, but two, dividing lines in existence between veritably three defin-able sectors of Jewish youth and types of groups to which these youth belong in the United States. There is a dis-tinct cleavage between the very strict "absolutist" or "Obgehitener" Orthodox, many Hasidic youth, and some newly religious baalei teshuva on one hand, and a vast group com-

posed of the less-absolutist Orthodox, the "Neo-Orthodox" or modernly-educated Orthodox, the various types of "lenient" Orthodox, the nonobservant Orthodox, the right-wing traditionalist Conservative Jewish youth, the more permissive Conservative Jewish youth, the committed Reform youth, and other "identifying" Jewish youth as a group. And there exists as well another division, it appears, between all religious and non-religious, religiously identifying and non-religiously identifying Jewish youth of whatever Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, secular, radical, Jewish "universalist" or Zionist background, as a unit, with various degrees of acculturation to American life on the one hand, and an increasing and large number of "lost," uncommitted, Jewishly ignorant or disinterested and truly "assimilating" or assimilated Jewish youth as a body on the other.

The General Significances For Religion of "Religious" Orientations In Jewish Radical Groups

In Jewish youth life we find two realms of significance in the Jewish radical groups such as the UJS, the Jewish Radical Communities, and others, in terms of their own character and in terms of their bases of origin for other subsequent groups. For one thing, the rise and formation of such groups represents a departure from standard "metropolitan" and acculturred Jewish life and

Jewish religion, a force that asserts itself as a more progressive and radical and supposedly more liberal active alternative to this former and today dominant course in Jewish life. Secondly, it can be seen also as a deviation, among religious, neo-religious and neo-Traditionalist Jewish youth together with generally active Jewish youth whose interest in Judaism has become more marked and significant, surrounded by a predominantly unreligious or anti-religious Jewish subculture, of religious Jews in a social sense from the very norms of Orthodox and right-wing Conservative youth patterns in America as they were for years. The Union of Jewish Students groups of today or some Jewish Radical Community groups may be a symbol, or example, of a revolt of Jewish youth against a supposed "religious tradition of their elders." Historian Max Vorspan proposes this as a plausible basis and strong basis for the youth rebellious activism and Jewish radicalism, both of the older New Left and the newer "Jewish-consciousness" varieties, in American Jewish youth, against some elements of the religious side of Jewish life.[70] This revolt where it occurred spiritually and ideologically was essentially against the relatively more inactive and uninvolved aspect of much of normative religious Jewry in the United States, or at least the perception of this group to be such by many of its Jewish youth. But this development may also have represented to a greater degree, a revolt "within"

Judaism on the whole of young Jews who differ from the start for normative general Jewish society in America, with its less education and less religiosity and less of a Jewish educated guiding conscience and set of values, of many religious and religious-inspired youth against both American values which they find variously inadequate, useless, or inhuman, and against a normative nonreligious Jewish life that they see righty or wrongly to be more and more an imitator of and a reflector of the same "sick" values they attributed to American life. Thirdly, it represented in a religious dimension the revolt of many already Orthodox Jewish youth of a wide range of backgrounds against both the increasing aping of general and acculturated Jewish society by their Orthodox parents, and at the same time, against the perceived quietude, disconcern and disinterest and inactivity of Orthodox Jewry in radical and liberal "social action" activities important in America. Some rabbis pointed sadly to the peculiar under-representation of Orthodox youth in radical and progressive activities in the campus world in the earlier 1960s,[71] and one well-known and popular Rabbi, Emmanuel Rackman, has consistently called upon Orthodox Jewry and other traditionalist Jews to become more involved in social concerns of a wide range.[72] It is true that the involvement of ostensibly "Orthodox Jews" is large in communal and other activities under their own auspices whilst they do not pro-

ject here to others a particulary strong image, and whilst too for many reasons their participation in "radical" activities--and semi--or legal ones-- is often neither easy to coordinate nor useful to them. As long however as each religious group within Jewry carried in radical-youth eyes, and in youths' eyes more broadly, a particular continuing stereotype of degree and kind of "meaningful commitment" to social helping and activism, and as long as that of Orthodox and other traditionalist Jews on the present adult model persists as "off in their own box," many Jewish youth would be motivated to react against this perceived style of existence, invest it with a new activist and radical style and enthusiasm of their own, and carry Jewish religious ideology and ethical ideology into new political directions whilst still maintaining their faith in what the system "is" and "can do" ideally, and whilst still staying ideologically and spiritually part of it on the whole. This kind of "part emulation, part idealization, part revolt" that the religious and spiritual and ethical dimension of the new Jewish radical groups manifested, could not have occurred and did not occur in earlier times in America where communication between different belief systems in Jewish life was rigid and difficult, wherein Jewish youth did not have a philosophy of "rehashing the best elements of everything" and recombining these into their own multifaceted movements and interest realms, and in which

religion and its ancient and workable systemic parts and ethical components were not given the respectability and did not fulfill the personal or psychological or emotional needs that appears to have become the case in recent years. The Jewish radical groups with a strong religious interest or component, like many Union of Jewish Students, Jewish Radical Community, havura and other groups as a phenomenal system, a typology of social revolutionary group, appear to have constituted a revolution against two sets of values and ways of existence that themselves are opposing in some crucial ways, (i.e., the diffuse American and the Jewish) and revolution moreover on two levels of society and of different "direction" on each level.

What remains to be seen and determined however is the following: those factors that stem from the revolt of Jewish youth as religious or Orthodox youth as such, against normative "traditional" Judaism; those that stem from a revolt "within" individuals against normative Judaism in America on the whole; and those that stem particularly, distinct from the others, from a revolt by American Jewish youth against "general" American society on the whole.[73] Efforts in this direction, without doubt valuable in their own right, and helpful in predicting or at least theorizing upon the future course of Jewish radical groups and other Jewish-consciousness youth groups are yet to be made. However generally speaking the overall impact

of motivation in the "religious" dimension for Jewish youth and student movements in the last few years which attempt to come to terms with different roles of the individual in Jewry and of the individual as some type of religious Jew within more general society, has been of vital importance in this era. And motivators for Jewish student and youth group-formation and change will probably continue to be of central importance in the near future, whilst cultural and "rational-group" ideology factors will also play a part.

Jewish Youth Trends in Religion: Some Conclusions

Jewish youth appear to have lived in 1965-1972 in an age of youthful Rosenzweigian "existential choice" as to what elements of Judaism they will accept and which they will ignore, ideologically and behaviorally, on a very individualistic basis. They did not live on the basis of a placid and passive mass-adherence to and interest in the ongoing elitist-level theological and ritual deliberations of the organized Movement. The old belief that it is not necessary to teach Jewish youth how to pray, how to sing prayers (_hazzanut_), how to study the Jewish sacred books, or moreover the very substance of his religion, because one oneself does not believe in these in an age of "atheist rationality," a feeling held strongly still by existing Movements and by many community rabbis, youth organization leaders and parents, may be symptomatic of laziness, or of

disbelief in much or all of Judaism and of the main body of Jewish thought or Jewish ideation. Or it may be symptomatic of loss of faith among the existing youth generations. More importantly however this attitude appears to have been detrimental. The recent generations of Jewish youth, split as they so often were between lax conformity to American "surface ideals" and ideas and to often violent retrenchments and escapades into other disruptive and not necessarily productive modes of life, were heir to two generations of Jewish parents who in their lack or loss of faith, or unsure belief in what Judaism has said about God, about man and about the relations between them,[74] also manifested a crucial lack or loss of attention to the training and the ongoing practice of Jewish living. Even where parents of the recent past still exercising some modicum of control over their youths' lives or influence over their lives did not feel Judaism or faith "in their heart," and thus did not feel motivated to communicate to their youth the ethical and social precepts and the behavioral ways, including ritual and ceremony, it appears that these were functional to and crucial to the long-term survival, growth and quality of Jewish spiritual, social and ethical existence. Those who did communicate these even though they themselves may not have "believed," provided their youth with the only possibilities thus that could exist, in an age of democratic values, pluralism, and wisdom grounded in education,

for their youth to make precisely their own "existential choices" in the crucial religious-moral realm of their life, at one time in their life and again many times as to how they should live from the standpoint if sufficient knowledge about "all" choices. Jewish education of a deep, traditionalist and also multi-focus type, at the early levels and all through adolescence and later life in a lifelong pattern, and of as charismatic and high a quality as possible, afforded in as wide a range spread of institutions and places possible, would appear to be perhaps the best basis for this informed choice for Jewish youth and for the growth of positive Jewish youth groups. Weighing all in the balance rationally and socially, spiritually and emotionally, whether the acculturated Jewish youth will move deeper into studying the Jewish past in effort to help shape the future for them, how much of Judaism's overall content as culture and religion will determine how much of their life, and which particular elements will be involved, we cannot predict at this time of vast upheavals and emergent changes in American society. Perhaps in a sense a corner has just been turned in the past few years since 1965. But without this educated "background for decision" at the least being given to them, the possibilities for broader choice as to type and degree of Judaism or Jewishness, one wants to live with positively asserted, individualistically tempered, and communally channeled, as an American undercurrent, will be

limited. And the choice itself would be difficult to make, or indeed even difficult to imagine or entertain. And the quality of contribution of younger American Jews to the political, moral, and cultural mainstreams of American life would suffer because of this.

Chapter III: Footnotes

[1]Cf. Joshua A. Fishman, "Patterns of American Self-Identification Among Children of a Minority Group," in The YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, Vol. X, 1955 (New York: The Yiddishe Vissenschaftlicher Institute - YIVO); Cf. Study in Irving Canter, "What Research Tells Us About Training For The Jewish Component in Group Work in Jewish Settings," in The Journal of Jewish Communal Service, 39, 3, Spring 1963, pp. 226-285. Cf. also Bernard Rosen, "Minority Group in Transition: A Study of Adolescent Religious Conviction and Conduct," in Marshall Sklare, ed., The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 339.

[2]See for example comments by acculturated Jewish college youth on Hillel societies and Jewish youth religious life, in Joseph Adelson, "A Study of Minority Group Authoritarianism," in Marshall Sklare, op. cit., pp. 475-492; Alfred Jospe, Judaism on the Campus (Washington D.C.: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, 1965), Chapters 3 and 4 on "Jewish Identity" and "Religious Attitudes of Jewish Students" in the period up to 1965, pps. 46-77.

[3]Cf. Lucy S. Davidowitz and Milton Himmelfarb, eds., "Conference on Jewish Identity Here and How," proceedings of an American Jewish Committee conference in 1966, (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1967). (Also published by the American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations Press Paperback Series, 1967).

[4]See Louis Binder, "A World Without Jews," in The Reconstructionist Vol. 38, No. 1, February 18, 1972, and his unusual and detailed study of the cultural attrition upon Jewish population in the United States over recent years, especially since 1950.

[5]Cf. Davidowitz and Himmelfarb, op. cit., 1967; see also The American Jewish Yearbook population figures for 1971 in the Yearbook, Vol. 72, 1971. For more current figures see the Yearbook, Vol. 73, for 1972, and Vol. 74, for 1973, respectively.

[6]See Efrain Shmueli's discussion in his "The Appeal of Hasidism to American Jewry Today," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11, No. 2, December 1969.

[7]Cf. Shmueli, op. cit.

[8]See the Proceeds of the National Committee for the Furtherance of Jewish Education (NCFJE), Religious Education

Committee, 1970, (New York): reported in B'nai B'rith Messenger, March 6, 1970, Pp. 5,6.

[9]NCFJE report, in B'nai B'rith Messenger, op. cit., Pp. 6.

[10]Cf. Charles S. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 39-40.

[11]See Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 4, 9-13, 40.

[12]See Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 39-40, 63064, (On Lubavitch Hasidim).

[13]As noted by numerous Hillel rabbis and congregational rabbis near college campuses engaged in counseling; contacted by the author.

[14]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 3-4, 71-74; Lloyd P. Gartner, "The New York Kohilla" ("Review Article," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971, Pp. 198.

[15]For outstanding articulation of this viewpoint, see Mordecai M. Kaplan, Judaism As A Civilization (New York: Schecken Books, 1934); and articles in The Reconstructionist, journal of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, New York

[16]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 5-7.

[17]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 8; Solomon Poll, The Hasidic Community of Williamsburg (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1962; New York: Schocken Books, 1969), Ch. 6 on "The Hasidic Family," Pp. 52-59 (in the Schocken edition).

[18]See Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 21-24.

[19]See the discussion of the Jewish community organization in Warsaw, in Jacob Shatzky, "Institutional Aspects of Jewish Life in Warsaw in the Second Half of the 19th Century," in The YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, Vol. 10, 1955; Cf. also Lloyd P. Gartner, "The New York Kehillah, 1908-1922," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971, Pp. 197-204.

[20]Cf. Davidowicz and Himmelfarb, op. cit.; Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 4,5.

[21]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 51.

[22]Reported in Young Israel Viewpoint (New York), May 27, 1971, Pp. 1 ("Y.I. Job Training Program").

[23]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 47.

[24]Cf. National Council for Graduate Education files figures (New York), 1968; the files of Yeshiva College, Yeshiva University (New York City), 1969; see also Liebman, op. cit.

[25]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 64-75; also, see Rabbi Meir Kahane, Never Again: A Program For Jewish Survival (New York: Pyramid Books, 1971), esp. Pp. 192-244, where Kahane discusses this movement.

[26]As observed by the writer, and from discussions with local active Hillel-attending Jewish youth, September 1971, and April and September, 1972.

[27]Study by the Community Services Division of Yeshiva University, of the East Bay (i.e., Oakland-Berkeley) area of San Francisco, 1964. Also noted by the author (See M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students: The History of a Conflict," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971, Pp. 153-173). See also, "Cress Country Trip Notes Dining Clubs, in Texas, Berkeley," in Young Israel Viewpoint, October 26, 1970, Pp. 1.

[28]This number of visitors and attenders passed through the Lubavitch Chabad House in Los Angeles, in Westwood, adjacent to the UCLA campus, during Simchas Torah eve in 1971 and 1972, according to resident rabbis and other authoritative observers in the institution. Also noted in Ha'Am, (UCLA Jewish student paper, Los Angeles), February 1973, Pp. 3.

[29]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 71-74.

[30]Cf. Howard Polsky, "A Stufy of Orthodoxy in Milwaukee: Social Characteristics, Beliefs, and Observances," in Sklare, ed., The Jews, op. cit., Pp. 325-335; Joshua A. Fishman, op. cit.; Sidney Goldstein and Calvin S. Goldscheider, Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), Pp. 171-243 and, Marshall Sklare's Introduction to Chapter 4, "The Jewish Religion," in The Jews, op. cit., Pp. 323-324.

[31]As indicated by the current spread and regional establishment of Lubavitch groups and their centers (Chabad Houses and schools) catering to students and adults, and to a lesser degree but in a more pervasive and in a sense

"deeply rooted" manner, the Young Israel movement chapters and their communities. For a chronicle of Young Israel chapters and their growth, and establishment during this period, see the Young Israel Viewpoint (New York), bi-monthly newspaper, issues from 1965. For a picture of Hasidic community growth, see Solomon Poll, The Hasidic Community of Williamsburg (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962), and particularly, as well, Solomon Poll, "The Persistence of Tradition: Orthodoxy in America," in Peter I. Rose, ed., The Ghetto and Beyond (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1969); Charles S. Liebman, op. cit., pp. 40-43 on "Young Israel," and pp. 61-64 on "The Lubavitcher Movement." See Jacques Gutwirth, La vie traditionnelle, Ethnologic d'uno commaute hassidique (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1970) on European (Antwerp) Hasidim, for a comparison view. And see Larry S. Price, "Hippie Hasidim - A Religious Alternative," in Hadassah Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 7, March 1972, for a picture of a youth communal house in San Francisco established to combat drug abuse and alienation; and Rabbi Joseph I. Schneersohn, Some Aspects of Chabad Chassidism (New York: Kehot, 1944), and Outlines of the Social and Communal Work of Chassidism (New York: Kehot, 1963).

[32]See Liebman, op. cit., pp. 73.

[33]Discussion with Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, August 1972, in Los Angeles.

[34]See for example, Rabbi S. Raisin, The Haskalah Movement in Russia, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1913), pp. 65-77; Solomon Grayzel, A History of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1947), pp. 521-533.

[35]Cf. Joel Linsider, "Three Views of Hasidism: An Examination of Historical Explanation," in The Yavneh Review, (New York: Yavneh, The National Religious Students' Organization), July 1967; Martin Buber, Hasidism (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948) and his analyses herein, esp. pp. 35-36; Cf. Simon Dubnew, Tolefot Ha-Hasidut (Tel Aviv: Devir Publishers, 1960), and his History of the Jews of Russia and Poland, (Philadelphis: The Jewish Publication Society, 1961), Vol. I., on Hasidism, for an exemplary "social revolt" view of Hasidism; and, Jacob S. Raisin, op. cit., pp. 65-77, for a "revival" or "revivalist" view of Hasidism particularly; and, Solomon Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 525-526.

[36]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., p. 61, for a discussion of this.

[37]This analysis has been made by many authors and

social researchers historically, and its shortcomings, and disconfirmations of it, have been made similarly by researchers and writers in recent years. For an example of a "deviationist" analysis and view, see Howard Polsky, op. cit., in Sklare, The Jews, op. cit.; Polsky, The Great Defense: A Study of Jewish Orthodoxy in Milwaukee (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Sociology, The University of Wisconsin, 1956): and Goldstein and Goldscheider, op. cit. For a view supporting and maintaining the persistence of traditional patterns of thought, belief and practice, and their appeal, among American Jews, and which disconfirm at least to some degree the view of Jewish "deviation" from tradition, see Solomon Poll, "The Persistence of Tradition: Orthodoxy in American," op. cit.; Charles S. Liebman, op. cit.; Larry S. Price, op. cit.; and Efraim Shmueli, op. cit. Liebman's data and analyses point to particularly a disproportionate rise in Orthodox adherence in recent years up to 1965, as well as increasing "depth" of adherence to Judaism among adherents on the whole. Poll, 1969, op. cit., points similarly to the persistence, and growth, of Orthodox educational and other institutions.

[38]See Rabbi Joseph I. Schneersohn, Some Aspects of Chabad Chassidism, op. cit., and Liebman, op. cit., Pp. 62-64.

[39]Conversation with a rabbi of Chabad Chassidut, Los Angeles, California, September 1971; also see B'nai B'rith Messenger, April 2, 1971.

[40]See article on Chabad Chassidut (Lubavitch Chasidim) in the B'nai B'rith Messenger, above, op. cit.; observations of the Berkeley Chabad House by the writer, in 1971, 1972.

[41]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., P. 63 especially.

[42]Cf. Rabbi Joseph Grunblatt, "The Great Estrangement: The Rabbi and The Student," in Tradition, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1966.

[43]Conversations with Rabbi Samuel Schrage, member of Lubavitch Chasidim, (Chabad Chassidut), and Director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare programs in New York City, at Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, in April, 1972.

[44]Quoted in Liebman, op. cit., P. 62. Numbers here may be higher, presently, than they were in 1964 and 1965 when these figures were given.

[45]This has been attested to by students of the phenomenon (see Elaine Starkman, "Chabad House: A Pad For Torah Rapping," in Hadassak Magazine, Vol. 54, February 1973; Charles S. Liebman, op. cit.(, and also are visible generally in the appeals of campus Lubavitch and "individual" Hasidic-oriented groups in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and its surrounding area, and elsewhere to Jewish youth, and also in the marked dissemination of Hasidic lore, ritual, and particularly music and dance more broadly across Jewish youth groups especially in the campus realm. Noticeably, the course and "study group" content of Hillel House extracurricular courses and classes for interested youth, "Free Jewish Universities," and Jewish student periodicals and newsletters of forthcoming, yearly events, indicate a significant and growing preminence of concern for and interest in Hasidic thought, ritual and literaturs in this period, particularly marked in the period since around Fall of 1970, and since the growth of post-"New Left" Jewish radical groups.

[46]See Elaine Stakman, "Chabad House:A Pad for Torah Rapping," in Hadassah Magazine, February 1973, for a popular but detailed picture of this. Noticeably in many affiliates and members of such groups as the Los Angeles (UCLA) Chabad House, and the independent communal meeting house, "The House of Love and Prayer" in San Francisco, discussion of the appeals of Hasidism and what is presented with it centers around a feeling of support and strength, and care psychologically that it provides the individual himself in terms of self-needs: mention of such groups in the context of being places where one goes because one "can get involved" there or "get things done" through these mediums in a manner more typical of Jewish "radical" or "socio-political radical" groups, is rare.

[47]Conversation with a longtime Conservative rabbi, Los Angeles, California, October 1972; See also Liebman, op. cit., P. 63, who similarly suggests this.

[48]See Efraim Shmueli, "The Appeal of Hasidism to American Jewry Today," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11, No. 2, December 1969. See also M. Maibaum and C. Chayim Crill, "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth: A Field Study" (unpublished manuscript, 1973). English sociologist Bryan Wilson similarly points to release from feelings of "social deprivation" and related perceptions of one's condition, in an age of alienation and depersonalization, as a main motivator for the growth of and the appeal of religious "sectarianism," generally in the modern world; see his Religious Sects: A Sociological Study (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, Ltd., 1971).

[49]For a popular but well-detailed and relatively comprehensive study of the "House," seen from a subjective and relatively experiential viewpoint, but excellent in detail, see Larry S. Price, "Hippie Hasidim - A Religious Alternative," in Hadassah Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 7, March 1972. Also, on the "House," see Maibaum and Crill, op. cit., above.

[50]As recounted to the writer by an active administrator in the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles, and knowledgable observer of events at this and other nearby synagogue in the "West Los Angeles" area, in October of 1972.

[51]Discussions with Hillel members and actives at Berkeley Hillel Foundation, September and October 1967; discussions with active attenders of Beth Israel Synagogues in Berkeley on the staff of the University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, California, October 1967.

[52]As recorded in the files of the House of the Book (adult education and visiting speaker) Program, Brandeis Institute, Santa Susans, California, May 1972.

[53]Cf. Arthur Waskow, The Freedom Haggadah (New York: The Micah Press, 1970), originally published in Ramparts Magazine, March 1969.

[54]Cf. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.

[55]Cf. The Jewish Liberation Haggadah, prepared by the Jewish Liberation Project, New York City, 1971. Edited by Aviva Zukoff, Yitzcak Epstein, and Jerry Kirschen.

[56]Cf. The Jewish Liberation Haggadah of the Radical Zionist Union of Los Angeles, centered at the California State University (formerly the California State College) at Los Angeles, 1971; adapted from, and a revised and edited version of, the Jewish Liberation Project Haggadah, of New York, 1971 (above).

[57]Cf. for example, Chaim A, Kaplan, The Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan (New York: Macmillan and Company, Inc., 1965); edited by Abraham Katsh.

[58]Figures from the Files of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, New York City, 1972. See also their Newsletters, periodically, for the years 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972, and especially for the period January - April 1973.

[59]Discussion with a Hillel Foundation Rabbi, at the Hillel Foundation, The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), April 1970.

[60]"Testament" (letter) from members of the Jewish Radical Community of Los Angeles, about Pesach and its "proper celebration," read by a Hillel Foundation rabbi, before the assembled at the second seder, the Hillel Foundation at The University of California at Los Angeles, April 1970. In the files of the Hillel Foundation at UCLA, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles. (Read by Rabbi Richard Levy).

[61]As was for example the case at the University of California at Berkeley's Hillel Foundation, and at the local Orthodox synagogue in Berkeley attended largely by students and faculty, from September 1967 onwards. (See M. Maibaum, 1971, 1972, ops. cit.)

[62]Conversation with a "neo-religious" youth active in the "hippie Hasidic" House of Love and Prayer, of Central San Francisco, in San Francisco, California, April 1973.

[63]Students and youth attending and participating in the ceremonies and festivities at Chabad House, Westwood (Los Angeles) California, adjacent to UCLA, in 1971 and 1972 numbered from 800 to 1,000 on erev (or the eve of) Simchas Torah, as determined by rabbis, and other reliable observers, in the institution, for example. (See also Ha'Am, Jewish students' newspaper at UCLA, Los Angeles, issue of February 1973, for example.)

[64]The observance by large numbers of Jewish youth in some way of the holidays, yom-tevim, of Rosh HaShanah through Simchas Torah, appears to reiterate interestingly what many historical scholars point to as a historical possibility, that in ancient times the observance and celebration of Rosh HaShanah, Yom Kippur and Sukket comprised one holiday period, one three-week long festival. (Observance of Simchas Torah was of course, instituted in and dates from, the 13th century).

[65]It can be argued for example, as it is often profered in defense by many rabbis and other adults active in or otherwise knowledgable about the Jewish community, that the vast involvement of the adult religious Jewish world in the support of and development of Jewish schools and hospitals and youth groups, the collection of funds for Israel and for Soviet Jews, and for the American Jewish needy, and general support of numerous progressive local and national social causes in race relations, social equality, and civil

rights and the fighting of poverty, constitute a vast "ethical" commitment, and belief system, rested in the "best" of Jewish traditional thought and expressed in both Jewish society, and in general society. Such involvements are often forgotten, or simply ignored, by mere radical Jewish youth in their accusations that adults are "uncommitted" in radical, or otherwise in "progressive" and "socially change-oriented" ways, and are thus supposedly not "really ethical." Also, it appears that many youth having been "radical" associate any form of organization in the adult world with conservatism, and thus, with a pre-eminently "unethical" existence, at least where "traditional" adult and adult-like organizations are concerned. As well, many Jewish religious radical youth still maintain vestiges of a belief, stemming from former acculturated existences, or from their past of radical involvements in general or Jewish "socio-political" protest activities and groups, that religious movements and organizations in the adult world are basically irrelevant ethically and socially to, and uninvolved with, emotionally and effectively, the "condition" of contemporary Man. And this has relevance with regard to criticisms by radical religious groups directed at the adult world, but not among such students and youth, to criticisms of their own religious interest and religious background of their organizations and activities, themselves.

[66] Sermon by Rabbi ______, at Friday evening services, in Synagogue ______, in West Los Angeles, in May 1966. Sentiments and beliefs and predictions similar to this one have been offered by numerous Reform, Reconstructionist, and "left-wing" Conservative rabbis over the years on other occasions, and in respective Movement periodicals and in various journals of Jewish opinion. See for example, issues of The Reconstructionist, The Jewish Observer, Judaism, and Sh'ma (now in 1973) for discussions in this realm.

[67] Cf. Rabbi Norman Lamm, "The Voice of Torah in the Battle of Ideas," in Jewish Life, March-April, 1967.

[68] Cf. M. Maibaum, 1971, op. cit.

[69] Cf. Liebman, op. cit., pp. 39-40, and 72-73 on patterns and problems of newly-Orthodox ba'alei teshuva. Liebman says for example, "The (ba'alei teshuva group) lacks halakhic leadership and sanction for much that it reads into Orthodoxy; it lives in a half-pagan, half-halakhic world, and the personal problems of its members are more serious." (p. 73).

[70] Noted in "Perspectives" by Howard Singer,

(Opinion column), in The United Synagogue Review, Spring 1972.

[71]See for example, Rabbi Joseph Grunblatt, "The Great Estrangement: The Rabbi and the Student," in Tradition, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1966, where he discusses this.

[72]See Rabbi Emmanuel Rackman, Jewish Values For Modern Man (New York: The Jewish Education Committee, 1962); and his "Judaism and God: Reflections on Their Encounter," in Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought, Summer 1962.

[73]See for example M. Maibaum, The History, Functions, and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict: Berkeley Hillel and the "Radical" Union of Jewish Students (unpublished manuscript, for The Society For the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Ann Arbor, Michigan; 1972; in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York) for a further discussion of this as visible in the "radical" Union of Jewish Students of Berkeley, California, in 1967-1969, pp. 143-157. Some form of social revolt in all three directions was apparent over this period of time, in this new Jewish youth group.

[74]i.e., to paraphrase Frans Rosenzweig somewhat, communication "of Man to God," "of God to Man," and "between Man and Man."

Chapter IV:

General "Jewish Social-Cultural" Developments Among Jewish Youth

Introduction

Here we will discuss general "social·cultural" trends among Jewish youth, in Jewish Science, Jewish communalism, in literary and philosophic tastes, and in the development of a new Jewish "youth literature."

Unlike either religious developments or political developments, these trends are rather "general social" developments that have existed in both the religious dimension and in the political-social dimension of Jewish student and youth life. And they make contributions on the overall in different ways to both of these areas of life and to groups active in them. There appear to be many minor developments in the "social-cultural" dimension among Jewish youth and Jews generally. But there are most noticeable at present four that appear to have the widest ramifications with respect to Jewish student and youth groups and the future growth of many or most of their members, and which too are reflected most strongly in Jewish and non-Jewish organizational contexts. These are the following.

Jewish Science

This is a realm of development and involvement of

youth into the scientific study of Jewish life, the Jewish past, and Jewish thought upon and precepts for living, carried out either within educational institutions, (but not necessarily secular universities) or under the tutelage of one's own particular rabbis and thinkers. There was "Jewish science" movement in the last century, predominantly German-Jewish and Reform-based, interested in the scientific disproving and criticism and debunking of Jewish ritual, social thought and historical writings, and said to have been often anti-Semitic in its overtones. This Jewish science is different. It is the logical scientific and social-scientific study of the Jewish past and present, and of different respective areas of Jewish life, for the purpose of self-enrichment, unearthing important knowledge about Jewish existence for practical or scholarly purposes about Judaism generally, or for the fulfillment of specific practical needs of areas of Jewish life and society and of individuals. Precedents for this movement into modern, scientific "self discovery" are to be found in such diverse sources as the well known and excellent Yiddish Vissenschaftlicher Institute (Jewish Scientific Institute) of Vilna, now the Y.I.V.O. Institute for Jewish Social Research in New York City, with its half-century tradition of Jewish scientific, social and historical research;[1] the scientific study of Yiddish and Hebrew in the tradition of Leopold Zunz and Israel Zangwill and Ahad Ha'Am;

"Modern Commentators" on Biblical and other Jewish Law and society and halacha like Yehzekiel Epstein, and Solomon Schechter in the Conservative realm, 19th century scholars like Zecharish Frankel[2] or David Hoffman;[3] study of ideas of Jews who have gone into the sciences and professions[4] who have dedicated a substantial amount of their energies to the study of Jewish civilization problems such as psychologists Kurt Lewin,[5] Theodore Reik[6] and Erich Fromm[7] or organizations like the Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists today with around 800 members,[8] scholars in various university Institutes of Jewish and Semitic Studies around the country and various individual professors in countless positions in social science, history and philosophy positions around the country. There have been large and increasing numbers since the early 1960s of Jewish youth studying Jewish sociology, Jewish history, Jewish intergroup relations and reactions to anti-Semitism, Biblical or other ancient literature scientifically, and even the patterns and problems of Jewish "societal redevelopment" educationally, socially and psychologically in America today. Students here interested specifically in these fields as "Jewish: fields number into the thousands, in universities and colleges. Within the period 1969-1972 numerous universities have instituted courses and majors in "Jewish Studies" at the undergraduate level, and doctoral programs in Jewish studies, Jewishly-oriented sociology, Jewish

history, and Yiddish language and literature at the graduate level. This supplemented earlier offerings of this material typically only in Near Eastern Languages (e.g., Hebrew and Aramaic), and History (e.g., Ancient History and Archaeology) departments.[9] A small number of other students, above and beyond past numbers, have sought a graduate tenure in the four Jewish Seminaries after graduation from college, going for joining rabbinical ordination or the doctorate in Jewish History, Jewish Education, Hebrew or a social science.[10] The availability of a Jewish University of America in Chicago and of branches of three Seminaries on the West Coast in Los Angeles since the early 1960s made it possible too for student study now in a variety of settings near major Jewish home populations across the country, in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia or Los Angeles. Many appear to be on a course to being both rabbis and practicing Jewish scholars, some with a modern scientific or sociological or other social-scientific orientation and interest. And many others, increasing in numbers, and perhaps foremost here since 1965 and particularly since 1970, have been many students and youth continuing in their former fields at the undergraduate and graduate levels in a variety of professional and academic fields, who have additionally developed interests in Jewish fields as well. They have pursued studies here with varying levels of sophistication, practical knowledge and distance from

their "first fields." To fill the demand for conjoint Jewish and technical education there even exists an American Institute of Technology in Israel for Americans today that provides *yeshiva* education and work conjointly toward the Bachelor of Science Degree in sciences at Bar Illan University.

Increasing numbers of students particularly at the graduate level turned to study, social research, historical research, translating, historical writing and the like in Jewish sociology, history, linguistics, legalistics and medical history, science history, Jewish law, and Jewish education. Some worked and studied in fields as close as social administration work, social welfare, and current needs of Jewish youth or the aged; others in fields as disparate as astrophysics and Jewish ethics at the same time. Most of these students and young people pursued these interests outside any "formal degree" programs and were hence difficult to number. Numbers of Jewish students enrolled in Jewish Studies majors, Hebrew and Semitics majors, and such areas as specifically Jewish sociology, education or social work in universities around the country numbered several hundreds in 1972, whilst several thousand more students were involved heavily in formal studies in there areas as major or "minor" fields of study.[11] Still others, mainly among normative Conservative-like youth, combined creative expression with art and literature and

Jewish social studies to make various kinds of personal creative contributions to Jewish art life, ceremony, institutions, and classroom or informal education.

This phenomenon did not develop until the late 1960s for several reasons. For one thing, the social sciences themselves were and are relatively new. Clinical psychology exists as a licensed profession since only 1945; the social sciences saw their present development only within the last thirty years;[12] and it is often said that ninety-five percent of "all scientists who have ever lived are alive today," and this includes systematic social scientists. As a consequences of the relatively late blooming of the social sciences, and of the subsequent many years of work that must lead to a distinguished class of researchers and academicians (and thus integrators and communicators in these fields) this interest in and spread of a "Jewish science," and particularly this as Jewish social science, could not develop earlier.[13] For another thing, the present spread of interest and motivation for this unprecedented Jewish studies involvement underway could only come in a Jewish youth environment respectful of and sympathetic to the extended and serious study in a scientific manner of Jewish society, culture and history to a degree paralleling other studies similarly of other minority cultures' histories patterns and problems. This interest in turn, always present in a few Jewish students, particularly non-Orthodox

but culturally and historically and religiously identifying and "dept-educated" Jewish youth was once rare. But it was helped by three factors. One was the growth of a general undifferentiated new Jewish pride and consciousness among youth. A second was the growth of a class or segment of Jewish youth sufficiently interested in societal problems generally, sufficiently perceptive of the needs and patterns of all ethnic groups in America (including Jews) and sufficiently possessed of an "egalitarian" rationalist outlook as to all social subcultures' problems (including the usually ignored Jews) to dedicate efforts to the Jewish sphere specifically. Thirdly, this growth could only come when there existed a generation of young Jews who appear to have accepted Judaism to be a "normal" typology of existence in America, a rationally and objectively looked at and observable society or subculture that one neither romanticized unrealistically about nor derided and wished to "assimilate from," but one which one accepted in oneself, and which found just attention of an objective and sociological sort much as has any other subculture in America. A Judaism and "Jewishness" one respected in oneself, and moreover in one's past was one that one as a young scientist or future scientist could accept and study and find fascination with scientifically, among other cultures and comparative societies.

Objective data on Jewish social science devotees are

hard to obtain, but some figures are at hand. Generally in large universities, in the United States today, around thirty percent of a large number of Jews at least are in the social sciences, and in some instances up to fifty percent are; the others tend to be heavily in the pure sciences.[14] Of these future social scientists and historians an increasing and substantial proportion are interested in Jewish studies of some type. The graduate schools of Brandeis, Yeshiva, U.C.L.A., Columbia, Harvard, Berkeley, and other schools have programs in Near Eastern and Jewish studies, Jewish sociology, or Jewish Social Science, New areas, such as Jewish culturally oriented psychology, Jewish social work, Jewish oriented Special Education (as for brain-injured and emotionally disturbed children) and Jewish youth social work are growing in response to youth demands and to recognized needs, in New York City, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago, the Boston area, and elsewhere. Brandeis University and Wurzweiler School at Yeshiva University have special programs in Jewish social work at the graduate level,[15] and Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, a new school,[16] has had several dozen students in its yearly and summer masters degree programs in Jewish Communal Service. Although these programs and departments are young, student "clubs" and interest groups around them formed in the early 1970s. As well, of the twenty to forty publications in existence in 1965-1972 among Jewish activist

youth substantial proportions of their pages were devoted to Jewish community-oriented problem "action research," "muck-raking," small scale social studies, practical social program ideas on a variety of levels, and other topics.[17]

Among graduate students, and even non-college youth, new developments occurred with increasing frequency among Jewish scholarly-oriented youth vis-a-vis the adult community. Many Jewish youth of the "active scholar" variety averse to what they felt to be "idle scholarship" and "pointless junk-research" as it was sometimes termed, quietly but steadily devoted efforts to action research and scholarship in the Jewish student and adult communities both. Some of this occurred among high echelons of active Jewish campus and city youth who went to Israel on work-study missions or study tours and were inspired by the contact with Israel and with the more dramatically apparent "real" problems of world Jewry. Some students formed Jewish Free Universities across the country based upon "rational" innovative models of education more than simply upon spontaneity.[18] Others volunteered with Jewish social service agencies in Social Work and the like; still others, often dynamic Hillel presidents and youth group actives with a talent for working with adults, sought the forum of the local synagogue, B'nai B'rith community group or Jewish Center upon their return from the "hails of ivy" to lecture to parents and adults in detail patterns and problems of

Jewish life on the campus. Still others, risking considerable community peer rejection and ostracism, studied Jewish youth sex behavior, normative religious ideologies, practice and ritual, and patterns of Jewish economic or leisure time expenditure, comparative synagogue sociology and comparative Jewish community studies within their own home or new-found communities or across several they knew, in their own novel experiments in analyzing behavior in Jewish "social space."

The growth of this "Jewish science" was essentially an amorphous and individual rather than socially organized and coordinated pursuit of Jewish studies among American Jewish youth. In 1972 it appeared, as now it does, that it is certainly going to be a significant and increasing element as a sort of "groupless movement" in the Jewish youth realm and academic realm for some time to come. Also, to a too-little lamented degree, the social research and empirical knowledge of what characteristics Jewish life has, and what its true patterns and problems are, appears presently pitifully weak and inadequate relevant to what must be known and what there is to be observed. To the degree that Jewish students and youth will have made some inroads, and most probably lasting and unique and widespread useful contributions to Jewish social thought, social theory, and social fact, it is hoped that they will make vital contributions and often life-long ones to the Jewish "adult"

world.

Jewish Communalism

Another development among Jewish youth that grew and assumed a significant place in the late 1960s is that of what may be termed "communalism." This development was not centered around any one specific life-philosophy or set of Jewish youth background factors. Rather it was manifest by several and appears to owe its existence to several. Also it has not existed as a separate movement but has cut across Jewish radical, progressive, religious-radical, religious movement, and age lines as well. Communalism was essentially a trend across the country among Jewish youth of college age or young adulthood to organize themselves into living-groups resembling communes. In the late 1960s there were probably several thousands of Jewish youth living in communes as part of the "hippie" way of life, part of a political movement, or part of a Jewish group. And some of these, several hundred in number by 1971, were living in "Jewish" communes. These grew out of original campus and offcampus Jewish youth groups, some "radical" Jewish and general-oriented groups, or some Jewish religio-national radical groups; some religious groups like Lubavitch-oriented Jewish "consciousness" groups, or groups like the Jewish Radical Community of Berkeley or _Havurat Shalom_ of Boston;[19] and other groups populated by a wide variety of Jewish acculturated, religious or mixed youth. In such

groups arose to leadership members who were familiar with the "communal" way of life as seen in some other minority groups, and crucially among the Hippies. Some adapted the communal way of life to specifically Jewish needs. Usually such communal living systems incorporated a fixed number of Jewish youth living in one building or house, celebrating the Shabbat and Jewish festivals together, often featuring dances on weekend nights, and usually having study groups in such areas as Jewish mysticism, religious thought, and Jewish ethical bases for progressive social involvement, taught and populated by commune members themselves with frequent attendance by other Jewish youth. Of crucial importance was the concept that among many, Judaism could be "revitalized" and lived and experienced realistically by the student only where "Jewish experience" was as close to "total" as possible without outside interferences and cross-currents. A communal, living-centered Jewish life rather than a "commuter" life-style was seen as the way to go about "living" Judaism, and also as preparing one for a future "totally Jewish" way of life itself that had been hitherto unavailable to suburban Jewish youth now interested in rediscovering their roots.[20] The total number of such "communes," which vary considerably in degree of internal cohesion, political bent, and religious as opposed to secularistic orientation, is impossible to establish. But Major Jewish cities have seen the rise of many, and typic-

ally populations are between around eight and twenty in such cities. In Princeton, in the early 1960s over a period over five or six years prior to 1967, a living-in house was established that grew from a prayer-room and communal dining place of one room for twelve students, into a multi-room apartment with daily dining, a study room, and a separate shul room replete with a Sefer Torah and daily minyan and Shabbat services, and some classes all above and beyond extant study programs on the campus.[21] A similar living-in house, religious in orientation, grew similarly at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in the years 1964-1966. One such group was founded adjacent to Hillel Foundation at U.C.L.A. in the summer of 1968 and was populated by a mixture of general, Orthodox, and Reconstructionist-like college youth, some formerly active in and others antithetical to Hillel, and which group cooperated with Hillel.[22] Another in Los Angeles, more radical-religious and anti-Estabilshment, arose in Central West Los Angeles that lasted for over a year. New York City has several, of Orthodox, neo-traditionalist, Reconstructionist, and Zionist radical persuasion, with a total of over 100 youth in them. Boston and Waltham, Massachusetts both have havurah (fellowship) groups populated by ten to twenty neo-religious, largely Reconstructionist or Conservative-like youth patterned on the idea of ancient "pietist" sects in Palestine, Mordecai Kaplan's "organic Jewish community" concept retranslated

into the radical, communal, and youth realm, and upon the concept of the "study house."[23] Twenty-five student Alumni of Brandeis Institute of Santa Susana, California attending Berkeley from one summer Brandeis session alone, in the fall of 1968, moved into and recast very much into the form of a commune, their large living apartment there and celebrated Shabbat, Havdalah, and holidays each week and each year with dinner, refreshments and folk-dancing in the flat's courtyard, and featured occasional lecturers and discussions. This group revitalized much of the daily program of the local Hillel House nearby.[24] Jewish students at Temple University and the adjacent Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia founded and populated such a house in 1969 and used it as a "laboratory" for teaching and living Jewish concepts.[25] Lubavitch Hasidim set up in Berkeley, Los Angeles, Long Beach, and elsewhere in the West a series of Centers for student drop-in attendance that appear to have sparked since 1967 communal efforts nearby among religious and newly interested non-religious students.[26] Also, there grew in this period many Jewish Radical Communities and countless informal study and prayer groups all over the country that are small, intimate and communal.[27] Here emerges another aspect which indicates that for many students, Judaism may become attractive, and livable in depth, when they are exposed to a "total" Jewish environment with Kosher food, vitality prayer and study,

and where they are in a sense weaned away consistently from alternative life-styles that compete with Jewish activities, living of Jewish ethics, and Jewish study and thought translated into daily action. The success of Brandeis Institute in Southern California and its collegiate summer school programs here would also confirm this.[28] Many earlier communal movements in the middle 1960s up until 1968 failed to last because apparently the communal life-style with its peculiar discipline and work-sharing clashed with a strongly individualistic, non-rigid laissez-faire life-style need of the many Jewish student members that comprised them, who were there moreover mainly to fulfill "personal" and not "group" needs.[29] Groups in this era that lasted that were composed of less disciplined, less group-attentive students, appear to have been those that required a minimum of support work (such as clean-up, rent and such) that allowed members a freer use of more time, and that were physically decentralized in terms of buildings or even living-units but were nonetheless close, that allowed for communality for prayer functions and ceremonies and festivals, and that were located conveniently near a dependable central Jewish institution, frequently a <u>shul</u> or Seminary or Hillel House, and with which it had a flexible relationship, as in Berkeley and in parts of New York.[30] Later communal successes in 1965-1972 may be due to reactions by more youth against increasing alienation from

society, by the coming influx of more students able to live communally from backgrounds in other (i.e., hippie) communal settings that they had experienced elsewhere, and to adjustments made over time to practical needs of communalism made by members. It appears that regardless of the cause that "communal" life-styles may have in greater American youth society, or its continuing appeal,[31] communalism and communal living styles will continue to diversify and to grow in number among Jewish youth over the next few years.

Trends in Literary and Philosophic Tastes

There are some indications that among the Jewish college-aged and other youth who identify with Judaism and who study Jewish ideas and history, on the college level, there have been a decided shift in the realm of literature studied and a shift in the tastes of these reading Jews. In the earlier 1960s and more broadly in the period of perhaps 1955 to 1965, it was often said by commentators upon the pursuit of "Jewish Studies" by the few students engaged in it who were rabbis, Hillel administrators, university teachers, Hebrew school teachers and Jewish social scientists that the most popular writers in the Jewish realm of any type, or orientation were Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber. The former supposedly held an appeal because of his modern theology regarding the Jew's belief in God in the modern age as an individual, divorced essentially from the

ritual, communitarian and ceremonial aspects of Judaism holistically. The latter had an appeal for his consumate concern with a spiritual and intellectual framework for relationships between God and Man, and more so between man and man. Perhaps what has been said of either one occasionally, that they were essentially products of a "marginal" status as Jews, and of an age of Jewish spiritual and cultural marginality and rejection of classical Jewish beliefs and frameworks for living, relates to their popularity with a Jewish youth of that era so strongly. They were seen as a Jewish youth whose beliefs were chaotic or nonexistent, whose touch with Jewish life was weak or nonexistent, and whose movement in the direction of more structured, holistic Jewish life was nil, regardless of the personal intellectual odysseys through which they went. But in the later 1960s it was noted by the same observers that identifying and active Jewish students and youth who read works in Jewish life and the Jewish past, and in Jewish thought, were reading heavily and perhaps most of all since 1970 in the areas of Jewish mysticism and spiritualism and the like, very often in conjunction with Hasidism. Jewish student "Free Universities" across the nation sponsored courses in mysticism and Hasidic thought, and those were the first or among the first to be offered, and attracted largest numbers of students. Similarly in general university "Free University" course offerings, where a course

was offered in Jewish studies and in Jewish thought, more often than not it was frequently a course in Jewish Mysticism or Jewish mystical and spiritual thought, or on Hasidism. And too, in many Jewish students' "communal living houses" or "communities" Hasidic lore and Jewish mysticism was the most popular or one of the most popular subjects of reading and study.[32] It is apparent that while no final analysis can be made at this point regarding the whys and wherefores of the appeal of mystical and spiritual and related Hasidic thought to Jewish college-aged youth, some general observations can be made. It appears that perhaps as a reaction to some of the perceived failures of and shortcomings of a too "rationalist" and mechanistic approach to life and view of social and interpersonal processes, and as a reaction against the ongoing and unsatisfying impersonality and instability of daily life, many Jewish youth found emergent answers of a more spiritual, humanistic character in Jewish mysticism and spiritualism. And they also found here realms of day-to-day involvement socially and behaviorally that allowed expression in their lives of that part of them that needs emotionality, speculation, spontaneity, imagination, creativity and openness of feeling.[33] And mysticism and spiritualism, and Hasidic lore and ideation, as they studied it in its original forms, provided these to a Jewish youth that already experiences on the other hand rationality, systematicity, objectivity, and

control, in schools and elsewhere in society. The pursuit of personal fulfillment together with learning, socially useful knowledge and "guides to living" provided the fulfillment in the realm of personal needs complementary to and evidently necessary to these Jewish youth as much as the rationalist or scientific oriented aspect of them. And it also plausibly allowed them to feel at one with and in touch with another transcendent system of "how the world works" that made an equal, (and confronting) claim upon their energies and feelings and identity, to the rationalist and objectivist and perhaps emotionally distanced part of them.

The New Jewish Youth Literature

Finally, a fourth series of developments marked the era 1965-1972 in the general social-cultural realm and that extended its significances into both the political realm and the religious realm. This was the rise and growth of a new Jewish student and youth "literature." It can only perhaps be referred to by this broad term, in that this development saw the growth and diversification of a whole range of types of material and thought in printed form, for general as well as for select audience consumption. Over these seven years, a growth of youth literature generally in the form of increased and diverse modes of expression reflected itself in the rise of several types of printed material including student group literary magazines, student

group flyers and announcements, student group newspapers, political forums and "position" journals (somewhat analogous to radical journals and organs) and newsletters of opinion and information. These literary vehicles for thought, opinion, and fact served one essential set of functions across any types of Jewish youth group. For one thing, these organs and types of group literature served to disseminate the group's ideology and position on any one of a range of issues. Secondly, they served the function of attracting new members to the group, and were intended often by groups to do just this, amidst the vast range of competing youth groups and realms of involvements that may attract youth. Thirdly, these works served to define that which made one group different or feel different from another, and served to differentiate one group out from others around it in the eyes of its members. Fourthly, these various forms of literature provided a means of expression, creatively and intellectually and is an integrative fashion for the ideas and feelings of the essentially late-adolescent and young-adult, essentially educated members of the groups that sponsored them, and provided testing grounds for ideation and for the integration of thought and action of group members. It can be said that these works of various types provided a fifth readily discernible function, in that they provided for the adult Jewish realms a monitor of that which was important to Jewish youth. And they when

attended to could give discriminating adults insights into the needs, wants, and desires and complaints of Jewish organized youth of various backgrounds and persuasions such that communication between the respective adult and youth worlds could become more effective.

In the period 1965-1972 a Jewish "youth literature" appears to have emerged as a result of several factors. Firstly, as Jewish youth groups formed in the era of 1965-1967 much along the lines of surrounding non-Jewish radical political groups, their members sought to give vent to their opinions and commitments within the context of their particular group on such pressing and crucial "general" issues in society as the Vietnam War, the failure of the War on Poverty, white racism and continuing prejudice, and the like. Secondly, Jewish youth groups took on a definitively "Jewish" cultural, psychological and programmatic cast especially in the period of 1967-1969, during which time they differentiated for a variety of reasons from general groups. Their members became more involved in Jewish cultural and psychological roots, and they developed new involvements in the Jewish community. As a natural consequence of the differentiation and strengthing of the specifically Jewish component in many youth groups, new literary organs were required by these groups to provide grounds for their expression of and exploration of Jewish commitment and self-education. The group literature that arose in this era de-

monstrated in itself an avid mixture of a reiteration of classic Jewish concepts of life and social values, with a dramatic and often curiously reinterpreted view of what Judaism demands of the individual, together with a vivid and forceful interest in the general problems of surrounding society that reflected little specifically of any "Jewish" content. Thirdly, as a consequence of this persisting marginal nature of Jewish youth groups in the youth realm, partially accepted by and yet also outside of other youth realms and movements (particularly where anti-Israel and anti-semitic elements were persistent) pressures existed upon many thinking and committed Jewish youth in different groups that made necessary the formation of these individuals' own literature and organs of literary and moral expression that were capable of bridging both the Jewish and the universal, and synthesizing the two, and that would be free of conflicting social cross-pressures at work upon Jewish youth in other social and political contexts. Fourthly, Jewish youth of varied backgrounds in and approaches to Judaism themselves found as they increased their cognitive and social contacts with Jewish life, and with new involvements in Jewish life, that new media for the expression of their emotions, for the articulation of their interest, and for their sharing of explorations of their surrounding Jewish worlds were required. And the new Jewish press and literature that arose supplied this ex-

pressive, information-sharing, and communicational need. One especially strong element in this, appearing mainly in the religious realm and marked by developments especially since 1970 across the country, was the appearance of creative services, radical-nonreligious prayerbooks and *haggadot* and other items such as these, and reinterpretations or translations of classic Jewish mystical and spiritual works into English, and to a lesser degree often yet widespread, into "radical" or "hip" English as well.[34] Another element of increasing importance, in the political and social realm, was the vast development of an efficient and increasingly popular "newsletter" and "information exchange" effort among Jewish youth concerned with the problems of Soviet Jewry and to a lesser degree with the problems faced by immigrants and minority and *mizrachi* (Arab Jewish) residents in Israel. These efforts provided evidently valuable vehicles for the dissemination of information to Jewish youth more broadly, and even to many adults otherwise ignorant of involvements and current events in Russia, Israel and elsewhere.

The new Jewish youth literature was represented by essentially several different, rather well-definable types of literary output. Among them were the following.

Flyers

These were usually one page but occasionally longer sheets produced by youth groups, announcing one event at a

time for the most part, and focusing on a content of events to be offered by a group. In most youth groups these were oriented toward "paying" or "dues-submitting" members of the group itself and were designed to mobilize members to attend activities. But those of such groups as Hillel that intended to reach and involve implicitly most Jewish youth were sent frequently to the entire reachable Jewish youth population of an area.

Newsletters

These literature items were generally one to several pages and were usually also "stapled" items, and centered upon communicating substantive information about group events and accomplishments. But as well many featured large amounts of material of general, broader interest in the realm of what members of the group were interested in, such as capsule recountings of news about Israel, Soviet Jewry, or general events in the United States. Some newsletters evolved in the direction of also containing "expressive" and creative as well as factual items, such as student poetry and essays.

Student Newspapers

These literature items generally resembled in format general newspapers, and student newspapers, consisting of several large pages, printed by a local press. They appeared for the first time in late 1967, with the rise of such papers as The Jewish Radical in Berkeley.[35] Content

varied widely from paper to paper but was usually varied and rich, covering such topics as general world and national problems, Jewish national problems, local Jewish and non-Jewish problems, exhortations by group ideologues to action, philosophic essays by group actives and, crucially, reprints of interviews and special speeches and interview by staff members with noted thinkers of interest to the group. It was not unusual to find a speech of or interview with such a noted political and social thinker as Herbert Marcuse or Paul Jacobs in a Jewish student newspaper since 1967.[36] These newspapers tended to feature as well letters and opinion sections and advertisements of other groups and events in their backpages. Many, unlike simpler or smaller types of literature, were funded directly by universities at which Jewish groups of several types were active. Funds were dispensed for their support not from one or more sponsoring groups but from the college or university, and the editorial and management board was made up not of leading interested students of only one group, but necessarily of a mixture of interested students from a variety of Jewish religious, political and other group backgrounds. Editorial and management boards typically numbered from half a dozen, as in the case of newsletters and flyers, to around twenty, including writers, compositors and photographers.[37]

Journal of Opinion

These works were generally longer, more discursive works featuring articles and essays of opinion on select topics of interest to Jewish youth. They resembled general social science and opinion journals, and often especially, "leftist" or "progressive" journals in the general realm. It was not unusual to find issues and journals with copies of approximately 100 pages each, produced and written by students, although most in 1965-1972 around the country were shorter and smaller. Journals typically reflected or attemtped to reflect one shade of social and political opinion, with considerable latitude afforded particular points and concepts by writers. Articles in these tended to be of a length and style characteristic of most opinion journals, usually centering on syntheses of general and Jewish ideas, or expressing Jewish orientations towards general problems. Significantly, nearly all or all journals of this type existed currently in the "socio-political" realm of youth groups. None existed as of 1972 in the Jewish religious realm, and the only student journal existing here, the Yavneh Review published in New York, was an Orthodox student journal devoted to articles of scholarly nature on Jewish history and historical religious thought and behavior.[38] Clearly a wider range of types of Jewish student journals could exist, even with the relatively prohibitive costs of journal production, editing, and dis-

semination that make this form of literature the most expensive. Their contributions to the realm of Jewish thought, especially to students and adults who had time to read and digest their often lengthy contents, and their use as indices of maturing more long-range conceptual and social thought among Jewish youth for observers, promised to be considerable.

Religious Literary Items

These consisted of a wide range of student-adapted, edited and designed prayerbooks, haggadot, and festival prayer literature used by Jewish youth groups. These items generally resembled in format "stapled" literature items, and often featured simple but effective student artwork in them, integrated with creative prayers, adaptations of modern or ancient authors, and reprinted traditional prayers. The Jewish Liberation Project Haggadah of 1971, of New York, exemplified this type of production, with its several pages of quotations from modern social commentators and thinkers like Albert Memmi, Libyan Jewish thinker, poems from the Jewish middle ages, and student artwork and embellishments and "hip" translations and sociological (and sometimes leftist) commentaries upon Jewish history intertwined with the traditional Haggadah prayers.[39] Such literature items were increasingly popular in Jewish youth groups, particularly those with some religious or general-Jewish orientation where religious ritual and life was

was important. Much of the work here was done by an interesting mixture of left-oriented, and liberal Orthodox, students. These youth contributed their Jewish knowledge and feeling together with religious and spiritual "returnnees," to writing on behalf of a more Jewishly substantive way of life. Although some locked a strong formal Jewish education they could combine main points of Jewish ideation and feeling as they construed them, with a current-day liberal or radical, collegiate-age orientation to social ends and feeling they considered important.

Jewish Formal Social Scientific Writing

This realm was perhaps the newest, and smallest realm of Jewish youth literature but was and has been one of growing importance. Works in this area consisted generally of theoretical and empirical (data-oriented) articles and papers and books by Jewish youth about Jewish youth, about involvements of Jewish youth, or about the writers' involvements in youth group efforts and activities. Many of these articles and books have presented the same degree of sophistication and accuracy and conceptualization that characterizes writing in any social-scientific journal. And indeed many of the still relatively few items produced to this point have brought, in terms of content and analysis, rare and valuable information about what the Jewish youth world is like, and what its administrative and social components are, to an adult world that does not know it adequately and

that seeks to know more about it. These articles contributed a view of the content and basic "factual picture" of youth life, rather than any analytical scheme for analyzing Jewish youth groups, or rather than any new impress of ideas or ideology through these mediums, for the most part. This literature provides presently a form of sociological and psychological "gold mine" of information about Jewish youth today, and Jewish youth groups, to adults interested in observing them from a distance. It has however not served to bridge the gap between Jewish youth and the educated Jewish adult world; it has not succeeded in bringing on to this point any significant dialogue or discussion between Jewish thinking youth and the Jewish "scientific community" or leadership community; it has not stimulated any significant changes in the generally held classic concepts about Jewish youth that Jewish social scientists have held in recent years; and it has not stimulated any methodological changes in the ways that adult community members study and try to understand Jewish youth. It becomes clear that much in all three areas could have been gained from a greater and more consistent communication between the Jewish adult, and youth "analyst," worlds at present and in the near future. However, whilst literature of this type is still sparsely produced by the few students and actives combining a "social scientist objectivist" orientation to their world that is not particularly popular with their peers with Jewish con-

tent, more and more of it has slowly found its way into such existing and dominant journals in the Jewish social science realm as The Jewish Journal of Sociology in England, Jewish Social Studies, and the YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science. Perhaps the greatest practical significance of the writing that has been done in this realm does not lie in its educating and correcting misconceptions about the youth world among the myriads of educated Jewish adults and Jewish community leaders who may be ignorant of it or ignore it. But rather it lies in the fact that it provides practice at concept formation, community study, field experience, and analysis in the social realm for youthful thinkers and writers. These men and women, in the future, presumably by virtues of their practice will be able to contribute scientifically, accurately, and meaningfully to the applied analyses and researches into the needs and problems of Jewish life, as trained and efficient professionals, academicians, and servants of the Jewish and the American community.

Leading Youth Publications, 1965-1972

At present, numbers of Jewish student papers and journals are difficult to estimate or to establish, and broad estimates are the best offered at present. It is generally believed by investigators that were by 1972 between twenty and fifty magazines and journals and newspapers among Jewish youth groups nationwide and in Canada,

or there have been at least as many as these at any one time over the years since 1965. A top figure often given for the number nationwide is forty.[40] They had in 1971 according to one source an estimated combined circulation of over 300,000 readers, not all of them Jews.[41] (We recall that there were perhaps 450,000 Jewish youth on the whole, of college age, in the United States then.) Thus the range of appeal or at least impact, and the sheer number of different literary organs, has been quite impressive development for a short span of time.

Of course, over the period 1965-1972 not all magazines and newspapers and journals survived; the vaunted and classic _Other Stand_ published by students in Montreal in the last 1960s is no longer in print. And other newspapers have arisen in the place of older ones. The _Jewish Radical_, first appearing in January of 1968 at Berkeley, is one of the longest-lived of the currently existing Jewish newspapers, and is still produced by many of the original founding members of its parent Union of Jewish Students. Thus the age and longevity of student and youth publications has varied considerably from one to the next, probably depending upon the ambitiousness of the undertaking and the extent of financial resources available.

The Jewish periodicals and journals have been quite varied, and only representative samples of different types can be presented here. But some attempt will be made to

depict their range of involvements, and their scope and major trends and tendencies. Most of these works are newspapers.[42]

In the New England region, Mosaic was published by Concerned Jewish Students of Harvard University and Radcliffe College affiliated with the Harvard Hillel Society, and Ha-Peh (or, "The Mouth") was published by students at Northwestern University in Boston. The Source was produced by students at the University of Hartford in Connecticut. Genesis 2 was a newspaper published by Harvard students and other Jewish youth in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In Canada a considerable literature and press arose among Jewish students as well, paralleling events in the United States. The Other Stand, published by students at McGill University in Montreal, was one of the best-known Jewish youth papers in the adult world and was active in the early 1970s. Masada is a paper that was produced by the Progressive Students for Isreal, a student group at York University in Toronto. Coalescence was a paper produced by students at the University of Toronto, and Hashomer ("The Watchman") was produced by students at the University of Durham.

In the Middle Atlantic region, a host of papers and other publications emerged since 1965, greater in number, more well-known nationally and often well-distributed nationally, and in some ways greater in impact than papers

in any other region of the United States and Canada owing to the high density of Jewish population in the New York and related areas. The Jewish Liberation Journal was produced by Jewish radical youth and college youth in New York City, in Manhattan; the Jewish Student Union at the City University of New York (formerly CCNY) produced The Flame. And, the Brooklyn Bridge was similarly produced by college and radical youth in New York City. And, Dawn was produced by students at Long Island University. New York groups have produced furthermore, a literature of radical and modern religious services consisting of "radical" and other progressive haggadot (prayer books) for Pesach, and readings and services for Rosh HaShanah and Yom Kippur and such holidays as Yom Hashoa (Holocaust Memorial Day) and Israel Independence Day. Much of this literature, originally of the "mimeograph and staple gun" format, was increasingly professionally produced and designed which enhanced its appeal in some quarters of Jewish youth society. Efforts here were adapted from, imitated, and paralleled, by Jewish youth elsewhere in the country in urban areas and college communities. Youth in the Jewish Liberation Project group in New York produced a Jewish Liberation Haggadah in 1971 that was adopted or adapted elsewhere in the United States as well.[43]

Elsewhere in the Middle Atlantic region, Jewish students of Baltimore and Washington, D.C. in the Washing-

ton-Baltimore Union of Jewish Students group published a paper called Doreinu ("Our Generation"). And, a paper called Irgun (named after the Irgun group in Israel of 1948 fame, forerunner of the Zionist Revisionist Party of today) was produced by Jewish students at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

The Midwest saw the development of Jewish youth literature and press as well. A Call For Insight Into Israel's Dillemmas (or ACIID) was produced by students at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. House 4-Run (or Forum) was produced by Jewish students at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. And, Chutzpah ("Nerve," roughly translated) was produced by radical Jewish students and other youth in Chicago.

And the Far West, or Pacific States region, with its over 700,000 Jews in California and around one million in the Pacific states on the whole during this period saw the growth of a strong Jewish youth literature and press. Ha-Orah ("The Flame") was produced in the early 1970s by Jewish students for the most part from UCLA in Los Angeles, and following it another paper arose, Ha-Am ("The People"), that was produced by Jewish radical and other students of a broad spectrum at UCLA. And, The Jewish Radical, one of the best known Jewish youth papers in the country, has been published for over twelve years, (since January 1968) by students and non-student members of the Union of Jewish

Students at the University of California at Berkeley, and it achieved considerable circulation statewide and beyond.[44]

Somewhat within the realms of newspapers and periodically-produced special religious or political literary products relating to Jewish festivals and observances, there have existed newsletters and papers that were either "non-radical," or were not produced or created specifically by youth, but that were at the least maintained by or heavily contributed to by the efforts of radical and involved Jewish youth. Among these have been _The Soviet Jewry Newsletter_ of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (or SSSJ), based in New York, keeping youth and students and adult posted upon events vis-a-vis Russian Jews and efforts on their behalf, and the _Newsletters_ of the Concerned Students for Soviet Jewry in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. These periodicals and related flyers, newsletters and appeal letters reached several thousand youth parents yearly. They have played a large part in mobilizing tens of thousands of people into mass protests and demonstrations on behalf of Russian Jewry, as in the case of the 150,000 who rallied in New York City to protest for Soviet Jewry at Jewish New Year's time in Fall of 1972.[45] These periodicals and this literature provided a vehicle for Jewish youth mobilization since 1963 when the SSSJ was born.

Beyond the realm of Jewish youth newspapers and periodicals, and related special religious and political-

literary products of concerned youth, there have existed some magazines and journals produced by youth. Journal format periodic volumes and magazines produced by Jewish youth and expressing youth opinion and interest, have been expensive and demanding to produce and maintain, as is characteristic of journals in any field. But some have survived well and grown nonetheless, as a function of stringent efforts by managing staff, interesting material expressed in their pages that succeeds in involving a wider scope of Jewish youth and adult readers, and the evident growing enthusiasm among Jewish youth and adults for reading, finding out about and considering Jewish youth opinion on a variety of subjects. These same functional points can be said of the student newspapers in existence as well. _The Yavneh Review_, the only existing Jewish youth scholarly, historical or philosophical journal in the United States until 1967 has been published for several years since the middle 1960s by students at Yeshiva University in New York. Its pages, although they still are devoted primarily to scholarly historical and cognate-Jewish research undergone by students, have reflected increasingly since 1967 writing by some students about such issues as Jewish day schools, Jewish education, and the problems and prospects for new social and regional developments in Jewish life.[46] _Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review_ has been perhaps the best-known of Jewish student magazines and

journals in the United States. It was originally published by Jewish activist students at Columbia University, and it moved later to Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. Originally it started as a twenty-five page long review that came out twice yearly. Its later volumes, coming out four times per year, have had 100 to 130 pages long each, and Response saw its sixth volume, and third issue in this volume produced in winter 1972-73.[47] Davka (or "Exactly that!") was a shorter journal of opinion and essay produced by students and youth of the Hillel Organization Project in Los Angeles, at UCLA and California State University (formerly California State College) at Los Angeles, for the most part. It featured a variety of articles in each issue, and unlike other journals focused each issue around one specific theme or topic of Jewish interest. Its Volume I appeared in November-December 1970.[48] Its first issue was devoted for example to "The Ills of American Jewry," its second with "Jewish Life Styles" in the United States and commentaries upon them. An issue of March-April 1972 presented opinions and essays on the "Jesus Movement" and its relationship to American Jews and Jewish youth.[49] Both of these journals featured poetry as well as articles of opinion and Response occasionally presented fictional writing in addition to essays and poetry.

The World Union of Jewish Students (UJS), a world-wide Jewish student youth group with local campus chapters

in the United States and France and England and elsewhere, and with a rather loose and very decentralized organizational format, (not affiliated with and quite different from a local Berkeley group of the same name) produced a journal entitled Forum. This journal, in a sense a "general" rather than a radical or "partisan" journal, presented views of Union of Jewish Students chapters from around the world, news of central UJS policies and activities and discussions, and presented a view of other ongoing Union chapter or affiliated group activities worldwide. Individual editions ran in length to eighty pages.[50] Its leadership and active-involvement membership spanned a broad ideological and conceptual range. And although it was not widely read in the United States by active students and was considered largely "administrative" rather than "radical" or "committed" (i.e., both ideological and progressive in emphasis) by many radical and activist Jewish youth in the United States it was important as a source of and exchange-mechanism for youth activity information.

Contributions to Established "Non-Youth" Publications

Apart from the Jewish youth newspapers, newsletters, and journals, there existed specific articles of scientific study, social and ideological opinions, and reflections written by Jewish active youth in this era. These constituted another body and dimension of Jewish youth literature in a sense, and perhaps the one of greatest short-range

impact upon the Jewish "adult" scientific and leadership and planning community. Jewish youth contributed numerous and increasing numbers of articles, for the most part in the area of opinions and philosophy, to such Jewish "ideological" or "opinion" or partisan journals as Jewish Currents (New York),[51] Jewish Life (Orthodox, New York),[52] Jewish Heritage (Washington),[53] Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought (Conservative, New York),[54] Commentary (New York),[55] Midstream (Zionist and general, New York),[56] and others. These writings constituted a body of growing and impressive response and social thought.

Finally there have been the relatively few but increasing numbers of studies by graduate and undergraduate students and even high school students in the social sciences for the most part, appearing in such ostensibly "adult" professional and scientific journals as Jewish Social Studies (New York),[57] The Jewish Journal of Sociology (London).[58] The YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science (The Yiddish Vissenschaftlicher Institute, New York),[59] and the Journal of Jewish Communal Service (New York)[60] over the past seven years. Here was a growing body of mature research and analysis of contemporary Jewish social phenomenon, thought and behavior that represents in a sense a Jewish youth perspective and that at the same time parallels mature, knowledgable and sophisticated "older adult" efforts into analysis of Jewish life in the adult world itself, and

on a level equal with it. An active, small but growing group of individuals writing in these Jewish journals of opinion, and in these scientific journals has appeared that may have significant impact in the future upon Jewish social thought, and to a lesser but significant degree the course of Jewish social science. Among their number may be mentioned such youthful writers and essayists as James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, mainly in the social thought and ideologic realm, co-editors of and contributors to the 1971 collection of essays by progressive Jewish youth, The New Jew;[61] M. Jay Rosenberg, author of the new-famous anti-anti-Israel radical testament "To Uncle Tom and Other Such Jews:"[62] and (now Dr.) Jack Nusan Porter, sociologist and writer in the realm of essay and ideology both, writer of articles in Jewish Currents, The Jewish Frontier, and The YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, and co-editor of a 1972 anthology, Jewish Radicalism, the first of its kind on the subject in the country.[63]

The evolution and in some ways mushrooming of the new Jewish youth literature and of Jewish youth writers, editors, essayists and social analysis, signified a new trend in American Jewish life that has had far-reaching long-term significance and that will probably continue to do so. It is indicative of a tremendous surge of interest in and motivation for personal self-analysis, ethnic self-analysis and criticism, and criticism of the Jew's and particularly

the youthful Jew's place in the world around him, often unflattering in its striving for honesty. It is also indicative of a vast hitherto untapped talent that can express itself to the benefit of the American Jewish realm when these youth come more "of age" and gain more power within, or beside, the dominant systems of the adult Jewish world. Perhaps too these developments are symptomatic of the degree to which many Jewish youth have felt the need to express their anger and dissatisfaction with the way of life imposed upon them, and the ways of a culture around them, Jewish and non-Jewish, that they would like to reform and make it more just as they see it. The literary and press output may have been an expression of two things, above and beyond all others: an expression of the self, and reflections upon one's meaning and place in the surrounding world; and expression of a desire to explore and change a world that one could not accept in its present form.

The new Jewish youth literature and its vehicles elicited responses from the adult Jewish world that were highly mixed.[64] It sparked responses of admiration from prior generations of Jewish adults happy to see a Jewish youth generation willing to and able to bring and distribute and make boldly known its thoughts, as no generation of Jews before has done or has been able to financially or politically afford to do. But it has also met with responses of indignation, anger and jealousy from some

sections of the adult world. Jewish adults generally, and often specifically these active in synagogue life and Israel-oriented activities, have for years looked often with great suspicion and even disgust at the Jewish youth press. This stemmed from the fact that these adults dislike the anti-Israel stands that many especially earlier youth papers took vis-a-vis Israel in the beginnings of the radical era and feared, and understandably so, the impact of papers and ideas in them highly critical of or hostile to Israel, upon masses of other Jewish youth in the college world. (The first edition of the Jewish Radical and some subsequent issues, including issues from 1971 and 1972, featured some opinions and proposals highly critical of or disadvantageous to Israel, and this provoked surprise and shock in many adult readers). Other adults more generally have often viewed the Jewish radical press as another undesirable figment of a supposed "filth-ridden" Hippie culture that has been presumed to distort and insult sacred Jewish religious and secular ideals, to ridicule the Jewish status quo, and which is otherwise psychologically bewildering and threatening. Youth-oriented adult organization directors, including some Hillel directors and some youth group leaders in the non-radical realm, felt insulted and threatened by progressive youth press allegations of their groups' irrelevance and inactivity in the present world as Jewish groups, vis-a-vis Jewish youth. And Jewish city federation

councils and synagogue rabbis and leaders have felt embarrassed and insulted by youthful press claims of their inefficient and irrelevant uses of funds and of human resources, their ostantatiousness and endemic materialism, and disinterest in and hostility towards youth. Some social thinkers, rabbis and even professors and academicians in the Jewish realm, or of Jewish lineage have been embarrassed by the shrewd insight into and analyses of problems and patterns in Jewish life pinpointed by some Jewish youthful thinkers and writers, that they themselves feel they must acknowledge and yet which they themselves did not grasp.

But yet both admiration for, and the emergent importance of, the new Jewish youth literature and press of the years 1965-1972 remains. Leaving aside what it may be a symptom of or result of in Jewish life, perhaps the greatest functionality and promise of the new Jewish youth literature and press, lies in the fact that this realm of involvement will have been a training-ground in thinking, analyzing, writing, and creativity vis-a-vis the situation American Jewry has faced in the present age, and vis-a-vis the problems Jewry faces today in the world and will face, for a current generation of American Jewish youth. And these are youth that will have to assume a complex and difficult mantle of leadership in American Jewish life, in a complex technological and pluralistic society, in the immediate future. It appears that in this view, this

experience will have been both quite fulfilling to the youth involved, and much needed.

Chapter IV: Footnotes

[1]See the Bulletin of the Max Weidenreich Program for Advanced Jewish Studies, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1048 5th Avenue, New York, for a comprehensive description (1972) of this Institute and its libraries. The YIVO Institute publishes a journal and an intensive, scholarly sociological Annual of Jewish Research yearly.

[2]See discussion of his impact, for example, in Louis Ginzberg, Students, Scholars and Saints (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1928), Pp. 195-216.

[3]See discussion of him, for example, in Ginzberg, Students, Scholars and Saints, op. cit., Pp. 252-262.

[4]For a good but short overview of this effort in prior generations, the reader is referred to Dr. Felix Perles, "Biblical Criticism and Jewish Science," in Judean Addresses, (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, Inc., 1927), Vol. III, 1918-1919, Pp. 60-67. He discusses the state of "Jewish science" and Jewish studies in his time, and philosophies relating to it.

[5]See his papers in what might be termed "Jewish social psychology" in his Resolving Social Conflicts (Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers in Group Dynamics. (New York: Harper and Brothers, Inc., 1950.) Some of these papers in this volume, edited by Gertrude Weiss Lewin, appeared prior to this in The Menorah Journal and other Jewish publications.

[6]See for example his book of psychoanalytic analyses of the Torah and of Jewish ritual, considered a classic in its field, Ritual: Psychoanalytic Studies (New York: W. W. Norton, Inc., 1931), especially Part II on "Jews."

[7]See his psychoanalytic analysis of the Torah, in his You Shall Be As Gods: A Radical Interpretation of the Old Testament and Its Tradition (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1962).

[8]See Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 66, 1965, Pp. 38-39; see its issues of Intercom, its journal, and copies of its annual Proceedings of the AOJS (since 1970), for example of its contributions and involvements.

[9]Among the universities having by January 1973, any "Jewish Studies" programs, were Columbia, CUNY (formerly

CCNY), Harvard, Yale, Michigan, Berkeley, UCLA, Yeshiva, Brandeis and Chicago, among major institutions, and a number of state universities or colleges in New York State, and California State (university and college) systems. These are in addition to extant "majors" in Hebrew, Near Eastern Languages, Biblical History, Archaeology of the Near East, and Social Ethics. In all cases, as determinable, except those of Yeshiva, Brandeis and Columbia, Jewish studies majors have been developed under the major impetus of student activism, protest, and planning efforts over the last two to five years.

[10]All of the existing seminaries have graduate programs in cognate Jewish learning, in philosophy, history and Jewish studies; all give the Ph. D, or D.H.L. (Doctor of Hebrew Letters or Doctor of Humane Letters) degree conjointly with or after the rabbinical ordination for students desiring it. These are the Jewish logical Seminary (Conservative Movement) in the Hebrew Union College and — Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinatti, Ohio and in Los Angeles, (Reform Movement): and the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College (Reconstructionist) in Philadelphia. Yeshiva University and the Jewish Tehological Seminary also have campuses in Los Angeles, on the West Coast, offering cognate Jewish studies and teacher education on the masters' level; "Yeshiva West" also grants s'micha (rabbinical ordination).

[11]At UCLA, in Los Angeles, in 1972, there were 100 students enrolled in the Jewish Studies Program as majors (according to UCLA Letters and Science enrollment figures, December 1972); at Berkeley a course on Israeli politics and administration given yearly, in Spring of 1970 had 75 to 80 students, most of them Jewish (according to Berkeley College of Letters and Science figures, June 1970). Similar programs and classes at Columbia and elsewhere have large numbers of attenders and enrollees, and of majors, around the country presently.

[12]See Neil J. Smelser and James A. Davis, Sociology: The Behavioral Sciences Survey (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), esp. Pp. 116-156, chapters on "Sociology and Its Applications" and "Manpower and Resources in Sociology" respectively.

[13]Several noted authorities in Jewish communal affairs, social science, and Jewish education have bemoaned the lack of experts and authorities from prior generations, as well, crucially, in Jewish social science, who had they been there would now also be able to teach these new

generations. Seymour Martin Lipset cites that today in the United States there are only two or three sociologists of national repute engaged in studies of the Jews, and that none of these deals with specifically the sociology of the Jews as his speciality, for example. (S.M. Lipset, "The American Jewish Community in Comparative Context," in Peter I. Rose, ed., The Ghetto and Beyond: Essays on Jewish Life in America. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1969; Pp. 27-28). Similarly, Dr. Louis Finkelstein has said,

"...There are probably a hundred people, and more, whose profession it is to discover all that can be known about the Jews in Jerusalem in the First Century; there does not seem to be one who has the same duty for the Jews of New York in the twentieth century. So it comes about that we understand Judaism in the first century better than we understand Judaism in the twentieth."

Marshall Sklare quotes this from a conversation with Rabbi Dr. Jacobs in his Preface to The Jews (Marshall Sklare, ed., The Jews: Social Patterns of An American Group. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, Inc., 1958). He goes on to state that "...there are few if any scholars who devote their full efforts to the sociology of the American Jew." (Sklare, ed., The Jews, op. cit., P. v).

[14]Indicators here are hard to determine. However, Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, "Jewish Adacemics" in the United States, in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 72, 1971, supports this figure. This study looks at a large number of Jewish and non-Jewish academicians of both recent graduation and of long-term professional experience in the United States.

[15]See the Catalogues of the Wurzweiler School of Graduate Social Work, Yeshiva University, New York City, and of the Florence Heller Graduate School of Social Work, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, respectively, for 1971, and 1972, for example.

[16]See the Catalogue of the School of Jewish Communal Service of the Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, for 1971-1972, for example, and the Newsletter of this School for his period.

[17]See a discussion of this, infra. Also, see Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Mordecai S. Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews (New York: Pitman Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), Pp. 192-194, for a survey of some of these publications. The reader is directed also to Bill Novak, "The Underground Jewish Press - A Look at the New Jewish Student Newspapers" (unpublished

manuscript, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1971), for an excellent "insider's view" and analysis of these. The latter was written by the editor of the Jewish student journal, Response (see infra, below).

[18]One example of which is the Free Jewish University at UCLA, in existence since 1969, and which offers a variety of courses each of three quarters of the academic year on such topics and in such fields as Jewish history, Jewish literature, mysticism, essentials of Jewish ritual and religion, Jewish philosophy, "Radicalism and Judaism," the history of Zionist thought, contemporary Israeli society and culture, and Hasidism. It is based at UCLA and forms a "university without walls," and without formal grades or degree requirements, and with small group discussion formats predominating in classes. Both "acknowledged" authorities and professors, and informed students, teach courses in such areas. See the Catalogue of the Free Jewish University ("FJU") at UCLA, Los Angeles, California, for 1971-1972, for example.

[19]For a social and philosophical view of the Boston and New York havurah groups, for example, see in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews (New York Vintage Books, Inc., 1971) the essays by Alan L. Mintz, "Along the Path to Religious Community," Pp. 25-36, and Michael Fishbane, "Freedom and Belonging: A Personal Encounter With Judaic Study," Pp. 215-223. The former is a member of a havurah in New York City, the latter of Havurat Shalom, a havurah in Boston, Massachusetts.

[20]For an articulation of this concept, see in Sleeper and Mintz, op. cit., for example, Alan L. Mintz, "Along the Path to Religious Community," Pp. 25-36.

[21]Discussion with a former Princeton graduate student, and founder and active member of this group, Hillel Foundation, Berkeley, California, May 1968.

[22]Discussion with active members of the UCLA and San Fernando Valley State College (now California State University at Northridge) Hillel groups, Los Angeles, June 1968, and July 1969, familiar with this group and its leading members.

[23]See for example, Alan L. Mintz and Michael Fishbane, ops. cit., in Sleeper and Mintz, op. cit., for a discussion of the havurah. An analogue to the havurah group is the achedot group, a type of study group less well-known nonetheless, and popular among some older adults interested in "radical" reinterpretation of their Judaism, or in in-

depth study of it for the first time. The achedot groups, unlike havuret, tend to be small home-study groups of individuals, "study circles" and places where Jewish sacred and other writings are interpreted and analyzed, and a relationship with their meanings is sought. As the term implies, (achedot implying "brotherhood" as in Hebrew) a "fellowship of study" is attempted here on a weekly, monthly, or even daily basis. The havurah by comparison is often, or usually, a communal, living-based institutional and educational form. It appears at this point, that each type of communal study group is functional for and adapted to the needs of a different type of Jew, the one stressing communcal living more broadly, the other periodic and intense meeting and learning in a group context. The former, the havurah, may prove to be of greater functional value to youth searching for a mode of Jewish existence and identity unencumbered as much as possible by distractions and commitments elsewhere, the latter may be more functional for individuals who are unable to live communally or do not feel impelled by a need to, but who wish and seek and need an intensive, small group learning and "feeling" experience with Judaism that intensifies their learning and commitment, yet integrated with a more broadly typical daily life in general secular surroundings. The Brandeis Institue in Santa Susana, California, with its unique programs for youth, has sponsored a number of yet ongoing achedot among adults, in the Los Angeles Area, for several years now, and its youth alumnas have sponsored and maintained one or two existing achedot groups that meet both in the city, and at Brandeis, bimonthly. for two or three years, and that are attended by up to twenty alumnae at one time, out of a "floating" mailing list membership of young adults and college students of seventy. The writer is an affiliate of this organization.

[24]As observed by the author over the period September 1968-June 1969, in Berkeley, California. This group was also periodically discussed and was made mention of in the Brandeis Institute News newsletters over the period October 1969-October 1970. (Santa Susana, California: The Brandeis Institute Press). This group met in an apartment building one block from the Berkeley Hillel and celebrated havdalah (Saturday night farewell to the Sabbath) with dancing and refreshments weekly, with meetings open to other Jewish youth. Many members of this group lived in the building.

[25]Discussion with a Reconstructionist rabbi, Los Angeles, California, February 1973. See the Newsletters of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1969 through December 1972, to

trace the growth and development of this activity.

[26]Intensive and detailed descriptions and analyses of Lubavitch "Chabad Houses," and similar Jewish communal institutions designed for or designed by Jewish youth, are rare, but increasing attention is being paid to them. See Elaine Starkman, "Chabad House: A Pad for Torah Rapping," in Hadassah Magazine, February 1973, for a popular but detailed description of the Chabad House in Berkeley, California, adjacent to the University of California.

[27]See Part IV, infra, for a discussion and description of some of these groups, particularly the Jewish Radical Community groups (JRC's). Some communal institutions among youth are not "living-in" institutions and have relatively shifting and even seasonal membership bodies, and yet have a considerable influence upon their affiliates and members as Jewish "living and learning" experience. It would be therefore incorrect to assume or posit that only "living-in" institutions composed of typically small core-groups of members, or area-wide but socially and polit-"tight" or "close" youth groups whose members commute to regular meetings and events, constitute groups in the Jewish communal realm. For example, one area-wide and "non-living-in" Jewish youth communal organization in the religious sphere that has had outstanding impact upon Jewish youth in its area since 1967, is the "House of Love and Prayer" in San Francisco, in the past describer as a "hip-Hasidic" gathering place for Jewish youth. For an excellent social characterization of this institution and its group life, see Larry S. Price, "Hippie Hasidim - A Religious Alternative," in Hadassah Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 7, March 1972. (See also M. Maibaum and Chayim C. Crill, "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth: A Field Study;" unpublished manuscript, in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, 1973).

[28]Brandeis Institute itself is a nonprofit educational institution in Santa Susana, California, northwest of Los Angeles, that offers two month-long intensive mixed camp and study experiences for college-aged Jewish youth, designed to foster leadership skills, Jewish consciousness, and Jewish education. Its program includes two hours per day or more of lecture and discussion on a wide range of Jewish themes and subjects. The Institute also sponsors a series of lectures by prominent thinkers throughout the year that youth can attend, scheduled typically with one speaker every three weeks, and with usually four to five lectures each "speaker weekend." As many as twenty-five youth have attended these on one weekend. A recent study

of Brandeis Institute and its evident effects upon Jewish youth, resulting from its "communal and intensive" encounter with Judaism and Jewish study (1971) by Dr. Gene N. Levine of the Department of Socialogy at the University of California at Los Angeles, based upon a questionnaire survey of 2,726 alumni out of the Institute's 6,000 to date, indicated a very powerful instillation of both Jewish consciousness and drive for further Jewish education and self-growth and commitment, among interviewed members, and that moreover the "totality" and apartness to some degree of the Jewish environment there had been a very strong or decisive factor in this cultural change, as perceived by respondents. (Cf. Gene N. Levine, "An Adventure in Curing Alienation: A Survey of Alumni Reflections on the Brandeis Camp Institute;" Los Angeles: The Southland Press, Inc., for Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, 1971).

[29]Noted by Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, Dean of Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, California, lecture on "Jewish Youth" in the late 1960s, Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, September 13, 1970 (taped). He pointed out here that "...individualist, bright kids did not find communal life something that they could 'take'."

[30]Observations based upon data collected by the author, over the period September 1967-August 1971, mainly upon observations made of Jewish active students at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) similarly over this period of time. The author is indebted also to Jeff Kahn, fellow Berkeley student and friend, and affiliate of the Berkeley Union of Jewish Students, for his helpful and untiring observations of student behavior and activities in Berkeley in this period. (For some of these analyses, see M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971, Pp. 155-158.

[31]Whether or not "communal" life-styles are maintaining and will maintain their appeal among youth, and particularly among "radical" and "hippie" youth among whom they have been so popular, seems questionable at this time. There are several indications for example, in the hippie, radical, and avant-guarde presses, in the form of articles, letters, and essays, that profess to indicate that currently and since around 1970, the commune, youth "living community," or communal life-style generally is "on the outs" and no longer popular among new members, or satisfying to many long-term members associated with it. At the same time however some trends in the development of communal institutions and even rural radical communes contines. A "Jewishly

oriented and committed" community named "Jubilee" was established in 88 acres in Texas, near Temple, Texas, by Jewish youth in the Fall of 1972, featuring and government and work structure "similar to Walden Two," the novel by psychologist B.F. Skinner. (Mentioned in a letter to the Brooklyn Bridge, Jewish youth newspaper, New York City, No. 5, Fall 1972, P. 2).

[32]For example, in the House of Love and Prayer in San Francisco, there were in 1972 approximately 1,000 books in the library. A disproportionately large number of them were on Jewish mysticism and mystical thought, including copies of the Zohar, the Kabbala, commentaries on or histories of them and their use, and Hasidic lore and tales. Of the classes that have been offered there over the past two years, the most popular and most consistently widely appealing have been in Jewish mysticism and mystical and spiritual thought. Classes have been offered at the House over the last two years in Talmud (their "yeshiva" class program), and in Jewish mysticism and spiritual thought. (Discussion with members of the House of Love and Prayer, San Francisco, California, April 1972 and September 1972; see also Maibaum and Crill, op. cit., "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth," on the House of Love and Prayer).

[33]Israeli sociologist Efraim Shmueli, in analyzing appeals of Hasidism, and cultural elements within Hasidic Judaism, to Americans today, says that "...Hasidism may be a distraction, in a sentimental sense, from a 'disenchanted world', but it may also provide for some intellectuals the support of genuine leaders and of the community they yearn for." (Efraim Shmueli, "The Appeal of Hasidism for American Jewry Today," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11, No. 1. June 1969, P. 24). It is plausible that many American Jewish college youth who become attracted to aspects of Hasidism, or the entire life-style of Hasidism, may be considered both "disenchanted" youth in at least some ways, and "intellectual" in at least the broader sence.

[34]For example, one radical haggadah characterizing and paraphrasing in its text the meeting of Moses and Aaron before Pharoah, prior to the Exodus, (in Exodus 5:1-23) states:

"...Pharoah met with Moshe and Aharon but refused to accept their demand. He denounced them as outside agitators who intended to make the workers slack off. He ordered the overseers to eliminate the supply of straw for the bricks and to institute a speed-up."

(From The Jewish Liberation Haggadah, produced by

the Radical Zionist Union, the California State University at Los Angeles, 1971; P. 9. This work is an adaptation of the Jewish Liberation Haggadah produced by the Jewish Liberation Project group in New York, 1971, edited by Aviva Zukoff, Yitzcak Epstein, and Jerry Kirschen).

[35]See discussion of this paper, infra, below. (See also, for a discussion of the paper's parent group, M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.)

[36]For example, the first edition of The Jewish Radical (vol. 1. No. 1. January 1968; Berkeley, The Union of Jewish Students) featured a lead article by Paul Jacobs on why he as a New Leftist and radical could not support El Fatah and its Arab terrorist movement position and intent to destroy Israel. (Cf. Paul Jacobs, "Why I Cannot Support El Fatah," in The Jewish Radical, op. cit.)

[37]For example, the youth newspaper Ha'Am ("The People," at UCLA, Los Angeles, California) as of February 1973, had one "Editor-in-Chief," six Editorial Staff members (including one cartoonist), a Business Manager, an Exchange Editor, two Circulation Managers, a Technical Advisor, and twelve staff writers (Ha'Am, February 1973).

[38]The Yavneh Review, published annually by Yavneh, The National Religious Jewish Students' Association, 84 5th Avenue, New York City, New York, 10011.

[39]Cf. The Jewish Liberation Haggadah, produced by members of the Jewish Liberation Project, New York City, 1971. Edited by Aviva Zukoff, Yitzcak Epstein, and Jerry Kirschen.

[40]Figures here are difficult to establish firmly, at any one time, complicated by the rise of new publications often overnight, and often too by the dissolution of existing ones. A top figure of forty publications (as of 1971) is given by Mordecai S. Chertoff, in his "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews (New York: Pitman Publishers, Inc., 1971), P. 193. Figures of as high as fifty have been given by varied sources and quoted by active adults in Jewish federation councils, and in research positions in Jewish social and communal studies, in essays and articles in the Jewish adult realm, over the past three years, however.

[41]Cf. Chertoff, op. cit., P. 193.

[42]The reader is referred to Mordecai S. Chertoff's

excellent survey of several publications, most of them newspapers in the youth realm, in his "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews, op. cit., pp. 193-194. Also see the excellent study of these publications by Bill Novak, the editor of Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review, in his "The Underground Jewish Press: A Look at the New Jewish Newspapers" (unpublished manuscript, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1971).

[43]Cf. mention of this Haggadah, infra, notes 34, 39.

[44]Cf. M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit., for a view of its parent group; see The Jewish Radical, editions since January 1968 (Vol. 1, No.1; Berkeley, California, the Union of Jewish Students). This paper has been read quite widely by Jewish students in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles Area, and on the East Coast, and it appears, together with other Jewish youth papers, on Jewish youth group tables and in "radical" bookshops across the country.

[45]Mentioned in the Soviet Jewry Newsletter of October 1972, (New York: the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry) p. 1.

[46]The 1967 issue of The Yavneh Review for example, carried ten articles by students; one dealt with the history of the Jews of India up to contemporary times; one with "Aliyah (emigration to Israel) in American Zionist Thought," one with historical explanations of Hasidism as a social phenomenon, one with "Theological Sources of Byzantine Anti-Semitic Legislation," one with aspects of childrearing in the Israeli kibbutz, and one with a study of "The Hebrew Say School in Seattle."

[47]Published at 415 South Waltham Street, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154. Response offices are located in the Berlin Chapel, Brandeis University Waltham. See Chertoff's discussion of it, op. cit., p. 194.

[48]Published by Jewish students of the Hillel Organizing Project, in Los Angeles; funded by the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles, Los Angeles Hillel Council, and Hillel Society of Jerusalem. Produced at UCLA Hillel, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024.

[49]See Davka, Vol. II, No. 2, March-April 1972, issue entitled "Jesus?" See in it particularly, Rachel Adler, "The Concept of Messiah in Jewish Tradition," pp. 2-6;

Elichai Mitchell and Shira Lindsay, "Jews Do Believe in Jesus," pp. 7-17; and Zev Garber, "The Synoptic Jesus: A Jewish Approach," pp. 19-33.

[50]See discussion of this journal in Chertoff, op. cit., p. 194.

[51]Jewish Currents, Room 601, 22 East 17th Street, New York, 10003.

[52]Jewish Life, published by the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of America, 84 5th Avenue, New York City, 10011.

[53]Jewish Heritage, published by the B'nai B'rith Adult Jewish Education division, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

[54]Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought, published by the Conservative Movement, 15 East 84th Street, New York City, 10028.

[55]Commentary, published by the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York City, 10022.

[56]Midstream: A Monthly Jewish Review, published by the Theoder Herzl Foundation, 515 Park Avenue, New York City, 10022.

[57]Jewish Social Studies, published by the Conference on Jewish Social Studies, 2929 Broadway, New York City, 10025.

[58]The Jewish Journal of Sociology, published by William Heinemann, Ltd. for The World Jewish Congress, 55 New Cavendish Street, London, England, W1M 8BT.

[59]The YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, published by the YIVO (Yiddish Vissenschaftlicher) Institute for Jewish Research (formerly the Yiddish Scientific Institute, of Wilno, Poland, or "YIVO"), 1048 5th Avenue, New York City, 10028.

[60]The Journal of Jewish Communal Service, published by the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, 31 Union Square West, New York City, 10003.

[61]James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jew (New York: Vintage Books, Inc., 1971). See in it, for example, the "Introduction" by James A. Sleeper (pp. 3-24); and his "The Case For Religious Radicalism" (pp. 48-

55) and "Authenticity and Responsiveness in Jewish Education" (pp. 121-143); and Alan L. Mintz, "Along the Path to Religious Community" (pp. 25-36), and his "New Metaphors: Jewish Prayer and Our Situation" (pp. 205-214) in this volume. See also, for example, James A. Sleeper, "The New Jews," in Jewish Heritage, Vol. 13, No. 2, Fall 1971, pp. 11-16.

[62]Cf. Michael J. Rosenberg, "To Uncle Tom and Other Such Jews," in The Village Voice (New York), February 13, 1969. See also his later "My Evolution As A Jew," in Midstream, August-September 1970, pp. 50-53. In fact, Chertoff, op. cit., points out that Bill Novak, author of "The Underground Jewish Press - A Look at the New Jewish Student Newspapers" (op. cit.) and editor of Response, gave Rosenberg credit for having "sparked" the growth of the "underground" Jewish press in the late 1960s. See Chertoff, op. cit., p. 190, and Novak, op. cit.

[63]See for example, his "Jewish Student Activism," in Jewish Currents, Vol. 24, No. 5, May 1970, pp. 2-8; "3 on JDL" (with W. S. and members of the Committee of Concerned Jewish Students), in Jewish Currents, Vol. 26, No. 6, June 1972. See also his Jewish Radicalism, co-authored with Peter Dreier, (New York: The Grove Press, 1972).

[64]Chertoff, for example, in discussing the new Jewish newspapers, characterizes them:

"Although the quality of these publications varies, some of them are well-written indeed, and among them they cover a broad spectrum of subjects ranging from the Middle East to the American scene and Soviet Jewry. They include articles on Al Fatah and the Palestinians; the New Left and the Black Panthers; the state of Jewish education and Jewish community life and institutions; Martin Buber; Moshe Dayan; Isaac Luria; and Rabbi Nahum of Bratslav. One publication offers an Uncle Jake Aware -- the recipient being roughly the equivalent of the classic Uncle Tom -- while another excoriates the Jewish Defense League as a rightist, vigilante execrescence. They are all distinguished by forthright, uninhibited writing and sometimes an eagerness to belabor even the obvious."

(Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," op. cit., p. 193). Attitudes towards youth publications and their perceived "main thrusts" or general tendencies, among Jewish radical or progressive youth themselves, are not always positive or favorable either, for that matter. Ha'Am, for example, a Jewish student newspaper at UCLA, in Los Angeles, was criticized by a Jewish student active in Jewish cultural and radical activities as having at first a sort of

"Portnoy attitude" towards things Jewish, i.e., denigrating Jewish culture, religion, and aspects of current Jewish life with undue sarcasm, belittlement and bitterness. (See Ha'Am, December 1972, "Letters" section. See also reference to this letter in "Letters" section of Ha'Am of February 1973, pp. 2-3). Articles and essays in the Jewish youth press more broadly, have provoked similar feelings and reactions over this period from many Jewish adults, and from many radical, and non-radical Jewish students and youth as well.

Chapter V:

The New Jewish Radical and Activist Groups: Development in the "Socio-Political" Dimension

Introduction

The radicalism of the late 1960s that shook our campus world in this period encompasses perhaps the most widely noticed and known of developments among general and Jewish youth of this period among most of the adult Jewish community. Indeed it is in a sense, and the study specifically of it was the primary motivator of this discussion, and of many of the studies of Jewish youth that have emerged over the past fifteen years.

The radicalism found among Jewish youth, and specifically that of the Jewish student and "radical," must be seen against the backdrop of two broader sociological contexts. For one thing, the arising of Jewish radical groups must be seen in the context of general youth radicals among the youth society of which they have been a part. Secondly, these groups must be seen in the context of Jewish society and the members of which these youth are, not particularly as youth but as Jews, and as Jewish youth, and as the descendants of a particular intellectual, social and religious set of traditions of which Judaism in America is made.[1]

Functional Bases for Youth Radicalism: Theories

We might look first at plausible bases for Jewish and general radical political movements in society. For one thing, apparent to many students Jewish and non-Jewish alike, is what can be called the "abstratication" of life in America. Life for the student and youth emerging upon his own into it as a young adult seemed often artificial, contorted and misrepresented to many, by the mass media, by books and magazines and by the complex and confusing and often impersonal design of his collegiate or similar community with its own often contradictory mores and directions and demands. Many students sought some assertive way of life that was rooted in a plan or ethic, was built around the idea of concerted action towards easily definable goals, large and small, action that provided an answer and response to the dominant way of life.

Also the 1960s saw the "defusing" psychologically and sociologically in youth society of classic personal and age-specific interests among youth that provided areas of concern and involvement.[2] In the early and middle 1960s but increasingly in the later 1960s and through today, pre-marital sex, drugs, hitherto "forbidden" political activities involking the language of anarchism, Marxist socialism or the like, "obscene" language, and the affectations of exotic dress styles became commonplace. And consequently many realms of American culture that had formerly provided

grounds for excitement, romantic phantasy, prolonged discussion, and daring experimentation disappeared. As one hippie remarked, "Once everything is permissible, nothing is interesting." Many students and youth looking for other realms of involvement for themselves, that were also "useful" and "practical" to society, in keeping with a new moral side to the youth ethic, found in radical politics and political and social activism a worthwhile realm of involvement. Jewish youth, perhaps more exposed in the campus world to these societal "defusings" as a predominantly collegiate youth, and also largely coming from liberal or more permissive homes, reacted thus to a greater extent.

Thirdly, there were visible increasingly to youth in the early 1960s onwards, ongoing political and pyschological and social problems in America that inspired youth to "act." The problems of Black civil rights and racism, and poverty across America, and later the related problems of equal opportunity for Blacks, Mexican-Americans and Indians, the aged, poor and others inequalities in employment, and a perceived wastefulness and immorality of American military involvements in an ongoing war in Viet Nam, were romanticized and made interesting during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, particularly the former, by the media and by ongoing civil rights and equal opportunity protests by Blacks and their white allies. Some of these latter people

themselves provided models of the "concerned protestor activist" later emulated by idealistic Jewish and non-Jewish youth.

Fourthly there was the ongoing ability and interest of educated middle-class and worldly Jews and non-Jews, including college-educated youth, to get involved in active lives, and growing expectations from and dissatisfactions with both the administrations of educational institutions and of the job world that in their perceptions constituted a vast, complex, inefficient but truculent "establishment." In the case of Jewish youth and Jewish parents specifically, and particularly in the cases of lower-middle class Jews relating to or depending upon Jewish welfare organizations and local Federation Councils or other Jewish service organizations and organizational arrangements frustrations sometimes arose over the short-comings of economic and social services provided, lack of crucial needed services in some parts of cities, and inefficiencies that blocked the delivery of desired services. Jewish youth and adults as well saw a relationship to a disenchanting "Establishment" on not one but two levels: they also saw the problem of the Jew and his specifically Jewish cultural and social and economic sides to problems with which specifically Jewish communal organizations and administrations were increasingly unable to meet and deal.

There have been offered numerous accounts of the

plausible origins or sources for Jewish youth radicalism and participation in the general student and youth "radicalism" of the middle and late 1960s and today. One of the first responses by Jewish thinkers and social analysts to the phenomenon of sizable Jewish participation in the anti-War and anti-inequality movements of the middle and late 1960s was to attempt to find plausible bases for the growth and strength of this radical participation. Individual accounts and theories are too numerous to mention and catalogue here. But we can group these explanations into "types of theories," or models of explanation or theory, exemplified by chief exponents or thinkers. Each of these can tell us plausibly what one motivating or other background factor might be for Jewish youth participation in radical youth movements.[3]

<u>Parental Permissivism and Revolt Theory Models</u>

These theories tend to explain student radicialism on the basis of the fact that the present generation of youth on the campus has been reared in permissive homes, where parents, educated or self-educated to be "psychologically minded" and permissive, have let their children entertain permissive thoughts and attitudes. They then develop freely and openly their own life-styles, relatively free of historic restrictions, taboos or disciplines enforced by parents. This kind of libertarianism, combined with an action-oriented "liberal" ethic, has produced the

college student or young adult who will indulge in confrontation with the establishments he meets, to the point of illegal "civil disturbance" or even outright weapon-wiedling violence with police (as in the case of the SDS Weathermen) to announce and then to achieve social goals.[4] Jewish youth, more liberal than general students, almost all of whom attend college, whose parents tent to be more permissive and more condoning of youthful liberalism and even radicalism than other parents, and who tend to have parents many of whom were liberal or radical perhaps once as well, are overrepresented proportionally in radical activities and movements, and especially in the leadership of groups and activities. These theories are sometimes grouped or discussed under the general rubric of "the Spock Generation Hypotheses."

Anarchism-Terrorism Models

These theories tend to focus upon one or two behavioral aspects to youth radicalism, its groups' "anarchistic" or anti-nomian (anti-usual) and specifically "anti-governmental" bent and its "terroristic" (i.e., violent, threatening, and abusive) aspects, and to look for, in the prevalence and strengths of these areas, underlying motivators for youthful participation in such radical groups. Generally it is postulated that many youths, from staid middle-class homes where much in the way of personal freedom in political thought, sexual and other youthful behavior, and social

experimentation is frowned upon, and from often dull neighborhoods, and too youthful lower-class and minority students from backgrounds of poverty and frustration, see in the anti-nomian permissiveness and flexibility of radical movement grounds for both the expression of formerly forbidden interests and pursuits (i.e., political and social experimentation, the creation of new mini-societies, the divesting of repressive personal and social taboos), and also avenues and vehicles for the expression, in violence of language and action, of pent-up frustrations and aggressions against different perceived viable targets in establishmentarian society. These are the school, the police, business establishments such as banks and industrial corporations, local and national political figures, and the like. Perhaps this kind of motivation may have played a strongest part as expected among Black lower-class students and increasingly, Chicano (Mexican-American) students in general radical youth groups. The college and university, some writers and analysts such as Lewis Feur and Erik H. Erikson have claimed is a place where youth are in a kind of sociological "status moratorium"[5] where they can experiment and yet not be held fully accountable for the consequences of their actions. And it is also a place where "pure ideas" about men and society and social change, divested of their real-world complications and anti-romantic short-comings, may be met with and embraced romantically and eagerly by

youth. Among Jewish youth, residual and handed-down memories and resentments at a suspectedly still anti-semitic "WASP" society, together with the living frustrations of the many (and under-estimated numbers of) lower-class and lower-middle class Jewish urban and suburban youth, and resentment with the supposed dullness, hypocrisy, intransigence and illiberality of the suburbs or city where many middle-class Jewish youth have resided, have combined to make participation in often anarchic and even "terroristic" groups, or at least some events of them, personally permissible. Added too, is the factor of the plausible resentment and restiveness of Jewish youth against a two-edged social mentality dominant in a great many Jewish homes. This is one that encompasses a memory and recounting of horrors to which Jews have been subjected over the world, combined with a conservative and often stuffy attitude towards open expression of one's feelings in abusive language, extreme acts, social deviance, violence or "rabble rousing" that other youth engage in. The combined resentment against a world unfriendly to the Jew, plus a revolt when in college against the perceived "reservedness" and ideological disciplinism of their homes, may provide a factor in some Jewish students' participation in radical groups.

"Parental Hypocrisy" Models

These theories stress the premise that many radical youth were liberal students and youth raised in liberal

and progressive parental homes. Their parents espoused inwardly and verbally an ideologic commitment to liberal and progressive causes, such as tolerance for youthful dissent and permissiveness, interest in and commitment to equal opportunity and Civil Rights for Blacks and later Mexican=Americans (Chicanos), tolerance for and interest in comparative and "exotic" cultures, societies and life-styles, and a commitment to "doing things to help people" directly and efficiently. For many youth felt that their parents disagreed with their young over such things as permitting premarital sex or the use of marijuana or drugs, the affectation of long hair and exotic clothes, the espousal of progressive-leftist political ideals sounding "threatening" to parents, and were intransigent and moribund in helping Blacks, poor people and the unemployed. Youth also resented their nonparticipation by and large in social action causes practically speaking, and the whole middle-class life-style itself, in which one or both parents rejoiced in a job in "Big Business," the war-industries, or in some aspect of life that had little or no positive commitment to the "Liberal Ethic" itself. These factors led many youth to accuse parents of hypocrisy and to revolt against them as they perceived them, by becoming in their own eyes "truly" Liberal, in actions and words, i.e., what has been generally termed "Radical" today.[6] To the degree that Jewish students came from more liberal homes,

as demonstrated consistently in national and local voting behavior and attitude surveys, where liberal and progressive ideas were often espoused, and where they were themselves enamored of these concepts and ideas, and here this the degree of parental inconsistency to "the ideal" is greater than elsewhere among most or at least many middle-class American families. And the grounds for revolt here among many Jewish youth were in consequence stronger in some ways. And this would explain some Jewish youths' participation to a degree in these movements.

Role Assignation Educational Ideological Models

These are a collection of theories specifically centered around the bases for youth activism that lie in the realm of the student's relationship with his school, in this case usually the university or college he attends. According to this type of theory, generally speaking the university or college is fixed by students and their parents alike in the role of an institution primarily to educate the youth, to expand their horizons, to teach them a useful trade or profession or applicable fund of knowledge, and to restructure their lives in a mature, rational, and self-sufficient manner. Both the moderate parent and the college radical might agree upon these as ideal goals. Also they would both agree upon the premise that the University or college is supposed to be in a sense an embodiment of what is best in society, such that it might perpetuate in the

youth what that society has best to offer. However, college and particularly large public university faculty members have become preoccupied with research that has little to do with students. They have come to eschew or stay away from teaching (often openly called one's "course load" or "teaching load") and often avoid students, and dislike teaching courses to them, all of which activities are often considered a chore. College administrations were said to be increasingly impersonal, faceless, and demanding, and grievance avenues have been often few and far-between in them. Also, the sheer physical size of campuses in the recent past, with up to 37 or 40,000 students at Ohio State University, 28,000 at Berkeley and 100,000 at the City University of New York (formerly CCNY), plus the large classrooms for most first-two years courses, and the location of many colleges and universities in either dull "boondocks," high-crime and declining urban areas, or inappropriate and unfriendly upper-middle class suburbs, have compounded the picture to make many colleges and universities appear to be vast alienating machines to many, rather than personable and interested Arcadian centers of learning, experience, and human communication with great minds and great thoughts. The imagery of the "reality of University" clashed in many student minds as a hypocritical aberration of an ideal more so than did anything else in society perhaps, even one's parents. And thus the college or university invoked in

its ongoing image and on its grounds (where students and youth may have lived for from one to eight years) the hate, deep resentment, frustration and anger of many students who wanted to see in it a vehicle for broader social change and broader personal and individual fulfillment together. It was assigned the role by students, and often by its own credos, to be an educational and ideological change-agent and society-remaker, but it often appears to have failed that role. Also, the relative gentleness of University professors and administrators and staff, relative to other "establishmentarian" sectors of society such as the Army, police, courts, and industrial establishments with their "Hard Hat" employees, coupled with the proximity of around 33 percent of college-aged youth to some kind of college or university, led to the college being an opportune and nearby target for youth's frustrations, realistic or unrealistic, appropriate or unappropriate as these ventings of frustration may be.[7] It may be argued that as ninety percent of Jewish youth attend college, and as most of these and well-nigh all of Jewish adult society lauds collegiate secular education as the one viable path of the Jewish youth into a successful social and economic existence, more so than is the case in non-Jewish society, and as some residual religio-cultural values in many Jewish youth stress emotionally and intellectually the importance of the at least mythical goal of going to university or college to

get <u>lernen</u> and to gain "culture," the disappointment of many Jewish youth with the realities of university as it often exists have been more traumatic and far-ranging in their consequence. This apparently led to two subsequent extreme courses of action. One was dropping out officially from school for perhaps one term, or forever (but not necessarily abandoning the campus social world or the periphery of the institution's society). The other was the joining of one or more radical groups that attempted to change the campus world anywhere from through organized bureaucratic change to outright violent confrontation. From this point of view the attempt to "destroy the institution" that has occurred at times, appears as an illogical and inconsistent development out of this latter course, wherein means in effect found new ends. By no means were one of the other course incombinable. Hundreds of very good students joined radical ranks and finished the AB degree of the Ph. D. whilst many others dropped out. The revolt "on campus against the campus" saved evidently for many or most radicals as a jumping off point for a subsequent generalization of anti-nomian feeling, translated into radical action, more broadly across society. This process would appear to be proportionately significant among Jewish youth radicals as well.

<u>Student "De-Traditionalization Acceleration" Models</u>

According to this class of theories and explanations,

radicalism among youth can be seen largely as a confluence of two factors. Some students in the developing "Third World," the minority world of America, and the realms of the white majority world that were interested in these by virtue of their status, position and aspirations, rebelled against their families and way of life and sought involvement in and support for further progressive social change that will benefit them. And, this revolt among status-bearing, somewhat contented but yet dissatisfied and articulate and educated minority youth and minority-youth allied elements, coincided with the ongoing emergence of vast stretches of the world into technological and administrative modernity, nationhood, and self-expression. Among these developments were the emergence of minorities and their aspirations and integral peculiar interests in America. According to one kind of analysis, the imagery of the "emerging Third World," and its cultural and social correlates in the United States, and Blacks, Mexican-Americans and Puerto-Ricans, Indians and Orientals, especially in its romantic egalitarian and political aspects, sparked and been the catalyst for interest in radical activities in the medium of radical protest, to achieve progress in the society and the world ultimately that is egalitarian across all cultures and groups.[8] It could be said that the classic American egalitarian-liberal cry for justice was asserted most strongly in the early 1960s in the Kennedy years.

According to another analysis here, too, students and other youth were given the tools of "radical inquiry" into social problems and the mental means of bringing change and believed that change and "development" was necessary for maintaining either a conservative or liberal life style in advanced societies. However, this rationalism, and relativism, and scientific basis for analyzing social and allied problems led many to reject "Classic" Western concepts about society and its machinery, including the role and patterns of the University, military and government, and to postulate new ones, and to seek radical forms and degrees of protest likewise outside the realm of acceptability of these same "traditions." We might add that plausibly Jewish students, most of whom attended college a higher proportion of whom tended to study in the sciences and the social sciences particularly, who tended to come from educated and literate homes, and whose parental liberalist bent colors and influences their feelings of interest and fellowship with comparative cultural problems, would to this degree manifest such bases for "radical" bent or participation. And too, the continuing influx of Jewish poor students, and of Orthodox youth particularly from the East, into the college world and into the organized Jewish student world, with their own respective antinomian ideological elements, resentments, and reactions to the secular American college world, also accounted for some

of the radical activity and bent of Jewish students in the radical realm. We recall that most of the core of the Berkeley Union of Jewish Students, an early Jewish radical group, and printers of the landmark Jewish Radical, were Orthodox in background, belief and ideological makeup and practice in fact.[9]

Second Generation "Cultural Leftism" Models

These theories point to sources of student liberalism and radicalism in the socio-political attitudes and histories of parents of radical students. Although often forgotten by adults, and more so by youth of this era of study, the era of the 1930s through around 1950 was marked by the involvement of vast numbers of young people in leftist progressive movements, notable Socialist, Communist and progressive Democratic groups. We recall the one million votes received by Eugene V. Debs in 1932, on the Socialist party ticket, as opposed to the 150,000 votes this party received in 1960. Significant too, and recorded often, is the significance in the era of 1929 to 1939 of equally strong Pacifist and anti-war sentiment and movements, forestalled only by the active emergence of Nazi Germany as a threat. Reasonably, hundreds of thousands of parents of 1965-1972, heirs to this era and to these sentiments and ideologies, produced and raised a youth that was similarly proportionately strong among American youth, and who have been raised normally with not only liberal but also pro-

gressive-leftist and even radical-leftist ideas. And they accepted or adopted these with no particular difficulty. As they come of age themselves, they move to the left ideologically and politically of their parents.[10] This explanation for the background bases of student and youth radicalism would have special relevance to Jewish youth radicals, and particularly to the more "universalistic" and "cosmopolitan" ones, when we remember the proportion-agely high number of radical and progressive Jews of the 1930s and beyond, and the ongoing intensity of commitment of many of these people to progressive causes over the ensuing years. Thus we have the strength plausibly of these bases in the "Old Leftism" of many Jewish parents for the radicalism of the left generally, leftist progressivism, and "New Leftism" in particular among Jewish youth of to-day. As for these theories, the term sometimes employed for the youth offspring of one-time Communist sympathizers, affiliates and fellow-travelers active in progressive-left politics (and sometimes erroneously applied more widely to the offspring of one time Socialist and progressive-leftist Democrats) is "red diaper babies." And these theoretical explanations are sometimes referred to under the term "red diaper baby hypotheses."

Student "Deauthorization" Theories

These kinds of theories focus upon the self-perceived "status relations" in society, levels of pride, self-

respect, feelings of worth, and feelings of control over one's fate, of students in the Western world and particularly the United States, as catalytic forces crucial in the fomenting of student radicalsim. Student and other radical youth have been basically idealistic and liberalist in their ideology. But the fact that they exist in a state often abstracted from society, in the college or university and its surrounding student world, leads them for one thing to be easily swayed into action upon extremist and romantic versions of political and social ideals. And for another, their clash with the grim realities of large social systems that they aspire to change, i.e., colleges, local workers' unions, the business world and the like, the failure of their initial fledgeling demands, and their lack of concern or ability to have realistic concern for accommodation with the real world, leads many students and youth to veer into more other-wordly, unrealistic, rage-bound forms and levels of protest. And with this their ideology evolves into being more other-worldly, unrealistic and extreme. They in sum fear a political and social state of existence that is a condition of these shortcomings and inadequacies and which might be best termed a position of "deauthorization." And they respond to this state by becoming politically extreme, even politically irrational. Aspects relating to this that have stood out most strongly as characteristics of student radical movements of recent years

Thus too an angry and resentful backlash of parents, college officials, some professors, political and police figures, and adults more widely is provoked that in turn escalates the conflict and also provokes youth further. Feuer says that Jewish youth, whom he discusses, reacted against both the deauthorization they feared as individuals generally, and the deauthorization they feared as Jews in their own communities at the hands of disconcerted parents and other adults. Thus they felt more intensely the realities and the threats of deauthorization. One can go further to say as does Percy S. Cohen, that Jewish youth also suffered from deauthorization of Jews on the whole within general non-Jewish youth and adult society. And it may be that this fear, and attempts at its removal, were functional bases for Jewish youth participation in even anti-Israeli, youthfully "respectable" leftist causes like support for El Fatah, strong criticism of Israel, and support of claims against Jews by a host of minority, and leftist sources in the United States.[12] It also appears plausible that as Jewish youth became less reflective of and less tied intellectually and emotionally to "Jewish communities" specifically or to the concept of "the Jewish community," Jewish fears about deauthorization in the Jewish community became weaker and became less strong motivators, and will too in the future motivate less and less "Jewishly acceptable" youth behavior. At this same time the fear of

deauthorization in society generally by Jewish youth could become greater and this will motivate, alternatively, more behavior that is either consonant in some aspects with general American youth patterns and adult patterns, or that is consonant with radical-valued extremist, often exotic, "Third World" type, often anti-nomian values and patterns. In either case this would be increasingly irrelevant to Jewish needs and to Jewish life in America. And as masses of American Jews become socially and economically isomorphic more and more with dominant American culture patterns, these rebel efforts will become increasingly anti-thetical to, detached from, useless to and even dangerous for most American Jews and their dominant inter- and needs.

"Revolt Against Educational Inadequacy" Models

These theories look to the inadequacy of college and universities as social institutions, in the lives of youth and college youth, as wellsprings of radicalism. This theoretical approach is allied to and similar to the "Educational-Ideological Shortcomings" theoretical approach above. But it is different in that where the former stresses the inadequacy that the college has demonstrated for the youth in an ideological sense, as a tool for social revolution, these theories focus on its shortcomings practically speaking in an individual sense, to the individual student as a student. Universities and colleges

and large state universities in 1965-1972 were increasingly characterized by administrative intransigence, the inaccessibility and disinterest of teachers, the impersonality of the institution and life and social contacts there generally, and the resulting disenchantment of many students with the shattered dreams of what higher education was going to be. Consequently many, having come to college to find a new Utopia or to realize their educational idealizations, many free for the first time from parental bonds and restrictions, found in the peculiar mixture for avenues for new behavior, and the frustration of old ideals, the motivation or frustration to move into radicalism, radical protest, and sometimes violence. These same factors would apply to Jewish youth, and would be especially significant where the disappointing or embittering reality of college clashes with venerated and internalized long-standing personal, and incorporated parental ideal of the supreme importance and cruciality of "getting a good education." Most naturally the target of the frustration for both Jewish and non-Jewish student was the university itself. This frustration expectably might have been higher in more intelligent Jewish youth on the whole and more upper-class youth as well (although not so to this degree in more traditionalist, and "home-bound" Orthodox, students where familial ties and ideals tend to remain stronger) who find their more extreme dependency on the concept of good edu-

cation shattered. This fact might go far to plausibly explain the higher proportions of "better" and even "top" students, especially Jewish ones, in many radical ranks on the campus.

Students' "Class Revolution Realization" Models

These theories, which are distinctively offered by many radical students themselves, focus upon the role of the college in a supposedly decadent, declining and schismatic Western society and a paradoxical role that it plays and must play vis a vis that society; that of provider unwittingly of critics, radicals and rebels against it that hasten that society's destruction. Whilst the college and university strives to create a class of learned and skilled intelligentsia to staff its technocracy, bureaucracy and society, it also creates out of its permissive and wide-ranging "personal" development aspect numerous youth who can turn their critical eye and social-analytical acumen to see, and analyze, the shortcomings morally and socially of Western and specifically American society itself. Those motivated by high enough bravery, insight and skill form the core and substance of small but growing groups of youth who conceive and begin social revolution, through radical agitation and confrontation, on the campus, and hope to propagate it further across society itself in the form of alliance with groups of workers (as in the Worker-Student Alliance), farmers and farm laborers (as in the

United Farm Workers of Cesar Chavez, and some Mexican-American groups), and even middle-class defectors (i.e., the vaunted "floating intellectuals" of the university social science and philosophy faculties, and the bulk of the Students for a Democratic Society).[13] This kind of anti-nomian outlook has shown particular dislike for middle-class life, capitalism, and efforts of people to move into these realms rather than join revolutionary ranks. The ideal state for many, at least for a core of "New Left" students and of "Old Left" students of Troskyite, Marxist socialist and some other persuasions, was a world-wide class revolution instigated by capable students in alliance with workers and agriculturalists that would unseat present day capitalist and fascist Western, communist Eastern, and miscellaneous autocratic and monarchic regimes around the world. One aberrant or suprising function of this sub-ideal was the rabid rejection by some radicals, among them sympathizing Jewish idealistic youth, of those Blacks, Jews and others who were members of minority cultures who succeeded into middle class life, who strived for it, or who expressed themselves more in terms of ethnic nationalistic movements and minority "consciousness" movements. Radicals termed these people "renegades," "Uncle Toms," and defectors to and cooptees of essentially fascist, conservative causes. The very revolutionary left stance that allowed this mentality to play such a prominent role

was apparently a strong basis for New Leftist radical ideological and emotional dislike of normative Jews in America. They were seen to be a people or group that has found economic solvency, educational attainment and social safety beyond that of any other minority group. And thus they were seen to be one that has thus oddly "betrayed" from this standpoint in its overall normative patterns, aside from a few ideological voices within it, its rightful day-to-day "down and outers" radical and revolutionary fight with other minorities, students, and the poor whites against majoritarian society. Typical of Jewish students, minority students, and non-Jewish white students in such movements was the constant referral to Jews as "the Jews" categorically, leaving aside almost always any effective concern for differences and distinctions of culture, wealth and problems that exist <u>within</u> Jewry. Also typical of them was the lumping together when the occasion warranted it of "the Jews" with all other majority White Americans indiscriminately, and the alternate careful distinction drawn between Jews and other whites, and minority or deprived groups, when they were the focus of (usually negative) radical concern. Jewish radical students were among the most vocal and violent excoriators of Jewish life, largely for these above reasons, and also for the emotionally linked reason that many have lived middle-class lives in America, often to a degree unmatched by fellow radicals

in richness or embourgeoisement, and experienced that they felt to be the fallacies and short-comings of this life for them. They also felt that their ostensibly liberal parents, in their acceptance of a middle-class way of life, had compromised crucially any true "progressive revolutionary" efforts and also any specific Jewish, culturally "true" minoritarian content that they themselves might have had in an age where exotic culturalism in one's life and background was increasingly admired and revered by their fellow radical youth.

Theories About Radicalism Bases Relating Specifically to Jewish Youth

Four additional types of theoretical models apply specifically to Jewish youth engaged in radical activities during this period, and to Jewish youth engaged in radical activities within groups that are specifically "Jewish" in their makeup, orientation to Jewish problems or areas of concern to Jews, or scope of activities.

Cultural "Relative Sensitivity" Models

These theories offer as a basis of Jewish youth participation in radical groups and movements the concept that the Jewish participation in radical groups, such as New Left groups, is the reaction of a relatively more sensitive group of youth to social problems and social inequalities and vices, the pain of which they feel themselves very much, and the pain of which in others they

empathize and identify with.[14] Jewish youth in particular are part of a minority group in America whose members, in spite of their cosmopolitan view of the world and middle-class position, remember their own sufferings in the past and have had to be ever cognizant of threats to themselves in America. The "Jewish group" is a group that has become sensitive more so than other sectors of society to obvious, and subtle, currents of minority prejudice, inequality, and social injustice. Jewish youth are thus more sensitive to the "pressing problems" of society and especially to ones that have been partially attacked and then seemingly dismissed or obscured while their targets continue to suffer: job discrimination, educational inequality, undercurrents of racist thought, and political repression of any type. In this realm they are, unlike other colleagues, at one ideologically and emotionally if not programmatically with their parents. And this strengthens their convictions and their prusuit of their directions, although this factor is little discussed in most analyses. Here, as in "red diaper baby" theoretical approaches, a strength is implicitly gained in Jewish youth from their ideological and psychological and wider at-oneness with their parents. And this motivates Jewish youth, and to a lesser degree some other idealistic general youth, into radical forms and degrees of social and political protest in organized and unorganized movements, as individual, and as members

of well-organized localistic, sectarian or national-scope groups.

"Value Clash and Residual Ethnicity" Models

This model or theory focuses upon two processes that together produce bases for radicalism among Jewish youth: a clash of basic living socio-political values of Judaism with some aspects of normative American Jewish life, and a clash of some ethical attitudes of Jewry experienced at work in the dominant society. Judaism, especially the religious-systemic parts of it dominant in religious Jews and a sizable residual part of the makeup of other Jews such as "culturalist" Jews, come into friction with American living within the life of many individual Jews. This occurs in such a way that they find American life, particularly in its "rugged individualists," anti-communitarian and conservative-libertarian aspects insensitive and repugnant. And they become more indignant about this as they come periodically into greater conflict with dominant or strong American political-social ideologies and behavior that they experience. As Kurt Lewin said, there arises an increase of conflict, as a function of an increase (or persistence) of interaction, between the two unmutual realms, at least as perceived and introjected by the Jewish youth. Many Jewish youth who adopt in particular a neo-religious interest and commitment, upon studying and delving deeply into Jewish mysticism and social thought

and ideas in areas long abandoned by most other Jews, do so often on the basis of personal needs within a broader society that is seen to be depersonalized and alienating. Upon adapting Jewish values and ideas about society, they begin to feel quite rapidly and dramatically and even traumatically differences between Jewish concepts about "society" and what it should be like, and normative wider society. And they react against this at first psychologically and emotionally, and then in behavior in the one course open to them, Jewish radicalism. And increasingly in 1965-1972 they did so in terms of radical group-based activities, communitarianism, and self-expression politically and creatively within a surrounding Jewish attitudinal and cultural-ideal frameword. The sensitivity of these young people was often stronger than among other Jews, and their perception of the cultural "clash" between them and surrounding elements in much of American life, greater. The articles and dominant substantive discussions found in prominent Jewish youth radical papers and journals often tended to reflect a much sharper criticism of even fellow liberal positions, general problems of society, and problems of Jewish society than did long-established and "tested" Jewish spokesmen and actives, even among _politically_ unradical but socially protective Jewish youth. As more and continual contact appeared with surrounding society's ills and inequities and shortcomings, Jews who

were involved in society responded in finding progressivism, and radicalism more amenable in the degree that these seemed problem-alleviative and Americanly "anti-nomian." Much in radicalism too appeared not to be particularly threatening ideologically or functionally to Jews with a religious or cultural life of a non-acculturated type. And those elements in it that made for "a better world" consonant with Jewish ideals, and that more so strive to remove threats to Jews in the present one, were embraceable.[15] As well, some Jewish youth and adults did not have long-term relationships of full acceptance, identity of interests, security, social affiliation, or emotional warmth and gratification with much of what they perceived as part of the substance of normative American life that many acculturated, "successful" and relatively identity-secure and physically secure adult Jews had. And they could be easily against much of what they found in the American system (and so in radical proportions and styles of protest) while they continued to live amid or on the margins of American society on the whole. This would lend some explanation for significant participation of non-upper middle class (and religious traditional and some Yiddishist and socialist Jewish) youth in Jewish youth radical <u>and</u> general radical movements, and would figure prominently in the lower-middle class, middle-class and even upper-middle class Jewish youth participation in and

support for such groups as the Jewish Defense League. Furthermore, cultural counterbalances like wealth, material goods and the total benefits of cosmopolitanism were not available to or part of the lives of many of these youth. And even where they were, they were not in truth either substitutes for true security and acceptance among other Americans or necessarily means of buying this, as the political disappointments and discussions of emergent neo-antisemitism among many upper-class suburban Jews themselves in the later 1960s attested to. These amenities did not exist as seasonal, or perpetual counterweights that could draw many of these youth back consequently to a more complacent acceptance of "Middle America." Two important differences in group direction may be noted here. Heavily sectarian Jewish youth and adults in Jewish movements like the absolutist Hasidim, some Zionist and some leftist elements like "Old Socialists," when confronted by American life retreated further into their own societal worlds and made them even more insular, apart from and unconcerned in an ongoing way with broader American social and political life in a participant way. On the other hand, there were more youth of less "sectarian" and more cosmopolitan but still Jewishly educated and ideologically Jewishly concerned orientation such as the numerous "lenient" Orthodox students of the campus and young-adult world, identifying Conservative and Reform youth who were Jewishly active,

Zionist youth and Jewish culturalist or religio-culturalist youth of various types on the late 1960s model. For the most part when these were in conflict with American norms they confronted these in parallel with other radical groups, and tended to work towards the establishment of parallel alternative life-styles for themselves as Jews and Americnas in America that could at least for them provide an American existence yet more consonant with American and Jewish values they held dear.

Cultural Redirective "Reactive Aggression" Theories

These are a type of theory that would propose a strong basis for Jewish participation in radical movements in the historic exposure of the Jew to different types, levels and manifestations of prejudice in wider society. A reaction of the Jew to this occurred psychologically, and there was a transmutation sociologically and psychologically of this in Jewry into an itself less dangerous form, that of striking out at majority society and at its more distasteful, or core elements, under the umbrella of a universalistic, more general, and in any event "non-Jewish" identity, and with allies who moved against many of the same things.[16] This "umbrella identity" was in most cases not a consciously picked simple vehicle for Jewish retaliation of some form. But rather it was a course of action that functionalistically and unconsciously, appeared as a viable course for the young Jew to follow upon, and which

alleviated deep-seated resentments, tensions and anger. Groups of such youth included crucially here student "generalist" leftist radical groups. The Jewish student may not have met personal antisemitism on a level equal to that of past generations of Jews. But many experiences some, and varied forms of, mistreatment as Jews, and some too suffered alienation, abuse and frustration at the hands of a broader society inconsonant with their ideal of life as Jews or as general individuals. And many read anti-semitic elements realistically or incorrectly into this. As well countless young Jews inherited by parents and other adults social learning abhorrence of past mistreatments of Jews and they identified with the sufferings of indeed what have been most generations of Jews in the Diaspora and for the most of Jewish history at the least, they manifested strong or even overriding resentment against things that have been antisemitic or otherwise "bad for the Jews." It would probably be shortsighted to assume as some writers have asserted that Jewish youth of today are devoid of or essentially without "knoweldge of and true feeling for" Jewish suffering. On the contrary a surprisingly wide range of studies in the United States, and long-term group observations, tend to indicate that one strongest element in the makeup of identifying, radical and nonradical Jewish youth was their remembering of and attempts to come to grips with emotionally and psychologically and theo-

logically, the Nazi Holocaust. Radical youth groups in which Jews have participated have allowed for a venting and expression of unconscious vengeful aggressiveness that Jews as Jews, and as members of any minority group (and moreover as resentful and unfulfilled adolescents and post-adolescents in an adult society) have within them, it is probably true too however that these groups and individuals, in all sincerity, see other bases as the explanations and bases for their radical, and sometimes violent activities. Peculiarly interesting is the dislike of the uncovering of such psychodynamic bases as plausible motivators for radical behavior and ideation among radicals themselves, and among Jewish radicals. Indeed many leftist Jewish radical youth saw in the more "particularist non-universalist" and "conservative" Jewish radical groups like the Jewish Defense League bases for these groups' behavior in a "childist venting" of aggressiveness and resentments in violence or militancy and in violence of language that frightens them due as much to its combined cultural and individual psychogenic nature as to its discrepancy ideologically and socially from their own course. They may have been excoriating something, and noticing something, in other groups that upset them that they are not willing to and comfortable at and capable of recognizing in themselves. Interesting is the fact too that the greatest evident excoriation and attack upon the Jewish Defense

League and upon the more newly-prominent Betar, came over the period 1965-1972 not from "respectable" middle-class Jewish adult organizations, Jewish adults, nonradical youth or religious youth, but from the ranks of Jews active in general "radical" organizations that themselves engaged in a good deal of militant confrontation and even violence. And it came from the ranks of Jewish youth organizations that emerged and that in this period staged confrontations with establishmentarian organizations of their own.

These types of theories are extremely unpopular with either Jewish radical youth, Jewish social analysts attempting to be objective in their analyses, or nonradical Jewish youth, largely as a readily observable outcome of fear that the wider appeal of such arguments may rationalize or inspire new anti-Semitism. They are also disliked because they tend to look at the less respectable, rational and erudite aspects to and bases for Jewish radical and leftist-progressive behavior that the involved youth themselves would wish to ascribe to a higher ethos. However these psychodynamic aggressive bases for radical behavior probably played a substantial role in at least some students and youth, and they should be understood and recognized together with other explanations for radical behavior in this era.

Jewish Historical Religio-Cultural Antiauthoritarianism

Some historians, sociologists and other thinkers have pointed to trends in Jewish cultural history that are decidedly "anti-authoritarian" in any form, and that thus have contributed to progressive radicalism among Jews. Herman Israel has posited that traditional Judaism as religion sets up a model of authority, ultimately God, and the Laws (or Torah) given to the Jews to live by and act by that is universal in its applications, perpetual across history for the Jew, an undercurrent of subsequent Jewish culture and legend and political thought. But moreover it tells the individual to stand against strong allegiance to traditional "earth-bound" authorities like kings, dictators, populist or "Bonapartist" leaders, demagogues or even popularly-elected political leaders.[17] This orientation incites the individual to limit the psychic strength at least, of these peoples' power over his convictions, energies the allegiance. The ultimate Jewish authority for how to live (perceived at least as such throughout most of Jewish history and redeveloped in secular ethical patterns by modern neotraditionalists and secularists) is rooted in the Bible (the Tanaach), in Jewish ethics, and in <u>halacha</u> or legal precepts of behavior. And this body of thought makes an equal and opposite claim upon the allegiances that the Jew would otherwise have emotionally, psychologically, formalistically and socially to "divine rule" kings, elected officials, and rulers by discretion

all, especially rulers whose totalitarianism or authoritarian appearance makes them both morally and culturally odious to the Jew, and also odious in that they are challengers to a more transcendent authority that lives both more broadly across space and across history. It might be hard to find consitent bases here for radical youth familiar with as well-educated in the depth and substance of Jewish thought, as most radicals and Jewish youth radicals in general groups appear to have been. But these bases might apply to many who had some Jewish education, and probably apply to those radical students who went back to learning and studying Jewish culture to find their own cultural-pluralist, "radical" and yet "rational" roots.[18] Such orientations probably played a significant part in the ideologic underpinnings of the significant but underrated and underestimated Traditional students particularly the more "flexible" Orthodox students who populated some radical groups of general bent, who founded and guided some of the early Jewish radical groups such as the Union of Jewish Students chapters and groups in some cities in the mid-1960s. For members of such groups and for such Jewishly substantive students there were at least two secular authorities that were suspect, and were never to be taken as total authorities in life and human affairs. One was the government, seen as victimized by special interests and by "ego trips" and mistakes of its own staff, to be vari-

ously supported, debated or confronted depending upon its congruence to one's concept of human needs and rights. The other was the organizations of the "Jewish establishment," Federation Councils, local synagogues and other organizations. In their behavior and programs there could be seen at times too much acquiescence to undesirable dominant trends in greater society, too much acquiescence to the "worship" of dominant American (and local Jewish) political and administrative figures, demagogues and follies like economic wastefulness and frilly materialism at the expense of demonstrable human needs, and too much emulation of the "worship" of ethics and systems of function and relationship of men to men that fell short of the commitment, consonance or depth some youth felt demanded by Jewish ideals.

General Radical Groups in Which Jewish Youth Participated

There were several large radical groups if nationwide notice in which Jewish students and youth participated. Most were centered near or adjacent to college campuses. A fuller analysis of and record of the activities and the histories of general radical other groups in the 1960s is not the main effort of this study and cannot be covered comprehensively. But some discussion may be given here of the most significant groups. Here are the most prominent groups, accounting for most of the Jewish radical involvement.

Students For a Democratic Society

The largest and most prominent of radical groups in the country in the late 1960s, SDS evolved increasingly after 1965 into being a far-leftist progressive radical group providing an umbrella for diverse progressive leftist elements and ideals with a membership of up to 30,000 at one time in 1968. It has been estimated variously that between five and sixty percent of its general membership was "Jewish" at its height. It advocated generally a world-wide and American class-revolution in which students, workers, minorities and the poor unite to overthrow by militant or even violent means the present government and its present type of leaders and introduce a new era of egalitarianism, socialism and civil liberties.

Young Peoples' Socialist League (or YPSL)

This group was a Trotskyite leftist progressive socialist group dedicated to building an international community of states essentially "socialist in form, and national in cultural content," and free of political repression and inequities. Like much or most of the SDS, its members considered the USSR and East European regimes, and occasionally Castro's Cuba, to be "perverted socialist" essentially fascist regimes as suspect as the present United States government. Communist China and increasingly, Allende's Chile were here held up to be models of present-day socialist states. YPSL showed mixed feelings towards Israel; its paper The Guardian excoriated Israel between

1967 and the present for its keeping "occupied Palestine" and "attacking Arab states." More eastern chapters however, with more Jewish students as in New York tended to be more sympathetic to Israel, as a "trying socialist" state. Among some avowedly Jewish-conscious (but not necessarily active Jewish) members Trotsky himself was considered a sort of early-day revolutionaty "secular Jewish hero," a stance his won reflective, later writings would seem to parallel. Jewish student involvement in YPSL was strong.

Young Socialist Alliance

This group was dedicated to the developing of a world community of leftist-progressive states on the model of leftist movements such as Cuba. It eschewed the USSR and East European states as fascist and stressed the idea of social revolution in the US towards an egalitarian, socialist system. Like YPSL and the SDS it supported equality for Blacks and Mexican-Americans but did not favor "minority fascism" or minority militant groups (such as Black Panthers) taking ethnic-specific stands. Its magazine Young Socialist showed a considerable range of opinions about political phenomena, and a variety of feelings towards Israel in this period; an article on the "Palestine Revolution" in April 1969 gave the text of an interview with El Fatah leader Arafat but refrained from editorial support.[19] YSA had a fairly large Jewish involvement, and New York area and other eastern chapters

tended to be more "balanced," or pro-Israel, in orientation. It was also typologized in some places to be more "level-headed" and subdued in approach than the SDS.

Progressive Labor Party

The PLP was a smaller group whose ideas and approach influenced other groups. It was a disciplined and intensely leftist-socialist group of students and mainly ex-students who supported, studied and worked for the idea of worldwide social revolution and class revolution leading to a civil-rights bound, egalitarian socialist collection of world states. They opposed Israel where the socialist government has supposedly "failed," entrenched Arab monarchies, racism, and "perverted-socialist" states such as the USSR. They tended to be "pro-Peking." Some leaders surprised other general and leftist groups in taking a stand in the late 1960s against the Black Panthers, Black Student Unions and the Mexican-American La Raza Unida Party as being not socialist and universal but too minority-fascist, particularist and thus "conservative." Members appear to have been more ideologically substantive, educated and disciplined either SDS, YPSL or YSA members and affected a strict "short-hair working class" appearance to facilitate attempts during summer or year-long jobs to debate with and convert blue collar workers. One student familiar with PLP characterized them in 1969 as "the John Birch Society of the Left."

Worker-Student Alliance

This group was a wing of the SDS and was dedicated to the building in more subdued fashion of political and ideological alliances between leftist students and working-class workers in industry, crucially in union trades. It has several thousand followers of different degrees across the country. Many left school to work in factories and "convert" workers over this period to their progressive-socialist class-revolution bound ideal, which in them paralleled the position of the PLP. As of 1969 the WSA had failed to achieve its desired popularity with workers or students in the eyes of many leaders, as worker conservatism and values and tastes of many middle-class students proved poorly combinable realistically. Many WSA actives sought other avenues of expression, such as other groups, or more intensive, localist conjoint worker-and-student political protests, rallies and discussion forums on political and economic topics that were of physical and ideologic concern to both. Jewish participation in WSA as in the general SDS makeup, was sizable and many students were active in top planning circles of the WSA and its successor groups.

Vietnam Day Committee

This group was made up of several hundred activist core students across the country and several thousands of seasonal and periodic sympathizers and followers of all

political persuasions united around the idea of ending the Vietnam War. This group came to life after October 1965 when President Johnson committed American ground-troops to Vietnam, and it maintained a vigil of large rallies, speakers' forums, informational bulletins and opinion-aggregating activities over the ensuing period. It also evolved into being against the entire system of the military draft, Selective Service inequities against the poor and minorities, and the role the "SS" provided to send men to the War. And it underscored links between the War and business and economic supports for it in the United States. VDC allied and leading students appear to have played a role in draft law changes in 1969 and 1970 and to mobilize national opinion against further US involvement in South East Asis. It appears that its open political basis and appeal to widespread political and social sentiments well-organized around one issue essentially worked towards its wider appeal and effectiveness than some more "sectarian" and localistic, or ideologically rigid groups. Many Jewish students were very active in this group and it appealed to a broad range of Jewish youth numbering in the thousands, assimilated youth, identifying youth, intellectuals and dropouts, and some religious youth seeing in the Vietnam War an antithesis in particular to the injunctions of Jewish law, or the Bible. Local chapters of VDC as at Berkeley often became "hung up" as well for periods of time

in 1967 and 1968 on local issues and problems such as defending local Black militants and actives involved in trouble with the police, draft resistors and draft cases. And various anti-war or self-help projects with minority youth also were underway under the auspices of many SDS members, and here too Jewish youth were prominent as planners and as workers.

The Committee For a Progressive Middle East

This organization (CPME) was founded in March of 1969 with principal chapters at Columbia and Berkeley, as a group to deal specifically with the issues of the Near East and Arab-Jewish interrelations. One of the cofounders, Mony Elkaim, an Israeli student, had been active in the student demonstrations in 1968 at the Sorbonne in Paris. The CPME was founded to be an alternative to both on one hand the Arab terrorist and student groups (such as El Fatah, the Arab Students' Association and others) and sympathizers singly of in other groups such as in SDS, the YSA or the PLP, and to on the other hand Jewish organizations such as Hillel, the Student Zionist Organization, some elements in the Union of Jewish Students chapters, and individuals, whose points of view, ideological identification with Jewish causes and "establishment" literature about Israel and Zionist movements made them suspect as well. CPME started its activities with rallies asking "all sides" in the "Palestine Arab-Israel" dispute to attend.[20] At

Berkeley around 100 individuals ranging from Israeli students to a few El Fatah Arab students and an entire range of non-Jewish and Jewish political persuasions attended the first March 1968 auditorium meeting on the Berkeley campus to discuss practical remedies for the Palestine Arab refugees, and also some "justice" for Israelis as well on the other hand. CPME offered numerous programs and symposia on the Near East from 1968 onwards. It was probably the one non-Jewish group among the radical realm that attempted an "even-sided" forum for exploration and discussion and voicing of pro-Israel or Zionist ideas, which at least it did do. And it also appears to have had the highest proportion of pro-Israel, Zionist and Israel-sympathetic (and Israeli student) members of any in the United States. Probably reflective of the lesser appeal of the Middle East and its political problems and exploitations to American college youth in that period relative to the imagery of Viet Nam, unresolved radical and economic problems in America and the like, was the smaller size of CPME over this period, with several hundred affiliates and sympathizers across the country, and around 100 on larger campuses in the West, the East and the Midwest. Its lack of a facile unidirectional dogmatism and ideological cohesiveness also may have made it unattractive. It remained a prismatic organization, with its Arabist elements entrenched, and with its Zionist and pro-Israeli youth having

failed still on their part to meld a cohesive, resilient position and ideology and to form themselves into a viable and united force within this group to assert their position, although some efforts in this direction were made in 1969. It was generally, however, a relatively open and hopeful forum for general discussion of the Near East and its problems.

The Position of Jewish Youth in the Formation and Change of Radical Youth Groups

It is pretty well established regarding Jewish participation in other, general radical movements, contrary to what has been often claimed by both Jewish and non-Jewish unsympathetic accusers of the center and the right, and some radicals themselves, that the source of the student radical groups and movements of the 1960s was not among leading accultured Jewish students in the campus community. Nor does it appear to have been true that Jewish students were the formative "spearhead" of either these movements and groups, or of the "violence on our campuses." Tom Milstein comprehensively points out that the general student radical activities of the 1960s had their origins ideologically neither in "Jewish social thought" nor in masses of top-level Jews. But these origins lay in writings of general Liberal-progressive Protestant theorists concerned with pacifism, egalitarianisn, anti-war protest and various forms of political and social utopianism, spanning the

last several hundred years, and among social thinkers like John Locke, Rousseau, or Montesquieu, modern-day American political figures like Socialists Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas, and pacifists and millenialists such as A.J. Muste, among others.[21] Generally, such radical groups of general origin and generally led by non-Jewish youth, like the SDS, the WSA, the Vietnam Day Committee, and the Peace Action Coalition, the Youth Against War and Fascism, and the antiwar and leftist and progressive political groups such as the SDS, WSA, the Trotskyite YPSL, the Progressive Labor Party of older "Old Left" form, were in the 1960s, especially from 1965 onwards, the core of organized youth opposition to the Viet Nan war, to the Army and Selective Service draft system, to inequities in hiring, social welfare and education faced by minorities, and to general presumed short-comings in higher education in the United States. Jewish students became increasingly involved in these groups and joined them in larger numbers from 1965 onwards in the major university towns and areas, and more generally in universities and colleges from 1968 onwards. Most appear to have formed part of the "affiliate mass" of these alone, with other non-Jewish students. This meant that Jews were active anywhere from being on group mailing lists to being regular participants in and perhaps planners of these groups' events, such as leadership meetings, demonstrations in University plazas and speaker-

ships. Others fewer in number became the "opinion makers" and "image leaders" of such groups. Although this process took longer, Jews rose to the top of these groups in some cases and became ideology-formulators, group leaders, de facto group "presidents" or titular heads, speakers and debaters at group events and at popular rallies, and the like. Prominent among student radical group leaders and movement actives, either personally identifying as Jewish or at least of Jewish parentage, were such figures as Mark Rudd at Columbia, Mike Lerner at Berkeley, and Elliott Mintz in Los Angeles during this period, in the student realm, and Abie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. At least nominally Jewish youth were a significant proportion ultimately of radical groups of all types, the foremost "political" ones, the general social ones like the wide-ranging Vietnam Day Committee and the various local Student Committees for Educational Reform, and those locally prominent and allied with interests of ethnic minorities like the Black Panther Breakfast Program of Berkeley in 1969. These youth constituted as much as sixty percent of the SDS membership, it has been estimated at one time, and have been variously estimated to have been between five and thirty percent of the total membership or affiliation over time, of all student "radical" groups of the left looked at on the whole as of 1969.[22] Jewish students likewise appear to have been usually "better read" with respect to American

societal and world problems and better informed about such problems than most American youth of college age. They rose to top prominence in some cases in such movements and groups, and to ongoing places in their working staff, increasingly later in the 1960s, it appears, as a function of their interpretations of and interest in both Jewish and non-Jewish progressive, moralist social orientations to the world, their proximity to campus life and general, and their overall proportion in the country, their higher level of knoweldge about social problems and issues and about means offered for their solutions, their pursuit as upper-class or middle-class minority youth after things that were progressive and "different," and the existence of radical-left groups over most of this period and in most colleges and universities in the United States that they attended as veritably the only extant vehicles for and models of student social change-production and protest, and "getting things done" that existed during this period. The increasing prominence of Jewish youth in radical movements in the later 1960s and particularly in the more "homebound" and "commuter" schools like Chicago, CUNY, Brooklyn College, or UCLA might well be due to the increasing acceptability ideologically of the "radical path" by both fellow students. It also may have been due to by some emulation of local "prominent" fellow-students who functioned successfully and well in the radical course, and of some members of the

parental generation including parents, local rabbis, campus Jewish figures, and more widely popular social thinkers of Jewish and non-Jewish background (including such influentials among youth as Eugene McCarthy, Abraham Joshua Heschel, Norman Mailer and a host of others) who made radical thought and action more attractive in its more practical, as well as spiritual, progressive and egalitarian aspects.

A Survey of Jewish Radical Youth Groups

Peculiar to the efforts of our study here is the focus upon Jewish youth movements and student movements, started or experienced by Jewish youth as specifically Jewish in makeup, and in ideologic basis, and in orientation. These are the most prominent groups of the last four years in the United States, and groups which involved the major sector of Jewish radical youth engaged in particularly "Jewish" activities over this period.

The Union of Jewish Students (UJS)

This group was an international organization of Jewish students with chapters in England, France, and the United States and Canada principally. In the United States it had numerous chapters on large state university campuses, on private university campuses in the New York area, and elsewhere around the country, with several hundred paying members or affiliates each year, and several thousand affiliates, occasional and seasonal attenders. Some local

organizations in cities and on campuses nationwide formally affiliated with the Union of Jewish Students or consonant with its ideals, were called the "Union of Jewish Students" as such. Chapters, or groups, tended to be separate and local groups congregating around the idea of Jewish fellowship, intellectual and social action of importance to (and increasingly, of importance "for") Jews, and dedication to syntheses of Jewish and general intellectual activities in sympathy with the overall idea of what UJS chapters elsewhere stood for, i.e., organized Jewish student involvement in causes of Jewish and general concern with special attention of the former historically. They were not local groups founded "from the top down" by a broad-ranging centralized nationwide movement well-organized and administered from above. Funding came from a variety of sources, such as the American Zionist Youth Federation, contributions of members, gifts from sympathetic local other students and adults (almost always Jews). Increasingly in 1970 and onwards this came also from grants or allocations from Jewish college-age student organization "umbrella alliances" on campuses or Jewish Federation-like groups in cities that distributed funds available for Jewish youth groups to different types of groups. Financial support per group (or "chapter") per year, or per activity, was typically small, in the range of a few hundred dollars, unlike the substantial funds available to "regular" (i.e., more "established"

and historically known) Jewish youth groups and especially youth-oriented adult-administrated groups like local Hillel Foundations. The size of groups varied. Some groups such as the New York City groups in Manhattan had large memberships or at least large "mailing list memberships" of people who could be counted upon to appear at rallies, work for the group, disseminate information for it or discuss its philosophies with others, or contribute funds to it, of up to 200 students at a time. Some other UJS groups had as few as three to six core and active members, with extremely varied numbers of seasonal and sequential "floating memberships" on mailing lists of up to 100. This was the case in the San Francisco Union of Jewish Students for at least the period 1970-1972 and was the case of the UJS in Los Angeles in 1972. The Berkeley Union of Jewish Students in the period 1967 through 1970 had a core-group of from eight to fifteen members varying over this time. As of March 1968, around six months after its inception in September of 1967, it had a mailing list constituency of about 110 in the Berkeley area, for the most part students, and many of whom came to large rallies.

Many UJS groups locally, whilst not the "total" Union of Jewish Students conceived on a nationwide or world-wide dimension, in actuality emerged over the period 1967-1972 to be quite different in programs and in outlook from the original idea of UJS as a general, politically "cog-

nizant" Jewish student fellowship organization, and as generally a sort of populist, politically committee and ideologically grounded, generally leftist parallel of non-political Hillel youth groups.[23] The total number of UJS groups and their members' thinking in terms of nationwide organization or at least nationwide distribution, in a sense means that the UJS by 1972 approximated the organization of Hillel more than it originally did in its social scope. Also many UJS groups grew to resemble Hillel chapters in group size and in the range of involvements in which their members took interest. Actually at the same time, UJS groups that emerged since 1967 were originally quite "sectarian," localistic and individual groups of students trying to deviate from the established patterns of existing Jewish youth organizations on an increasing range of activities and involvements. The range of UJS members' involvements in activities in groups around the country broadened from 1967 onwards, from antiwar activities, anti-draft activities, and minority-oriented anti-inequaltiy forums and speakerships and protests, to dealing with the problems of Soviet Jewry and their mistreatment, threats to Israel and Israelis, the plights of Jewish poor and Jewish aged in America, the issue of Jewish-Black relations, and the new world of Jewish youth and student "cultural consciousness" and their members' struggle to relate this to their own subsequent activities and goals.

UJS chapters and groups grew in their range of interests and in their range of sub-programs and involvements of individuals in work activities (if not in their loose "formal" administrative style) into organizations paralleling Hillel in complexity. Some UJS members across the country pointed to a supposed weak, stagnant alienating and politically neutral role of Hillel Societies in their campus communities as the main motivating factor for the final founding and appearance of the "new," radicalist UJS groups, in the later 1960s, ostensible freer, and more easily organizable towards ideological goals. UJS groups have a decided "political" social concern that Hillel, as a generalist Jewish social organization, cannot espouse by its own laws. And they have evolved from general concerns with American social problems and inequities, with a mixed orientation (in some chapters, hostile) toward Israeli problems, towards a more consistently, broad and intense "Jewish culturalist" interest. This has occurred to the degree such that many chapters once this way were later no longer primarily "Jewish students calling themselves a Jewish group, that does non-Jewish things" as one critic has said. UJS group members in New York were among the first of any Jewish youth or adult groups to make any assertion of a pro-Israel or anti-Arabist and "anti-anti-Israel," yet Leftist, position strongly and consistently on the youth scene. The March 1968 edition of a new newspaper

of the small but colorful Berkeley UJS, entitled The Jewish Radical, featured several articles by Paul Jacobs and others espousing a New Leftist-type argument for Israel's survival and an ideological attack on the New Leftists favoring El Fatah and other Arab terrorist groups. This made this a landmark paper in the Jewish youth and student realm on three counts, as a Jewish student and youth paper, as a Jewish student "New Left" synthesis of Jewish and "New Left" political ideology and orientations, and as a Jewish student and "Jewish radical" paper that also asserted to some degree a "pro-Jewish" position and diverged from vocally dominant New Left opinion.[24] It proved a sort of archetype for a future host of Jewish youth publications particularly in the West and Midwest, along these lines. And to this degree it paralleled the emergence of the other Jewish youth radical paper probably most well-known in the adult and scholarly realm of this late 1960s period, The Other Stand, which was published in New York and asserted powerfully the right of Israel's survival, fallacies and injustices in Arabist claims and arguments, and the necessity of Jewish radical students to consider "Jewish needs" together with general needs. UJS groups varied from being general forums for discussion of Arab-Israeli disputes, groups where radical and politically-active youth can get together, and "action corps" for Jewish youth to work locally for social needs, to Jewish nationalist-culturalist

social and cultural and political groups that take a strong persistent interest in combating Arabist propaganda or New Leftist "misconceptions" and other charges against Jews or against Israel, pressing forward a modern radical, often socialist ideal of Israel, and its right to survive and develop. They were also forums for criticisms of current themes and events in American Jewish life (such as "self-hating" Jewish novels or some government-approving speeches by some Jewish prominent community actives, both of which are excoriated in UJS flyer literature and articles), and exploration in the ongoing synthesis or rediscovery of Jewish religious, cultural and political traditions together for members. Eastern groups appear to have been stronger in these latter respects.

Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry

This group was founded in 1961 in New York City, originally by a group of Orthodox students concerned about the crucial suppression of Jewish culture and particularly religious life in Russia. It since grew into one of the major single Jewish organizations of youth of any type in the United States. It was predominantly made up of college students, both undergraduate and graduate, of all religious ritual persuasions and political backgrounds except extreme assimilationists, and was concerned with informing the public of the cultural suppression, incarceration, and mistreatment of Jewish citizens of Russia on a year round

basis. It was also concerned with raising funds for sending food parcels on holidays to Russian Jewry, ritual items like tallesim, and supporting the cost of emigration of Jews from Russia. The group became diversified all across the country and was particularly strong in New York City, Los Angeles, Pennsylvania and Chicago, and sponsored large rallies of typically 1,000 to 4,000 individuals on occasions such as Simchas Torah and other Jewish holidays, and other times, for public demonstrations of solidarity and support for Soviet Jewry, for getting Jews out of Russia and for raising the conscience level of Americans and American Jewry here itself. Over the 1960s, particularly since 1967, mass demonstrations with speakers, songs, folk-dancing, and often religious elements mixed

in variously, appeared to have done their part evidently to heighten both American awareness and American Jewish awareness of the plight of Soviet Jewry, and to implore the Soviet Union to let Jews emigrate and to release a few restrictions as on the import of kosher food or ritual items, even as arrests of Jewish activists and hopeful emigres continue. Results at least partially of the SSSJ's widespread activities, plus their impacts upon a variety of political forces in America up to the President and Congress, were dramatic. Whereas in 1964 few Jews left Russia, in 1968 and 1969 3,000 left each year, and in 1970-1971, 30,000 left in one year.[25] The SSSJ activities en-

gendered in turn a vast complex of coordinated efforts to pay for emigration, and travel to Israel of the Russian Jewry who have so far emigrated. In spite of the incredible cost of $10.00 for each $1.00 that some say then "gets through" to the Jews of Russian, such activities in turn comulatively have evidently sparked the hope forth of national revival, and more and more, of emigration to Israel, of Russian Jews, crucially youth and young adults, who have since 1960 staged increasingly bold solidarity rallies, dances in the street and the like of their own in Russian cities of up to 10,000 people in one day in Leningrad or Moscow. The "miracle of return" as this is termed was perhaps the singular practical "other-oriented" achievement of Jewish youth in the United States in this period, measured against all it has entailed. The SSSJ itself sponsored a Newsletter to its several thousand (up to 5,000 paid) affiliates, plus emergency mailings and announcements of special events to be held in respective cities. It produced sold stamps (seals) for postal use. And it featured more and more organized, and informal discussions, lectures, and "factual conferences" on campuses and in youth communities. Its membership remained through the period a vast gamut of politically radical to Americanized, acculturated apolitical youth, from undergraduates and secondary students through young adults in their thirties, from Modern Orthodox to secularists and secu-

larist-atheists and dedicated Old Left and even New Left sympathizers. It thus fit no narrow pattern other than that of apparently being a meeting ground of conscientious Jewish youthful workers for oppressed and threatened Jewry. As such, it was in itself a common ground for hitherto divisive value systems and ideologies that divided Jewish youth in the earlier 1960s. It also appears to have proven that participation together of several kinds of Jewry, regardless of sharp differences between "integral" value-orientation systems within American Jewry, is not only necessary but is possible. Part of the growth of interest and commitment of the movement and of its appeal was that for many of these young people the SSSJ held a romantic and morally strong image for large numbers of Jews that induced them to further participation, interest and commitment in this area of Jewish life. They saw and redeemed in effect, long-lost cousins from "the other side" in an effort that is indeed in its social, moral, sociological, psychological and religious aspects very significant.

The Jewish Peace Fellowship (JPF)

This group was a fairly large Jewish youth correlate of the several large anti-war, peace-oriented and reconciliatory organizations in the United States that grew up over the period 1965-1972 mainly in response to the Vietnam War. It was essentially a broad-based organization in-

terested in and open to a variety of political opinions and orientations. And it centered its activities around those activities and efforts and communications with the public that worked for peace in the world generally and that attempted to convince others broadly to work for peace. The JPF in a sense paralleled closely the Vietnam Day Committees of the late 1960s, the "Ban the Bomb" efforts of the pre-Viet War years in the earlier 1960s, and such longtime existing "adult" groups as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the World Federalists to whom have belonged many "older adult" Jews. Jewish Peace Fellowship chapters by 1972 were quite large in an era that saw, over the period 1970-1972, a supposed general "cooling down" (or defeatist straying from) antiwar activities and antiwar passions in the often perceivably doldrums atmosphere of the early 1970s. Some chapters as in New York (Manhattan) and in Los Angeles, with students from CUNY, Columbia and NYU and from UCLA and other schools, respectively, had 200 paying and affiliated "mailing list" members in a chapter. Some JPF chapters were thus among the largest "single" local Jewish organizations in the United States in the period 1965-1972. Overall affiliated memberships in the JPF inasmuch as one can determine appear to have been the order of 20,000 members across the large college campuses and urban communities around the nation in 1972.[26] Active core memberships were large, the order

of ten to fifteen people on each campus, working steadily around the year. JPF groups took the stand that the Viet Nam War must end and American troops brought home; that support for the then-present South Viet regime was ill-advised, that the war itself must cease there; and that measures must be taken to forestall the continuance of and outbreak of war elsewhere in the world today as well, as in the Near East, Korea, Europe or the countries of Africa and Latin America where conflict in the present age has invited further repression and also incitement for civil war. The JPF activities were by and large informational, with a wide supply and offering of relevant literature, public information, and opinions from varied anti-war oriented segments of the Jewish community and general community. This included advice and plans on how to approach the Government in various ways to bring on or at least popularize the end to the Viet Nam War with peaceful demonstrations, telegram information, and other advice upon how to contact and relate to senators, congressmen and other officials; discussing the role of peace-protection and working for peace in the context of Judaism and Jewish cultural tradition; and in staging periodic and round-the-year demonstrations of members and other interested Jewish youth before Jewish organizations accused of either supporting non-peace or anti-peace policies of the Government, or of complicity in the existing state of affairs. In Los Angeles in October

of 1972 the JPF staged and organized a protest rally in front of a Jewish Federation event where the Jewish Federation Council President had come out publicly in favor of the reelection of President Nixon. And similar demonstrations and rallies were held across the country to protest local Jewish leaders' support of President Nixon and his then current activities, the inactivity of Jewish communal organizations like Federation Councils in resisting or speaking and working against the war, and the supposed complicity of these organizations in the War's continuation. Members participated in these types of events heavily over particularly the years 1969-1972. Jewish Peace Fellowship groups were essentially decentralized city groups with strong philosophical and administrative ties to each other nationally however, and with large floating and seasonal affiliate populatiions in each city or near each campus. As with many other groups like some Vietnam Day Committee groups, some Jewish Radical Community groups, and some Students for Israel groups, members in one city or locality represented students and youth from several colleges in one area. JPF's size and activity appears to have been an outgrowth directly of the continuation of the Viet Nam War and the desire on the part of numerous Jewish students to see it ended, and their perception of this to have been the primary issue of importance in the American, and in the Jewish, scene.

Jewish Radical Community (JRC)

The JRC was a collection of scattered students and youth groups on the campus with perhaps several hundred members across the country in "floating affiliate" populations at major state universities and large urban private campuses. The core population of JRC groups tended to be small, from three in the Los Angeles group in 1972 up to perhaps fifteen, and "core-members" and organizers of JRC groups numbered about 100 in the country on the whole. JRC groups were mostly "private," spontaneously-organized groups of typically associated Jewish students, rather than local manifestations of a nationwide, centrally-organized and federated movement administered and advised and co-ordinated from above. In this respect JRC groups resembled UJS groups.[27] Also JRC chapters varied often greatly across the country in size, in the particular tenor of their ideological and social commitments, and in their manner of relationship with other Jewish organizations and with non-Jews. Crucial to the JRC groups was the fact that in some chapters, members attempted to deviate from a non-ideologic or "generalist Jewish social" position to one of a definitive ideology that was "political-moral," usually a progressive-left liberal one. But they also attempted to evolve and manifest new life-styles. Some JRC groups organized themselves into living-groups, true "communities," in rooming-houses or "co-ops." Some of these served

Kosher meals regularly, provided Kosher food, and allowed for a communal way of life that was "radical-political," and Jewish, in substance and in its motivations and directions. One Jewish Radical Community in Berkeley, a linear successor to the old UJS there in spirit and in orientation, between 1970 and 1972 had up to twenty residents living in a regular "Jewish Co-op" living house. Some of the JRC communal arrangements were construed to be a "laboratory" for socialist Jewish communal living intended to inspire a wider future appeal of this life-style among at least some kindred-spirit Jewish youth. Others saw in it a training-ground for communal living in a kibbutz or a moshav that they foresaw for themselves in Israel in the future. Early in 1971 a faction of the Los Angeles JRC (made up of UCLA students) planned and designed an irbutz, or politically-oriented urban "kibbutz" and planned to move it in the future to Israel. Several JRC members there became individual olim (immigrants to Israel).[28] Some JRC chapters or groups, as in Los Angeles, New York and Chicago were more religious in their orientation and combined a religious, strongly ceremonial orientation of their many religious-conscious, sometimes traditionalist of even Orthodox members with a socially problem-conscious, and Jewish problem conscious "social action" or radical bent. This invovled voluntary aid to the poor, visitation to Jewish elderly, counseling activities with Jewish youth under "official" auspices elsewhere, political

information dissemination and speaking efforts on behalf of Jewish high school youth, the staging of Jewish events in proximity to other campus Jews such as Sukkot or Pesach or Simchas Torah celebrations accented towards Soviet Jewry's needs, the raising of funds for Soviet Jewry and some local causes, and increasingly too the development of "Free Jewish University" programs and classes for campus Jews desiring to enhance their Jewish knoweldge. Many members eschewed formally and ideologically contact with Jewish Federation Councils, the B'nai B'rith, and a host of "regular" Jewish community and service bodies as too supposedly "Establishmentarian," intransigent and inefficient, and supposedly conservative and socially noncommittal; one of the earliest activities of organized JRC members (like some UJS members before them) was the picketing of Jewish federation organizations and bodies for a variety of issues and at different times, for such things as disinterest in Jewish youth or Jewish education, nonsupport of anti-War political statements and positions, their "staying outside" of the equal opportunity and civil rights issues of the middle and late 1960s, and increasingly the lack of attention by those organizations to the needs and plights of inner-city and aged and religious Jews. But increasingly after 1971 members joined with Hillel members in joint projects and meetings, became student representatives working in cooperation with those of

other more established groups under the "umbrella organizations" or central coordinating bodies of youth and adults. Some of these bodies were city Jewish Youth Commissions, religious Movement-sponsored bodies like the National Federation of Temple Youth (Reform) and the United Sunagogue Youth (Conservative), local university-town "Coalitions of Jewish Students," and nationwide youth efforts such as the North American Jewish Students' Network.[29] And many others in larger number joined in working with or for Jewish agencies in such areas as drug counseling, community organizing, community service organizations, social work, tutoring in schools and the like under Jewish Family Service, Jewish Federation, local synagogue, Home for the Aged, "Free Clinic" or similar auspices.

Radical Zionist Alliance (RZA)

This group grew out of the Student Zionist Organization (SZO) of the early and middle 1960s, which was essentially a nonradical, general-interest youth group for Jews interested in Zionism and in Israel. And in a sense RZA supplanted the old SZO across many parts of the United States. In the 1960s many active SZO chapters were small and not well-attended generally. Indeed, many affiliates did not attend because they were preparing for aliyah (migration to Israel) or because they were particularly interested in the complexities or dynamics of

Israeli life, Israeli culture, or Zionist political and social philosophy. Rather, they did so because it was simply)another" Jewish youth organization to join and in which to socialize. In the later 1960s the RZA movement arose in response to Arabist claims against Israel and attacks against Jews, in response to the new-found pride of other ethnic groups in the respectability of one's minority culture, and in response to years of listlissness and inactivity among many Jewish students and youth searching privately for a vehicle for ethnic and national self-expression, and as a reaction against what was perceived as a too apolitical and largely "overly social" Hillel Society and other Jewish groups on the campus. It essentially asserted the centrality of Israel and the supreme importance of Israel's existence and development and problem-resolution to world Jewry, the need for commitment of Jewish youth to Israel and to Zionist ideals and philosophies (largely conceived to be socialist as such) in their lives, and the need for revising and changing of Israeli society and Zionist practice and theory in accordance with the requirements of present and ongoing Israeli life and practical world realities. These latter include for example the further integration and equalication of the lot of the Ben'i Mizrachi (Eastern and "Oriental" Jews), the <u>embourgeoisement</u> of large sectors of Israeli society, and corresponding ills supposedly coming

from this, normalization of relations between Arab states and Israel, and the resolution in some manner of the problems posed by the Palestine Arabs. In some cities over the period 1965-1972 Jewish federations were avidly supporting these groups as a new hope for unity within Jewish youth, and unity of Jewish youth with the Jewish "adult" world. RZA chapters and groups stressed strongly the importance of active discussion and work on the campus for increasing the number of students who were interested in Zionism and in Israel, and in thinking actively and constructively about problems of Zionism and of Israel and about the roles they could play in it. Their largely socialist and reformist bent made them appeal to wider segments and in many cities to larger numbers of Jewish youth in the era 1965-1972, with a tenor of political thought and activism of the 1960s, than did in some ways the more subdued SZO and the specialized Israel-oriented activities of Hillel Houses and other generalist Jewish groups. RZA group members were the first also in the Jewish student and youth group world to systematically and critically raise a voice against the continuing "embourgeoisement" and "capitalization" of Israel or the introduction of foreign private business on a large scale together with the American-like middle-class and anti-radical or non-progressive ideas, into Israel society. Some saw this as the beginning of the psychological downfall of both the "Zionist Idea" and of the Israeli state as it was in their view intended to be.

American Students for Israel (ASI)

This group was a smaller group representative chapters of which were found in numerous larger university campuses across the nation, with a few hundred members in all and typically small, active cores of perhaps six to twelve students each. ASI was preeminently a campus organization and was strongest where existing near large resident Jewish youth populations. It addressed itself primarily towards the combating of Arabist propaganda on the campus and among youth, and in revealing to youth the "true parameters" of the Arab-Israeli issue in the Near East, while acknowledging the rights and needs of both Arabs and Israelis. It was not on the other hand a preeminently a "pragmatic Zionist" or aliyah-oriented (emigration-oriented) group although many members were interested in immigration to Israel. Nor did it deal more broadly with the problems of Jewry in America. It was foremost among Jewish youth and student groups in the direction it took in specifically fighting Arabist propaganda with its own information and with material supplied by more traditional Zionist, other Jewish, and Israeli sources. This group came into existence in 1969 out of responses of many Jewish students to the particularly strong and surprising Arab and Arab-allied New Leftist student agitation on the campuses in 1968 and

1969. ASI groups were localist, locally-organized and quite different groups across the country with essentially the same ideology that appeared over the period 1969-1972 in many different cities. Some members gravitated into ASI groups from other radical Jewish organizations and from radical-leftist non-Jewish organizations, whilst other ASI members over the period 1970-1972 moved into a broader pattern of association formally with the activities and offerings of other Jewish radical and culturalist groups.

Miscellaneous "Religio-National" Groups

Perhaps the greatest growth in the Jewish youth sphere over the period 1965-1972 was to be found in the growth of numbers of small, essentially local religious and national groups. This movement of course includes and overlaps with the newer developments in Orthodox youth, neo-traditionalist youth, and newly-religious youth, and in some aspects relates as well to Jewish "communalism" and to the newfound interest in and spread of "Jewish Science". In the last 1960s commencing in 1967, around the country there emerged veritably hundreds of small Jewish youth groups of college-aged youth resembling existing radical-nationalistic groups of Blacks and Mexican-American youth, and akin in their design and orientation to political and social problems the campus radical and activist general youth groups. They appear to have owed their origins to the emulation by Jewish youth of these two types of groups.

And they provided an interesting and active alternative for the Jewish youth to what many felt to be an impersonal and alienating position within general American society. Also, they appeared to have been logical and sequential outgrowths of adolescent youth groups affiliated with synagogues, national Movements and other Jewish organizations of "establishmentarian" nature, like the B'nai Akiva, United Synagogue Youth, Hebrew academy student groups, day school student bodies, or Zionist youth auxiliaries for teenagers. Significantly a high proportion of these religio-national groups grew out of more traditional synagogues and youth groups centered in older urban areas, with a high proportion of youth coming from religious and also "Old Zionist" organizations. Such groups can be termed "religio-national" in that they tend to be proponents of and offer programs of involvement for members that are rooted in religious activity and ceremony and based in Jewish religious, ethical and cultural ideas, and also "national" in a religious and cultural sense in that they strive to discover, teach, reexamine and express their one-ness with and continuation of many aspects of Jewish religious <u>and</u> non-religious "culture" seen as special and distinct within American society. Such groups congrued to no general pattern politically or in terms of their type of Jewish cultural emphasis (religious, secularist, Zionist, or Yiddishist, or Jewish ethical particu-

larist/universalist). As a generality they tended to be "sectarian," small local groups attempting to satisfy their own local members' needs whilst unaffiliated in and unaspiring to "national scope" and they tended to combine their social orientations with bases and rationales in Jewish religious and historical tradition. (Curiously, no "assimilationist" group espousing the old Reform Jewish ideal of "assimilation and accommodation" to American dominant society appeared in this era). These groups appear to have been reactions to youth radical groups found in the dominant university and college and ethnic spheres, and to a desire by core members and affiliates to carry their group-interest in new, more sophisticated directions of social protest and social involvement, moral statement and exemplification of Jewish ideals. But moreover a great many represented a revolt too against Jewish "establishment" organizations out of which they grew. Against their supposed relative slowness, lack of energy and narrowness of general scope, these youth groups asserted in contrast, but not necessarily out of hostility, a position of broadened interests of Jewish concern that paralleled, was apart from and often transcended those. Such groups' directions and activities did not necessarily challenge the directions of the established Federation Councils, B'nai B'riths, Youth Commissions in cities, religious Movement Leaderships, and local synagogue. But when they did it was because of the

latters' supposed misallocation of resources, "gaps" in their range of moral concern, and disconcern for involving youth themselves meaningfully in their helping activities. Sociological and psychological analyses might point to the basis for the growth of such groups in veritably a three-pronged motivation. For one thing these group youth attempted actively to assert their late-adolescent and young-adult independence from their parents and some of their past "pre-conscientious" patterns of life; secondly they attempted to assert their independence from those models of Jewish life and ideation that they see dominant within American Jewish society on the whole, and thirdly they attempted to demonstrate, and enhance their own uniqueness and difference and culturally specific qualities, characteristics and yearnings both as "young" Jews and as Jews amid a general non-Jewish American society. Names and orientations of groups vary widely across the country. In Los Angeles there were for example <u>Or Hadash</u> (literally, "New Light"), a youth group composed primarily of Orthodox youth with somewhat of the militant social-justice orientation and element of the UJS,[30] and <u>Shomrei HaBrit</u> (literally "Guardians of the Covenant"), a militant group heavily populated by fellow largely-religious students but largely secular in its activities and oriented towards protesting for Soviet Jewry's right to emigrate and against Jewish "establishment" intransigence at home.[31] <u>Havurah</u>

("Fellowship") groups named after ancient Jewish "pietist" groups (with this term revitalized somewhat by Reconstructionist rabbi and founder Mordecai Kaplan) existed in Boston, Brandeis University, New York, and Philadelphia. Here students studied, lived and discussed the moral and cultural demands and orientations to social action of Judaism; students lived together and dined communally often, worshipped in "creative-traditional" mixed services, and planned and held some political and social action activities consonant with what they found in Judaism. Some were dedicated "Reconstructionist" youth in the sense of Kaplan's philosophy, but most were essentially active Conservative-like Jewish youth who were revitalized and experimentive in their life-style.[32] Also from Berkeley to New York existed a number of "urban Jewish communes," among them some irbutzim or politically-oriented and accented urban Jewish socialist communities of Jewish Radical Community members, living-houses or "Jewish Co-Ops," where students or former students of various views lived together and studied, prayed and celebrated Jewish ceremonies, and participated in social action activities. Members' efforts involved attracting new students, providing alternative religious services and study groups to extant ones, and assisting in fund-drives, ceremonies, and holidays and social helping efforts of local other Jewish youth and adult organizations.[33] Other groups, to which members commuted, pro-

vided meeting grounds in Conservative and Reform synagogues and in houses for the creative discussion of Jewish ideas, Jewish study and song, and for the building of mixed social, cultural and action programs locally. Within the period 1971-1972 alone several Young Judea groups (of high school age) and ATID groups (college age Conservative) for example evolved in this more "activist-creative" direction as Jews in suburban areas.[34] Some local chapters of dispersed and uncentralized, unusual organizations such as the collegiate Brandeis Institute Alumni Association with 6,000 members started under "establishmentarian" tutelage and moves progressively further into creative, or more traditional services, or both, a broader range of social activistic involvements (although not necessarily "radical" involvements) and assumed new roles as forces for cultural and spiritual expression of their members.[35]

Betar

Betar is the youth group of the Zionist Revisionist Party of Israel today, and of prewar Eastern Europe. The party, founded by Vladimir Jabotinsky, was a breakaway group that can be described as more nationalistic-Zionist than the general Zionist and more so yet than Labor Zionist groups;[36] Jabotinsky advocated in the 1920s and 1930s that perhaps a Polish-Jewish youth army be assembled that would go to Palestine and conquer the land from the British, to become a Jewish state. Betar steadfastly rejected and

fought the claims of Arabs and Arabists, and the less nationalistic and more compromisory groups in Israel and the United States, as its parent general Revisionist group does. Betar groups were established in several cities and areas of the US over the period 1970-1972, particularly in New York and in Los Angeles, and they grew fairly rapidly in size and in reputation. Betar achieved something of national prominence when, in Spetember of 1972, some Betar members entered a UN Security Council meeting in New York and attempted to hand out leaflets, protesting the Arab terrorist murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich.[37] Their growth seems to have been fairly rapid for a "new" group and they attracted increasing attention and interest from sectors of Jewish youth. In the present societal context, Betar offered an ideological and pyshcological counterweight to the increasingly hostile and extremist postures and actions of anti-Israel, non-Zionist, anti-Zionist Jewish and non-Jewish, and antisemitic groups in America, including the Arabist, New Leftist and far-rightist elements. And it was also an ideological and social counterweight within Jewish youth society to apathetic and disinterested and supposedly "irrelevant" youth groups that involved the participation socially of numerous Jewish youth but did not engage them in practicably useful and remediative activities of social or political significance to world

Jewry. Betar members have asserted by contrast Israel's right to "keep conquered territory" or to "attack the Arab states" and defeat them. And members in both Israel (where the Revisionists are the "Herut" Party) and in the US have been the most stringent defenders of and arguers for a strongly aggressive and defensive Israeli militancy and diplomacy, and for Israel to keep territories occupied after the Six Day War of 1967. This group appears to have attracted Jewish youth on the basis of its being a viable answer practically and on an ideologic level to strong worldwide hatred of or disconcern for Israel and for Jewish rights, as in Russia; its new and "radical" emphasis on action, protest, militancy and Jewish nationalism backed by an integrated nationalistic ideology which other more "flaccid" (and ideologically and socially more broadly appealing) youth groups did not have, and its representation crucially of sectors of Jewish youth and Jewish public opinion hitherto without a group voice and without vent for their own, Jewish nationalistic (as opposed to "universalistic" or "apologetic") feeling. In the near future, with the continuing of the Near Eastern crises and the threats to Israeli life, with the continuing schisms across general youth and across Jewish youth as well, and with the growing respectability of both "ethnic nationalist militantism" on the one hand generally and of newly-found Jewish nationalistic-militancy and defensiveness on the

other, Betar and its ideolgical and social appeal, or other similar will probably play a significant role in events in the American Jewish youth world.

The Jewish Defense League (JDL)

This group is the other preeminently nationalistic rather than universalistic Jewish group. It is an organization nation-wide of youth young adults devoted to the defense of Jewish neighborhoods, individuals and organizations from vandals, anti-Semites, criminal activities, defamations, threats and interferences of all kinds to Jews. The JDL was started in 1963 by Rabbi Meyer Kahane, Orthodox rabbi then at the Rochedale Jewish Center in Brooklyn, as a group in Brooklyn to combat and guard against the ongoing, and increasing vandalism, terrorism and violence brought upon Jews in part of Brooklyn by varied groups of vandals, juvenile delinquents and criminals, and anti-Semites. It was organized around small groups of unarmed but capable youth who guarded synagogues and other institutions, protected Jews events en masse, and patrolled Brooklyn regularly to detect and forestall crime. The JDL resembled another group founded earlier, and smaller in scope, the Maccabees, based predominantly upon unarmed car patrols. And the JDL progressively expanded its size, scope of activity and scope of interests. Other JDL groups were formed in response to felt needs in Boston, San Francisco and elsewhere to protect predominantly Jewish, and

older and high-density neighborhoods from crime and terrorism, often in the wake of a demographic reshuffling of minorities and of events to the social revolution and violence of the late 1960s. In 1968 the JDL came into prominence in its participation in Soviet Jewry demonstrtions in New York City in its espousal openly of its philosophy, almost unique in American Jewry, of meeting anti-Jewish violence and militancy with a like response, and with its large and dedicated protest against the mistreatment of Soviet Jewry, paralleling that of other Jewish groups. The group had gone nationwide by 1968 with around 6,000 members.[38] The JDL extended its scope of involvements at least on the popular level to demonstrations on behalf of Societ Jewry, efforts to harrass Soviet officials in the United States in New York to bring notice to the plight of Jews in Russia, and in its dedication also to the idea of meeting anti-Jewish force anywhere with retaliation. This on occasion involved beating up Nazis, confronting neo-Nazi or other right-wing groups in the United States. It also involved an approach to American politics that asserted the necessity of supporting issues and candidates in America that were seen as "good for Jews" as well as "good for the country." In 1968 as well the group came into notice after an altercation of some members with bands of Nazis during a Jewish Soviet Jewry socidarity parade in New York on Fifth Avenue, and after that in 1970 and 1971 when many

JDL members adopted the tactic of minor harrassment of Soviet officials during their stay in New York, to bring attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry. Some Jewish youth associated with the JDL were accused or convicted in a number of sensational incidents of manufacturing bombs, and of shooting at Soviet buildings in New York and of similar attempted and actual attacks against Soviet and Arab buildings. On one occasion in 1971 shorts were fired into the Soviet Consulate Embassy by a youth affiliated with JDL. Meir Kahane and JDL members in New York were arrested for such acts as supposedly attempting to manufacture bombs, and for picketing against Soviet Russia too near the Soviet Consulate Embassy in New York. In New York City some JDL members have allegedly attacked Black Panthers bent on violence in Jewish neighborhoods and in Los Angeles; in September 1972, several JDL members were arrested for bombing the apartment of a local anti-Israeli outspoken Arab, after the mass murder of the eleven Israeli Olympic athletes in Munic by Arab terrorists.[39] Needs of Soviet Jewry, the rise of the American radical right to new strength, and the new height of anti'Jewish world-wide Arab terrorism in the late 1960s provided new grounds for heightened JDL commitment.[40] And books such as <u>165 Synagogues Descerated</u> and Kahane's own <u>Never Again</u>! provided a literary and informational backdrop for much of the angered sympathy of Jewish youth, and adults, for the kind

of issues to which JDL members addressed themselves, and the methods they employed.

By 1972 JDL was larger, and chapters existed also in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Berkeley as well as in the East. Membership nakeups varied and by no means were all JDL chapters essentially "youth organizations." New York groups tended to be youth groups primarily, from high school through college and post-college age, Boston members tended to be a mixture of adults and youth with a heavy adult population. Chicago members were essentially adult and middle-aged businessmen and shopkeepers with few or no youth affiliates,[41] and Los Angeles members were youth members in late adolescence through their late twenties.[42]

Current areas of prime importance became by 1972 no longer just the protection of Jewish areas but increasing a base of political and social involvements and issue orientations broadly and in an outspoken manner. This included Soviet Jewry's problems, resisting and countermanding Arab and Arabist terrorism against Jews in the United States (which appeared on the rise), formulating ideologically and practically viable Jewish positions as to what kind of larger political processes to support and which to resist in the United States. Rabbi Kahane himself consistently espoused the ideas that it is important to resist Communism and its particular impact upon Jewish life, to resist on a physical level terrorism against Jews, to

enhance the Jews' attention to Jewish needs and problems when it comes to American elections, politics, and social services. And the JDL membership moved in the direction of a broader based, multi-level philosophical and pragmatic approach to the position of Jews in America.

JDL has been perhaps the most enigmatic, and also controversial Jewish organization in recent Jewish history of any type, in that it is the one that has espoused the use of physical force and even violence to combat problems faced by Jews, and in its assertion of a kind of truly "Jewish nationalist political" position paralleling somewhat those of other minority groups and White ethnic groups. Such characteristics have made it the constant object of vast amount of unending attack from most "established" acculturated Jewish organizations, from almost all of the Jewish academic intelligentsia in the country, and from assimilated youth. And JDL has been met with both fear for once, and hate, from both the New Left, and the Wallace and neo-Fascist right. Its stand on "violence" has been the key single element in its peculiar position, violence seemingly being a threatening concept to almost all Jews of any political or cultural persuasion. On the other hand, however, it appears that the JDL gained with its "positive assertion" of resistance to anti-semitism and anti-Jewish violence, and deviation from the "cowardly Kike" image of the Jew that many Americans still appear to

believe in, the secret respect and admiration of segments of the Jewish adult community practically and ideologically, and the ideological respect and agreement at least on its stands of meeting Jewish problems of the unseen Jewish poor, Soviet repression, and the idea of Jewish protest, from some segments of Jewish campus youth. Many Jewish campus youth of inner-city or Jewish environments disliked JDL youth as such as naive, slipshod and prone to take foolish extreme actions, such as playing with guns or bombs, that to them could only lead to trouble for themselves and for the Jewish community. At the same time others have seen in these youth generally angry, confused and hostile, unsophisticated Jewish youth venting their "problems" unconventially. Many suburban Jewish youth were against the JDL because they saw its activities as "childish." Still others, largely acculturated youth, and adults, saw no need for any such groups, considered JDL's programs, approach and interests as having no basis in real needs among American Jews and were moreover fearful of the "trouble" that such a type of Jewish assertiveness could bring in backlash onto Jews like themselves. Still others, without admitting it openly, appeared to fear the image of the Jew that JDL projects, that of assertiveness, toughness, defensiveness and confrontation with respect to Nazis, fascists, Arabists, and other groups doing harm to Jews. And they appeared confused by their mixed feelings of

reaction to the kind of problems some Jews faced that they have heard increasingly about since the JDL brought them to light in one way or another.

Many Jews have said that much of what the JDL has been concerned about, including here Jewish Federation, B'nai B'rith, and synagogue Movement officials, is good but that the "methods" are wrong. On the other hand, Yippie leader Abbie Hoffman, in an interview and debate with Meir Kahane, supposedly said "I don't like your goals, but I admire your methods." And yet too, the numbers of affiliates and sympathizers of JDL grew in the late 1960s and 1970s nationally, and in diverse cities across the country. Originally composed of middle-class and lower-middle-class Orthodox youth of Brooklyn and then of other cities, JDL later attracted some Jewish youth of middle-class, and increasingly suburban, backgrounds as well, of strong Jewish identification nationally and spiritually, and of a great range of beliefs and ritual following, including Zionists, secularists, general liberals, and increasing small numbers of acculturated youth especially in the cities outside New York. Some upper-middle-class adults showed open or secret admiration for JDL's ideals and pursuit of Jewish defense of interests, even at the cost of occasional violence. And small but increasing numbers of their youth came too from this sector, among them disillusioned former progressive New Leftists, generally-identifying Jews, and others.

Memberships still were largely lower-

middle-class and middle-class inner-metropolitan Jewish youth of college age, a high proportion of them especially in New York of Orthodox practice and belief, also staunchly pro-Israeli and staunchly against repressive practices of the Communist, Arab and American Radical Right worlds, while the total base of membership broadened to include former disillusioned New Leftists, Zionist youth, former "universalist" radical liberals, upper-middle-class students, high school students, and even older adults. The group has been characterized as "very conservative," "fascist" and "racist" by detractors and accusers of the New Left and by some Jewish radicals and activists. This is because its members have clashed with Black youth in Jewish neighborhoods, some members have endorsed political candidates and local political figures generally considered to be conservatives, or accused of being racist (such as Newark's Anthony Imperiale, or New York's John Marchi), and in that they have advocated "Jewish rights" more often than "universal rights." Their stated ideology, however, their functions and actions to this point, and their orientation to Jewish life and "Jewish defense" and "Jewish rights" does not appear in fact to be what one could accurately term fascist or racist in the terms of the normative use of this jargon by the Left today or in more classical usages of these terms. The claims, interests, orientation, philosophies, and activities of the JDL essentially parallel

those of ethnic minority militant organizations among Blacks and Mexican-Americans and others. And were JDL terms, claims, interests and behavior described under the rubric of any number of these organizations this would not be markedly criticized and excoriated in all probability by New Left, non-Jewish and Jewish, and Jewish radical youth. The supposed "racist" orientation or policy of the JDL too, like their supposed politically conservative and "parochial" bent, similarly appears not to be substantiable. In segments located in urban inner city areas where the main orientation is to crime prevention and violence-abeyance, JDL include significant numbers of non-Jews in its active rolls. In the urban Boston JDL in 1971 fully fifty percent of the members were Blacks. And in the related "community patrol" organization there, of shop-keepers and small businessmen, the "Palmach" as it was called, members were a combination of city Jews, non-Jewish whites, and Blacks.

There are several significances in the growth and appeal of JDL in this period, it appears. For one thing, this is the first group that proposed that Jews meet violence with violence, and that they take militant defensive measures against anti-semitism instead of fleeing, ignoring, or attempting to obtain police intervention against this. This image both appealed to many Jews of all generations tired of seeing Jews "take it" from everyone else, and

too it is symptomatic of the evident degree of security that Jews feel on the whole as a people in the United States today, having reached a level of integration with dominant culture wherein they no longer fear reacting to general problems of violence and terror in society differently than other Americans do, or would. Secondly, as some New Left Jews and similar radical-leftist Jewish group members together with some adult analysts have said, the JDL may have been the only avenue of protest, and of group mobilization for either protest or revenge, within the American system for lower-class urban Jews against the people and problems confronting them. Thirdly, the heavily Orthodox Jewish basis for the JDL's membership (which is most of that in New York City, and which was the core basis for the movement) and the sizable proportion in JDL of Jewish women as well, tends to discount and refute the usual American and Jewish "sophisticate" image that the "authentic" religious Jew is essentially inert, cowardly, unassertive, disorganized, fearful and unaware of the world and his problems in it.

The JDL actually represented, in its varied activities, its confrontations with Soviet anti-Jewish policy, and with fascist groups, and with anti-semitic activities in the city, a new innately American-Jewish image. And this has been one of the self-confident and self-defending, capable Jew in the eyes of many, that in turn influenced their own

thinking about their own selves as Jews and their own style of motivation to meet or at least recognize and become angered about Jewish problems and needs, apart from their conscious and dedicated perception as good or bad of the particular content of any one or another JDL activity. And too, for thousands of Jews all ages and political or religious persuasions, the militancy of the JDL and some of its particular activities, such as Soviet Jewry protests, clashes with Nazi groups, vigil against city crime and espousal of its ideals and programmatic ideas, probably has vicariously satisfied the suppressed, and usually unadmitted rage of thousands of Jews in the United States at the different segments of world society, American society, and non-Jewish society that they felt have victimized and have continued to victimize Jews in different ways. Indeed much of the sympathy for JDL growth, ideology and action programs probably has come from here, whilst much of an entire generation of Jewish youth turned progressively away from "universalistic" and generalistic philosophical exhortations and pleadings of generally liberal, reserved rabbis and youth organizations and campus organizations that have stressed decorum of thought and action above all else, amidst a general society that was suspected in turn by them in its conditional acceptance of the Jew. In the present era there is a result of continuing violence and strife in those Jewish neighborhoods victimized by crime

and violence or by vandalistic side effects of minority population shifts. There exist the ongoing issues of escalated Arabist terrorism and violence against world Jewry, and Soviet repression of Jewish life to which cause more of Jewry is becoming dedicated. And there is a psychological and political and national appeal of a group like JDL to many segments of idealistic Jewish youth dispossessed from general radical groups by the ethnic "pluralistic conservatism" that arose in the early 1970s. Due to these factors the growth, basis of strength, and range of involvements and of socialization of the Jewish Defense League may well continue over the years. However, as a result of external pressures from police, pressures from internal membership, and efforts, an adjustment and revision of style by leaderships in keeping with practicalities, and other problems JDL faces, the group will undoubtedly have to delimit the more sporadic, sensational, pointless or destructive elements in its activities, and in its membership base, and strive to add to its agenda the building of a more presentable and more generally acceptable and viable image.[43] It appears JDL would have to do over the next few years, if it is to last under the vast barrage of attack from many segments of Jewish and non-Jewish society of which it is presently the target, while on the other hand maintaining and expanding its viable communitarian, political, protest and programmatic efforts.

Causative Factors in the Development of The New Jewish Youth Movements

There appear to be several background causative factors that brough on and helped the formation of the new Jewish youth and student movements and groups in the 1960s. No perspective view on such movements would be complete without at least some general attention to these factors. Here are what appear to have been the most important ones. The development among the radicals of other ethnic backgrounds, of a new series of "Ethnic" radical groups, specific to ethnic minorities.

In the late 1960s, the "Equal Opportunity" revolution and the direction of radical groups changed. For several complex and related reasons, the American youth radical movement fragmented very much, at least in some of its social aspects, into separate youth "ethnic" movements for each respective ethnic minority, each of which pursued the same goals of equal opportunity, political power and freedom from inequalities at the hands of the dominant society in parallel with each other. Jewish youth could be at home in radical movements that were "universal" not only in their interests ideologically but also in their constituency appeal and which movements called upon and tolerated the efforts of any student or youth regardless of background, to work for the same general liberal or progressive ends. The fragmentation of this universalist

and cosmopolitan youth group world occurred into specific minority political parties such as the Black Panther Party (Black), the Raza Unida Party (Mexican-American), UMAS (Union of Mexican-American Students), MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association), Indian Students' associations, Chinese of Japanese students' associations, and the like in the realm of local student pressure-groups and bodies which in fact came to fight one another sometimes violently for specific benefits. This fragmentation excluded and removed the basis for Jewish involvement in these realms of radical group work as intensively as before or in the same way. For one thing, Jewish students were not considered part of these other minorities. For another, the ideological fragmentation of "general-universalist ideals" into specific ethnic applications, with perceptible "ethnic conservative" aspect to these, made the joining of efforts with specific and often xenophobic ethnic-radical groups for what were at one time universalist ends forbidding to many Jewish youth still committed to gains for "all people." In a sense Jewish youth, having been vastly involved in many radical general groups, were left out in the cold by the beginning of the 1970s.[44]

The sizable increase in anti-Israeli feeling, anti-Jewish feeling, and the reemergence of ancient-style antisemitic prejudices and violence.

This occurred among vocal and powerful segments here

of New Left predominantly white groups and ethnic minority (mainly Black) militant and other groups. The era of the late 1960s saw an ongoing stream of accusation against the White "establishment" by ethnic minority youth and by their radical and other allies. But too there was an increasing specialization of focus of this anti-majoritarian attack towards specific sectors of majority society and even minority society: the Black middle-class, the "Uncle Toms," the assimilated Spanish Americans of the Southwest, the Puerto Ricans who have "made it" in America, the (white) war industries, the "Orange County" or "rich Eastern" Republicans, and the like. One of the specified targets defined and singled out early was "the Jews" almost always collectively, under the rationale that many were "slum-landlords," "rip-off businessmen," "phony liberals," "exploiters of the radical revolution," and the like. And this escoriation of Jews increased in volume after 1966 as Black Power arose as a defined movement, as minority radical spokesmen felt increasingly confident in their attack strength in the company of hordes of allied white youth and adults mainly in the radical left, and as Jewish groups, organizations and individuals responded with little in the way of audible denouncement, disproof, counter-argument or counter-aggressive. The anti-Jewish feeling, and some increased violence accompanying this that rose to a pitch in the end of the 1960s around the

country, repelled many Jewish youth and students of radical ideology or activity from continued or subsequently deeper involvements with much of the Leftist radical movements as they were then coming to be structured. For one thing, this new "antisemitism on the left" proved a perceived real and possible future very strong threat in the physical and social dimension to Jewry. It implied a friction and violence in Jewish and other minority groups' relations from then on, and the fragmentation of what had been for years considered a "historic alliance" of Jew and Black particularly in a fight for universalist civil rights, equality, and freedom from violence and exploitation at the hands of general society. For another thing, it signalled to many Jewish youth as to many Jewish adults a fracturing of the supposedly "liberal" and "anti-prejudiced" progressive ethic and political and moral orientation to society, in which ethnic prejudices and accusations, and historic ancient stereotypes about Jews among them, and hatreds and causes for hatreds against Jews among them, were to be transcended and erased. Many Jews felt alienated from radical left movements particularly when the New Left almost consistently offered strong attacks against both Jews in the United States as "exploiters" of minority people and of Leftist causes on the whole, and against Israel as a "reactionary racist-imperialist state" that also now had "no right to exist." Many Jewish youth were

also infuriated by the emergence of widespread Black anti-semitism and anti-Jewish accusations that they felt they did not deserve.[45] This motivated many Jewish youth to drift away from the New Left and more generally from radical-left causes and caused others to revolt in the direction of a Jewishly more self-conscious, nationalist or "conservative" position, one component of which according to some youth and observers involved the formation of the Jewish Defense League and other organizations with similarities in ideology.

The rise of and new perception of anti-semitism on the Right of the old type.

In traditionally unfriendly, and general sectors of the American people, this was seen to arise anew as a sub-current in the "white backlash" to minority-group and white radical radicalism. This struck new fear and worry into Jewish students, many of whom suspected American "Middle American" or "Heartland American" (i.e., Middle-Western and Southern) society in particular as basically hostile historically to Jews and Judaism. Many Jewish youth who accepted American society on the whole as a generally liberal and progressive society and who had never thought of themselves or identified themselves as radical-leftists in thought and activities, were shocked by this development. With the increasing frequency some popular phrases arose in some sectors of American society in the middle

and late 1960s such as "Jew-Dodger" for supposed draft resisters, evaders and deferred students of Jewish origin, or "Jew Left" for the supposed majority of the makeup of a "Communist" or "anarchist" New Left protestors and activists. These developments sparked suspicion, anger and resentment, as did the discovery of the scores of long time racists and anti-Semites active in and affiliated strongly with the Wallace (American Independent Party) Movement from 1968 onwards. Both former non-radical generally conforming Jewish students and youth, and Jewish radical-leftist youth, met in efforts to band together to renounce anti-Jewish and anti-Israel charges by the New Left originally. And anti-semitism or ill- feeling on the "Old Right" and elsewhere among the more conservative realms of America accelerated this process. And Jewish youth group development and organization was accelerated similarly in this way, largely with the aid of influxes of former or still-leftist "universalist" Leftist Jewish youth meeting once again the American "Old Right" and what it stood for on new grounds.[46]

<u>The discovery by radicals and activists of Jewish background of economic and social problems in Jewish society.</u>

Problems that were of a type that paralleled similar ones they had found and had fought against in the Black, and to a lesser degree Chicano (Mexican-American) or Puerto Rican spheres were discovered in sectors of Jewish life. Interestingly it was usually not Jewish "religious"

or "cultural" motivations that led to the discovery of and interest in "Jewish problems" (or more properly, general problems faced by Jews), but rather the discovery in Jewish society of economic and related ills found similarly in other surveyed social realms, by generalist liberal-radical youth of Jewish background. Many young Jews, in perusing Black neighborhoods, "Inner cities," older parts of town, or governmental welfare organizations came across hitherto undiscovered and ignored synagogues, Jewish aged individuals, the Jewish impoverished, struggling business and stores owned by Jews ("mama and papa stores") and other elements like this, that were usually but not always residual from an earlier day. The inability moreover of many Jewish youth to mobilize non-Jewish youth for work here, due to anti-semitism residual in non-Jewish youth or due to the belief by non-Jewish radical youth that "Jews had no problems anyway," led or contributed to the formation by many of these youth of some "Jewish-oriented efforts" of special relevance to Jews. These occurred at first within some radical organizations and more so within generalist Jewish youth organizations such as Hillel Foundations. And this led to the formation of a host of Jewish active groups, and more usually yet, to these youths' joining and then influencing and changing the tenor of existing small local radical and activistic Jewish student and youth groups to become active in these directions.[47]

The inspiration of Jewish youth, by example of the cultural, naturalistic, aesthetic and intellectual side of other groups' efforts.

Particularly, Black political and cultural groups provided inspiration for Jewish youth to express and find and demonstrate cultural and artistic and literary ideas and ideals that were consonant with their own spiritual and religious and national past, i.e., with their Jewish roots. This "nationalist-romanticist" side of ethnic group movement development led to similar efforts and strivings among Jewish youth. This was accelerated by the ready availability of a vast intellectual reservoir of already-recorded Jewish civilization, and a vast number of authorities and teachers of several types, available to be utilized as sources and wellsprings of a reinvigorated youth attention to Jewish culture and ideation. It was also helped by the literacy, generally high or mobile literary interests, intellectual bent, and creative interest of American Jewish youth. Jewish youth groups of both "sectarian" localist, and nationwide, types were formed and others were swelled in numbers by the search for one's past and one's roots, and with this the need and desire on the past of many Jewish youth to express one's creative and spiritual side through one's own historic cultural mediums and in relation to them.[48]

The discovery by committed Jews that radicalism had become

acceptable in its less destructive forms.

Radicalism was seen to be both an attractive and effective vehicle for the venting of one's feelings in America at specific systems within that society that caused one trouble and also for the realization, building and testing of identity and adult role-formations and role changes within wider society and within Jewish society. This is demonstrable in the fact that many existing Jewish youth groups that were functioning prior to the "radical era" of 1965 onwards, in the earlier 1960s, such as the Soviet Jewry-oriented Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, religious community-service oriented groups such as Yavneh and ATID (Conservative) and Young Judea, and others, adopted or manifested heavily in their members a distinctly more radical and activistic aura of their own. They also attracted significant numbers of more radical and activistic students from elsewhere to their ranks in the period 1965-1972, who often added some of the requisite interest in Jewish culture or religion to their life styles as they joined these groups. Many local groups and local chapters of nationwide movements and groups in turn became more "Jewishly-oriented" radical, and activist groups.[49]

All of these appear to have been important factors in the background of the development of Jewish radical and other Jewish consciousness groups among students and youth in the era of the late 1960s through 1972. As we see some

were the result of powerful transmutations within the youth world generally that set forces at work to make young Jews redefine their positions within general youth society to counteract these transmutations. As indicated one was the "ethnicization" and "fragmentation" of a formerly universalist and generalist progressive left youth culture political orientation that had admitted and allowed for Jewish participation. Some, as we see, were the result of positive and creative efforts that developed within Jewish youth on their own, and upon the basis of their own thought, feeling, and exploration of the meanings, and purposes, and functions of Jewish existence as they in their own time and place chose to define or redefine it. Among general worldly events and occurences that involved and invoked the foregoing specific motivations for the development of "Jewish consciousness" and specifically "Jewish" cultural, national, political and mixed groups, there would appear to stand out two events or processes in recent history that have been wide-ranging in their emotional and sociological consequences to American Jewish youth. One had been the ever-present threat to Israel and to Jewish life, as demonstrated graphically and dramatically (as no ideological concept or intellectualization could have) by the occurences and the aftermaths of the Six Day War in June of 1967 and later events. Here a Jewish youth that had never known genocide or sheer physical threats to Jewish life or

existence in its own generation witnessed and saw the impending doom to another two and one-half million Jews that was forestalled, moreover, by Jewish strength and Jewish bravery of an imaginable and graspable, real type that they had never seen. Identifying Jewish youth felt the moment, it has been said, of total threat to Jews as never before, and saw Jews make it recede. This appears to have had two outstanding effects. It made Jewish youth unite and draw together to work for Jewry in different ways. Israelis appeared to them, as never before, to be truly threatened, and perpetually on the brink of non-existence. Slogans like "Never Again" were reinvigorated with a meaning stemming from both new fear, and new feelings of national pride. That war shocked many young Jews (as did the 1973 war) into a feeling of one-ness with Israel and what it stood for, and what it meant ultimately to Jews anywhere. And it made them focus upon in gerater depth the life, offerings, problems and possibilities of Israel as something closer and more important to them.[50] The other was the development of the Black revolution among youth and among adults. The efforts of Blacks, often with considerable or even outstanding heroism, to gain their rights and equality of opportunity affected many Jewish youth who were formerly unsure about whether or not they wanted to be significantly "Jewish," and thousands or tens of thousands of Jewish youth who wanted to live more sub-

stantively and openly as Jews among other Jews and among other Americans and among other youth. It appears to have led them to think twice about the "impossibilities" or "unacceptabilities" of being more Jewish, and progressively and dynamically so, in a pluralistic and yet acculturating society. The political and cultural revolution of American Blacks set a political, cultural and even spiritual and psychological precedent in America for all other cultural minorities towards the attainment of cultural self-pride, self-confidence, and perceived feelings of equality with majority society, that was aped and imitated by young Jews. And it sparked a new consciousness of and pride in self that ironically, no Jewish writers, rabbis or organizations were able to achieve on a large scale. In the words of Allen Pollack of Yeshiva University, the Black Revolution "made it 'kosher' to be a Jew."[51]

Some Characteristics of General Nonradical Jewish Youth Groups: And Grounds for Radical Action

In viewing the new Jewish youth and student radical and other groups of the 1965-1972 era it is helpful to look at some characteristics of organizations already existing for Jewish youth on the campus and in the young-adult community. Characteristics they had may have inspired the new movements and their subsequent growth. As alluded to previously, the growth of these new movements can be con-

ceived of in terms of their members' deviating from and reacting against three elements in their environment: the general American society against which they revolted and asserted themselves first as liberal or progressive-leftist Americans and sometimes as culturally-conscious Jews; the existing "Jewish establishment" comprising their parental, acculturated life-style, their parents, and ultimately the Jewish community and local "private government" service and administration organizations; and existing models of Jewish youth and youth society against whose accommodations to American dominant normative patterns as they saw them they wanted to rebel, and to assert new and more viable and satisfying positions. Here are some of the dominant characteristics of such general non-radical Jewish youth organizations. These include Hillel Foundations, and a wide range of local university and college "Jewish Students' Societies." And the characteristics are those alluded to by Jewish radical groups and individuals from a wide range of backgrounds and opinions. They may be presented in general form as follows.

<u>Their "prismatic" and "schismatic" administrative and social nature</u>.

Many general, nonradical or pre-radical Jewish youth groups were perceived to reflect varying degrees of accommodations culturally to American norms relative to past Jewish societal norms. But they were preceived also to

reflect adherence to Jewish social and ideological patterns and norms as well, and to that degree, non-adherence to strictly American general cultural patterns. Such groups were and have been a blending of American non-Jewish, and historic Jewish, norms of organizational style and cultural manner both and have reflected in a sense the "status passage" in a more American acculturated (or more rarely in a more Jewishly-oriented "re-traditionalized" or "re-Judaized") direction of members that comprised them. Such groups may be called "schismatic" in that a group is typically seen to be an organization composed of one vast "official membership" as embodied in its mailing list, but which in reality often is a collection of separate and relatively non-interacting social sub-group, and each of these tends to be centered around one thematic interest (i.e., religious behavior, secular programming, dance and other recreation, art, arts, study, theological discussion, prayer, Torah study, and the like). All of these in turn fit in an interlocking arrangement into the overall organization through a common origin of organization, common overall title, and common facilities and top-level direction (i.e., for example, a Hillel rabbi, a Hillel House or Jewish Students' Club House) and a common supplier of outside funds. Cohesiveness is moreover maintained through a maintenance on an individual level of member feelings of ideological filiation with the "social spirit" and "commit-

ment ideals" of the implicit parent or overall organization which is found to some degree across members of all subgroups, and which often motivates individuals regardless of their subgroups to volunteer their services and talents for special philanthropic or cultural projects on an intermittent or regular basis. Many Jewish radical youth looked upon such organizations of "preradical general Jewish" interest and form as difficult and alienating to work in due to the perceived "chopping up" of group activities into sub groups with little easy unity of efforts of everyone across all activities. This same "hierarchization and departmentalization" characteristic of modern organizations in the business and public sphere appears to have been a dominant factor for years in such "regular" Jewish groups. And this supposedly "over-organized" but often nonetheless task-efficient arrangement appears to have alienated many Jewish youth interested in "totalistic," or simpler, approaches to real problems all at the same time. Also the often "prismatic" nature of Hillel groups and other student groups, largely an outgrowth of their philosophy of presenting "something for all students," appears to have provided an alienating and disappointing image to many Jewish youth interested in affiliating solidly with "a mass of others" holding their own definite interests, orientations to the world, views of what it is "to be a Jew" and the like. This could be called ironically a curiously con-

servative position that relatively open and freer Hillel Societies and some other student groups often could not or did not wish to assume.[52]

The noticeable non-religious main emphases of many groups.

It has been a historic supposition about (and accusation against) groups like Hillel Societies in particular, in some newer Jewish radical groups interested in general politics, and in culturally-identifying nonreligious or antireligious Jews, that such groups were "dominated" by tight-fisted and narrow-minded religious youth and fantics. It is felt here that the broader appeal and focus of such general nonradical groups could be enhanced were they to divest themselves of their "Israel Orthodoxy" leadership and domination.[53] In actuality this longstanding impression does not appear to be borne out, at least with Hillel societies, and also with Jewish students' clubs at a host of smaller colleges and campuses in the country. Hillel itself is and has been in fact a general-focus, general-appealing Jewish youth organization with a heavy mixture both in "core leadership" and in paid affiliates, especially at larger state universities and private universities, of religious and nonreligious, fundamentalist and creativist, Zionist, non-Zionist, secularly acculturated and strongly identifying Jews. This was reflected in the makeup of student elected officials, Committees and Committee Chairmanships, and the like. Also to the contrary, in many

centers particularly in the East and especially in New York, Hillel chapters in the past have been underfilled with more religious students and even "masoreti"-like (flexible religious) religiously-and-culturally interested Jews due to these groups' being characterized as overly "social" in orientation and in activities, on an acculturated American-Jewish model, by religious youth. Many times Eastern Hillel chapters in fact have come into clashes with Yavneh members for not acquiescing enough to the Yavneh emphasis upon religious orientation and substance.[54] And in Los Angeles in the period 1966-1969 when the Yavneh group at UCLA steadily assumed a larger role in Hillel only at that time was there infused a greater amount of "religious" conscience and program substance into the group there.[55] The largely religious and also radical Union of Jewish Students disliked and fought Berkeley's Hillel from 1967 onwards from the start largely on the issue that the Hillel youth there did not "embody true Judaism enough" in their social activism, political orientations, and connections with the radical and youth world around them.[56] Groups like Hillel Houses and local Jewish students' fellowships at colleges appear to have been cast in the role (and beneficially so) of serving wide-spread and general needs of all kinds of Jewish students and youth, religious and not religious, political, social and intellectual, and increasingly, even psycho-

logical. And they were founded for this purpose. But at the same time unfortunately, their generalist bent and scope of interests and unwillingness to emphasize any one particular "dogmatic" or "political" position has meant that increasing numbers of Jewish youth interested in and finding solace in highly personal terms, or in Judaism as religion, feel that such groups are no longer "relevent" to them, with these groups' numerous committees, calendar-based social efforts and events, speakers, and the division of time and energies entailed across the whole range of Jewish culturs and society. To paraphrase a famous letter of Agudas Yisroel to the American Council for Judaism in 1937, whilst for many Jewish youth assimilating into broader American general society such groups "go too far" in stressing "Jewish things," for the neo-religious youth or neo-Hasidic youth or the youth involved heavily in religious and cognate learning and experience, such groups are felt to "not go far enough."

Administrative, financial, and informational weaknesses and dependencies.

Such groups of general appeal, both including many Hillel chapters and also localist Jewish students' clubs both at "rich" colleges and at other smaller schools, unbeknownst to many radical Jewish youth and adults both, have suffered chronically from shortages of available funds from variable and seasonal bases of contributory support. And

they have not had enough funding relative to their basic goals to improve programming quality to a point that would satisfy either many radicals, or for that matter many non-radical middle-class Jewish youth.[57] Staffs where they exist as paid fulltime workers must be small, and are typically overworked, although dedicated; administrative guidance, efficiency and coordination of the multifold group activities by a top leadership also occupied elsewhere especially in larger groups with memberships in the hundreds is often weak. These problems, constant sources of trouble and embarrassment to such groups, have provided grounds for constant frustration, grievance and resentment among many Jewish youth active in them. This is particularly true of more radical-minded youth interested in broader ranges of social-helping (and, often expensive and time-consuming and labor-consuming) projects within or sponsored by the organization.[58] Also, there exists the usually unacknowledged but very real issue of the appeal of general groups to the personal tastes, elegancies and snobberies of many Jewish students. Generalist campus groups faced with small fundings relative to what they must do, and with small staffs and with unelaborate facilities, find it difficult to often present more than rather humble "working-class" functions, dances, and events in many parts of the country which increasingly have lost their appeal to the middle-class and increasingly upper-

middle class tastes of Jewish college students in general for whom present offerings are a reminder of humbler times in American Jewish history.[59] A sizable proportion of these students are Jewish radical students who revolt from the petit-bourgeois "seediness" of such organizations' offerings as they perceive them. This is a factor in their Jewish radicalization and "apartness" from such groups. However, later for many of them ironically, the unmaterialistic commune or living-group under Jewish radical auspices is an accommodatable or welcome sight.

<u>"Role Diffusion" and their having to represent themselves to multiple communities</u>.

The Hillel Foundation or student council, or local Jewish students' club found itself in the position of having to represent the Jew to the secular community and to the Jewish community as well.[60] It often did not or could not fulfill this socially real need, or sometimes even identify the multiplicity of roles it played here. And it may have failed to fill any or all of them out of disinterest in assuming such a role, or out of weaknesses in function or in perception of its position in the community. Such groups had additional, or more narrowly definable multiple roles in some communities: relating to the general radical community, the Hippie or "street people" communities, the religious Jews in the community, the culturally-identifying American Jewish nonreligious

students, the organized Jewish adult community in the area around the college or university, and the "dissenter" or "deviationist" groups (such as the newer "Jesus people") among Christians. The necessities of playing multiple roles in an effort to relate to such varied and divergent groups of people, made opposite and fragmenting claims upon the same basic, often overstrained resources in time, energies and funds of such general nonradical Jewish groups. And with strains upon these resources continued over time or drawn to the limit by recurrent problems or crises, such groups easily declined in their efficiency in relating to all these different areas. The added fact of the misperception on the part of many Jewish and non-Jewish students that these groups were "rich and intransigent" made some Jewish youth feel more angry yet at the periodic "derailments of dialogue" between these Jewish groups and other elements in the campus world that these Jewish youth saw to be so important; Jewish organizations were seen to be Jewish bridges to social helping in the general realm.[61] Any shortcomings in such areas as local Black-Jewish dialogue, tutorial projects, ecumenical interfaith contacts, American holiday inter-religious services, and campus projects provided frustration; and sometimes this provided grounds for many radical students and future-radical students to discard such groups as Hillels and Jewish Student Societies, and break off and found their own organizations.

A perceived inadequacy of adult-like meaningful roles for maturing Jewish youth.

General Jewish nonradical youth organizations were set up to satisfy the needs and requirements of youth of college age and usually those moreover studying regularly at a specific school or college. They were specifically directed in the design of their programs and lectures, and usually in the perspective of their directors and student leadership, at perceived needs of such a group. This orientation in fact often forestalled the ability of such groups to be able to help members plan for adult-world practice at adult skills and an "adult" range of serious involvements in "real-world" problems more broadly in the city or campus community. But also it tended to inhibit effectively the mixture of collegiate and post-collegiate or working graduate-students that might otherwise occur. This would make for a broader base for social, political, and activist involvement of radical-oriented or action-oriented youth within the wider community either thereafter in that community, or in future home communities. Collegiate Jewish general groups tended thus to be made up heavily of students who often had no ulterior concern for their participation in the group other than self-education, socializing, and Jewish activities and participation that provides a diversion from the "grind" of study, which was often for highly competitive graduate schools or pro-

fessional schools. Many activist Jewish youth, and also some religious and neo-religious youth, complained over the period 1965-1972 in a variety of Jewish youth organizations that the social life there "was just there, and didn't lead to anything else," political action or adult-like Jewish commitments; or that alternatively, one could not "really live and practice Judaism for later" there. With the existing lack of these adult-roles and practice at more widespread "real-world" offerings as perceived by many dissatisfied youth, some Jewish students' organizations presented a picture in effect that led many students to leave this frame of social functioning and to seek opportunities to act elsewhere.[62] One factor that militated against such adult-world models and the eixstence of such groups as training-grounds in effect for some adult roles as perceived by many radical and religious students, was the necessarily broad basis of offerings and division of energies necessitated by such "representative Jewish" organizations. There were as well constitutional restraints upon involvements, and funding, staff and administrative capabilities. A third factor important to such organizations is the fact that they usually perceived (as did Hillel Houses) of their roles as providing preeminently a framework for the personal evolution from late-adolescence to graduate adulthood in the Jewish realm. They were interested crucially in facing the problems particularly

of late-adolescent students beginning college as Jews and involved in present or possible identity-crises and identity-resolutions. The issues of training or teaching "adult responsibilities" in the political, family and interpersonal realms among supposedly "finished" college students of needs took a secondary place. Any or all of these mitigating circumstances could have brought a drifting off of many Jewish youth into realms of sociation and fellowship that appeared to them to be places where they could pursue their present goals more fully and completely.

The General Significances For Politics of Social-Political Orientations in Jewish Radical Groups

The other main area definable of Jewish student and youth group life, beside the "religious" dimension, is what might be termed the "social-political" dimension. This is a dimension which involves the attitudes about general society, American politics, and relations between populations and groups within America in terms of their "systemic," "administrative" and "social power" aspects. This realm is the "other" dimension along which Jewish youth groups' growth and activities may be gauged and compared with each other, with that of other non-Jewish or non-radical groups, or with these groups' own stated ideologies and yearnings. The following are some of the social characteristics and political characteristics that fit

Jewish student groups of the "new" model generally.

Innovating Within Judaism

The radicalism of groups like the UJS, the JRC and others, is construed to be a revolution, and an innovation "within" Judaism, not outside of Judaism, nor against it, socially and politically. This parallels developments in the religious dimension.

Radicalism as Natural in Judaism

The radicalism of such groups is construed, moreover, to be "natural" to the history of Judaism and characteristic of the Jewish social structure. It is also seen to be in the best interests of Jewish life. This parallels somewhat the events in the religious dimension vis a vis such groups. However social-political radicalism is easier to rationalize in historic Jewish terms than is religious creativity and innovation because the latter is historically (and for some youth, socially) dictated in detail by halacha (Jewish law) or current rabbinic interpretations of it.

Radicalism as Inherent in Judaism.

Radicalism is seen by these youth to be at worst, "disdained normalcy" in the eyes of the Jewish tradition, rather than as outright revolution or "anarchism" in Jewish tradition, rather than as outright revolution or "anarchism" in Jewish perspectives. It may be disliked in terms of particular activities engaged in by particular

groups. But it is not totally rejected. Such sages and thinkers as Rabbi Akiba, the Baal Shem Tov, and other "Jewish radicals" in the political and social and religious history have been often held up by groups as models to emulate.[63]

Intragroup Conflict as Positive

Where and when it occurred and took the form of organized groups, or even in its extreme confrontation aspects, radicalism is not seen as an aberration of Judaism's best ideals. Many youth saw confrontation with Jewish organizations, rabbis, synagogues and "regular" Jewish youth groups in this era as symptomatic in fact of the need for a healthy "revolt for change against an un-functional system," socially speaking, "within" Judaism. This attitude rationalized confrontation and militancy, and also served to spur some members to further efforts against opponents. Political scientists Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman have pointed out that "when systems fail," revolt against the system is to be expected, and that the revolt against the system of formerly allied accepting individuals or groups in symptomatic of that system's failure to fulfill its mission.[64] This philosophy figures strongly in many radical groups, as does too however, the hope that opponent groups will in fact be "motivated to change with the times" rather than be destroyed.

Radicalism as Evolution

Jewish radicalism was seen from within Jewish tradition, or from "within" a recultivated Jewish view, as an adaptation of some Jews to the surrounding world and its needs and problems. It was seen to be symptomatic of the need for growth, change and diversity of Jews within Judaism and in a Jewish vein as well, and phenomenologically as an expression of a long-suppressed "natural need" of Jews and consequence of the essence of Jewish existence as well. And Jewish radical group formation and behavior was seen as a sort of "change-acceleration agent" within American Jewish society that will become more "embodied" and integrated with general events and substance in American Jewish life as American Jewish life itself were to become more radicalized, progressive and thus accommodating of it. It was seen as a structured, ordered and disciplined system, in American at least, that was in contrast to American Jewry's normative and supposedly moribund self. The tendencies to change, modification and new avenues of expression relating to things internal to Judaism, as well as relating to the interrelationship between Jewish communities and the non-Jewish world, were seen thus to have to be manifest as "radical" activity moreover, on the youth mode.

Radicalism as Altruism

Radical Jewish activities were often seen as being

the outworking of historic, and long-existing Jewish historical and philosophical precepts to "help the stranger," fight for social justice, and seek progressive and active solutions to continuing social problems. Particularly crucial were those that related to social and cultural inequality. Such "formal-legal" moral bases perceived for radical activism, as in contrast to more "functionalistic" sociological and psychological bases applied to Jewish youth radicalism, found strong currency with youth sometimes to the exclusion of all others. Rabbi Louis Ruchames traced the origins and growth of this "formal-legal" basis for Jewish radicalism and progressivism in past American Jewish adult groups. And it appears to figure importantly, similarly here among youth.

Radicalism as Civilized

Jewish radical groups in the United States claim that they reflect very much traditional Jewish social "interpersonal" and "inter-group" values that have been either learned academically, or otherwise handed down normatively from Jewish society on the whole. In fact such groups indulged in little violence if any; their publications exhibited a virtual absence of "hate" as it is usually found in literature of many radical groups; abusive language tends to be at a minimum and it not particularly popular as it is in some non-Jewish groups,[65] and activities and interests are justified in fact in terms of "ongoing Jewish

tradition" rather than in terms of departure from it.

Radical Groups as Unified for Good Causes

Radical Jewish groups have reflected over time, in their relations to one another and to elements of the Jewish adult realm and Jewish non-leftist organizations, what might be termed a "parallaxial perspective." As time went by, groups of sharply differing viewpoints or orientations on an issue or issues found it earier to work together, to communicate, or even for their members to "cross the carpet" pariodically and work conjointly for jointly-favored ends. In earlier Jewish history, this coming together of formerly enemy groups did occur dramatically. Religious Hasidim and Misnagdim, once enemies and opponents in Europe, have worked together in the face of anti-religiousness and the inroads of socialism, communism, secularism and assimilationism in Jewish life. And today one finds combined "Yiddishists," and "Orthodox" or "religious" Jews who study and follow and live both cultural traditions as Jews in the face of surrounding secularist threats, assimilation, and discrimination, after the passage of fifty years in America. Formerly these groups were antagonistic.[66] Over time it appears that perceived differences, as they recede into the distance, seem to be "not as great." And group members find it possible to work together and unite for the same or allied causes. Part of the lack of unity in Jewish radical groups where it re-

mained, was explainable by (and also sometimes explained by radicals themselves by) the belief that the Jewish radical group could only exhibit once it had formed, survived, asserted and "proven" itself to itself in some social or political way. Groups like many Union of Jewish Students chapters, and many havura groups, part Orthodox or Orthodox-like in religion, largely Socialist, and culturally and intellectually American and Jewish were thus perceived to be in a part philosophical and spiritual and intellectual outgrowth of this process of coalescence over time.

All of these characteristics observable in the Jewish youth and student "radical" and similar groups dominant in the Jewish youth world in the period 1965-1972 appear to have taken an important place in the makeup of such groups. And they determined the perceptions by youth members of their surrounding American and Jewish worlds, of their role in it and necessary commitments to it, and thus of their behavioral style within it. And these orientations to the world and to their own place in it found in such groups indicated the ways in which they ordered and assessed the realities of the society in which they want to make their mark. But also they indicated in a sense the ways in which a youth-culture that was freer than most in history, and that was "Jewish" in population makeup, could synthesize Jewish, general and radical-progressive approaches to life in a relatively free, pluralistic soceity into a dynamic

new entity and force with wide appeal and with broad potentialities. Perhaps it is here that these Jewish student and youth groups had their greatest significance.

The Relative Position of Socialism and Related "Radical" Political Theories in Jewish versus Non-Jewish Youth Groups

In Jewish youth groups and non-Jewish radical groups, socialist and other theories have played a very important part in the ideation and direction of the groups. In a sense, the whole orientation to the world one finds in radical group members in general radical groups was usually socialist in its underpinnings. And these groups conceived of their goals and successes primarily within the framework of some sort of reconstituted society that is quite a departure from the present one. Indeed one of the elements that played a strong part in alienating Jewish youth from general, and minoritarian radical movements both, was the antisemitism that was thrown up by such groups and that was rationalized in terms of radical political necessities or arguments but seen by Jewish youth as contrary to "true" radical tradition. One would do well to examine, however, another relationship of Jewish youth to ideational bases for their actions.

It can be pointed out that alone along the minority radical groups, or the general radical groups with minoritarian members, that the Jewish group was the only one out

of the many (i.e., those of Indians, Mexican-Americans, Blacks, Orientals, and Puerto Ricans) that had an ancient "literary political" tradition of its own native to its historical culture that offered wellsprings of ideas and ideals in coherent form and of broad range that could be a basis for modern-day "radical" or progressive youth political activity. Some other groups such as Chinese and Japanese-Americans and to some degree the American Indians, had traditional political and social themes in their cultural past that related to and inspired specific actions and orientation elements among American radical youth towards problems they faced in specific realms of life and political action around them. And these themes were called upon as rationales for and examples of appropriate and inspired political behavior. Examples here are the Samurai warriors among some Oriental activist youth, and several notable Indian chiefs among Native American youth (such as Sequoiah, Crazy Horse, or Cochise). But the Jewish group was the only one in this period to have an ancient, continuous and broad national political (and within this radical) thought tradition in its own civil law and in its long series of social thinkers and leaders (most often Rabbis) that offered to the knowing member of this community a variety of political ideologies and social goals and behavior styles to pursue to achieve some type of "better world." Alone among the radical youth conceived of in

ethnic terms and along ethnic breakdown lines, Jewish youth were the only minoritarian youth element active in the radical youth realm (with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon element in the radical youth realm (with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon element that could claim general "amalgamated" American radical political theory as its basis) to have behind them for their learning, and using, a four thousand year old uninterrupted tradition of social and thus political thought. And it was one that could be a viable alternative both to the standard, conservative *de facto* political ethics of the contemporary United States as followed by most society members, and to the entrenched but scattered socialist, Communist, Trotskite, and other radical European political ethics that as they were increasingly bowdlerized by segments of radical youth.

Perhaps it is in this possession, unlike other youth in the radical realm, of wellsprings in their own cultural past that formed a continuity, and that were one at the same time with the substance of Jewish social living while often against the majority culture ways surrounding Jews, that the most important roots ideologically and socially of the new Jewish youth groups may be found. It had three bases.

With the rise in antisemitism among other radicals, and with the fragmenting of the radical movement into specific ethnic groups, Jewish youth were in a position of

being politically disowned. They were not impoverished in the sense of having intellectually and internally no longer any bases for their own radicalism. At least some Jewish youth turned to their own roots, and found a suprising wealth of what could be termed political and social theory stretching back far beyond that of any other ethnic history, including the English or Anglo-Saxon, for them to utilize and find as guides for and bases for a Jewish conscious youth radicalism. In doing so Jewish youth grew away from the mainstream of other radical groups markedly. Where Jewish values and ideals from the past, now resurrected romantically or practically speaking deviated from socialist or various Marxist ideals, the former predominated more and more in many Jewish youth groups. This accelerated the distance of many Jewish youth from any radical mainstream, with or without its antisemitic elements, or violent elements. And at the same time this strengthened "particularist" identification with specifically Jewish ethics was assisted functionally in part by the growing hostility towards, resentment against and ill feeling of other ethnic radicals towards them.

Secondly, many Jewish youth also found interestingly, in the long-established ideas of such Jewish thinkers as Judah Halevi, Maimonides or various Hasidic and Musar rabbis, what were in effect viable programmatic liberal ideals social ideas that provided viable alternatives

practically speaking in terms of "what specifically to do" in society around them amongst interminable alternatives, for practical, social remediative behavior. Among practices inspired were setting up programs to aid locally the poor, the aged, the ill, the underpriviledged and the persecuted among Jews and non-Jews. This came on the tail of what for many looked like many years of general-radical grouping and yet not finding viable means or orientations of serving society, amongst European radical theories and ethnic minoritarian thinkers' social theories. These latter theories at least in their popular form stressed ideology and emotion but not actually practical means of remediative action.

Thirdly, this change entailed the development of a new depth of historical knowledge and understanding, and conscience, vis a vis the Jewish past and Jewish thought, that surpassed the early Jewish "social thought" background of Jewish radicals, and that was more consonant with the true depth of education, insight and erudition seemingly required as the basis for viable means of social change. Many Jewish radicals began to read, in the early 1970s theories and ideas and writers whose theories they formerly professed and espoused in fragmental form and had understood incompletely, and thus now enhanced their own background in Jewish learning.

Thus there was across this period a series of shifts

apparent among Jewish radical youth vis a vis radical ideology and social action ideology. Firstly, there was the development of an infusion of distinctively Jewish cultural and ideological radical and progressive social ideals into the general radical ideological intellectual makeup of many Jewish radical youth, with the predominance of specifically Jewish historical orientations to radical and political problems, ethically and organizationally, in some youth and groups by the later part of this period. This supplemented or replaced the primacy alone of historic West European radical ideals and systems, and newer American ethnic radical thought. Secondly, there was a deviation from and growing separateness of Jewish radical youth of ostensibly "particularly Jewish" radical group background and identification from other segments of radical youth. This paralleled and partically imitated the disengagement of other radical youth from one another along ethnic lines, this disengagement leading in turn too towards a greater searching for particularly Jewish elements and ideas as background substance for these Jewish youth groups in an increasingly "ethnic-fragmental radical" era at the end of the 1960s. Thirdly, there emerged an increasing concern for a depth of, extent of and quality of Jewish learning, erudition, and mastery of practical aspects of Jewish radical and political ideals and systems of thought among many Jewish youth, especially leaders. This paralleled

very much the increase in depth of religious observance and interest in the Jewish "religious" youth realm.[67]

Some Further Notes on Jewish Radicalism: Some Political Myths and Realities

A leading member of the Berkeley JRC offshoot in many ways, the Berkeley "Kosher Co-Op" living group, said in a discussion of her interet in socialism and in the socialist form of communal living, "We're not interested in trying to make a revolution here and in overthrowing the system. We're interested in changing peoples' heads."[68] By this she meant that her group, the Kosher Co-op living group and also the then extant Jewish Radical Community (which was a direct offshoot of the old UJS) were not interested implicitly in outright massive change. But they were interested in changing hopefully the minds and attitudes about socialism and about capitalistic values and ways of living that people in the surrounding "metropolitan" or "square" community still clung to, by presenting the surrounding society with a new viable example of an alternative way to live.

One thing becomes evident in the study of the radicalism of or particular methodology and philosophy for specific radical behavior and radical ideas, among Jewish radical and similar groups. This is the ideologic discrepancy of the groups and their main philosophies, from what would appear to be views more consonant with the Judaism

that they claim they espouse and reflect. Let us look at three components of this.

For one thing, Jewish radical groups such as the JRC and the UJS claimed a source for their radical tradition within Judaism, and within normative Judaism that has implicitly been there for over eighty years, going back to such early socialist and other Jewish actives as Ber Borchov. But the content of UJS statements, speeches, and personal and interpersonal ideological message appeared to be evidently in the main a wholesale adaptation of the ideational content of non-Jewish socialist movements that in some respective countries and times, had nothing to do with the Jews or even espoused positions against them. One saw here the wholesale adoption of a socialist content of patently non-Jewish origin altogether, fused into an organization where the behavior stemming from this content, and in terms of it, was consonant with normative Jewish radical, and non-radical, social and political behavior. And here too one saw however the very significant absence, in this practically unchanged, non-Jewish socialist and other radical ideational content, of any significant philosophical and political "Jewish" values for living. Had these been there they might have fused with, tempered, and altered the degree, thrust and specifics of the radical position. Instead one saw that Jewish values, and their particular emphasis, and in particular their important

variances with dominant radical tradition of the Soviet or Central European of 19th century Western socialist varieties, and their particular Jewish points of view that might bring improvements, were absent.

Secondly, the emphasis among many UJS and also some JRC members appeared to be not on extensive and comprehensive action, but more clearly upon "personal exemplification" in terms of "living as a good Socialist and showing the way by example," and by "tokenistic" protest activities such as marching, public speeches, debates, and presence at rally protests. The element of ongoing, long-term, planned, multi-level change of a more broad, surrounding environment was rarely attempted. This in a sense was characteristic of and typical of other, non-Jewish general radical groups in the country, and of other movements from the past, from the time in Berkeley for example of the Free Speech Movement in 1962 through 1964, to the present. But that pattern does not congrue to the overall spirit of or to the overall social and behavioral and programmatic image of historical Jewish socialism movements, such as Borchov's Labor Zionism of the early 1900s, the Socialist Zionist movements of the 1920s and 1930s, or the current Socialist and Zionist and related movements today in Israel, or for that matter even that of the partially radical Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry. All of these have in contrast stressed primarily and from the start, programmed and

planned social action on a broad social scale as well as on an interpersonal scale. They stressed "organizational" types of activities such as formal task delegation of duties and the setting up of formal alliances and coalitions with other Jewish, or non-Jewish organizations in society, as well as the personal development of ideaology and of spirit within the individual member. In a sense, the self-proclaimed Jewish radical organizations that invested themselves as "radical" that tended to be more radically a departure from normative American, and American Jewish socio-political mores and philosophy, also tended to be curiously less active and effective in their radicalism. And they tended to be less dynamic than many nonradical others were. Part of this may reflect small size, stemming from the lower appeal of the more extreme or peripheral types of philosophy about society and economics espoused. And part of this appears to have stemmed from the lack of efficient and skilled knowledge about how to program, administer, and run and revise actual ongoing practical efforts in the community, with the time and money needs involved here, which some students had not learned or mastered. One saw more of this among less radical organizations with their greater adherence to and modeling upon other established organizations, and their greater share of support from "regular" older-adult groups. And a higher proportion of leaders and advisers in such groups were older adults and

had some experience at least in organizational work and problem-solving in the surrounding "real world" for some time. Many of these were people who were not attracted to a radicalism that might imply a severe break with their established modes of thought and social existence.

Thirdly, one saw in radical youth groups a basic misconstruance of what "socialism" is, and what it entails, and often the espousal of a system and a criterion for living that while it was not metropolitan American, and capitalistic or petit-bourgeios, was not truly "Marxist" or "socialist" either. Stressed in the ideology of the UJS and in the later JRC were the ideas of self-determination, the idea of autonomous communes, of independence from government and self-leadership, and also a manifest practical tendency to under-organization and sharing rather than task-division of labor. Most of this, save in fact for the idea of self-determination of local groups, is not especially socialist theory, and much of it is in direct clash with basic and main premises and concepts of Marxian, Trotskyite, Zionist and present day Third-World African or Asiatic socialist theory. If anything, the above concepts and main guiding principles, and aims, are reminiscent of the essentially long-defunct English Fabian socialism; and they bear closer parallels to that philosophical and political school of thought known as "autonomism," basically based upon the existence of mankind in self-chosen, self-developed,

autonomous communities, with a minimum of State role interference and regulation in the life of the individual and the local community (Etatisme) and with a minimization too, of destructive libertarian and overly "individualistic" tendencies on the part of the individual within any group. Such a philosophy and a philosophy-lived-as-system, also to be found exemplified excellently among many Hippie communes of the era, in Los Angeles and elsewhere, appeared to be the driving philosophy of many leading Jewish radical groups as social institutions within themselves. And upon this framework they appeared simply to have foisted the inappropriate name of "Socialist" inasmuch as it was a current, and popular term, whilst that had little or nothing to go in effect with, indeed, the underlying system beneath it.[69] This apparent phenomenon is worthy of consideration crucially to the sociologist or the political scientist.

Jewish Youth Cultural and Political Movements in Sum, 1965 - 1972

In a sense, what we observed in a panorama of change, in which patterns of development in the Jewish youth community, vis a vis a cultural and national awakening, emerged that only now are becoming visible in retrospect, and from which we can learn things about both Jewish youth response to greater general social change, and about the near future of the direction of Jewish groups and youth in America.

One can discern in this period of 1965 to 1972 in a sense, three "stages" of youth group response and group development in response to events in the Jewish world and in the surrounding youth world.

The first stage of development, and of accommodation to change, in society, occurred in the period 1965 through around 1967. Here, Jewish youth were imbued more and more with the "action-liberal" messages of the Kennedy era, and with social reform through the system. Jewish groups on the whole took precedence behind individual Jews' committed work within almost entirely non-Jewish general liberal groups for social ends that were liberal, programmatic and "systematic" achieved or conceived to be achievable through the system. Here, Jewish youth movements were nonexistent, and Jewish concern for Jewish culture among the youth were suspect, unpopular, and often considered a futile waste of time or pointless resurrection of a dead culture.

The era beginning around 1967 saw the heightening of youth "angry radicalism" and large scale widespread student and youth protest, often of violent sort for the first time now, against perceived social injustice and inequality unsolved and unerased by faltering government, and aggravated by the Viet Nam War. In this movement Jewish students and youth did not form the originating element by and large. But they grew to assume significant membership and positions within these movements and their many radical, pro-

gressive liberal, and other organizations. And they contributed heavily to both the protest and the social remediation activities of these organizations in this era, often retionalizing their involvement in this work with Jewish values and concepts of social commitment, to themselves and to parents, but not to society or to their non-Jewish peers and co-workers at large. This era also saw the nascent growth of the Black Power movement, with minority separatist movements, and then of other minority consciousness movements in Black and other minority groups, with broader cultural and social orientations.

Begun and strongly manifested among Jewish youth late in 1968 and growing through the present, occurred the third era and might be termed the "self rediscovery" phase of the life of Jewish student and youth movements. Here among Jewish and other youth, widespread unhappiness and depression at the unending War, unending social inequality in America, and what they saw as a victory of "backlash" conservative vote in 1968 led to comewhat a subduing of radical, protest, and ideological activities to which Jewish youth were a part. It also saw the growth of nationalist minority "particularist revolution" among the minorities of the country, into which separate segments of Jews as "generalist liberals" could not fit, together with strong anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist prejudice appearing in some of these realms of the youth movements. In parallel

with this, and together with the now respectable modus of life that liberal-nationalism and radicalism had become, many Jewish youth turned to Jewish self-development specifically as Jews. "Refugee: liberals with no other movement now to join, long-standing Jewishly committed and educated youth finding radicalism-activism a respectable thing, idealistic and creative "knowing" Jewish youth searching for the idealism and romanticism in their own past, liberals and radicals fleeing the violence of the seemingly futile or bloody radical-activist campus, and assimilated or assimilating youth disenchanted with a general American youth realm or adult realm seen to be filled with violence, deceit and hypocrisy, all came together in a curious manner to rediscover within themselves their own traditions, past, alternative social ethic, and life-styles. And they developed and populated new Jewish youth groups that were specifically Jewish in content and direction, in interests, and in outlook. This was and is the enduring "Jewish consciousness" phase of Jewish student and youth movement existence in America. In a sense it transplanted and succeeded generally a "generalist awareness and activist" phase, and then an "indignant radicalist" phase, of middle and later 1960s. It paralleled while not being identical with other minoritarian movements among non-Jewish minorities, in its ethnic content and its orientation largely to Jewish needs and wants, in its often radical or revolu-

tionary-left jargon in its meetings and press, in its generally left-liberal or liberal political values, and in its discussion-oriented and issue-oriented, rather than program-oriented and solution-oriented, emphasis in dealing with social inequalities and problems.

However, unlike other minority groups, the new Jewish groups tended to manifest the following characteristics. They talked generally as much or almost as much about problems in general society as about problems plaguing Jews of some kind specifically. They indulged to a degree not generally found in other "minority" movements and special interest movements (like Womens' Liberation) in a substantial amount of criticism and excoriation of their own soceity, and even their own movement directions. They advocated and placed emphasis upon unity and togetherness of liberal causes and movements for its own sake and not just for self-gains, to a degree not found in other movements, where this was increasingly frowned upon. Religion and cultural values from a long continuing past were drawn upon rather consistently as the systemic and basic rationales for what the group advocated in terms of means to achieve social ends, (together with taboos on certain extremities on behavior such as violence, profanity, terrorism) rather than invoking "situation ethics" as they saw fit. And the historical religious and cultural past of the members were integrated with multifarious other elements

of Jewish civilization into the working rationale of members, to a degree not found in other groups and movements in American youth. And, different realms within Jewish society (religion, Zionism, culturalism, assimilationism, etc.) appeared to be found to be less and less difficult to integrate meaningfully into a working whole for each group and society. In contrast some other youth movements were in many ways breaking down over the questions of "primary importance issues" as opposed to "secondary issues" and other youth movements in many ways became more limited rather than broadened in their interests and in their scope.

Finally, there was another characteristic perhaps distinctive of Jewish groups relative to other youth groups, in that Jewish groups as they developed usually incorporated leadership and active members from the Jewishly educated Jewish community that were highly educated, respected, talented at socially accepted arts and capabilities, and interested in some resolving of a relationship with wider Jewish, and non-Jewish society. These paralleled in their abilities and the substance of their learning, the Jewish youth who vented their talents soley in achievement in the wider society, whereas it has been said and substantiated to some degree that other minority movements and groups saw a regression in the quality of leadership and direction from the early 1960s and a constant drifting

of their ideologies, philosophies and often societal behavior further from any possibility of realization of modus vivendi with the wider society of any lasting and self-regenerating type.

Thus we see in Jewish student and youth groups of the "cultural consciousness" type at least, trends both confirmative of, and deviating from, dominant and more widespread patterns among other American youth movements, in this period.

In sum it appears that Jewish student and youth movements, particularly the more radical and progressive ones, have been marked in the "post fifties" era of the middle and late 1960s up until now, by a gradual and then more rapid evolution of a specific Jewish consciousness among Jewish students and youth, in organizational and group and informal frameworks ancillary to college environments. This developed first in terms of secular commitments of Jews to issues of concern, and then increasingly to varieties of religious experiences and behavior and commitment; and from a few rather specific paths, diverging into many diverse paths and typologies of Jewish student and youth existence, including subvarieties of Zionist, Traditionalist, reformist or "Reconstructionist," religious, socially committed, socialist, New Leftist, and Yiddishist and secular culturalist paths of Jewish cultural identification and activity. And finally, we are now seeing the signi-

ficant emergence of the participation of the same individuals in several different sub-aspects of several different Jewish organizations and groups exemplifying respectively, different typologies of Jewish existence and expression and identification at the same time. Individuals who are "socialist Zionist," "Neo-Orthodox," "Progressive Leftists," "Community-involved," "Yiddish literaturist," and "social scientist" at the same time, and adequately and contentedly so, appeared.

It appears finally that this evolution of a truly complex student and youth world of movements is the follow-up upon the Black revolution of the 1960s in a peculiar manner, not either a direct copy by Jews of Black pride and manifestations of it, or a totally independent phenomenon. As one rabbi in Los Angeles put it, "We have the Blacks to thank for it (the Jewish consciousness revolution"). Perhaps it could be said that we ultimately in a sense do have the Jews to thank, many of whom years ago demonstrated for and worked for the rights of Blacks before the Blacks built the organization, self-confidence and assertiveness to demonstrate successfully and generally for themselves; the Black-run and Black-directed phases of the "minority revolution" in America came after this. Jewish youth society evolved in somewhat similar patterns a whole ethos of Jewish radicalism, and Jewish consciousness. It was one that took at least many behavioral cues, rhetorical

devices, and organization patterns from visible youthful Black radical and progressive organizations and groups, and then whose members developed in a multiplicity of their own directions that were consonant more with the very "content" as such of a multi'sided Jewish culture that they had newly discovered, or rediscovered, and found now easier to reassert identity with for a host of psychological and social reasons. The Jewish youth movements were truly then, a distinctly American, and distinctly Jewish, phenomenon.

Chapter V: Footnotes

[1]We will analyze events here, henceforth, in terms of both contexts.

[2]This seems to be an important undercurrent in the youth world and basis for youth dynamism in the 1960s, at least in the view of many sociologically oriented and psychologically oriented analysts. See for example, Kenneth Keniston, Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968); see also, on the Hippie Movement, a social phenomena that paralleled and in some ways preceded the "radical" and Jewish youth radical era, Lewis Yablonsky's The Hippie Trip (New York: Pegasus Books, Inc., 1968).

[3]The reader is directed to Percy S. Cohen, "Student Revolt and Generational Conflict: Phantasy and Reality," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. XIII, No. 2, December 1971, and to his Young Jews and the New Left (London: The Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1972) for a good overview of theories of several types relating to youth radicalism in the 1960s and for a good general analysis of these; also to Mordecai S. Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews (New York: Pitman Publishers, Inc., 1970), for analyses of Jewish participation bases in radical, and progressive, and primarily "political" movements in the 1960s. The writer is indebted to Dr. Cohen's analyses in his foregoing article particularly for subsequent explanations of several theories.

[4]See Betty Yorburg, Utopia and Reality: A Collective Portrait of American Socialists (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); and Nathan Glazer, No. 2, December 1969; Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews. See also, Cohen, "Student Revolt and Generational Conflict," op. cit.

[5]See Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: International Universities Press, 1948) and "Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers" in Psychological Issues (New York: International Universities Press, 1959); also Lewis S. Feuer, The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1969). See also P.S. Cohen, op. cit., for an analysis of Feuer's viewpoints; and Robert A. Nisbet, "The Twilight of Authority," in Chertoff, op. cit., esp. pp. 30-34. Feuer points to chief characteristics of "suicidalism" and "terrorism" in youth radical leftist movements, and Nisbet, for example, to the implicitly "suicidal," irrationalist, retreat into drugs, illusory

communitarianism, and "calculated clownish behavior" (as in the trial of the Chicago Seven) as dominant themes in radical leftist leaders and members in the late 1960s, similarly libertarian and undisciplined in their dynamics and overt appearances.

[6]Seymour Martin Lipset points out that, generally, Jewish parents with their espousal of Liberal ethic, but flaccid noncommitment to liberal action, "sustain a high degree of tension between their ideology and their life style." (Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Socialism of Fools," in Chertoff, op. cit., esp. pp. 123-125 for chief points relating to these theories.

[7]See P.S. Cohen, op. cit.

[8]Jurgen Habermas for example points up such an analysis in his Toward A Rational Society: Student Protest Science, and Politics (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1971). See also P.S. Cohen's analysis of this approach, op. cit.

[9]It appears that the more religious Jewish students, poor Jewish students, and those from "minority-culture Jewish" backgrounds and foreign parentage have been underestimated factors in the Jewish student world of the 1960s and similarly their role in the radical realm has been ignored or underestimated. Many Orthodox youth in particular have been powerful factors in several UJS groups and Jewish Radical Community groups around the country in this period, as well as in the JDL. (See Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students: The History of a Conflict," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. XIII, No. 2, December 1971, and The History, Functions and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict: Berkeley Hillel and the "Radical" Union of Jewish Students (Ann Arbor: For the Society For the Psychological Study of Social Issues, 1973).

[10]See Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, op. cit.; Nathan Glazer, "The New Left and the Jews" in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. XI, No. 2, December 1969. See also P.S. Cohen, op. cit.

[11]See Feuer, op. cit. See also, P.S. Cohen, op. cit.

[12]See Daniel Bell, "Unstable America," in Encounter, June 1970, pp. 11-26; M.S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, op. cit., esp. pp. 169-172.; P.S. Cohen, op. cit.

[13]P.S. Cohen gives as a good characterization of these generally, op. cit; See also, for a view of Jewish student and youth reactions in this vein, the several essays in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews (New York: Vintage Books, Inc., 1971). The "Port Huron (policy) statement" of terms of social forces available for social transformation, in the U.S., "...the civil rights, peace, and student movements are too poor and socially slighted, and the labor movement too acquiescent to be courted with enthusiasm. From where else can power and vision be summoned? We believe that the universities are an overlooked seat of influence." (See Tom Kahn, "From the Ashes of the New Left," in Chertoff, op. cit., p. 81).

[14]Leonard Fein suggests here, that commitment to "secular messianism by Jewish radicals," one may be inclined to argue, "was no more than an informed response by a peculiarly sensitive people to intolerable social conditions," for example. (Leonard Fein, "The New Left and Israel," in Chertoff, op. cit., p. 136).

[15]Writings by youth themselves on the theme of the consonance of "radicalism" and "Judaism" are becoming more numerous today, and have appeared in recent years in the forty to fifty Jewish student and youth publications currently in existence across the U.S. (See M. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," pp. 193-194 in Chertoff, op. cit.) and in numbers of books as well. See for example, Robert Greenblatt, "Out of the Melting Pot, Into the Fire," and James A. Sleeper, "The Case For Religious Radicalism," both in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews (New York: Vintage Books, Inc., 1971).

[16]This is largely as a readily observable outcome of fear that the wider appeal of such arguments may rationalize or inspire new anti-Semitism, and also that they look at the less rational, and less respectable bases for progressive behavior that radicals would wish to ascribe to a higher ethos.

[17]See Herman Israel, "Some Influence of Hebraic Culture on Modern Social Organization," in The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXVI, No. 4, January 1966.

[18]No good general survey work on Jewish youth groups across the country or on Jewish participation in general "radical" and similar youth movements and groups in the current era exists. The reader is referred to studies in progress under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee and the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation in Washing-

ton, D.C., and to data and studies in the YIVO Institute For Jewish Research in New York, and the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, Ohio. For a study of the New Left's relationship to the Jews on the whole, including discussion of Jewish youth participation levels and the plausible backgrounds for these, in radical leftist groups, see essays in Mordecai S. Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews, op. cit.

[19]"Support the Palestine Liberation Movement," in the Young Socialist, April 1969.

[20]Cf. Daily Californian, (Berkeley student newspaper), March 18, 1969.

[21]Tom Milstein, "The New Left: Areas of Jewish Concern," in Chertoff, op. cit.

[22]Jack Nusan Porter reminds us that one-third of the Weathermen arrested in 1968 during and after the Weathermen-police confrontation of summer that year were Jewish. (See Jack N. Porter, "Jewish Student Activism," in Jewish Currents, May 1970.

[23]See M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op cit.; The History, Functions and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict, op. cit.

[24]Cf. The Jewish Radical, (The University of California, Berkeley), Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1968. It proved a sort of archaeotype for a future host of Jewish youth publications particularly in the West and Midwest, along these lines, and to this degree paralleled the emergence of one other radical Jewish youth paper probably most well-known in the adult and scholarly realm of this late 1960s period, The Other Stand, which was published by students in Montreal and asserted powerfully the justice and right of Israel's survival, fallacies and injustices in Arabist claims and arguments, and the necessity of Jewish radical students to consider "Jewish needs" together with "general" or "universal" needs. (For a limited discussion of the Union of Jewish Students and The Other Stand both, see Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, op. cit., esp. pp. 190-193.

[25]As reported in the Los Angeles Times, December 11, 1972, pp. 1, 15, and in Young Israeli Viewpoint, September 8, 1972; The California Jewish Voice, April 7, 1972, pp. 1, 2; Data available also from the Files of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, New York, and its Newsletters throughout 1971 and 1972.

[26]Discussion with leading member of the Los Angeles JPF, October 8, 1972 in Los Angeles.

[27]Cf. "New Fist on Campus: Youths Rally to Help Soviet Jews," by Steve Kline, in the Los Angeles Times, February 7, 1971, pp. 6-8.

[28]Some JRC members have developed urban communes that are politically-oriented and leftist, known as ir-butzim, and members here often plan to emigrate to Israel, as have many JRC members nationally. In the Los Angeles JRC as of February 1971, there were 15 to 20 core members; 15 visited Israel in the summer of 1970 and of these, seven were still in Israel in the following February, and of these three planned to remain there. (See "New Fist on Campus: Youths Rally to Help Soviet Jews," op. cit.; also, discussions with Los Angeles JRC members, 1971 and 1972).

[29]See Ha'Am (Jewish students' newspaper, UCLA, in Los Angeles), October 1972, pp. 1, 2; also, Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, op. cit. The North American Jewish Students' Network is perhaps the foremost "umbrella" organization effort over varied Jewish youth groups at the present time, as it was intended to be, and JRC chapters have been a prominent part of this.

[30]Discussion with former President of the UCLA Hillel Council, familiar with this group. See also 1971 and 1972 issues of Ha'Am (Jewish student newspaper at UCLA) for discussion of this group's activities.

[31]See "New Fist On Campus," op. cit., for a brief discussion of this group.

[32]See Albert S. Axelrad, "Encountering the Jewish Radical: Challenge and Response in Jewish Education," and James A. Sleeper, "Authenticity and Response in Jewish Education," both in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews, op. cit.

[33]See "New Fist on Campus," op. cit., Los Angeles Times, February 7, 1971.

[34]Noticeable in many Young Judea and other groups particularly in the last two years is a marked evolution of members into a conforming very much to mixed, "Hippie-Jewish" or "Hippie-Hasidic" ideas of dress, Jewish interest, increased concern for religious ritual observance, and for Jewish study and ceremony individually and in peer groups. This evolution of increased intensity of traditional Jewish content and interest on an individual level appears more

marked among the more "right of center" and yet centrist religious groups, and among religious-centered youth organizations more so, than among "culturalist," or mixed nationalist, culturalist, secularist and Zionist youth groups.

[35]As noticeable in the past Annual Brandeis Alumni Association Meetings of Greater Los Angeles, in September 1968, 1969, and 1971 respectively, and in discussion groups over this period, attended by these members, in Los Angeles, and in Santa Susana, California, where Brandeis Institute is located. The writer is an affiliate of this institution.

[36]For a good study of this group, the reader is directed to S.N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, Ltd., 1967); Arthur Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader (New York: Doubleday, and the Herzl Press, Inc., 1959); Marver Bernstein, The Politics of Israel: The First Decade of Statehood (Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1957) and Leonard J. Fein, Israel: Politics and People (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2nd. ed., 1968).

[37]As reported in the Los Angeles Times, September 6, 1972, p. 32.

[38]For firsthand accounts of this group in a sense "from within," see Meir Kahane, Never Again: A Program For Survival (New York: Pyramid Books, 1972), and, for example, interview with Rabbi Kahane, "US could Become Like Nazi Germany, JDL Leader Warns," interview article in The Houston Chronicle (Houston, Texas), March 15, 1972, p. 4; and other interviews and discussions with Rabbi Kahane in various papers, such as the New York Times, over the past three years. See also, for exemplary "pro and con" discussions and letters on the efficacy of the JDL positions, the Letters section of the Young Israel Viewpoint (New York), since 1969. See also, Henry Iancovici, "The Jewish Defense League," in Patterns of Prejudice (London: The Institute of Jewish Affairs), Vol. 5, 1971. For non-JDL member student and other comments on the JDL see "New Fist on Campus," op cit., in the Los Angeles Times, February 7, 1971. Objective factual and scientific studies and opinions about the JDL as a group itself and how it deals with them day to day, are rare (with the possible exception of Iancovici, above), although the JDL has been dealt with, mostly in an unfavorable light, in recent issues of Time Magazine, and a host of articles, opinion columns, and responsa in Jewish periodicals around the English-speaking world. For a view exemplary of varied student views on the JDL, see Jack Nusan

Porter, W.S., et. al., "3 on JDL," in Jewish Currents, Vol. 26, No. 6, June 1972.

[39]As reported in the Los Angeles Times, September 6, 1972, p. 32.

[40]As reported in the Los Angeles Times, September 6, 1972, p. 32.

[41]See Jack Nusan Porter, "3 on JDL: 1" in Jewish Currents, June 1972.

[42]Discussion with an affiliate of the Los Angeles (Fairfax area) JDL group, September 1972.

[43]It appears it will have to if it is to resist the massive verbal and literary excoriation and attack launched against it since 1970 by the major Jewish Federations and federation councils in various cities, by the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, by rabbis and social thinkers predoninantly on the political and social, acculturated "left" of the spectrum, and a host of smaller and local organizations and prominent individuals across the country. As JDL becomes more "established," organizationally speaking, nationwide, and in different localities, it will probably see efforts to regulate its own activity and range of behaviors from within, as appears to be a necessity of any organization, as well.

[44]Rabbi Richard Levy, Director of the Hillel Foundation at UCLA, for example, has pointed out that in this era, "...Jewish youth had to find a way to be radical and still be Jewish," and the emergence of the new, "radical Jewish" movements and other :Jewish consciousness" movements were a synthesic response to this issue. (See "New Fist on Campus," op. cit., the Los Angeles Times, February 7, 1971.)

[45]This excoriation of Jews increased in volume after 1966 as "Black Power" arose as a defined movement, as minority radical spokesmen felt increasingly confident in their attack strength on majority society in the company of hordes of White youth and adults in sympathy with them, mainly in the Radical left, as the Six Day War brought the Near East into the foreground of peoples' thinking and became another incorporated ground for leftist racial ideology (and anti-Semitic ideology), and as Jewish groups, organizations and individuals responded with little in the way of audible denouncement, disproof efforts, or counter-argument. (See for some discussion of this, Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," esp. pp. 190-196, in Chertoff, op. cit.; and also, Seymour Martin Lipset, "Anti-Semitism: From the Left," in the Los Angeles Times, January

3, 1971, "Opinion" Section Part IV, pp. 1, 2).

[46]The increasing popularity of phrases in some sections of American society as the supposedly anti-Draft "Jew Dodger" who avoids military service, of the period 1965 through 1968, and "Jew Left" for the supposedly predominantly Jewish New Left and its makeup of "communist" or "anarchist" protestors and activists, among others, sparked suspicion, anger and resentment, as did the discovery of the scores of longtime racists and anti-Semites active in and affiliated strongly with the nascent Wallace (American Independent Party) Movement from 1968 onwards.

[47]This is demonstrable in the fact that many Jewish youth groups functioning in the earlier, pre-radical 1960s, such as variously, the "earlier-day" Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry from around 1963 up to 1968, Yavneh, and Young Judea for example, adopted or manifest heavily in their members a distinctly more "activistic," verbally or actively "radical" aura of their own, and attracted activistic students from elsewhere into their various ranks in this period.

Examples of occurrences in this area of "Jewish relevant action" among youth are increasingly numerous, but are not well categorized yet in any existing works. P.S. Cohen however gives some hints as to this direction among Jewish youth in his "Student Revolt and Generational Conflict," op. cit., the reader is also directed to his new book, Young Jews and the New Left, op. cit., and to Jack Nusan Porter and Peter Dreier, Jewish Radicalism (New York: The Grove Press, 1972), for some accounts of this. For example of Jewish youth concern and involvement in this realm, see "Our Newly Discovered Jewish Poor," and "Jewish Poverty in Los Angeles," in Ha'Am (Jewish student newspaper, UCLA), May 1972, pp. 2, 3. For a general picture of the range and recent history broadly of Jewish youth groups' social action activities, as well as "radical" or specifically "political" activities more narrowly, see the last two years' editions of Network, newspaper of the North American Jewish Students' Network, which is designed as a transcontinental information channel of information for and about various local, nationwide and areal Jewish student and youth groups. The Network is probably the best "primary source" for such data ongoing, that presently exists, short of extensive reviewing of accounts of and responsa relating to Jewish youth activities that appear weekly or monthly typically, in Jewish youth campus newspapers.

[48]The theme of the Jewish youth's "search for his roots" following upon the social path set by Blacks, has been strong among youth. See for example, Robert Green-

blatt, "Out of the Melting Pot, Into the Fire," and Michael Fishbane, "Freedom and Belonging: A Personal Encounter with Judaic Study," in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, The New Jews, op. cit. These efforts were accelerated by the ready availability of a vast intellectual reservoir of already-recorded Jewish civilization, a vast number of authorities and teachers of several types, and generally high and mobile literary and intellectual bent of Jewish college-aged youth, available to be utilized as sources of a reinvigorated youth attention and attentiveness to Jewish culture and ideation.

[49]Tom Kahn points out that while there are some strong evidence that the New Leftist movement has lost substance and unity, as a coherent movement, within the last three or four years since 1968, it is indicated that many essential New Left "ideational" elements themselves have gained wider acceptance on the campuses, as indicated by recent social research efforts, among them a study of opinion among student leaders on fifty American university and college campuses undertaken by the League for Industrial Democracy. (See Tom Kahn, "From the Ashes of the New Left," in Chertoff, op. cit., esp. pp. 78-79; and The State of the Student Movement, 1970 (New York: The League for Industrial Democracy, 1970). As has been pointed out (above), many existing Jewish youth groups functioning prior to the radical era adopted or manifested heavily in their life-styles and in their members a distinctly more radical, activistic, or even generally radical-like "dynamic" and "action oriented" aura of their own, and attracted as well in this later period, increasing numbers of more radical Jewish youth. In the cross-fretilization of ideas, social values, and behavioral styles there emerged a blending of radical life-style elements and action orientations with requisite interest in and pursuit of Jewish culture and ideals.

[50]As one very active Jewish has said, "The Israeli-Arab Six Day War in June 1967 shocked many people... This war also awakened an entire generation to the possibility that Israel could be destroyed... To them, unlike their elders who had suffered through Auschwitz, Babi Yar, and finally the creation of a Jewish homeland, Israel had "always" existed. They needed a jolt, and they received it in the early dawn of June, 1967." (Jack Nusan Porter, "Jewish Student Activism," Jewish Currents, May 1970). For the impact of the "switch of sympathies" after June 1967 of many New Leftists on young Jews, and the "shock of recognition" of the importance of Israel and what it meant, to them, see Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, op. cit., esp. pp. 189-191).

[51]Prof. Allen Pollack, Lecture at Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California May 22, 1972 (videotaped). Dr. Pollack points out, as have some other observers of this phenomenon, that the new respectability in minoritarian and majority circles of ethnic subcultural pride, of active "cultural pluralism" in America, ensconsed as a liberal ideal, made Jewish national pride a viable avenue and alternative for Jewish youth. It is significant, however, if this viewpoint is true, that the Jewish youth revolution did not stem from youths' conscientiously taking a path laid out for them by leading or aspiring Jewish thinkers, or by rabbis, schools of thought such as Reconstructionism or old Yiddish Culturalism, or the like, but from a source entirely outside Judaism, and rather through these Jewish youth aping and imitating a course followed respectively by Blacks, and by Chicanos beside them. An acceptance of this approach in turn, might imply that Jewish youth do not respond, and are not as capable of responding, to "basic wellsprings of inspiration" from within Judaism, as presented or as refabricated by modernist thinkers within Judaism, as some Jewish social thinkers have hoped, and that moreover the distance between Jewish youth and their tradition as embodied in present-day adults is quite far apart yet, and communication yet difficult.

[52]For an outstanding discussion of Hillel Foundation local campus groups in particular, and more broadly, Jewish organizations on the campus, and their problems in dealing with Jewish students' needs in the era up until 1965, see Alfred Jospe, Judaism on the Campus: Essays on Jewish Education in the University Community (Washington, D.C.: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, 1965). See in this work particularly Chapter 3, "The Jewish Student and His Sense of Jewish Identity" (pp. 46-60).

For an excellent discussion of this by a Jewish active youth, see Richard Marva, "Judaism on the Campus - Why It Fails," in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews (New York: Vintage Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 101-111. Reprinted from Response, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 1968. Marva says,

"Looking at the status of Judaism on the campus, in some detail, one finds that the organization is obsolete, that its program priorities are off target (sic), and that its very goals do not coincide with the substantive concerns of the current campus population."

(Narva, op. cit., p. 104)

[53]For a good articulation of this viewpoint, see Narva, op. cit. He says,

"Present campus alternatives hardly appear to be the answer (to Jewish education needs). Understaffed, over-

worked Hillel de facto devotes its time and energy to the most traditional students. As a result the rest of the students too often unwilling to swallow Hillel's hard line and rabbinical domination (sic) take their talents elsewhere."

(Narva, op. cit., p. 105).

[54]Cf. mention of this in Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 66, 1965, pp. 1-81. He points out how, "On many campuses Yavneh has come into conflict with local Hillel groups because of its unwillingness to accept the latitudinarian status quo."

(Liebman, op. cit., p. 39).

[55]As observed by the author over the period from October 1966, when the Yavneh chapter was founded, through September 1969, at UCLA. The author was a charter member of Yavneh (which replaced the former "Beth Jacob (Synagogue) College Association") of Beverly Hills, and member of UCLA Hillel. See discussion of this for example in Maibaum, The History, Functions and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict: Berkeley Hillel and the "Radical" Union of Jewish Students (unpublished manuscript, for The Society For the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972; in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York), pp. 180-182. See also, for example, trends and developments in the relationship of Yavneh and UCLA Hillel over this period as indicated in reports and announcements of the two groups' conjoint and individual activities, in the Hillel Newsletters for the "Pacific Far West Region" (Hillel Foundation, Los Angeles, California) for 1967-1972, and in Ha Orah and Ha'Am (Jewish student newspapers, UCLA, Los Angeles) over the period 1969-1972.

[56]Cf. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.; Maibaum, The History, Functions and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict, op. cit., Part I, pp. i-61.

[57]For example, in Berkeley in September 1968, the Hillel rabbi was required to expend considerable time contacting members of the local Jewish community to raise emergency funds of $2,200 to pay for repair of the Foundation building plumbing and pipes, which system collapsed during the summer. He was unavailable for other duties of interest to Student Council members for this time, and furthermore this event underscored the point that "extra funds" were never available for emergencies, let alone for student activities there, within the framework of the yearly

official budget of the Foundation there. Such events and problems are fairly typical of many subsisting or essentially marginally existing Jewish youth-oriented organizations on campuses around the country. (Notes of proceedings, 1st Hillel Student Council meeting, September 1968, Berkeley, California).

[58]Such frustrations and grounds for frustration were vented by many members of the USJ in Berkeley, with respect to the nearby Hillel, particularly during the first formative six months of the group's existence. Remarks like "They never do anything at all!" and "They have no interest (ideologically) in the kinds of things we want to do," were common. (See Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.).

[59]One marginally active member of the UCLA Hillel, a law student and attender at some functions, for example, sardonically but sympathetically referred to this problem at an oneg shabbat)Friday night gathering after services) at another school, as "the broken cookies and watery punch syndrome." (Conversation with UCLA Hillel affiliate, Los Angeles, California, December 1968). See also comments by acculturated fraternity Jewish youth about middle-class, identifying Jews of the late 1940s in the campus world, in Joseph Adelson, "A Study of Minority Group Authoritarianism" in Marshall Sklare, ed., The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 475-492. Here, onw Jewish fraternity member under scored an unfavorable impression of Jewish youth-oriented (and in the context of the present day, nonradical) organizations like Hillel societies as composed of "funky," undesirable and "conventional" youth, that still appears to persist in some sectors of Jewish youth today, and that appears to characterize attitudes of many radical and nonradical Jewish youth both:

"...I don't know about the (Cs) and (Ds) (fraternities). From what I hear, they really aren't fraternities in the real sense of the word. They're Hillel Jews. You know--just Jews."

(Adelson, op. cit., p. 477).

[60]This writer is indebted to the Reconstructionist, Rabbi Richard Rubinstein for this observation. (Conversation with Berkeley Hillel rabbi, October 14, 1968).

[61]One non-Jewish student who apparently was sympathetic to both the Zionist viewpoint and positive in his feelings about American Jews generally, said for example with regard to the involvement of Jewish youth in causes concerned with other minorities and with the disadvantaged

"Well, with all of the money and influence that Jews have I still think they (local Hillel affiliates) can do a lot more on behalf of others." (Conversation with senior engineering student, Berkeley, California, March 1, 1969, at the time of the beginning of the "People's Park" conflict in Berkeley).

[62]See for example, the letter to Ha'am (Jewish student newspaper, UCLA, Los Angeles) wherein the writer states:

"The results are varied. These people who want to get involved (in meaningful youth activities) do. They start organizations like the Los Angeles Union of Jewish Students (LAUJS) that attempt to unite Jewish organizations into a cohesive unit. Because of the lack of funds however, these organizations have very little power. I have not heard anything from LAUJS for quite a while. The students who are indecisive about getting involved find it very easy just to give up."

(Ha'Am, February 1973, "Letters" section, p. 2). Also see Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.

[63]Particularly noticeable in the new Jewish youth periodicals, which feature articles and essays on Rabbi Alkiba, the Baal Shem Tov (founder of Hasidism), Moses as social reformer, and a wide range of other historic figures, underscoring and pointing to their roles as "radical action" men and innovators in social policy and social theory, in Jewish history. (See Ha'Am, Jewish student newspaper, editions of 1971 and 1972, featuring such articles on Jewish historic leadership figures, for example). Also, radical-religious items like haggadot (Passover service prayerbooks) feature modern interpretations of ancient leadership figures' roles and activities, and hold them up to emulate. The Jewish Liberation Haggadah of the Jewish Coalition, at the California State University at Los Angeles from 1971, characterizes Moses as a revolutionary political and social leader who led the Jewish "liberation struggle" against Egyptians, after abandoning his acculturated position as a member of Egypt's dominant, "upper-middle class," "Cosmopolitan" society. It says for example,

"Moshe, who was to lead the Jewish liberation struggle of his people was one of the many assimilated Jews in Egypt. He grew up in Pharoah's court, the adopted son of the ruler's daughter... Having left both the cosmopolitan scene in Egypt and his own oppressed people, Moshe dropped out for a while and opted for raising a family in the peace and quiet of the desert... The vision of a burning but unconsumed bush, representing the unending struggle of his people, snapped him out of his drop-out phase. He returned

to Egypt to lead his people's liberation struggle."
(op. cit., pp. 8-9).

(See the Jewish Liberation Haggadah of the Jewish Coalition, The California State University at Los Angeles, 1971; also see the Jewish Liberation Haggadah of the Jewish Liberation Project, New York City, 1971; edited by Aviva Zukoff, Yitzcak Epstein, and Jerry Kirschen).

[64]Cf. Gabriel Almond and James S, Coleman, Politics in the Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960). This book has been for many years considered an authoritative classic in the politics of "development," with special reference to the development of government organizations and their problems, and has much to say on the conparative problems of adaptability and "flexibility" in organizations, and the effects of different levels of this upon the climate for social revolution and social change. Much indeed of what the authors discuss--borrowing from the framework of comparative politics--would appear to relate very much to events within and between Jewish youth organizations.

[65]Pointed out by Milton Himmelfarb, general editor of The American Jewish Yearbook and a leader of The American Jewish Committee, in his article "Is American Jewry in Crisis?" lecture at Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, April 10, 1970 (taped). He pointed out here that,

"In the literature of Jewish movements, the Zionist movement, historically, and the (Jewish) Labor movement, and in current Jewish youth movements, as well, there is a virtual absence of hate. In the publications of other radical groups, such as the writings of the Black Panthers, there is a considerable amount of hate expressed, for things, and towards other groups."

See also his "Is American Jewry in Crisis?" in Commentary, Vol. 47, No. 3, March 1969, which contains many of the elements and ideas that were discussed, above.

[66]Cf. Liebman, op. cit., p. 61. He points out how "... The rise of the Enlightenment, Jewish socialism, and secular Zionism occasioned a reinterpretation by the mitnaggedim (non-Hasidic Orthodox Jews) of hasidic behavior as an aspect of piety rather than rebellion. By the 20th century there were strong ties between the Hasidim and mitnaggedim which resulted in the joint participation of many of their leaders in Agudath Israel (a worldwide policy-making and administrative body of Orthodox Jewish leaders)."

[67]See discussion of this in Part III on "Religious Developments," infra, and in Part IV, sections on "Jewish

Science" and on "Literary and Philosophic Tastes," infra.

[68]Conversation with a leading member of the Berkeley Kosher Co-op group, at Pesach, Los Angeles, California, April 1972.

[69]It may well be true that the failure of many communal living institutions in the youth realm over this period is related to the fact that many such institutions sustained a high degree of tension between their "official" ideology and orientation to living, and the actual normative attitudes and beliefs, and levels of political socialization and consistent ideologic commitment of their members. As well, it is possible equally that the conflicts between youth group members' life-style habits of individuality or individualism and spontaneity, and the requirements of "collectivist" planning and group discipline, and "consensual behavior" (i.e., behavior decided upon by the group as a whole) demanded by "socialist" group design and ideology, were too much for many members to bear, in the last analysis, on a day to day basis. (See discussion of "Jewish Communalism," in Part IV, infra, and especially see comments by Gottschalk, op. cit.). The successes of such communal groups over long periods of time, as the Berkeley Union of Jewish Students, in existence for five years as of September 1972, (and, by way of comparison, the House of Love and Prayer in the religious realm) however, among organizations with decentralized member living, relatively open membership vis-a-vis activities, and a minimum of required "supportive" activities of a physical type and a minimum likewise of required ideological-oriented participatory activities and duties, would tend to indicate the viability of "collectivist-oriented" movements and groups of a more decentralized nature, regardless of the depth of ideological or political reigrousness that different groups may demand of members in general terms. (See M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit., esp. pp. 155-158 on the political and "living" style of UJS members; The History, Functions, and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict, op. cit., pp. 9-18 on those same aspects of the Berkeley UJS group; and M. Maibaum and C. Chayim Crill, "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth," unpublished manuscript, in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York City, 1973).

Chapter VI: The New Jewish Youth Groups: Some Plausible Developmental And Relations Problems

Introduction

The Jewish youth groups that developed in 1965-1972 have had and will have several problems of relationships. And they havd had several problems in development amidst other youth and in relations with the adult world. These have complemented their problems of interest-aggregation, funding and cohesion, and of attainment of the goals towards which they have worked. These groups also have had with these, problems in relationships with one another as well. These problems have confounded the lives of these groups, even while other "live" problems of these groups that arose from within and from without were also present. Problems of "development" and of "relations" have stemmed from the organizational style of these groups, the difficulties they have faced in terms of intra-group interpersonal relations and in terms of the manner in which they pursued their goals.

Among these areas of problem are relationships that were not adequately defined, perceptions that were not clarified, and commitments of the individual adult or youth to the "group" and to society and of the broader Jewish society to the Jewish youth individual. All of

these areas will have to be dealt with by existing groups. It appears that historically rampant problems and issues such as anti-semitism, right-wing extremism, left-wing anti-semitism, and the problems and issues of attempting to integrate Jewish religion with culture, and Jewish life and thought generally with American or universalist thought and action, were dealt with today by youth as by the Jewish adult realm. And these were recognized as important by Jewish youth in the new movements and groups and these groups came to grips with and dealt with some manifestations of these affectively. However, there were other areas of concern some of which emerged only as Jewish groups themselves emerged that became of increasingly important concern for Jewish youth. The very fact of their not being recognized and dealt with systematically in either Jewish youth group circles in this period or in Jewish "adult" organizational and community circles makes it imperative nonetheless that they be pointed out and discussed here.

Not all areas of difficulty that will be faced by the new Jewish student and youth groups can be covered in a study such as this. But an attempt may be made to discuss and analyze several areas that appear to have been important areas of problems and difficulties for these groups and their members in the recent years and in the near future. And an especial effort will be made to discuss and analyze problem areas usually, or hitherto, overlooked.

There can be defined three realms of problems that the new Jewish student and youth groups have faced. We may term these the realms of "structural dynamics," "ingroup" or "intra-group relations," and "intergroup relations."

"Structural Dynamics" might be defined as the realm of how the life of any youth group changes and how the life of the individuals in it change, as a result of changes in the way the youth group is structured and the way it functions as an organization. It moreover deals with the ways in which the group's functioning in society changes as a result of changes among members of the group, and within members of a group, with respect to attitude, ideology or feelings, as youth or as Jewish youth.

"Ingroup relations" may be defined as the realm that is concerned with the ways in which individuals and subgroups of people within a youth group relate to each other, and how these patterns of "relationship" affect the overall patterns of the group's behavior and growth. It moreover deals with ways in which group growth and change affect the relative social and political positions of these different individuals and "types," and "subgroups" of individuals, within a youth group.

And "Intergroup relations" may be defined as the realm concerned with the ways in which a group on the whole relates to individuals, to groups and to institutions outside itself in surrounding society as a function of its

own internal patterns, and as a function of events that transpire in broader society. It concerns as well the effects that different patterns of relationship between the group and other groups or individuals in society will have on the group's directions and development, and upon its members as individuals.

We shall here consider several areas of life and relationship in these Jewish youth groups, and problems in them, that appear to have been important as developmental and relations problems that these groups face.

Structured Dynamics

Relative Social and Administrative Insularity and the Social Success of Youth Groups: A "Church" Versus "Sect" Analysis

An analysis sociologically of groups' structure and patterns of relationships according to their place analytically speaking on a continuum of "Church" and "Sect," previously employed by Charles Liebman in his study or organized Orthodox Judaism in America,[1] would appear to be useful to illustrate phenomena in Jewish youth groups.

The analysis of organizations in religious society according to their relative congruence to either the ideal of the "Church" or of the "Sect," as two opposite religious organizational types on a continuum of organizational types, was first discussed by Troeltsch,[2] and elaborated and

built upon by J.M. Yinger,[3] the American sociologist of religion. According to this classificatory scheme, the "church" is an organization that attempts to embrace, serve, and represent a wide mass and group of people in a society, defining for them their needs and satisfying these. It moreover tends to be well-centralized in its organization, with local group segments of it owing allegiance to the central body and basing their own behavior and ideation upon organizational, ideological and behavioral cues presented by the central leadership. The "sect," on the other hand, is essentially a group that is interested in satisfying the needs of its own local members, in determining them, defining them, and supplying their fulfillment. At the same time the sect avoids where not necessary, manipulation, intrusion, or control from outside, from other groups or from some recognized or ideologically conceived central group, parent body, or other real or potential source of authority from outside the group. Organizationally speaking the sect tends to be locally-conceived, and loyal to local needs and interests, and eschews broad-based commitments of itself to centralizing bodies or interests. (The usage of "sectarian" often goes together with "localistic," as used in this work.)

The position of any Jewish youth group, for that matter, on the "sect" end or upon the "church" end

(allowing for the perhaps somewhat inappropriate terminology)[4] of the church-sect continuum, in its proper relative place amongst other Jewish youth groups, other general groups, and other Jewish organizations in society can demonstrate to an analyst some of the broader social consequences of that group's overall organizational style. And it can do this not only to its relation to other groups or to issues it deals with, but to the socialization and the fulfillment of its individual members as well.

The details of analysis of all Jewish radical groups and of their "forms" of administrative organization, and of their complexities of makeup in the period of study, are too extensive to attempt here.[5] Generally however, it appears from the foregoing depiction of these organizations the mentioned groups can be organized upon two related models of continuua based upon the church-sect continuum that appear useful here. The first we may look at could be called a continuum of "relative centralization of the organization." Here groups can be arrayed on a continuum in terms of their having heavily-centralized and directive "central" organization nationally (i.e., the church end), or their having very much localistic, decentralized organization and direction and assistance on the other hand (i.e., the sect end). The second could be called a continuum of "group continuity and contact with the community." Here groups can be arrayed on a continuum in terms of their

members being heavily involved with, representative of, and interacting with a surrounding Jewish community (for us the Jewish component is germaine), i.e., the church end, or in terms of their members being essentially withdrawn from, not involved extensively with, and not beyond large representative of wider segments of the Jewish community in which that group is situated. The first could be termed the "centralization-localization" continuum and the second, the "interaction-separation" continuum.

When one looks at the array of Jewish youth groups on the first continuum, on the far left (or church end) appear the SSSJ, and the Jewish Peace Fellowship, then some religious groups like Lubavitch Hasidim (shown here in terms of its appeal and significance among youth) groups, and Betar in the same relative position. Further at the sect end, there would be situated American Students for Israel, and then the JRC and UJS groups of any one locality for the most part. On the second continuum, that of "interaction relative to separation" of the group in the community in which it lives, one may place the SSSJ on the church end strongly, and to the right of it, the JDL, then Lubavitch Hasidic groups increasingly midway, and then on the right (or sect end), Jewish Peace Fellowships, some UJS chapters, then the JRCs, Students for Israel chapters, and Betar. On both continuua derivations of the basic church-sect schema the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, the JDL, and Lubavitch groups fit on the church side of the continuum whilst, aside from

some variation across UJS groups around the country, the UJS groups, Jewish Radical Community groups, and Students for Israel and also the Havura groups in most cases fit on the sect end of the continuum. And some JRCs, ASI groups, other Zionist groups, and UJS groups are extreme on the sectarian end of the continuua on both measures, as are most "communalistic" groups.

This analysis is selective and based upon some groups surveyed and studied. It here has not attempted to represent all Jewish youth groups. Nor do all those groups under the same name demonstrate identical patterns.[6] But the relative positions of these groups on these measures does indicate what have been some characteristics of and limitations upon the various groups. Sectarian groups have tended to be unable to mobilize larger numbers of surrounding co-religionists or co-ideologues for efforts, to bring about wider social change, and to generate wider social unrest that could have made for change. Their generally "inward-turned" mobilization efforts towards goals of the group also limited their ability to mobilize outsiders. And their dislike of and also distrust of filiative relationships with outside groups and especially with other, "church-oriented" widespread organizations trying to co-opt or direct them, has lead them to not join outside ranks except for occasional and particular issues or necessities of the moment. Furthermore the general psychological

functional bases for their existence, the meeting of "personalistic" needs of members, has led them to neither become widespread and multiply their territorial involvements, nor to join general and more impersonal intergroup alliances. The combination of personalistic psychological, iconoclastic political, and weak financial factors that largely characterized the Jewish radical and some other groups tended to enforce their sectarian organizational style by and large. And as much, whilst they may have been able to generate in their few (as few as three to six) core members and in some sequential affiliates strong bonds to ideology, to interpersonal commitments, and to group work-efforts, they could neither generally spread their prophetic and practical messages to wider segments of Jewish youth or adult society as their ideologies ironically militate (especially if these were of the general Socialist and Zionist sort) nor could they hope to generate enough of an alliance with large numbers of other groups members or collect vast enough numbers of their own "affiliates" to generate powerful waves of social change in Jewish youth and adult society. Furthermore their basic distance from or apartness from surrounding segments of Jewish society even in a "Jewish area," as we have seen is a characteristic of some groups on the interaction-separation continuum analysis, meant practically that they were also unknown to and ignored by the masses of surrounding people among whom they lived.

And when their activities were seen and misinterpreted (as often happens with "strange groups" in the midst of a public) their appearance and manifestation brought on not friendship from the locality as much as hostility, bewilderment and resentment, which in turn often psychologically socially guaranteed the group's insularity.

But these sectarian groups faced another problem as well. If they evolved or attempted to evolve into being more widely-based, more "church" oriented, and more "organized" in the current jargon (from the top down, and from centralization outwards), the very close and warm and intimate nature of a group's social and intellectual and psychological life was threatened and the group "will" was disrupted. Members who joined the group because it was a "viable alternative" to an open social, but impersonal, broad and sporadic life-style, then sought to leave it inasmuch as it no longer satisfied the needs it once did. And crucially, they tended to leave even in spite of often, their continued belief in the orientation to society, the ideology, or the credal commitments of that group. Thus it was this complex conflicting cross-pressure of the need to realistically broaden one's group involvement and one's public base and one's organizational efficiency in terms of generating broader social change, at the expense of the intimacy, structural strength and cohesion, and "historic psychological soul" of the group, that was a very real and

practical, if not often elucidated, dilemma of many a Jewish youth group.

Interestingly too by contrast lie the positions of such groups as the SSSJ, Lubavitch, and JDL and Betar. The first group appears to have had all the benefits required in the society-organization relationship at least here, for its role. It was centrally organized and tied, had a central informational system. And it had a nationwide image and natiowide connexions to individuals of note. It also demonstrated generally a continuity with the community in which any one chapter existed; its membership was comprised in the period of study as since then, of a range of youth and adults of many political and social persuasions from militant JDL affiliates to general progressive-leftist suburban and anti-religious youth. Perhaps its large membershiplist and estimated size of yearly and event affiliates, and its abilities to mobilize and inspire thousands of youth to demonstrate for Soviet Jewry's rights was a more valid behavioral indicator of its strengths even than one might have postulated. Lubavitch, with its nation-wide centers, its nationwide appeal, its ability to capture the imagination of thousands of formerly assimilated and well-acculturated Jewish youth, and its hundred thousand non-Orthodox affiliates and supporters and members, plausibly gained much strength from its strongly central-organized and yet widespread, sectarian-originated and some-

what unusual basis and yet widening, and religiously and ideologically quite tolerant social continuity with surrounding communities. And local Betar chapters and groups may be discontinuous with the surrounding community but had a strong central, and growing organization in the United States that outshined the centralist potentialities or interests of many Jewish radical and progressive "leftist" youth groups. And whilst the JDL may have had less centralization of guidance and direction than the SSSJ, it had more than most local Jewish radical and progressive "left" groups were able or willing to mount, with its well-known founder, Rabbi Kahane, its own literature and its widespread orientation to Jewish problems. And its efforts in the early 1970s to even "internationalize" and form wider and stronger supra-community links, and its fairly wide range of age and background representations among its makeup, together with the press of ongoing threat and JDL members' willingness to step in and assume a "wide community role," made it successively more continuous with many communities in which any one group was found.

It appears that beyond personal factors and psychological and social factors motivating members to join originally, some social behavioral characteristics tied to political ideology as well made for the insularity, small size, and often the small change-producing potential at present of many Jewish youth groups. One of the peculiar

characteristics of the "new liberalism" pointed to in a range of literature in the social sciences and in political theory today has been the prominence among youth liberals and radicals of the concept that one's isolation, apartness, and distance from "the Mass" of surrounding people is a good and necessary position for one and for one's group to take. This is because it implicitly insures and insulates the group and the individual from value-pollution and destruction by general non-progressive, conservative groups outside that are either untrusting of progressive change agents, or incapable of accepting these new directions from these educated elites at this time. Analyses of such apartness and "elitism" have been made with special respect in recent years to New Left groups on the campus. But this model of youth orientation, if it applied to Jewish youth groups, may similarly point to significances here. Perhaps the withdrawal from, or at least the sectarian stance of many of these groups in society was not only a psychological result of personalistic needs. But it was also a psychological result of a still ongoing revolt, in political terms, of Jewish youth against a surrounding adult realm that one wanted to reform with new ideas, but that one did not truly trust in turn. And the "political rationale" for apartness, often seriously or sardonically thrown up in youth discussions as the reason for groups' lacking a wider framework of activity within surrounding Jewish

society actively and pragmatically was "Well, they're not ready for us!" It was in a sense a self-accepted rationalization for the group members' being able to avoid confronting, working within and failing within a dominant non-understanding, alienating, adult Jewish system. Here, whilst they still remained very much outside the fold of general surrounding society, communal Jewish youth and many radical-group members still could carry forth the fact to themselves and their fellows of their political and social relevance to Jewish society, while not being broadly in it. On the other hand members of this recent generation of Jewish youth attempted to find themselves psychologically and socially amidst a sometimes no longer as-credible America, amid a shallow and disappointing Jewish America that Jewish leaders themselves bewail as false and struggling to find itself, and amidst surrounding mainstream youth that they no longer wished to emulate. And perhaps an insularity that made for repair and growth, apart at least for a while from the noise and haste, was what is most needed in a time such as this.

As for the general dilemma of organizational style, as any one group moves from one relative position to another, from more church to more sect, it will have to forego some of its classic soul, and classic basis of design.

It could be argued that the impact of "churchization"

versus "sectism" is probably of greater significance, and had greater impact, upon the Jewish "radical political" rather than Jewish "religious" groups, where groups might be looked at and arrayed analytically as having been either primarily religious, or radical and social-political. This is due to the fact that the church-sect evolution is more tied up intimately with the dynamics, and the evolutionary direction, of political and social groups. Political and social groups in the Jewish realm, as we have said, were composed of Jewish youth who had to find not only their roles as adults in an adult society, but their roles as Jews within a Jewish society, and beyond this their roles as "political" Jews within the _de facto_ political dimensions of both Jewish communal and general gentile worlds. Even beyond this, they faced a fourth realm of necessity for achieved group-identity social integration. This is that of their members' having to resolve an identity for themselves as "_radical_ political" beings within the gentile and Jewish social and political spheres. And this involved perhaps the most difficult in itself, most historically uncharted, and most confounding and ethically and morally sensitive tasks. As Jewish youth of "radical," or of any self-defined, and aspiring "progressive" group organized and became prominent, and attempting to deviate even in rather limited behavioral and ideological ways from the political styles in the political and social dimension of

their Jewish and gentile adult colleagues, they found that they had to define along the way what this relationship is of their group and its own approach and ideation, to that of any other adult group around it. The situation required some resolution of relationships, some formulations of alliances and trust that are necessary to the survival of any social group or ideological group, and the defining of overall roles and ranges of effort, for any Jewish political and social youth group of progressive nature. And this was quite confounded by any evolution of any group into a more "church," or "Va'ad," made of organizational existence, from a more definitively "sectarian" (or, as we have said, "localistic") or "hevra" made of organizational existence. Roles of all four levels, or types, that members of Jewish youth radical and other political-social youth groups had to define, had to be looked at differently, and perhaps within a schema of ongoing evolution or revolution by members, as these groups evolved and became transformed in terms of their overall very organizational style and form and structure, from sectarian to broader types. This could occur only with a good deal of difficulty, it is submitted, and with a good deal of confounding of both the historic "soul" or ideation and original conceived paths for growth in these groups.

As for the preeminently religious Jewish youth groups, they too faced consequent impacts from any evolution of

themselves into more "church" modes of existence and out of a more "sect" mode of existence. However, their problems appeared plausibly to be less severe. It can be said that these groups' members had to resolve relationships as Jewish religious youth groups' members, with the "adult" world, with the Jewish "adult religious" world, and the "general Jewish" world on the whole. However, Jewish religion being what it is, it is a "religion" and a style of life and of ethical conduct, and not as such a political philosophy. And members of these groups needed not resolve any relationship as Jewish religious "progressive" group members with the Christian, gentile world as such. Their type of involvements militated in favor of rigorous efforts within the realm of the adult Jewish "religious" world particularly. But this world, socially and intellectually, in a sense comprised the necessary limit of their range of involvements in the world, as Jewish youth "religious" progressive group members as such. These groups were thus not faced with the fourth type of necessity, for a relationship resolution with the surrounding world paralleling what was found in the Jewish "politico-social" radical youth group world. Unlike the political and social radicals the religious progressives did not see their ideology as a manifestation essentially of a larger, universalist ethic that they had to do their part to propagate universally. It was an involvement peculiar to and of necessity limited to

Judaism and to the Jewish social realm. And perhaps it was limited as some would suggest in the rabbinates and Hillel foundations, to those segments of Judaism that were interested in religion, found it relevant, and saw it an an important side of their American lives. Furthermore it may be that the religious groups indeed had an easier task in achieving their ends, and in resolving their identities and their relationships with surrounding soceity, in that the bulk of their efforts were in the form of revising, discovering again, and revitalizing elements of a religious heritage that already have existed for a long time within Judaism. These groups were making change, where they did, primarily in "re-aligning" classic Jewish ideologies or practices, in editing old ones and adding new ones, or in reintroducing former practices from Tradition. They were not introducing totally new ideologies and ideals that when they appeared threatened the existing adult system, as could be seen to be the case in the "political" realm. The "re-discovery" and "reemployment" of religious ideals and ideas rather than the mushrooming growth of new ones could be seen best exemplified perhaps in the renascence of interest around the country in Hasidism, Jewish mysticism and spiritualism, the study of _Pirke Avot_ and other writings on Jewish religious (and social) ethics, and the popularity and appeal of Neo-Orthodoxy and of "Post-Critical" neo-traditionalism for many. This primacy of "reintroduction"

and "revitalization" in the religious group realm and among primarily-religious oriented Jewish youth actives, rather than "radical creation," may have had significance chiefly in the realm of Jewish youth-adult relations in that there were less overall grounds for ideological confrontation, conflict and misunderstanding in the religious realm. Conflict, and problems of coordination of efforts, and of mutual efforts towards desired ends, stemmed where they did appear largely from problems of coordination, generational snobberies, and other ground instead.

In turn if this is so, this may mean that many Jewish youth active in the political-social realm who tired of endless battles there, may have gravitated in numbers toward and into the realm of Jewish religious group activity and identification, as the difficulties here appeared to them to be less. There are indeed some evidence from this period of study, that the "religious function" in most Jewish youth progressive groups grew proportionately, relative to the "political" ideation and commitment content, over the period 1969-1972 and it may have been in part due to this reason.

On the other hand, Movement differences and rivalries within the Jewish religious world, and historical Movement-oriented divisiveness, by 1972 already had created problems for religious Jewish youth groups. Group members were faced with the alarming prospect to many of them, of having

to choose allies and even "sponsors" from among a plethera of varied, different, and often competing and hostile Reform, Conservative, Orthodox and Reconstructionist synagogue and foundations, rabbis, and educators. For one thing this refuted and shattered their ideal concept of a unified, workable "catholic Israel" community that they could work with as one and improve, and for another this meant that these youth had to select political and then ideological friends and enemies, which course they found immoral and did not wish to take. Additionally, for a good many groups and group activities the vast selection of Jewish groups and movements and institutions in the religious realm was confusing. And the necessity for weighing the benefits and costs of friendship here and there was an exhausting and disillusioning adventure. It made for inefficiency in these groups' communication with the adult world, and even evoked in many of these active youth residual traces of disgust with and resentment at the adult, "organized" Jewish religious community with which they were trying to work. Frustrations here in turn often produced a further radicalization of some groups in the religious dimension, leading on one hand to religious creativity, and on the other to further alienation socially and emotionally from contacts with the adult Jewish world. By 1972 however, the picture here of Jewish religious radical and progressive youth groups, mixed in its cross-

currents and confounded by social and cultural variables and forces at work presented varied and strong, emergent possibilities for new and newly reinstituted forms of religious existence for youth. And it appears that a similar kind of conclusion could be drawn to a lesser degree, concerning the new radical social-political groups.

Perhaps the near future will see the systematic (and more probably unsystematic) development in Jewish youth groups in the direction of a greater centralization of overall organization while yet they maintain local control and make locally-decided and inspired efforts. This may occur under the sort of "federalist" arrangement in progress since the early 1970s amongst Jewish youth groups, in which groups have maintained their localism of control and content, and yet, national scope of bases of information, education, and concern. Some efforts in this direction have been made in the North American Jewish Students' Network.[7] And too many groups may evolve into having greater continuity and consonance of affiliates in terms of membership, day to day involvement, and identity of interests and mutuality of social relationship on many levels, as their members decide to temper the extremities of some of their positions ideologically or socially with greater openness to a surrounding community that is more accepting. Whatever particular developments occur in these realms, only the future will tell.

Group Growth versus Organization for Efficiency

If it is true as an administrative sciences adage says, that as societies continue, "organizations move from the simple to the complex," many Jewish youth groups had and have problems ahead. The continued socialization of Jewish youth into numbers of groups plus the ambition for development and improvement implied a need for greater design for efficiency within each. Funds had to be raised, buildings or rooms rented for events, relations with other Jewish youth groups and adult organizations had to be struck and maintained, through differences of opinion and the storms of local and worldly events. The tendency towards bureaucratic structural rigidity and impersonality and too, occasional "dullness," and away more and more from total spontaneity and mobility of action, produced more alienation of members and disappointment at nonachievement of goals. That situation would remain unless some mode of "post-hierarchical" organization were to be developed in each, of the "face to face" or "matrix" type for example, that allows all members feelings of equal participation and importance good for morale and yet that remains efficient.[8] Such patterns moreover themselves threatened the prestige and pride of typically autocratic leaders and founding members in many such groups. And as well very few Jewish students had become familiar enough with "organization theory" in a way such that they could apply it creatively

to their own youth groups. A result was that "core-mass" dichotomies of size and distance and inequality of satisfaction and participation grew over the years in such groups among continuing, and new members. (It might not be too much to expect however that academically-trained youth could learn to pick up and master, and apply "administrative science" from the University classroom to the function of groups with such emergent importance to them, for greater efficiency, member happiness, and the like, and one further effort here in "Jewish Science" would not be surprising.) Problems of youth groups' "design for growth" systemically, in their adaptability to needs and to issues to which they addressed themselves, were crucial if underrealized ones across the years. They may remain such in years to come.

Some Emergent Problems in the "Style" of Jewish Identity and Identification

In this era, there were problems faced by both Jewish youth groups, and by individual youth themselves in the very manner of orientation that many youth had towards Jewish existence, or "Jewishness," (yahidut). It was noticeable among Jewish youth, especially those that returned to a Jewish mode of existence, and especially among those interested primarily in the "religious" realm of Jewish existence, that there were two related and yet definable different orientations to Jewish existence that

many youth took.

One involved a Jewish youth seeing himself as part of Jewish group activity in terms of what he, as a worker among many like-minded workers, could be "collectively" with others, to assist still others in society. One variant of this orientation was one in which Jewish religiously active youth presented and sponsor festivals, ceremonies and religious communal events largely or primarily to "raise the overall Jewish consciousness" and the "moral conscience" of the masses of other Jewish youth they were trying to attract.

The other definable, and visible, orientation dominant in a great many youth, was one in which the Jewish youth affiliated with a Jewish religious radical or other group and joined in activities, festivals and ceremonies, primarily out of "personal" need. This was a need to give some order and substance and orientation to his life, to give himself values and a system whereby he might live, and to become part of a socially more transcendant social system whose ways and ideals he found agreeable and also supportive. His orientation to Jewish identity actively was primarily one in terms of what "Judaism and Jewish life can give me." In a sense, he conformed very much to what psychoanalyst and sociologist Erich Fromm has termed the "passive orientation"[10] of social belonging and individual accommodation to society, one which is preeminently receptive rather than

altruistic.

These two hypothesized orientations of different Jewish youth to their involvement in Jewish life, and their commitment to religious and other reinvigoration, revisionism, and re-traditionalization, had considerable significance. There appears to have been a little-acknowledged, latent, and yet serious and strong conflict between Jewish religious and radical youth of one orientation with these of the other. And it had in some cases serious consequences for the overall efficiency, coherence, and viability over time of many groups. Many Jewish youth in the lead in activist religious groups wished to enhance the "other-directed" stance, the social involvement, the moral protest capability, and the more broadly beneficial significance of their groups. Yet they encountered among many members and affiliates, whose talents they wished to co-opt and make use of, a concern for the "self" and for the individual's own personal needs and the primacy for these youth of what the group "can give them," and not what "they could give to the group." This was interpreted by the leaders and "other-directed" activists to be "uninvolvement" or "moral blindness" or "lack of social concern." Although according to one perspective it may appear that these were personal character shortcomings, it is probably objectively unfair to judge the less-involved youth harshly in this respect, in view of the intense alienation problems

and identity crises many had. Moreover, group actives and leaders often came to dislike such relatively inactive, seemingly uncommitted individuals and often were short-tempered with and resentful at them.[11] This worked to alienate many of the latter further from what was possibly the only social realm within organized Jewish life that they could perhaps join, and in which they could be able to thrive, and find sustenance, and ultimately "other-directed" commitment. Furthermore it led many other and perhaps a larger number of Jewish youth to remain in a timid, rather frustrated state of marginal affiliation with youth groups with whose demands and whose leaders they felt uncomfortable. Some of both types of "primarily self-oriented" youth eventually drifted once again outside the realm of organized Jewish youth group involvement, either back to acculturated existence or, less frequently, into normative traditional adult-based and non-youth oriented Orthodoxy.

Unwise intolerance and short-tempered frustration was not the province of youth group leaders alone however. For their part, many of the newly-religious, and religiously reinvigorated youth were reluctant to involve themselves meaningfully more widely in the activities of groups, on an ongoing and responsible basis. Many had yet to learn, and to become dedicated, to the concept of Jewish life within the framework of "community" and of "collective filiation and responsibility" on what is a classic Jewish pattern,

and to be in a sense heed the words of Pirke Avot and not be one "who cuts himself off from the community."[12]

This conflict of sorts between the group-activity oriented youth and the self-oriented youth threatened the destruction of more than one Jewish youth group and activity. And it provided a centrifugal force at work that worked against the unity, ongoing possibility for more effective organization towards goals, cohesive spirit and feeling of unity members of any group may have had. Undoubtedly each more "self-directed" youth resolved some of his personal problems, identity crises, and inner needs progressively, and became able with time to assume more the mantle of a group's "communal" and "other directed" work, as toward city Jewish festivals, Soviet Jewry rallies, Seders, and cultural events. And too, many went on from there to the "adult" world of adult-level affiliation with and work in some type of Jewish communal-oriented religious, charitable and other group. And understanding among some youth leaders of the dynamics, social situation, and personal needs of the many less-active and "inner turned" youth probably grew, and their relations with these youth, tempered with tolerance and astuteness, improved. Many of these tensions could be resolved. And a greated measure of cohesiveness and unidirectionality, or at least efficiency, in the interest of social justice, social aid, and relevance of these groups, could be had. But in the era 1965-1972 problems in this

realm were significant in many groups. And in many groups that have continued on up until the present time, they remain unmet, and sometimes unrecognized.

Ingroup Relations

In the Psychological Dimension: The "Ego Revolution"

There was an interesting trend seen in the period 1965-1972 and that has continued since that time in American youth at large particularly of moderate to progressive, cosmopolitan orientation and in some Jewish youth. This was the growth of what some in psychological circles have called the "new egoism." There was an unprecedented development of interest in and growth of therapeutic and psychological "groups," including "sensitivity training" and "group therapy" groups, particularly in college communities. This new interest in the "self" and in "exploring one's inner space" however had political, and social-organizational side significances as well as psychological ones. And this had crucial importance in some ways for the ongoing viability of organized Jewish youth group life, for organizations attempting to serve Jewish youth, and for organizations attempting to mobilize and adopt Jewish youth for conjoint efforts in the social sphere with adults to bring about changes and developments in society. It provided a peculiar new direction and side to the liberalism of the nineteen-sixties found among general and Jewish youth. It

might be best called "the Ego revolution."

One of the subcurrents, with others, that made up the liberal oriented social mentality and commitment of youth in the 1960s, particularly the early period, was that of "programmatic" liberalism, in which the gain of social aims and amelioration of social problems was conceived through the framework of rather well-organized and comprehensive administrative programs of action in which the individual participated as part of a team. Most of the college youth and young adults this period, not to speak of younger post-college adults, were raised in or lived in an environment that, for a period of about ten years beginning in 1960, stressed the importance of "organization" and "teamwork" as routes to the achievement of social justice, equality and the development of human welfare. Many Jewish and other youth participated in countless fund drives, welfare activities, information programs, disaster relief efforts and work projects in large organizations in thie era, as did many parents. But with the economic and social crises of the late 1960s, several things happened. The sheer numbers of recognizable crises and problems to be dealt with grew, as new crises arose or were discovered by liberal organizations in America. And the amount of work to do here, seemingly endless, probably bewildered numerous workers in these areas who were not the most able, energetic, or passionately committed. And the growth of eco-

nomic recession and the consequent employment difficulties faced by many students and adults, largely as a result of the Viet Nam War involvements of the country, created economic cross-pressures upon people that claimed their time and energies and made it impossible or difficult for many former highly active people to be as active in social helping realms. It perhaps most crucially made the whole organizationally-rooted, often public-funded "social helping establishment" unpopular with segments of the American people, who were tired of endless taxes and of hearing of endless unsolvable problems. With the further growth of the recession, the continuance of the War, and massive wide-spread unpopular reactions to the whole system of and idea of "the liberal establishment" and its kinds of programs, countless of these efforts were de-funded by the government, many people left these types of faltering efforts out of despair, and numerous others withdrew their charitable support from such efforts. Also, the important rise of "ethnic pluralist activism" as a new replacement of the "multicultural" general liberalism of the earlier 60s, itself here a curiously pluralistic conservative trend, led Blacks and Mexican-Americans and other minorities to abandon in great numbers general organizations and support particular activities of interest to themselves. Here and now, "generalist liberals" were not welcome. Nor could many translate their general principles into culture-

specific directions. The organizational-liberalism image of the earlier days was discarded and fragmented, and many individuals once part of this could not find a place in the newer developments. And too, the rise and growth of minority radicalism led to and formed the more "spontaneous" type of social justice activism, rooted not in boring programs, efficiency and long-range organizational efforts, but in shorter-term, more dramatic, often extremist efforts at confrontation of and embarrassment of existing established powers in society, which placed stresses not on intellect and on program but on energy and spontaneity and on tactics, and which discarded and derided both "program liberal" systems and their members as ineffective and often insincere.[13]

As an outcome largely of these developments spanning roughly the period 1966 through 1971, and encompassing the Black Power, Black Capitalism and Chicano movements, the victory of the "New Populist" conservative Republicans in 1968 probably too, and the ongoing recession of 1969, there was a noticeable and large turning away of youth from former, Kennedy-era style "Program liberalism," to radical action groups, but to a greater degree back to the self.[14] There was a noticeable and in some ways ominous "retreat into the self" in countless youth, including Jewish youth who would otherwise form the vanguard of much of the progressive group work needed at present to meet unsolved

problems still here and unresolved from the 1960s.[15] Students, Jewish and other, who would otherwise perhaps be working for relatively efficient local and national cause groups, flocked to growth centers, encounter groups, psychologists and art workshops, or to the security of their own intellectual private worlds.

This kind of neo-preoccupation with oneself, at the expense crucially of social commitment in some meaningful and efficient programmatic form had more profound consequences for Jewish society itself. For Jewish society, its support of its own cultural and educational viability, political and economic solvency and self-maintenance, and its support of Israel and Jewry around the world and of needy Jews here in the United States, has been historically and will continue to be rooted in the participation by large numbers of Jews in efficient, well designed and tested programs and systems for the ameliorations of need and the distribution of services by groups of individuals of diverse talents and capabilities working together in groups, and living up for long periods of time to commitments they have made. By 1972 Hillel Societies found it harder and harder to gather workers to raise money for Jewish charities each year. Proportionately fewer students in most sectors of the country were involved in more than one meaningful, "practical" serving group of some kind in Jewish society on the campus even though the numbers of Jewish students

joining groups that afforded them personal "self-growth" were increasing. As the leading figures and thinkers, administrators and planners of countless Jewish programs in Jewish federations across the country reached or came within sight of retirement age, there appeared relatively few, and often unsuitably trained, younger men and women to fill their places.[16] And committed and earnest dedication to helping Israel, world Jewry and needy sectors of American Jewry, including the young, and the old of an educated and practical thinking type, appeared rarely among most Jewish youth even in such generally ideologically amorphous groups as the Hillel societies, ATID and the like, wherein for such causes one was likely to find sympathy and intellectualism among many members but not commitment. Most trained social scientists and trained scholars in "Jewish-relevant" or plausibly relevant areas of learning, finishing their studies or starting their careers in the early 1970s, shunned "action research" in or even mention of Jewish problems.[17] There was a peculiarly personal conservative side thus to the new libertarianism of Jewish and other youth that was both a serious digression from the Jewishly favored ethic of "social commitment" and also threatened to starve the organizational and communal bases for the viability of Jewish life. Couched in a resentment supposedly of "big government" and "big business,' it was also against any goading of the individual to work in an

organization per se, irregardless of the moral directions of that organization. The liberalism that was known before, in both its general American and its Jewish organizational expression, suffered by this. The phase "I'm so tired of all these groups," heard increasingly among Jewish youth, was the watchword of this new trend.

The new egoism also unfortunately produced its own social toxins. Where peers continually disdained "do-gooder" activities of various types and opted out of them, some individuals predisposed to such involvement lost interest or lay their commitment aside, also under the combined pressures of personal problems and economic problems.

The retreat into the self may have been symptomatic of the despair and alienation of a generation of movement-joiners who saw much repressed and little enough accomplished. And it may have allowed in the Jewish sphere, as in the general, for youth to get their bearings and to "mark time" while they analyzed new and better ways of making impacts upon society, either in old or in new types of helping groups. Also it may have allowed for more intensive realization of internal and personal and psychological needs, identity resolutions, and the filling of gaps in spiritual and ideological experience of which they became aware and which in the long run strengthened the person as a Jewish and general individual.

But too, Jewish society could not afford, nor could

its youth groups and youth-based organizations and movements afford to exist without the group-commitment and dedicated energies of large masses of youth for long. Perhaps it could not exist at all, with its ongoing needs as they are. Also, it can be argued that with every passing day of lethargy or non-group existence, it became harder for the Jewish youth to develop, get used to and maintain the kind of "group mind" and group work-orientation that has been required of him in a variety of kinds of capacities. Perhaps one saw the beginning of a generation of Jews that could not and did not learn to be committed to the group efforts of Jewish soceity, and people in whom the related values and ethics of Jewish life participation and social helping, values that traditionally have coexisted with and have cross-fertilized with Jewish communitarian and other social systems and social commitment were drastically reduced.

Perhaps it is too early to tell what this psychological trend will have brought on, or will have led to the demise of. Perhaps it has been a relatively short-term phenomenon symptomatic of strains and stresses on youth, and importantly too of a tastelessness and unappeal of most Jewish organizations and youth organizations in recent years as they have existed and have presented themselves to both Jewish youth and the general Jewish community. But the short-termed ramifications at least of this re-

treat should be kept in mind and its ongoing presence should be paid attention.

What Place Religious Leadership? An Unresolved Dilemma

An area of life among Jewish student and youth groups that saw its share of problems but that yet went unacknowledged, was the role of religious leadership and the religious leadership component within the mainstream of Jewish youth groups where it existed.

The Jewish radical or progressive youth group was perhaps unique among youth groups of ethnic minorities of the period of study, and certainly for a youth group of "radical" orientation, in that the ethnic tradition of ancient lineage that the Jewish youth could draw upon existed indeed contemporaneously nearby, within American society, and was vibrant and alive. And it paralleled in its activities the life of the normative American Jew. The Chicano (Mexican-American) youth in a radical group interested in exploring his past and incorporating historical and cultural elements from it into his self-image, to enhance it and develop pride, could draw upon the cultures of the Aztecs, Toltecs, Zapotecs and other nations, all of which however had long disappeared. Similarly the Black youth attempting to adopt elements from his cultural traditions and history in Africa could draw upon the long historical and national traditions of the Senghai empire, the Ashanti empire and the kingdom of medieval Nigeria.

But here too these cultures had either disappeared in history, or their elements within the American Black cultural for the most part had been destroyed for the Black individual or shattered by dominant American culture experiences. In either example the cultural tradition drawn upon by the ethnic and radical youth was one that was not in existence at the present time, was not contemporaneous with his own, and was not then at present generating in alive form cultural themes and mannerisms, folkways, philosphies and values that paralleled or coexisted with the youth who was trying to establish a bend with it and develop supportive social and psychological foundations from it. In Jewish life however, there existed a "historical," and ancient tradition of Jewish life that manifested and embodied and also continued knowledge of the Jewish past, and maintained alive moreover practices and values of wide range that stemmed from, reiterated and kept alive an ancient cultural tradition. Moreover the ideal was held that the maintenance of such a tradition was important in itself. This group was manifest in Torah Judaism, or Orthodoxy. Orthodox educational and religious and social-political institutions paralleled in their lines, the activities and the lives of the majority of acculturated American Jews. And since the 1940s these demonstrated the same degree at least of vigorousness that other realms of Jewry exhibited. Indeed Orthodoxy, in its

institutional and political-administrative forms, particularly in the educational sphere, was growing in strength and in population size since the 1940s relative to other segments of Jewry, and was also becoming increasingly militant.[18]

This had significance for the Jewish youth group world increasingly over the early 1970s. A major, if not "the" major, theme in Jewish youth groups since the middle 1960s was and has been the discovery of one's past and past culture, learning its cultural elements, incorporating them into one's life, and finding meaning in them that related to contemporary life. This was essentially a development of Jewish "consciousness." Jewish radical and other youth in different groups and movements sought out over the recent period sources of tradition, and more broadly those of Jewish knowledge and substantive learning, and in doing so they inevitably in different places and at different times confronted, and sought the aid of, Orthodox rabbis, students, and establishments. By many students and radical youth, including even anti-religious ones, some Orthodox Jews at least were considered attractive as guides and associates in that they were seen to be "more authentic" Jews. This was because their vast intact traditional, and relatively deeper knowledge and education in the Jewish past, in Jewish values, and in ritual and ceremony was valued as a source of group growth and enhancement. Also, their

entire life-style and form of community was conceived of by many radical and other leaders to be a viable alternative to that of a deprecated American middle-class culture.

Thus, Orthodox rabbis have been sought increasingly over recent years as guides and advisers or radical and other youth groups for religious events and other events; religious youth, by virtue of their deep Jewish education and supposed pervasive Jewish knowledge have been opted and welcomed into many groups, as "new voices" and "authorities" on Judaism within these. And closer and more respectful bonds were forged between radical and other active groups, even non-religious, secularist, and Zionist groups and such Orthodox groups as local Orthodox shuls, day schools, Chabad Chassidut Lubavitch Centers in many cities, and individual charismatic or socially active Orthodox rabbis. This occurred regardless of some of the problems of difference in social manners, decorum, dress, and differences in goals that existed.

Part of the opting of and immigration of Orthodox or Orthodox-trained youth into youth radical and activist groups as such also however stemmed from the fact that much of Orthodoxy itself has moved to the "left" since the early 1900s in its ability to involve itself with the broader technological and scientific and educational world while maintaining its credal beliefs and practices. Indeed many Orthodox youth in the college world were avail-

able to be involved in and of use to a broad range of Jewish and non-Jewish activities, eagerly bringing their talents with them while still being committed to the Orthodox fold.

Problems emerged here however when and where many youth groups went in a sense somewhat outside their own fold to adopt cultural elements and ideals that were not yet their own and that they wished to make their own. To gain this they sought help, guidance and even direction from a minority cultural element whose ways were alien to those of the vast majority of Jewish youth that these groups were trying to attract and to affect. In the absence of alternative effective guidance and leadership, many groups turned over their leadership to the Orthodox and elevated them to a position of technical leadership that they did not socially or politically earn in a sense from the mass-base of the group. This development thenceforth rendered much of the direction that the group took irrelevant to many of its members and others it was trying to reach and serve. In doing so, these groups in a sense adopted and embodied a cultural and social leadership or direction that was inadequately aligned with the dominant pattern of most actives of the group, and with its mass-base even more so. And when the patterns instituted and offered as a model for the group by the often very eager and even over-zealous Orthodox youth leadership were put

into effect at a top-level of leadership in a group as "the principles of guidance," their enactment served to drive further away and alienate masses of Jewish youth who, although they were looking for Jewish content, did not feel comfortable with the particular level of ritual and ceremonial rigorousness demanded by Orthodoxy, resented some strict social conventions and taboos that went into force as the model (like separation of men and women in social and some ceremonial functions, and the like), and who resented the "elitist" and somewhat "disembodied" political power of a formerly alien group. Often too, some youth felt shamed and embarrassed by their now painfully perceived relative lack of substantive Jewish education and culture, which they took uncomfortably to be an "inferiority."

One female student active for many years in Jewish youth groups on three college campuses in California, and admittedly Jewishly not well-educated, but Jewishly concerned and committed, characterized well student leadership efforts and attempts at her state university, California State University, Los Angeles, over the period 1970 through 1972 to involve Jewish youth in Judaism, and to also infuse them with new doctrines and ideals from above. She said, "These groups are never going to attract Jewish kids to their events, and give them a sense of identity, as long as they insist upon doing things in a way that may

be culturally 'correct' but doesn't mean anything to or relate to where these kids are at, and what they understand."[19]

One example of a political and social elevation of an Orthodox group to considerable power at a top level of leadership occurred for example in Los Angeles in June of 1973, after a year or more of social and political developments leading up to it. Here, in the absence of effective alternative possibilities for a cohesive and interested leadership, and following the untimely demise of another formerly active Jewish progressive youth group on campus, the Radical Zionist Alliance, the previous September,[20] the leader of the Jewish Coalition at the California State University at Los Angeles literally turned over leadership of the group before he graduated and left for study in Israel, to an incoming body of about a dozen members of Or Hadash, (or, "New Light").[21] This was an activistic, religious, Orthodox young adult group from the Fairfax area of Los Angeles. In the period around 1970 it was noted for its combination of religious activity and something of the political and social ideological progressivism like that of the early Union of Jewish Students chapters in the late 1960s. By 1972 it was widely noted for its religious and ritual rigorousness, and the interest of some of its members in Jewish traditional mystical, spiritualistic and other historic learning. This measure

taken in the Jewish Coalition was evidently taken without any approval or assent to this from among mass-level membership of affiliates and actives at the campus. The leader reportedly discussed the matter of intra-religious (or one might say, Jewish inter-sectarian) tolerance and understanding, and the need for a wide and tolerant position (or what might be called a "latitudinarian" position) on the part of the new leadership towards the mass of students they were to now serve. And he was told by members of the incoming group that there would be no problem here, that such conditions would prevail and would be maintained, and the wishes of the vast body of normative group members would be given heed.[22] However both the political and social ethics of such an administrative changeover to a new, eager and available leadership, the practicality of such a move vis-a-vis this youth group's ongoing viability, and its ability to appeal to and attract masses of Jewish youth, were open to question. And it was unlikely that conflict between the new leadership core and the mass-base, a significant decline in group cohesiveness, and a decline in member satisfaction in some quarters at least of the group's life, would not occur. This did occur in the following months to some extent, as this writer was informed.

Whereas a "Re-Judaization" of many Jewish youth groups occurred with the influx of Orthodox-trained and

educated and adhering youth into top levels of leadership and policy-making in many Jewish youth groups, the psychological and social conflict that this in-migration of sorts was followed with between these new directing elements and their sympathizers in the "old leadership," and the mass-membership of acculturated and generally less-zealous, less-motivated and more latitudinarian Jewish youth affiliates of groups, has led simultaneously to a decline of membership and defection from groups, and to a slowdown in the upward mobility and movement of lower-level group members into the leadership levels of these groups. Defection was particularly noticeable in the yearly and seasonal festivals and ceremonies sponsored by many youth groups over recent years, particularly in attendance at nonreligious parties, dances and similar social events for member enjoyment. Even where large numbers of youth attended Pesach _seders_, Simchas Torah or Rosh HaShanah events, Purim events or Israel Day celebrations, often the same people who attended these events one year did not come the next. And those formerly active did not assume active roles again. The "turnover" viewed in many youth groups and attested to by some leaders reflected in one sense new individuals being attracted to the group, which is unquestionably good. This however also reflected at the same time defection of many potentially and naturally talented group members unwilling to submit to new rules and

regulations and group ways that to them seemed alien and even repressive. The situation in a group was not helped by the usually stringent and strict adherence to their ideals, now applied to all, among the Orthodox youth, and their refusal to exercise more social flexibility and latitude on the one hand, and the low frustration-level, lack of long-term commitment to group growth and change, avoidance of administrative and programmatic responsibility, and ignorance about and prejudice and ill-feeling towards Orthodox Jews (who are referred to by some students, ironically, as "real Jewish Jews") by mass-level acculturated members and seasonal affiliates on the other. By 1972 it appeared that both conceived bodies had to soften their political and conceptual lines of reasoning, in any youth group, for the sake of an overall "group concept" if the viability, developmental possibilities, and attraction that any one group was to have upon Jewish youth was to be maintained at all. (The same could be said, in a sense, of some Zionist, Jewish Defense League, anti-Zionist or anti-Israel, or anti-religious leadership elements in other youth groups as well, where the dynamics of leader-follower problems would appear to have been similar).

Problems in this realm will probably remain for some time to come in fact in a great many youth groups around the country. They will be alleviated most effectively, and have been, it appears, by greater communication and flexibility

of both the religious, educated elements in leadership positions, and the mass-level acculturated members, by successful ongoing efforts to achieve ongoing communication between these elements, by the reeducation and reorientation skillfully and as painlessly as possible of the acculturated masses of interested youth as to indeed what Orthodoxy or any "substantive" Judaism is all about and what elements it can offer them, and by a striving in groups by all leadership and influential elements to stress grounds of "common bonds" and grounds of needs for common efforts by Jews against common problems they all face, if these can come about. It appears that the ongoing viability and very appeal and the very worth thus of most youth groups in the religious and socio-political realms, would depend upon these occurring. The above problems in Jewish youth groups are still with us today. Hopefully this greater communication, tolerance, respect, and flexibility will mark intra-group relations in those many Jewish youth groups facing this problem in the near future.

Jewish Youth and "Womens' Liberation"

There was in this period an important ongoing development in Jewish youth life that is continuing apace within it today, and that is movement towards an equalization of status and role of the female. This process has been present in some segments of Jewish society since the early 1900s and even before, where the general Jewish Socialist,

Yiddishist and Bundist (Jewish socialist) movements saw the rise of and prominence of many women activists workers and leaders. This was a process that became widespread with both the increase of women in the labor force (as in garment trades) and with the development of Jewish international welfare and helping agencies in the late 1930s and with the involvement of tens of thousands of women in these at in social service, volunteer, coordinating and top policy-making levels.

For one thing, the early socialist and other secular progressive social and political parties and organizations spelled a widespread revolution in ideology that included changes in womens' classic roles in East European (and among them Jewish) societies. These organizations both allowed and attracted the participation of many Jewish women. Well-known leftist actives of Europe such as Rosa Luxembourg or Anna Pauker were supplemented by a host of other Jewish women or lesser general fame who participated actively and expensively in general non-Jewish and Jewish labor movements, revolutionary movements, and political activities in the United States. One element descended largely from these leftist Jewish and general political and social organizations, like the socialist Bund, the Communist youth and adult groups, general Socialist groups, and various Zionist groups including the Revisionist Zionists, was the large number of Jewish women partisans and

soldiers and underground members active in fighting the Nazis and in saving Jewish lives during World War II across Europe.[23] The new "Secular-Jewish" social and political-conscious and political-oriented revolution of the late 19th century and beyond that was later carried to the United States enfranchised the woman (significantly, half the number of Jewry) into new possible meaningful social and political roles, beyond but not necessarily antithetical to traditional ones. And many Jewish women of the present generation of college-aged youth are looking increasingly, if quietly, at the contributions of women to Jewish cultural and social and political progress and societal change and development, as models and rationales for some of their own activities and interests. They also look at these as leverage within a still male-directed series of Jewish radical and Jewish-consciousness movements for a wider role, responsibility, and trust in decision-making and activity planning relative to men, and to former roles.[24]

For another thing, in the area of social helping organizations and activities, involving the traditional and widespread areas of hospital activities, activities with the aged, fundraising, self-education, teaching of Hebrew and Jewish studies, and coordinating a host of youth activities, numbers of Jewish women of postcollege have continued to fill the ranks of existing organizations. At the same time increasingly, numbers of these (and outsiders as

well) questioned and challenged historical "lower level" roles that women have played or have been allowed to play in Jewish cultural, social, supportive and now religious activities.[25]

At the same time, many of these outside Jewish women decided not to join, and resisted these traditional organizations and areas of involvement for Jewish women socially, and struck out on their own to formulate new areas of involvement within Jewish radical, or progressive Jewish-consciousness youth movements. They became a strong and important, if underacknowledged, subcurrent in these.[26] In some cities such as New York and Los Angeles, womens' minyanim (prayer and study groups) were formed in the period 1970-1972 where in women studied and learned Torah and Talmud, and other areas such as the Pirkei Avot (on Jewish ethics) or Shulhan Aruch (Code of Jewish Law, on ritual and other mitzvot), while often donning arba kanfot (a fringed undergarment) as do traditional men.[27] Elsewhere on a much broader scale women set up study groups and classes, often with a radical or social-action orientation, in Torah, Jewish social ethics, or the writings and ideas of Jewish radical thinkers and progressives from the past such as Jewish socialist Ber Borchov, Leo Pinsker, Herzl, Weizmann, Jabotinsky, and modern Israeli male and female progressive-Zionist and progressive social thinkers, with the accent upon possibilities for specifically female

participation.[28] Women students and college-aged activists figured more prominently than in earlier Jewish radical political activities,[29] in increasingly numerous and wide-spread Jewish "communal and social cultural" activities such as Jewish arts festivals coordinated by Jewish radical youth, political and social demonstrations on behalf of Soviet Jewry, the "resubstantization" and revitalization of many synagogues' youth programs and offerings to both college-age and adolescent youth, and the development and maintenance of many communal Jewish living-groups. Women students figures prominently in the founding and developing of some Jewish youth Co-ops as in Berkeley,[30] Boston and New York, in the ongoing life and ceremonial and culinary sides of various havurah groups, and in the programming and administration of, and participation in, many Jewish "culture" and "arts" festivals across the country more broadly.[31]

To the degree that Jewish youth were involved in Jewish social-helping organizational work in the period of 1965 through 1972, involving a relationship to world Jewry and to Israel, and work also especially prominently in such directions as fundraising and charity drives in campus communities and in adult communities, women shared responsibility and effort and work-loads and the psychic and other rewards of these with men. Social patterns on the American model of the mixing of the sexes in activities

facilitated and worked towards an increase in the similarity of roles in Jewish youth and adult organizations including Jewish radical ones, for men and women. These patterns at the same time allowed women traditional "sex-appropriate" roles in such organizations, such as dining activities,[32] activity "backup" work, and planning of the "social" side of events, that did fit in with what will still probably be an important part of future roles and relationships of most women in postcollegiate and older-adult years. Nonradical more "traditional" organizations in the social sphere increasingly gave Jewish women roles in supportive and helping activities that were respected, but quite fixed and delineated by social Jewish, and American traditions, by skill background (i.e., lack of specialized education, professional degrees, etc.).[33] But many Jewish radical youth groups gave women these same involvements, and preparation for later work in these same kinds of involvements in general American Jewish society, while they broadened the range of activities available to Jewish women and increased too the proportional place they could have at levels of leadership, policy-formulation as well as "policy enactment," and development planning and ideology formation in such groups.

This opportunity for Jewish women functioned on the other hand, as an incentive to join many of these groups among many Jewish women, particularly so it appears among

many Orthodox women who felt their social roles to be too circumscribed in much of Orthodox society, and among many middle-class and upper-middle-class acculturated women who feared abandonment to a presumed dull, nonrelevant domesticity of the suburb as the only alternative to such involvement.

Jewish women were involved heavily in "general" radical and progressive groups and activities in the earlier and late 1960s, in such groups as the SDS, the Weathermen, the Vietnam Day Committee, and others. A disporportionate number of Jewish women were among the Weathermen arrested in Chicago in 1968 in the confrontations with the police, at a time when as many as 2,000 armed and helmeted Weathermen rallied together for pitched battles with police.[34] It appears that the general New Left groups and other radical and progressive groups enfranchised, and gave new and high-level, equal and positive roles to women, and to Jewish women among the Jewish youth joining them a chance to "do something" not available to them as they perceived it in other realms of society. Much of this mentality toward womens' involvement was transferred to Jewish radical groups and Jewish-consciousness groups later, as was much of the radical behavior pattern much of the political jargon, many of the often stereotypic targets of attack, and much of the organizational style. Just as in many ways it can be argued that the Black revolution and other minority

revolutionary activities and developments made it "kosher" for the Jewish youth to be a Jew, it similarly appears in a sense that the development in, or at least allowance for new, enhanced, or equal womens' roles in group activities and composition in general radical groups makeup made it "kosher" for the Jewish woman to assume new, equal and decisive roles in the world of the new Jewish student and youth group.

Unresolved problems and issues existed in this area, however, that was indeed yet to be met by youth in these groups. For one thing, sexual and social permissiveness is a two-edged sword: on the one hand it means freedom for the woman in an area of paramount psychological and social importance and a departure from male dominance patterns. But on the other it means that the woman is also freed from the protective bonds, guarantees and conditions that in the past protected her in communal and individual male eyes from exploitation, from being expected to be "free and open to everyone and everything," and from being victimized physically, legally and psychologically by whatever militancy, violence or confrontations radical groups might experience in the course of their activities that many women were not characteristically trained to handle. For another thing, equality measures and ideologies in groups have often vacillated. And a periodic swing has occurred in their status from full equality in terms of

services demanded and roles expected, to the institution once again of "double standard" and denials to women group members intentionally or unintentionally of their share of kudos, benefits, and ranges of participation. And that has been at least, disappointing for many. Thirdly, vis-a-vis broader American Jewish and American society, women group members in equalitarian roles and positions of leadership faced the prospect of social excoriation, criticism, and general "role deflation" or "declosing" as a body of an individual basis vis-a-vis future employers, co-workers, associates, and even clients in Jewish and other organizations in the future, among masses of Jews and others that personally could not condone or act as if they granted equality to women. This has been both insulting and painful personally, and was a block to the greater efficiency of the various work efforts of women in society.[35] "Women's Equality" of a satisfying and livable and efficient sort, in the eyes of society and of Jewish women, may be a long time yet in coming, just as on the other hand current era developments, trends and events here in the Jewish youth group world will probably continue.

Intergroup Relations

The Struggle for Primacy: Divergence and Competition Among New Jewish Youth Groups

One of the problems faced by Jewish student and youth

groups increasingly in the years since 1965 was their difficulty in dealing with the divergence of interest of Jewish youth affiliated with them.

Many Jewish youth who were active in Jewish youth groups initially, came into specific Jewish groups with "specific" kinds of interests in the Jewish realm. For many of these youth indeed, they defined being Jewish largely in terms of the one kind of activity that they were most interested in at that time, among all the activities associated with being Jewish, i.e., Zionism, Yiddishism, religious communality, and the like. Leaders of youth groups especially tended to be this way. Also many students and youth with general interests in Jewish activities and culture joined available organizations in the Jewish realm wherever they went to school or worked, regardless of the particular interests or bent of the leaders.

As the years progressed, and particularly as "Jewish consciousness" arose among Jewish youth in the late 1960s, the number of types of Jewish involvement available at least as perceived by Jewish youth increased, and many new and different alternative avenues of Jewish expression appeared. Following upon this, in this period, many divergent Jewish youth groups arose in each city or college community where formerly there had been one or two, and each represented and expressed a different interest realm in Jewish life by now emerged as distinct from one another.

Several problems were created by this phenomenon however. Whereas formerly the interests of several different types of Jewish youth could be attracted to any one Jewish youth organization, and these groups could thus benefit from the diversity of talent here, now with specialized groups emerging, many youth chose one path to the exclusion of others, ordering their priorities in doing so. A diversity of talent in many cases was no longer afforded each particular group in a college or city community, as was the case earlier. An added problem here was that students and youth who were friends often were forced to a choice between "following friends" into new, more specialized choices of groups that they might not choose to join on the basis of personal ideologic commitments, or of choosing a group to join and risking "drifting away" from friends and close working contacts. Such a situation served to break up or strain personal relationships among some Jewish committed youth, even more so where "rival" ideological group situations in the Jewish realm formed within a local context, such as between a nonradical ("square") Hillel Foundation core group and a more radical havurah group or nearby Jewish commune.

But perhaps the greatest problem to arise out of the current and recent divergence and diversification of Jewish student and youth groups came from the competition felt to exist between some groups and others, and especially by

various Jewish group leaders, for the attention and energies of the masses of yet "unaffiliated" Jewish youth around them. Most of this attention of leaders was addressed to the issue of presenting their own group's ideological focus of attention to problems, ideology, social approach and group life-style, to conceived masses of available Jewish youth in a surrounding college or city, in efforts to opt them into the group and to involve them or "mobilize" them toward that particular group's goals for itself and for society. Particularly among heavily socio-politically oriented groups with heavy "universalist" orientations as well, such as some UJS groups and some JRC's, a group's being able to attract youth to its following and make popular its interests and thrust moreover its ideology and goals into the foreground of the Jewish youth world, was felt particularly by its leaders to be a crucial issue and need. And where Jewish youth groups in any one particular area did seek an "umbrella" organization over several of them, wherein a broader Jewish Federation Council or other adult group funded and advertized several youth groups, dispensed funds and resources differentially to them, battles for funding and for recognition ensued at times between leaders of one group and those of another, as competition for available or increasing (or even decreasing) resources in the mass-media, in funds, and in political alliances ensued. Such has been the picture at Brooklyn College in

the early 1970s vis-a-vis a strong Jewish Defense League on the campus and other rival groups on the campus, in the Jewish realm;[36] such was the case between the radical Union of Jewish Students and the Hillel Student Council in Berkeley in 1968.[37] Similar situations occurred in Los Angeles at UCLA, and elsewhere around the country.

As well, the rivalry for priority positions in the public view, and frustrations felt by some group leaders and actives in attempting unsuccessfully to forward and make primary their ideology and goals in the eyes of the conceived masses of other Jews, occurred in the many community festivals and events participated in and organized by several youth groups together in different cities each year to celebrate Jewish holidays. Among these were festivals and ceremonies held in honor of Pesach (Passover), Yom Ha'atzmaot (Israel Independence Day), and Simchas Torah. Perhaps here it was that the competition for position and for impact upon unattached youth appeared most dramatically. For example, several leading members of the Jewish Peace Fellowship in Los Angeles who attended and maintained a table at the Jewish Arts Festival in the Jewish Fairfax area in October of 1972, complained that the leaders and main organizers of the Festival, who had an essentially "general Jewish culturalist" and somewhat Zionist-oriented emphasis, stressed general Jewish cultural themes and Jewish national and cultural pride in art and music, and

generally stressed Jewish "consciousness," but refused to inject a thread of moral conscience and commitment on the part of Jews vis-a-vis the ongoing Vietnam War into the event. JPF members felt this should have been an element integral to the festival, and felt that an anti-Viet Nam War protest was a theme not only important to but integral to Judaism. They were resentful that Festival organizers did not grant them and their group a viable place and a louder voice in the half-day-long program.[38] Incidents similar to this one occurred in other local youth contexts across the country during this period.

Relations between youth groups in the Jewish realm were marked largely by parallel, often competitive, and even hostile claims to the foreground of attention and support for their interests. And this was against a backdrop of the splitting of creative and conceptual energies of masses of Jewish youth into specialized and into even often mutually exclusive camps, as each group laid exclusive claim to the rightful energies and commitments of available Jewish youth to the exclusion of other groups. This appeared to be a natural consequence of the diversification of and divergence of a few Jewish youth groups representing a few ideological lines into many in the late 1960s. This strong subcurrent of divisiveness, manifesting itself in the forms of intergroup competition, ideological conflict, noncooperation and noncommunication, went far at

least to limit the unity and the efficiency of collective efforts of different Jewish youth groups.

Such unity and efficiency historically has been considered by Jewish youth and adult observers alike to be crucial to the building of new progressive social systems, based upon involvement and commitment, for which they strived. The problems posed here for both the leaders and members of each respective group, and for the larger numbers of interested and searching Jewish youth that each group wished to attract to its bosom continued through the period of study, and will in all probability remain in such Jewish youth groups in years to come.

The "Silent Straights": Relations Between Radicals, Non-Radicals, and Broader Social Change In General and Jewish Society

For the newly-socialized and re-committed Jewish youth reaching for some "Jewish roots" to call his own, Jewish religion on a relatively "Orthodox" model was evidently the preeminent acceptable religious model of Jewish life. And for the Jewish youth yearning to manifest some degree of involvement and commitment in an "activistic" and energetic way in approaching this country's "political" problems, Jewish or non-Jewish, radical politics or progressive-left politics appeared to a great many to be the preeminent model for a style of "political" involvement and participation for most Jewish youth in the period 1965-1972.

At the same time one should keep in mind that fact that the greatest number of young Jews, students, former students and workers or various types, were not "radicals" or activists at this time, but were what have been called "metropolitan" Jewish youth in the broad basic sense of the word. These youth should have occupied the bulk of the concern of Jewish adult organizations interested in the patterns and problems of normative Jewish youth in America over this period even as there was much to be learned from the activities, ideologies, and concepts of even smallest Jewish radical groups. This was while the most active, and dynamic Jewish youth, and that segment of Jewish youth and overall Jewish society, moreover, manifesting the greatest amount of both deviation and difference from normative patterns and some of the most far-ranging creative additions and ideational improvements and commitments within it, and greatest ideological transmutability and chance for evolution, are the Jewish activists and radicals of today.

Jewish organizations by 1972 were faced with two definable ideological, social and political worlds among Jewish youth that paralleled on another level the old divisions and distinctions that existed in the religious dimension: that of the new, active, and unusual Jewish radical groups, (perhaps more properly called the "Radical Jews"), and the great masses of non-radical, essentially

"straight" youth as they were then called who in the most part comprised the acculturated and yet still-identifying youth members of American Jewish society. Not only did the Jewish organization have to serve both realms; some form of relationship, of dialogue and communication was yet to be formed between the radical youth and the non-radical "straight" Jewish youth themselves.[39]

Across the country, in suburban neighborhoods and in city apartments, plus upper-middle class homes and middle-class homes blared rock music regularly. And youth of a variety of income levels, mores and social opinion backgrounds affected the dress styles, and manifested tastes in music and the arts and literature, once found more or less solely among the "Hippie" (and earlier beatnik) realms. There was by 1972 a widely noticeable diffusion of non-conformist life-styles across the face of American youth more broadly that had occurred in the years after 1965. And this effected too, a wider spread with it of progressive-liberal ideas and ideology, and with this too radical political styles and directions of progressive interest. This social revolution affected the Jewish community as it affected others. And although classical alluded-to "Jewish cohesiveness" among Jewish youth in the face of various out-group pressures and social similarities and common welfare interests may have been operative, differences of opinion and political and life-style schisms, and sus-

picions, existed.

The attitudinal and aesthetic "Aquarius Revolution" of the late 1960s and earlier 1970s and its political progressive and radical correlates may spread farther yet across the face of American Jewish youth from the ideological and social left, and the realm of the new Jewish-consciousness "Radical Jewish" groups as its ideology diffuses further across normative American life. Similarly these groups may be able to reintegrate the best elements of "metropolitan" Jewish living and ideals with their own such that a communicating and cohesive Jewish youth society can yet be maintained, and can be related to meaningfully by interested elements of the older-adult world. We shall have to see whether these will occur, in the near future. But for the present, definitive judgements as to what will occur are difficult to make. However practically speaking, it would appear to be in the interests of all that open channels and means for communication, between different radical and nonradical, progressive and centrist sectors of the Jewish youth world be maintained wherever possible in the days ahead.

Jewish Youth and "Hippyism"

Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon in the general youth world of America in the 1960s was the rise of what is generally termed the "Hippie Movement," or the development among large numbers of college-aged and younger,

and older youth of life-styles, dress styles, appearance, cultural and social interests and orientations to the surrounding world very like that of the "beatnik" of prior generations who has left his mark upon American literature and lore. One cannot deny the ongoing appeal and romanticism of avant-garde, and "antinomian" writers and poets like Ginzburg, Ferlinghetti, and Kerouac for American youth in the 1960s, and the new nonconfromist image of long hair and progressive rock and roll music popularized by and coincident with the arrival and rise of the Beatles and to a lesser degree other musical groups around 1964 and thereafter.

In retrospect, it appears that the Hippie revolution was essentially a widespread "revolt of the Squares" among youth against what they perceived to be the ongoing and dominant baseness, cruelty, conservatism, insincerity and materialism rampant in both adult and youth worlds, as exemplified perhaps by the drunken "fraternity boy" of the campus realm. This aspect of Hippiedom applied also importantly, to Jewish youth, with their own sensitivities, intellectual tendencies, and liberalist orientations.

One of the main points about the "Hippie" Movement (if we analyze it in retrospect as a social movement in the true sense) for most "establishmentarian" adult Jews, was that the Hippie movement basically was seen to be contrary to the precepts and ways of Judaism. As one

Rabbi in the West, and a leader in the Reconstructionist movement, said late in 1971, "I don't see the connection (between Jewish youth and their attraction to Hippyism and the Hippie way of life), because the Hippie mentality and Judaism are, really so foreign."[40] Indeed, perhaps the foremost categorization of Hippiedom in Jewish circles, aside from Hippies being tolerated as "meshugginers" (i.e., crazy people, oddities), was that Hippyism as a social movement had nothing to do with Judaism. And even where it represented a non-violent, permissive and not dangerous movement in most Jewish eyes, it was seen to be essentially irrelevant to Jewish youth life and adult life and to have no connexion or meaning to it or consonance of ideas with it.

However, the American Jewish community since late in 1967 has seen combined Hippie-style Jewish religious youth communities form around the country, such as at the House of Love and Prayer in San Francisco,[41] various groups in New York City combining a Hippie life-style with Jewish components and celebrations, and it has seen the rise of some student-populated havura groups in the East and Jewish Radical Community groups that were quite "hippie-like" in social style whilst their members manifested a Jewish ideological content and direction.[42]

These developments were however dwarfed by the development since 1965 of large numbers of Jewish youth

from a range of backgrounds, primarily assimilated and acculturated and less-identifying Jews, joining the realm of the Hippie way of life. It was estimated by 1970 that there were in the United States perhaps 300,000 "Hippies," defined in terms of being young, affecting the beatnik-hippie style of dress and long hair, usually working in intermittent unusual or exotic jobs, seasonally or not at all, and cultivating their own social circles, interests in art and music, and communal or personal life styles distinct from other elements of youth and adult society. Some indications in the early 1970s from drug clinics, family service agencies, health services and Jewish community and social service sources, pointed to a significantly large involvement and representation of Jewish youth among the "Hippie ranks" during this period even whilst it was generally agreed that the Hippie movement itself was neither a phenomenon of Jewish origin, nor a social movement or ideological movement populated primarily by Jews, something which political actives or the Far Right in the United States asserted in particular after 1965. It was estimated in 1968, for example, that out of 4,000 Hippie-types living in the Haight-Ashbury district of central San Francisco, one of the perhaps two centers of the Hippie and "Flower Power" culture of the era together with Greenwich Village in New York City, 1,000 were Jewish youth.[43] Similarly it was estimated in other parts of the

country, by agencies attempting to serve the drug, health, and other social problems of the "hippie realm," particularly Jewish agencies such as social work agencies, family service agencies, and welfare-fund councils, that Jewish youth represented one-fourth to one-third of the Hippie populations at any one time in the late 1960s in their respective cities such as New York City, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and in various cities in Michigan, Wisconsin and New Jersey.

Common grounds philosophically, humanistically and psychologically do appear to exist between Judaism and what was Hippyism and between moreover the ways that Jewish youth saw Judaism and what it was to be a Hippie. These are, it may be suggested, a respect and reverence for life; efforts to avoid and delimit violence and aggressiveness; interest in concentration on spiritual and cerebral involvement of the self, within self-regulating and self-recognizing communal settings for the most part; and a respect for the importance of spontaneity, creativity, and cultural relativism that both overriding normative Hippie society, and traditional Judaism as phrased "in modern language," have been said to stress.[44] And too these patterns, diffused as they were, were steadfastly if quietly disseminated across ever wider sectors of the rest of un-radical and un-Hippie socially "metropolitan" Jewish youth on the whole. There occurred a spread and diffusion

of Hippie values, such as "everything is valid and has a place somewhere," being relaxed; a deemphasis upon competitiveness, stereotyping, social hierarchy and social snobberies; the institutionalized pursuit of the exotic and the different and the expression of unusual ideas and tastes; and the affectation of formerly beatnik clothing and appearance styles. This was disseminated broadly across Jewish youth more, it appears, by general non-Jewish youth realms than by some sideways diffusion of Hippie values and living-concepts from specifically "Jewish Hippie" youth to other Jewish non-Hippie and non-radical youth realms. The appeal of Hippyism as a way of life was at least symptomatic of the fact that combinations of highly varied sorts of Hippie culture, and Jewish culture and Judaism of some substantive form (its more liberal and permissive substantive forms and even its more Orthodox forms in some cases) was not only possible but provided a needed meaningful mode of existence for at least many Jewish youth. And in many cases, particularly among middle-class and lower-middle class Jewish youth, the escape into Hippie culture and into wider Hippie social life on different levels and to different degrees suggests the paucity, unpleasantness and unattractiveness of contemporary semi-assimilated Jewish existence today to Jewish youth, and their yearning for and psychological and social need for some life-style, and interest-realms that would

supplement or replace a perceived inadequate and unsatisfying existence from their point of view.[45]

Many Jewish youth involved heavily in the Hippie way of life or society or interests, later gravitated eventually into radical-Jewish groups and movements, and into Jewish religious-cultural groups. But the continued existence of the large and relatively amorphous "Hippie populations" in large Americam cities and the ongoing movement of Jewish youth into and out of the "Hippie" realm and its related and descendant communal and other realms puzzled and bewildered many Jews of the parent generations. And it provoked additional fears in many adult Jews about assimilation. The impact of Hippie appearance, dress, linguistic, ideologic and social styles into middle-class and upper-middle class Jewish life and its presence today will probably continue to be a sore point, however justified or unjustified in Jewish youth-adult relations in the near future. And the memory of it will be a source of puzzlement, concern and even anger between many Jewish youth and adults, it is suggested, for several years to come.

The "Jesus Movement" and American Jewish Youth

One social movement at large in our society in recent years, a relatively recent one among American youth, and yet one that has forebears in the past, is the "Jesus Movement." This is a rather loose term applied by outsiders to a generalized collection of social and religious

tendencies among the young centered around the characteristics and teaching of Jesus, and grounded in religious feeling.[46] It indeed came as a surprise to many in the United States, inasmuch as it seemed so much an anomaly here, having started in an America of increasing secularism and the falling-away of old ways, in the land considered the Brahmin archetype of the proud, technological society that supposedly had no need of a God. But for the past few years after 1970, this Movement grew and was in evidence increasingly across the country.

This Jesus Movement may be looked at as a collection of evangelical Protestant youth and of separate Catholic youth groups, or as a generalized youth-movement finding differentiated expression through two or three "formal" sectarian avenues.[47] Unlike other social or political movements it was a religious force. It called for people to be "Christians;" one worked through it only as a Christian. And consequently the Jew was barred by definition from taking part in it.

Yet the Jesus Movement had by its very nature a special significance to Jews. They had to pay attention to its potentialities in terms of what it could mean for Jewish-Christian relationships, in particular between Jewish youth and non-Jewish youth, and upon the future of ethically and religiously-motivated social involvement of people in the problems of society. We will do well to

examine here the Jesus Movement in the light of some of its significances to Jewish-Christian relationhips in the youth world in the period of this study.

For one thing, the Jesus Movement was likely to drive a wedge between Jewish youth and vast numbers of Christian (and otherwise non-Jewish) youth in America. For the past ninety years or so the American Jews have wanted to be, if not loved, tolerated and accepted as "equals" in American society. Beyond this they have wanted to participate in social activities and live according to socially accepted philosophies of living as well. American life was construed to be in a sense a vast hopeful "secular amalgam" in which the Jew, as "one kind of American among many," could always find a place. With the rise of the Jesus Movement, a yet rather small but probably significant block in the way of a "one youth America," an America whose youth world could be characterized by unity, tolerance and communication, appeared.[48] By isolating Jewish and Christian youth, ideologically, emotionally and socially, it moved in the direction of planting the seeds of another "split society," a Jewish youth one and a Christian youth one, just as one may have seen in recent years the emergence of a Black youth society and a White one side by side.

Secondly, the Jesus Movememt, centered as it was not around general social moral and ethical concepts but around the "personality" and life of Jesus, was in a position to

develop a strong opposition or even antipathy to the Jews and more or less, to everything Jewish, among large sectors of Christian youth. Some Jews feared to hear of Jews as "Christ Killers" again, or in less vicious form, representations of Jews as "the scornful nonbeliever" in an age of rediscovered Christian faith among youth. And some feared that they might hear other charges bearing not only a relationship of renewed social distance and differences from Christians, but a special relationship of Jews to Jesus as "his enemies."

In a sociologically important way, one basis for the plausible strength of impact of a renewed theological antisemitism could come ironically from shortcomings in the Jewish intellectual sphere itself: the undefeated nature of historic "theological" antisemitism. Much of theological antisemitism died down in twentieth century America not as a result of successful challenge from the Jewish community in terms of debate and rational argument, but as an occurrence entirely within Christian society itself. It was largely a result of lack of interest in it and lack of enthusiasm for it, whilst other "bugaboos" became targets of Christiam theological enmity (e.g., Communism, the welfare state, permissivism). But while Jews in the United States were able with varying degrees of success to combat "non-theological" antisemitism, including denunciation of Jews variously as "money-manipulators," "culture distorters,"

"Communists," "arch-Capitalists," or "arch-radicals," theological anti-semitism remained unresolved. It may be suggested that theological antisemitism cannot be fought well by post-theological and scientific arguments which have taken the form of scientific and socio-economic approaches. Were antisemitism to arise among the Jesus Youth, or because of them, the Jewish community would have to either ignore it, or try to discredit its preeminent bases and tenor as "nonrational." Or it would have to try with difficulty to develop a whole new "multifaceted" approach to combating theological antisemitism. Any of these courses would engender difficult problems for a Jewish community concerned with its general acceptance on the whole, or specifically with the present and future acceptance and status of its youth.

Thirdly, the Jesus Movement's rise and popularity, in a moral-social sense, threatened to engender the decline of the ethic of "social justice" among American youth that flowered so strongly in the 1960s from the Kennedy presidency onwards, and which struggled painfully on through an era of mass social disenchantment and economic recession. Perhaps it was here that there was to be found that threat of most far-ranging negative social impact in the Jesus Movement, both for American society at large, and for Jewish youth coming of age. The 1960s saw the emergence out of the relatively "Conservative-liber-

tarian," self-oriented youth of the 1950s, of a new breed of youth that were both idealistically motivated and pragmatically concerned with problems of society. These were "liberal" more than "conservative" in their attitude towards the design of society, and "liberal" rather than "libertarian" in that they cared about the rights and opportunities of collective society and placed these above "personal" aims and comforts. There was a small extreme wing, some individuals of whom indulged in outright militant violence such as bombings, and more occasionally planned riotous confrontations with police. But the rank and file, numbering perhaps many millions, on the whole spelled a new day for American youth society as a whole. The active youth, some of whom were liberal Jewish youth, and also a great many of whom were liberal Christian youth, demonstrated a synthesis of idealism with an activistic spirit that led to major reversals of some priorities of American society in a liberal, and egalitarian and to some degree collectivist direction. The message of this body of youth was a "social gospel" worthy of any modern liberal religious thinker.

Some tendencies in the Jesus Movement however, with its attraction for an undetermined number of American youth, but evidently tens of thousands of them, may well have worked to undo this. It made an equal, and in a sense opposite claim upon the intellectual, spiritual,

emotional and physical resources of the young. It told affiliates veritably to "find faith" and to "accept Jesus," and to believe, but it did not preeminently ask them to work for general social betterment. That which appeared to be stressed in terms of any "social gospel" was a series of guidelines for peaceful and relatively humble communal living, as in the variety of "Christian houses," or Christian youth communes, that appeared around the country in the years after 1970. The Jesus Movement in a social sense threatened to lead a substantial segment of an otherwise activistic and socially involved youth, or potentially otherwise activistic and socially involved youth, into spiritual and emotional self-fulfillment that however had little or no socially active impact, and that offered to serve pragmatically no social-ethic end. It may have gone far indeed to take the "youth wind" out of the sails of social change and social-change efforts in the United States in this period. And it paralleled isular, self-indulgent groups of Jewish youth.

Such an existence is at odds greatly with authentic Jewish tradition, which historically has stressed social involvement far above individual indulgence. In recent-day committed and radical-action youth groups, Jewish youth plays a significant part, and there was present a Jewish "type" of stress on social action as the main ingredient of working for good in society. One could say that from a

Jewish historic perspective, since the middle 1960s the direction of activity of American college-aged activist youth had "become more Jewish."[49]

But again the tendencies of the Jesus Movement pulled its adherents and new converts into an opposite direction, back into a frame of mind characteristic of the past. With the vast majority of American youth being at least nominally Christian, and with evidence by 1970 and 1971 that not only masses of adults but a great many young people were tired of activism and protest in response not only to violence but also to the seemingly slow coming of their successes, a large number of American youth well may have turned to the Jesus Movement as one essential stronghold of social acceptance, "feeling wanted," and finding community. One saw by 1972 the fall of the Liberal Left ideology and its organizational makeup in the youth world into greater and greater intellectual poverty, into a position of greater weakness of appeal and a smaller and smaller base of support, as young people fled the spector of police clubs, bullets, tear-gas, and "redneck" State Troopers as well as the uncomprehending wrath of their parents. Some fled to what seemed to them to be the accepting bosom of Jesus' personal salvation. Perhaps many found that it seemed easier to live in a religious mentality of inactive, diffuse spiritual love, free from the grind of social conflict, and open to the hearty and relieved approval of the

more conservative realms of one's relatives and an adult society in general. However it seemed somewhat frightening to some Christian and Jewish older adults to speculate upon a vast realm of youth turned away from the dreams of the 1960s, while an entrenched personal conservatism increasingly seemed to gain the upper hand in society at large, not only by the efforts of a handful of diehard liberal student and youth activists, both Jewish and Christian who continued to work and fight for social justice and who refused to give in to an abstract faith alone. In a sense, the youth world of the future could be one that the Jewish youth and activist faced unhappily, while finding more and more Christian colleagues as well as some Jewish ones disinterested in activistic efforts and "working together" with him. It could be a world that once again in a sense had become "less Jewish."

Finally there existed a fourth threat to American Jewish youth that was a consequence, if not a direct product, of the Jesus Movement. It was estimated in the early 1970s that 6,000 to 7,000 Jewish youths were converting to the Jesus Movement each year.[50] One say over the period 1970 through 1972 the growth of the curious phenomenon of "Jews for Jesus," with their zealous proselytizing efforts and billboard stickers, on a host of American university and college campuses. They appeared to be a marginal subtrend within the relationship of the

Jesus Movement to American Jewish youth that perhaps received widest attention in the Jewish community in the early 1970s. Not only was there here in the Jesus Movement a new source of attention upon American Jewish youth, but plausibly many of these youths could later turn on other Jewish youth (or "real" Jewish youth) and goad them into joining the Christian realm, or attack these Jewish students' Judaism from their own stance as supposed "fellow Jews" who had "something better" to offer their fellows. Many of their half-educated Jewish assimilated campus colleagues appeared to have followed the path after them.

Perhaps all things considered, it is too early even now to tell what the appeals of the Jesus Movement were, what its greater social significances will be in the future, and what wave-patterns it will have set up across American society in general, and particularly across youth society.[51] At present it still appears to be growing and developing. The enthusiasm of its youth past and present minions may wave and the Movement may appear in the end to have been another sporadic youth movement that in its time has come and gone, after offering its followers spiritual and psychological supports that they at one time sought and needed. But with any such social phenomenon as this, and its beneficial and deleterious social potentialities, the Jewish community and Jewish youth must ever be prepared to

deal, and from a standpoint of communication, understanding and accuracy of perception.

Active Youth and Futures in the Jewish Organizational Establishment

One of the greatest ongoing clashes purely within the Jewish community was a conflict and frustration for Jewish youth who wanted to and sought to serve Jewish society specifically, or to a similar degree to serve general society specifically, or to a similar degree to serve general society, through specifically Jewish institutions and in the helping professions. And this was whilst the requirements for paid work, volunteer work, advancement and opportunities to formulate policy at levels of leadership in the "Jewish administrative" world of the late 1960s and early 1970s were being raised and specified and while the Jewish community adminstrative world was becoming rapidly and earnestly professionalized. In the years after 1965 there was an emphasis in city Jewish Federation Councils towards developing new categories of specialized professionals in Jewish communal service, the bringing in of college-graduate, masters-level and doctoral-level social science experts, and the simultaneous staving off of many volunteer functions.[52] There was a danger however, already demonstrated to some extent in some quarters and reflected to some degree in the radical movements themselves of the period, that Jewish youth were afforded little opportunity

to serve. Many, and particularly among them the most articulate and promising, sought practical ways of putting their energies to social use through work in Jewish communal organizations. Yet their characteristic lack of "years of experience" in paid professional settings, often no formal educational or specialized degrees, and often socially and organizationally permissive attitudes, it appeared that many at least would be coldly or at best indifferently shunted aside and overlooked by prospective employers and teachers from this "real world." And these youth were forced to go elsewhere and seek other organizational and personal contexts for the expression of their social ethics and for the at least partial attainment of their social goals. Confrontations of Jewish radical youth groups with Jewish adult community organizations were already by 1970 part of contemporary history.[53] This loss of youth talents and energies was and has been at best tragic. At worst it could both widen a large gap of mutual trust and faith between youth and "older adult" realms, and also serve to deny the potential fruits of their creative thoughts and labors and youth to "organized" Jewish society and the people it cared for.

Perceptions of Jewish Youth Groups by the Adult World

Another problem lay in the faulty perceptions of Jewish youth by the Jewish adult world, crucially by leaders and actives in federations, synagogues, major

religious Movements, and also by leaders of Jewish youth-serving organizations. Jewish adult leaders have traditionally attended to conceptualizing events and patterns in the world of Jewish life, including the youth realm, in terms that are highly elitist and highly personal, rather than upon broad-based empirical observations and communication. They have tended to assign to Jewish populations and what is going on there an image on the basis of their own clouded, and unsystematic perceptions of what they are able to reconstruct of it. This usually has locked a broad systemic base of empirical study and even contact with members of the population in question themselves. Also, they have tended to conceive of Jewish movements and youth movements in terms of "formal-legal" views of ideology they have read into such movements, rather than in terms of true psychological, social, emotional, and unconscious motivations that in fact exist. Statements such as "The Reform Movement has always favored this" or "Orthodoxy has always been insistent upon that," have been characteristic. But the slipshod, overly generalized, and formalistic nature of these such analyses is out of phase with the true nature of normative-level events that have transpired and with the true motivators for actions and attitudes.

As a result, conclusions about Jewish youth, the bases and strengths and reasons for what has happened and remedies for inadequacies, have tended to be incorrect.

And plans to meet problems have failed or have worked poorly.

. One element here has been the tendency of Jewish leaders and movement heads upon seeking historical, philosophical "formal" explanations for Jewish youth positions and movements, trying to "fit youth" into a mold that they themselves have rejected, (e.g., Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Orthodox "fanaticism", and the like). And they have done this rather than dealing with each group or youth population in terms of its own unique, empirically determinable perceptions of the world and of its needs in it.[54] Sometimes Jewish philosophic bases for youth movements that somewhat have paralleled this or that group's events and style have been read smugly into the behavior of the group, whereas in reality the youth in that group may never have heard of that philosophy or ideal, and may have approximated it by chance. This adult-youth communication has been made additionally difficult and at times bewildering as youth have established their own logical ordering of the world around them to shape it to needs and philosophies they have had that were not understood or even discovered by Jewish adult groups.

And too, Jewish youth leadership organizations and adult groups have tended to be overly "behavioristic" in their style of analyses of what youth do and why. They rarely have searched out, corroborated and recorded the

bases for youth behavior that truly have existed and that have been true attitudinal and philosophical motivators of youth groups as the youth in a group know them. They have found themselves instead speculating, in cause-effect terms and usually with "one-reason answers," as to why groups did something and what reaction ought to be made to it.[55]

Often thus, long range assistance for youth working through Jewish identity problems and inadequacies to their higher levels of "Jewish consciousness" and to mature an ability to make mature contributions have been misrepresented, misinterpreted and even hurt by organizations that were there to help and wished to, but which had too little a group of the important sociological and psychological facts of Jewish youth.

With greater clarity of thought, with better retrieval of accurate information, and with a greater intensity of effort put into youth-adult agency relations and contact, much of the crucial troubles of youth groups, and of youth-adult relations, could have been remediated, and can be remediated in the future.[56]

The Recession and its Impacts

The ongoing and persistent economic recession that became evident by 1969 and which seems to have been unforestalled by demise of the Viet Nam War and by economic measures of three Presidential administrations has had

effects upon normative life among Jewish students and youth. And these effects in turn affected quickly the quality and tenor of Jewish youth group and organizational life as such. Its impact appears to have been of critical impact in three spheres of life of Jewish youth most of all.

For one thing, the recession created a shortage of jobs and a constriction of job opportunities, particularly in the academic and applied social science areas. These were areas that have been popular among Jewish youth, and important avenues for upward mobility, for interest and idea-articulation within the general American social system for Jews, and as forums for the expression of the intelligence and social commitment of Jewish youth. This constriction created a situation wherein the market for work opportunities was much too small for the numbers of interested Jewish youth applying for or otherwise interested in jobs here.

For another thing, it created a loss of jobs in some localities, and a general widespread "tightness" of money that was felt by Jewish youth depending for support upon parents, upon working, or upon scholarships and financial aid in college. It also delimited the range and choice of many of their favored activities. This as we know came at a time when vast numbers of Jewish youth appeared to be searching in an active manner for dynamic, new or resurrected ways of expressing their Jewish belonging and their

relationship with Jewish ideas and with Jewish belief and culture. The recession delimited severely the organizational and financial scope of their efforts at this crucial time of awakening in Jewish youth history.

Thirdly, it engendered a loss of funding for and of other ongoing support for and expansion in the higher educational world. This led in turn to an often drastic delimitation on admissions to training and education programs at the graduate level, particularly in the social sciences and humanities and helping professions for many students. This delimited the opportunities for scholarships and grants for others. One sociologist reported in June 1971 a drop of 26% in graduate school applications over previous years of the late 1960s.[57] With Jewish youth being overrepresented among education-seekers at the college and graduate level, and with education in the professions and social science semi-professions centered at the graduate level, such developments were crucial. Further complicating the problems of graduate education seekers particularly was the combined tightening on Jewish student admissions of an inadequacy of Federal and state funding and state-level tax support for the sheer numbers of students interested, and the newly re-instituted system of "quotes" designed to guarantee a sizeable proportion of places in school programs to members of Black, Mexican-American and other under-priviledged minority groups.[58] To Jewish

students entering adulthood these problems were of critical importance and their fair and effective resolution even today is not presently in sight.

It is perhaps too early to tell at this point what new patterns among Jewish youth will emerge as latent effects of the impacts of the ongoing recession and its three-pronged problems for Jewish youth who attended college. Many Jewish collegiate youth found acceptable as we know a Hippie-style existence, with its informality, lack of necessity for frills, relatively lower expenses, and ways of economizing. For these youth the general shortage of money may not have interfered as much with their life-style and goal-directions as was the case for others. Other youth heading increasingly into an upper-middle class modicum and ideal of existence, found it increasingly difficult psychologically and socially to face the realities of the adult working world in a time of recession. And for them, the problems of income self support and productivity were more serious. For others still, their general adaptability, moderation and grasp of general social realities moderated their experience of difficulties during the recession, and they were able also to organize and execute their educational and vocational plans with some degree of success through economizing and working doubly hard even in the midst of the economic difficulties present. And, the recession has probably done its part to spur countless

Jewish youth, and at their parents' behest as well, out of less practical academic and educational pursuits and more into readily applied fields of work, where their general and specific skills in the long run may also allow them to play relatively more effective roles vis-a-vis Jewish society and Jewish needs as well as allowing them to exist as individuals.

But whatever the emergent results and consequences stemming from the recession, its presence and the more obvious problems it has presented and the special problems that it has presented to Jewish youth vis-a-vis and Jewish needs cannot be minimized. And the present possibility of prolonged or even "perpetual recession" at this point, discussed increasingly in economic and sociological circles and in prior times not considered a possibility, has militated ever increasingly in favor of a careful examination of financial issues and priorities by Jewish youth, youth organizations, and youth-interested adult groups, for the individual and collective goals of their members to be yet achieved, come what may. For American Jewish youth, as for the American people, the days of fair weather may be past.

Israel, "Pragmatic" Zionism, and the Commitment of Jewish Youth

During the period of 1965 through 1972, the Zionist movement continued to make small but intensive impact upon Jewish youth. Firstly, as in the 1950s and early 1960s,

there were the few intensely interested and committed youth who were dedicated and intense Zionists. They were interested in building up Israel, eventually emigrating to Israel and contributing to its life, and in informing other segments of the public and the Jewish public, and Jewish youth in America about what Israel is like, and why and how it must be supported. This group was an active minority of those affiliated with Zionist youth groups. The predominant groups were the American Zionist Youth Foundation, the Student Zionist Organization, and religious Zionist groups like Mizrachi HaTzair and B'nei Akiva (the youth groups of Mizrachi and HaPoel HaMizrachi, adult groups now fused into the Religious Zionists of America), and the Israeli Student Organization chapters at American universities some of which had American members. However, these inspired youth tended to be the leaders and founders of local chapters and usually did most of the work involved. In the later 1960s they bore the brunt of the effort at countering Arabist anti-Israel propaganda, and they were the vanguard of or at least numerous among Jewish youth of New Left or progressive-left affiliation and sympathy who came out in defense of Israel. These leadership youth were quite similar to their predecessors in the 1950s; a great many were socialist in orientation, and most eschewed formal religious Judaism while increasingly being less against it or averse to it personally. And one found that

the memberships of Zionist youth groups who were not the core leaders but who represented perhaps 75% of all Zionist youth group members in this period, were mixed in their feelings about Israel pragmatically and in terms of personal commitment. These members were largely intersted to a degree in learning about Israel, in doing work periodically to help Israel with fund-raising and public information, and in visiting Israel and perhaps working there for a time. However, a large proportion of these members were unsure that they would emigrate to Israel permanently, or even live there for a time. Most did not appear to have thought deeply or extensively about Israel or to have been involved in intellectual and other personal explorations of Zionist social theory, and the social and philosophical problems faced contemporarily on different levels by the Israeli state and in terms of Israel's relation to world pressures, and to immigration. Most also were active in or were participants in, but not creative and dynamic instigators of and planners of, group activity in Zionist groups. Most members tended to accept the general American models of political system, of the rather centrist-liberal type, rather than socialism or Israeli-style collectivism. And whilst this reflected the political realities of life as most Americans or American Jews might see them, often students and youth here were not cognizant of the political needs, political style and culture of Israel, with

its own mixture of progressive-leftist and conservative patterns, its commitment to socialist and mixed-socialist planning and ideology, and the large number of political parties of major importance (sixteen at last count, as one Israeli said) whose evolving and shifting coalitions determined the balance and relative strengths of different political persuasions. One might suggest such matters should have held at least passing interest. Many or indeed most of these "general" members of the Student Zionist Organization in the earlier 1960s, in particular, were found by B'nai B'rith studies to belong indeed to what might be defined essentially within the bulk-membership realm of this group at least as "peripheral Zionists." These youth, accounting from a significant minority to a large majority of members of any one local group, were Jewish youth who joined the Zionist group as merely "another" Jewish social group that one might belong to, in their locality or college realm, out of general Jewish and non-Jewish "social" interest, and out of the desire to find other young people. Their interests in Zionism in terms of long-lasting and deep personal and reciprocal commitment to Israel, to the needs of Israel, and to the true nature of and ideologies concerning Israel, either as American friends or more rarely, as potential immigrants, were weak or nonexistent, and their main interest social.[59] Their exposure, and that of similar youth over the ensuing years,

to the intellectual and spiritual body of thought presented by dedicated Zionist youth, and more crucially so dedicated Israeli active and professional and involved speakers and visitors in such groups before them, may have had the effect of instilling some seed of commitment that could be reinfused in later life. And it could be one that could grow to deep interest and then to earnest commitment as many of these youth came of age and also assumed practical skills that would serve to make them useful to Israel in some way. Even a substantial number of New Left Jewish youth, anti-Israel or highly critical of Israel, appear to have been originally of this last category at one time.[60] Together with these were much larger numbers of Jewish New Leftist youth (evidently much underestimated in numbers, and underrepresented either in news items or in scholarly studeis on "New Leftist Antisemitism") who espoused strong continuing interest in the survival, development, and moral rights of Israel, if of extremely varied opinions. And many of these people, together with some formerly anti-Israel New Leftist youth, left this stance and that of other New Left groups and sought membership or active leadership in the new Jewish youth groups in the late 1960s and in the early 1970s.[61]

It was found by adult Jewish organizations, and by Jewish youth group leaders as well, that most American Jewish youth in the period of study had a vague feeling for

and about Israel, and a desire to see Israel continue to exist. But their feelings that Israel should exist, that they "liked Israel" more than they did Arabs, and that they had some kind of "relationship" with Israel, appeared to be more and more what social psychologists term "contentless preferences."[62] They were there mainly because Jewish youth picked them up from parents and teachers; they were more emotional than rational, and they were accompanied intellectually by none but the most elementary facts about Israel and its problems and what the quality of its existence required on the part of Jews elsewhere in the world. These tended to be preferences inherited in their simple, positiveness from parents, and from general Jewish surroundings that tended to maintain a weak but persistent and consistent orientation towards Israel with little day to day substance to it, in daily life. These feelings in most Jewish youth were vastly more emotional than intellectually solid, unsupported by much of an armamentarium of knowledge.

Looked at in the abstract this condition that characterized the level of knowledge and committment of normative Jewish youth on the campus in the late 1960s was rather like the sociological correlate of a subacute disease conditions; all of the indicators of a severe problem were present but an inflammation that could immobilize had not yet set in. This was to occur in the years after June

of 1967 when, as a direct consequence of Israeli victories in the Six Day War, the Near East became a larger focal point of student interest on American college campuses second perhaps only to that of Viet Nam, and vengeful Arab student organizations and their funding supporters unleashed campaigns against Israel and Zionism perhaps unmatched in their vitriolic quality by those of any other foreign student group. Most Jewish youth on the campus appear to have been totally unprepared for this state of affairs and to have been quite honestly not interested personally in matching invective with invective. Most youth, including most peripheral Zionists, were poorly prepared to meet Arabist self-styled adversaries, by level of content knowledge and by level of enthusiasm for such combat. And then when they were challenged by either some general facts that were construed to point to Israel's immorality or a good reason for it to not exist, or by lies averse to their simple feeling, the youth's commitment to Israel sometimes fell apart and usually did so with speed and depth directly proportional to the strength and impact of the presented anti-Israel or "anti-pro-Israel" accusations.[63] The well-financed, wealthy, widely-embraced and arrogant Arabist propaganda machines with their allies in the oil companies and also various churches, the antisemitic Right and the anti-Israel New Left realms, and with fulltime staffs and dissemination centers, and hundreds of eager

hands to pass around leaflets and diatribes, appeared to be more than a match physically and financially for the generally staid handful of occasional Jewish students on many or most campuses. Their poorly-prepared and essentially poorly-adaptable "counter-information" usually consisted of welfare fund folders designed for dissemination to Jews, transcripted old speeches by Israeli political leaders. And their own vast ignorance of and disorganized group of Israeli life and problems and Jewish-Arab relations, and their lack of ability to deliver their kind of message forcefully to others on the campus, did not help. As a result, the commitment and the patchy beliefs of many college-age Jewish youth were worn down, embarrassed or argued into silence, and sometimes into self-doubt, particularly where the knowledge of Israel and commitment to it was already weak.

It was this problem that led to the floundering stance and progress of Zionism as a driving force among Jewish youth in the later 1960s it appears. In the later 1960s there was popular among Jewish adults a not widely documented theoretical explanation that Jewish youth or at least a large proportion of them were engaged in a vast amount, of "self-hate" and "sado-masochistic rejection of Judaism," or in a vast complex and internally-structured, well-reasoned rejection of those "aspects of Judaism" associated with their parents' supposed middle-class hypo-

crisy and decadence, including any positive feeling for Israel. But more realistically, this "failure to respond" stemmed essentially from ignorance about Israel, and only upon a depth and substance of knowledge about Israel and Zionism could a lasting, rational, and resilient belief be built and made such that it could survive. By 1972 it had not transpired, much as some Reform and Reconstructionist thinkers had hoped in years earlier, that among American Jews and American Jewish youth Zionism had replaced religion as the bond that held Jews together.[64] Such true bends will have to yet be built if they ever are built. And a Jewish community that considered Israel increasingly to be central in importance to Jewish life and the continuity of Jewish culture and Judaism, should have been prepared to exercise range of efforts, efficiently and attractively, to educate its youth about Israel and her problems and her patterns, the realities and not the myths, years earlier. That community demonstrated that it was willing to expend great sums and much time teaching its youth about the sayings of long-forgotten heroes of past ages, Hebrew grammar, and the rituals and festivals that were for these youth to observe, such that they might live as Jews. It appeared by 1972 that for the future, a similiar and crucial commitment had to be made by the American Jewish community to replace the naive, primitive, extremely discontinuous and shallow knowledge-base for interest in and

commitment to Israel most American Jewish youth had with a depth and breadth of knowledge, and thus intellectual fortitude in parallel to an emotional one, that could enable these Jewish youth of the 1970s and 1980s to both maintain a steadfast feeling for Israel, and to also develop and evolve in themselves active mature commitments to and relationships with Israel that would be meaningful and productive. One part of this, and one educational component that proved to be paramount, was the study session, the work experience, or the "temporary aliyah" of Jewish youth to Israel. By 1972 one million of the five and three-quarter million Jews of the United States had seen Israel or lived or worked there, some several times. And their kind of experience was able also to teach others. Also, the need for a continued "Maximal contact" between Jewish youth and Israelis that could produce knowledge and understanding, stressed by numerous Jewish educators and community actives, appeared to be a first-order priority similarly, and the helpfulness of efforts to popularize this became recognized. This implied the need for an expanded reach of newly reinvigorated Zionist adult and youth and youth-reaching groups on the campus, and in the communities of the United States, at the "big city" level and also in small communities. And it also required not a "concern" and an "interest" among Jewish youth for Israel, but a commitment practically and pragmatically of them towards

Israel as well, based largely upon their education as to what they could do as Americans, or even as immigrants to help in a variety of positive and useful ways Israel's growth and development.

Jewish-conscious youth of the neo-traditionalist, neo-religious, and Radical Jewish and mixed oirentation realms demonstrated as one element in their new re-Judaized lives some interest in Israel. But it was often manifested only for the most part in highly personalistic, self-oriented, symbolic, and even mystical or spiritual terms. Many neo-Hasidic youth celebrating festivals or holidays spoke often in fact of an "Israel of the Soul" but less yet of the existing, real Israel of three million people with minds and bodies. Other quoted glibly from the Five Books of Moses or the Talmud to rationalize Israel's holding on to occupied territories but could not speak of contemporary real-world problems and issues, developmental and social needs Israel faced. Still others debated their feelings about Israel's threat of "fascization" from Dayan, others about how Israel was "not religious" enough for them. Few did anything practically about it.

The evident importance to both Jewish life and potential for growth among young in America, and to Israel as all of the things that it is, would appear to call upon, for Zionist organizations and groups, for the vast ranges of sympathizers and supporters of Israel among youth, and

for others, a new efficient, problem-oriented and in-depth effort to in a sense "revitalize" the Zionism of American Jewish youth such as was not done before. An effort shaking and bringing American Jewish youth into levels of substantive commitment and action vis-a-vis Israel, as well as personalistic feeling for and "fulfillment" from Israel, that they have not reached seemed necessary. And fatefully too, the continued instability and crisis in the Near East through the late 1960s and earlier 1970s even added a third positive significance to Israel and her existence, that of her presence in the Near East as perhaps the only stable democracy in that area, perhaps the only continual and reliable ally of the United States, and a plausible "unsinkable aircraft carrier" of future use to the United States in a vital part of the world encroached upon increasingly by Soviet expansions and increasingly wracked by international conflict and internal divisiveness.

With such organized and planned efforts being made by organized Jewish youth groups, and by Zionist and other Jewish groups, the better and long-range interests of both Israelis and of American Jewish youth, and too curiously some interests of the American people, would probably be served as never before. And perhaps this must become the case in the present world.

"Church" "Sect"

Figure 1.

The "Church - Sect" Continuum As Theorized by Troeltsch and Developed Upon by Yinger

SSSJ	JDL	Lubavitch Youth (Merkos Liyonei Chinuch)	ASI	UJS	JRC	Betar

<u>Va'ad</u> (or "Church") ——— <u>Hevra</u> (or "Sect")

<u>Figure 2.</u>

A Church-Sect Comparison of Select Jewish Youth Organizations according to Degree of Centrality of Organization. Circa 1972.

SSSJ	Lubavitch Youth	JDL	UJS	JRC	Betar	ASI

<u>Va'ad</u> (or "Church") — <u>Hevra</u> (or "Sect")

<u>Figure 3</u>.

A Church-Sect Comparison of Select Jewish Youth Organizations According to Degree of Continuity With the Community. Circa 1972.

Chapter VI: Footnotes

[1]Cf. Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 66, 1965, pp. 3-81, esp. pp. 22-30, and 71-74.

[2]The analysis of religious organizations and movements as "social movements" and "organizational movements" according to their "church" or "sect" qualities, was developed by Ernest Treeltsch, in his The Social Teachings of the Christian Church (Die soziallehren der christlichen kirchen und gruppen) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960; in translation from the German) and was refined and elaborated by John Milton Yinger in his work (see below).

[3]Cf. John Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1957).

[4]A better classificatory nomenclature, useful for infra-Jewish comparison and studies, and characterizations, and which might also suggest broader possibilities for correctly relating to the mixed religio-cultural organizational basis of Jewish life, might be such terms as the Va'ad ("Council," or area-wide administrative body) for "church," and the hevra (or local, more task-specific, "task-oriented" society or body of people) for "sect." (One thinks in this latter respect, of the Traditional Jewish hevra kadisha, or local Jewish burial society in Europe and in America, for example). The term "kat" or "sect," in Hebrew, although having been used in the past, would appear less appropriate than the term hevra in some ways as it is not as "operationally" specific. (See Jacob S. Raisin, The Haskalah Movement in Russia. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1914, pp. 42-76, for example, for a discussion of the early Hasidim as a kat).

[5]For some insights into the variety of forms of administration and organization of a number of Jewish youth groups, see for example, the essays by a number of Jewish youth in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews (New York: Vintage Books, 1971); Jack Nusan Porter and Peter Dreier, Jewish Radicalism (New York: The Grove Press, 1972); Matthew Maibaum, The History Functions and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict: Berkeley Hillel and the "Radical" Union of Jewish Students (unpublished manuscript, for The Society For the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972; in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York); and Percy S.

Cohen, Young Jews and the New Left (London: The Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1972); and M. Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students: The History of a Conflict," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971. All these deal to some extent with the form of organization and administration of Jewish radical and other "new" youth groups.

[6]Obviously, regional variations in the degrees of churchization versus sectarianism on the two continuua, of Jewish youth groups with names common to those of other areas exist. And it must be remembered too that for at least many youth groups, there has been considerable change over the period 1965-1972, or even within one year at times, in the relative degree of churchization versus sertarianism, as a function of both external and internal factors.

[7]See description of this "umbrella" administrative and organizational effort of several different Jewish youth groups in the United States, in for example, Ha'Am (Jewish student newspaper, UCLA, Los Angeles), October 1972, pp. 1-2. See also, Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftist," in Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews, (New York: Pitman Publishers, Inc., 1971), esp. pp. 192-194. Also see infra, Part IV, for a discussion of this Network effort.

[8]For a good discussion of these problems in organizations, see for example Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), especially Chapter 6 on "Organizational Control and Leadership," pp. 58-67, and Chapter 10, "Organization and the Social Environment," pp. 105-116. Face to face organizational designs of the type referred to do exist in many Jewish youth groups at this time, and this has evidently enhanced their abilities to function in some ways more easily in pursuit of their goals than has been the case comparatively in other Jewish youth groups, particularly non-radical "traditional" ones. (See Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit., for notes on the Union of Jewish Students, for example).

[9]It appears that in some Jewish youth groups, there has been development of face-to-face organization over recent years, whilst in others as a result of self-perceived "failures" of a supposedly "loosely organized" group plan, leaders have made efforts to organize the groups in a fashion that is essentially more traditional, conservative, and "hierarchical" and "bureaucratic." This has happened in some Jewish Radical Community groups and in some cooperative living societies, for example over this period. Often in

such groups, unfortunately, leaders have confused the need for "responsibility and accountability" in organizations, with the supposed need for "hierarchy" and "inequality" in the form of traditional, and often rather more frustrating and unenjoyable, hierarchic and bureaucratic models of group organization. This kind of administrative evolution, or in some cases, evolution in reverse, is symptomatic of both ignorance of organization theory on the part of supposedly "radical" and "sophisticated" political and social ideologues in these groups, and of their lack of faith quite frankly in more "daring" or as yet unproven administrative forms.

[10]Cf. Erich Fromm, Man For Himself: An Inquiry Into the Psychology of Ethics (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1947) pp. 70-71 on "The Receptive Orientation".

[11]A Common phrase heard here, in many groups, by leaders and actives with respect to peripheral, or generally less active members on the overall, is "Why don't they get off their rear ends and work? That's why they're part of our group, isn't it?"

[12]The Pirkei Avot, usually referred to in English and translated as The Ethics of the Fathers," is that tractate of the Talmud that deals with social and personal ethics, and with the psychology of ethics and ethical behavior. It has long been a favorite book of study both among traditional and non-traditional Jews, and has been attended to increasingly as a source of guidance and ideation by members of Jewish radical groups over the past fifteen years.

[13]This orientation and attitude has been mirrored in Jewish radical groups from the later 1960s onward, and was a strong undercurrent in the Berkeley Union of Jewish Students from the Fall of 1967 onwards. (See Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.) For a general discussion of and analysis of these trends and attitudes in American radical youth groups, see for example Kenneth Keniston, Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1968), and his "Youth, Change and Violence," in The American Scholar, Vol. 37, No. 2, Spring 1968, pp. 227-245. These conceptualizations and others of "normative level" youth ideology and attitude about social revolt from "program liberalism" and other related aspects of the status quo beg comparison with "elitist-level" political criticism of the 1960s "liberal era," and Theodore Lowi's book The End of Liberalism gives a good political scientists' view of this liberal era and its developments and problems, if

a rather unsympathetic one (Cf. Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism. New York: W.W. Norton, Inc., 1969).

[14]See Keniston, Young Radicals, op. cit., for dis cussion of this, for example.

[15]This is noticeable from a wide variety of social sources employable as "social indicators." Among them are the newfound popularity of writings of such anti-collectivist thinkers and concervatives as Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden (author of the psychological work The Disowned Self and others) within the last two or three years; the popularity of mystical and spiritual and "retreatist" or "inward turned" religiosity among youth, as in the Jesus Movement among Christian youth and the growth of unprecedented mystical Judaism (including some important elements of Hasidism) among Jewish youth; and the rising popularity of occultism, white magic, astrology and experiential psychologies of the "self" among middle-class city youth on the whole.

[16]This problem of the necessity for developing new and younger manpower in the Jewish organization realm has been underscored in Jewish Federation Councils around the country in recent years, climaxed perhaps by the development of the new Jewish Federation and Executive Recruitment Program, based in Washington, D.C., that attempts to attract and train youthful talented Jews for administrative and service posts in Jewish communities around the country, in local Federation councils and welfare agencies, to replace retiring personnel. (Discussion with a coordinator of the Jewish Federation and Executive Recruitment Program, the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council, Los Angeles, July 1972). See the pamphlet, "Careers in Jewish Federations," produced by the Jewish Federation and Executive Recruitment Program, Washington D.C., 1972.

[17]This paucity of trained researchers and workers in the social sciences in the Jewish realm has been discussed by Seymour Martin Lipset, and by Dr. Louis Finkelstein, and by Marshall Sklare, among others. (See discussion of this in the section on "Jewish Science," in Part IV, infra.)

[18]Cf. Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," in The American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 66, 1965, pp. 71-73 esp., for a discussion of this.

[19]Discussion with a member and affiliate of the Jewish Coalition group, of California State University at Los Angeles, in Los Angeles, May 1973. The writer is indebted to her for this observation.

[20]Discussion with the former leader and organizer of the Radical Zionist Alliance group at the California State University at Los Angeles, at Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, April 1973.

[21]See the reference to and characterization of Or Hadash in Part V, *infra*.

[22]Discussion with the former leader of the Jewish Coalition, at the California State University at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, May 1973.

[23]Among the women of note in these efforts, and who have been paid increasing attention by members of Jewish youth groups, were women like partisan fighters Chaya Feldman and Chaya Crossman of Bialystek, and Hungarian-Palestinian Hanna Shenesh of wider fame.

[24]See for example, Rachel Adler, "Women in Jewish Law," in *Chutzpah*, No. 2, Summer 1972, p. 4. (Jewish student paper, Chicago).

[25]See for example, Ruth Balser, "The Liberation of A Jewish Radical," in *Chutzpah* (Jewish student newspaper, Chicago), No. 5, Summer 1973, pp. 10-11. She says, for example, with some strong elements of resentment, "As a youngster, I was active in the Junior Congregation of my Hebrew school. I wanted to run for vice-president (I knew a girl would never win for president!). But that year my *shul*, which is Conservative, came under some pressure to return to some more Orthodox practices so the decision was made that girls could no longer read from the Torah, even in the junior congregation, so I was told I could not run for vice-president. Instead I had to run for Chief Hostess, who gave out the cookies after the Service," (p. 10). She also relates further, with reference to Jewish "radical" youth groups and their approach towards the roles and status of women, "My feminism will not allow me to accept that part of the Jewish Movement (i.e., radical youth movement) which doesn't challenge the oppressive parts of the tradition." (p. 11).

[26]Meetings and conclaves of Jewish women of college age and older have increased markedly in number, and in the range of issues dealt with, in recent years. Symposia on the "status of women in Judaism" and the like have become an increasingly normal part of the intellectual and political scene in major cities, and Jewish women, both collegiate and beyond, have developed an increasingly large and vocal "Jewish women's liberation literature" of their own,

consisting for the most part of articles, historical treatments, and essays in both Jewish radical and nonradical literary circles. See for example, Rona M. Fields, "In God's Image: The Liberation of the Jewish Woman," in United Synagogue Review, Vol. 25, No. 1, Fall 1972; see also "A Beginning," (article on the attenders at the conference on "The Status of Women in Judaism" sponsored by the Conservative Movement, February 1973, New York City) in Chutzpah, No. 5, Summer 1973, p. 5. This meeting was sponsored by the National Conference of Jewish Women, which according to Chutzpah (No. 5, pp. 8) will be sponsoring another conference for the Midwestern part of the United States in October 1973. A Jewish women's newsletter, Lilith's Rib, has been published first in Summer 1973 as the "Jewish Women's Movement Newsletter," at 815 West Wrightwood St., Chicago, Illinois 60614. It contains among other things, excerpts from three Jewish women's haggadot produced this Pesach of 1973. See also "The Status of Women in Judaism," in United Synagogue Review, March 1973 dealing with the events and trends in the aforementioned conference.

[27]One such group meets at Hillel House at California State University at Northridge, in Los Angeles, regularly, led by the wife of the local, active Orthodox Hillel rabbi. (Discussion with affiliates of the CSU Northridge Hillel, Los Angeles, October 1972). It has been pointed out how the use of tefillin (prayer shawls) and tzitzit (fringed garments) by women, and the study of Torah and Talmud, is allowed and even encouraged among women, although it has historically not been required as an obligatory mitzvah (good deed) of women by the Tradition.

[28]See mention of "On the Status of Jewish Women" in United Synagogue Review, op. cit.; and especially Susan Dwerkin, "Women of Valor: New Visions, New Values, New Vitality," in Hadassah Magazine, April 1973, pp. 14-15, 37, which discusses particularly the role and interest of young Jewish women, many of radical affiliates, in the womens' movement.

[29]The relative numbers of Jewish women in radical and other youth group activities, particularly Jewish radical group activities, has not been systematically studied generally but is high, often surprisingly so. In the Union of Jewish Students in Berkeley in 1967, out of ten core members when the group started (October 1967) four were women, and two of these were equally as important in policy-decision-making and in setting group goals as the two leading male members at the time. As time went on and the core group increased by the end of 1969 to approximately

fifteen, at least half the active members at any meeting were women, which was a higher proportion than the proportion of women on the "lower" organizational levels, among the "floating membership" (mailing list membership) of 110 or so. Women students in the core group were highly visible and active in highly visible group activities; they provided most of the hours at the UJS Table in the school plaza over 1967-1969, and one of the two members of a panel that debated the Hillel in October 1969 before a local adult Jewish group in Lafayette, and the better-prepared member, was a woman, and daughter of an Orthodox rabbi from Los Angeles. (See Maibaum, The History, Functions and Symptomatology of Intergroup Conflict, op. cit.)

[30]Discussions with a member and cofounder of the Kosher Co-op of Berkeley, at Pesach, in Los Angeles, California, April 1972.

[31]Women students active in Jewish radical groups at UCLA and California State University at Los Angeles were very prominent in the design, and coordination, and overseeing of the Fairfax Jewish Arts Festival in the central Jewish area of Fairfax, in Los Angeles, in October of 1972, and were prominent in performing groups there as well.

[32]Women students administered and ran the Kosher Co-op dining program at the University of California Hillel at Berkeley in 1967-1969. These women were members of the rival Union of Jewish Students. (See Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.) They played similar roles in other organizations around the country.

[33]For example, out of the twenty-five or so social workers and counselors working at the highly successful storefront-style Frieds Mohr Center that counsels to the Jewish aged on Fairfax Avenue in Los Angeles, all were women, and several are volunteer college-aged women of a variety of political and ideological persuasions who work there aside from college activities and studies.

[34]Cf. Jack Nusan Porter, "Jewish Student Activism," in Jewish Currents, May 1970, pp. 2-8, who reminds us of this.

[35]This constitutes in a sense a special type of "deauthorization" of the Jewish woman, or, a limiting of and dethroning of her in terms of role possibilities, level of social power vis-a-vis others, and freedom to pursue goals independently, somewhat analogous to the "deauthorization" allegedly felt by many radical youth in the late

1960s that motivated many of these youth to violence and open rebellion. For a discussion of the sociology and politics relating to deauthorization see Lewis S. Feuer, The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements (London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1969), esp. the sections on deauthorization relating to Jewish radical youth: see also Percy S. Cohen's review of this work, in his "Student Revolt and Generational Conflict" Phantasy and Reality," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971.

[36]See Jack Nusan Porter, W.S., and Students (Committee of Concerned Jewish Students), "3 on JDL," in Jewish Currents, Vol. 26, No. 6, June 1972, pp. 4-9, esp. p. 8.

[37]See Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.

[38]Discussion with a leading member of the Jewish Peace Fellowship of Los Angeles, at the Fairfax Jewish Arts Festival, Los Angeles, California, October 8, 1972.

[39]Rabbi Albert S. Axelrad brings attention to and discusses this problem in his essay, "Encountering the Jewish Radical: The Challenge for Campus Rabbis and Student Groups," in James A. Sleeper and Alan L. Mintz, eds., The New Jews (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), pp. 112-120, for example.

[40]Conversation with rabbi, West Los Angeles, October 1971.

[41]For a description of this institution and its life-style, and its attenders, see Larry S. Price, "Hippie Hasidim - A Religious Alternative," in Hadassah Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 7, March 1972. See also M. Maibaum and C. Chayim Crill, "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth: A Field Study," (unpublished manuscript, The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, 1973).

[42]See Sleeper and Mintz, eds., The New Jews, on these varied groups; also see discussion of communes and havurot, on Part IV, infra.

[43]Discussion with a staffmember of The Jewish Family Service of San Francisco, San Francisco, California, April 1968; in the Files of the Jewish Family Service, San Francisco, 1968.

[44]For a coherent and broad attempt at discussion of the Hippie ideology on the whole, see Lewis Yablonsky, The Hippie Trip (New York: Pegasus Books, Inc., 1968). It

points out in quite some detail the social ethics of large numbers of youth in the Hippie movement, at least of the time, for comparison if possible with various Jewish ethical systems.

[45] Several sources have characterized the flight of Jewish youth into the Hippie realm as such a social revolt. Percy S. Cohen, points to the dislike of contemporary middle-class life and its lack of dynamism as a basis, plausibly so, for both Jewish and non-Jewish youth revolt, including "radical" political and nonpolitical (e.g. Hippie) social revolt. (See Percy S. Cohen, "Student Revolt and Generational Conflict: Phantasy and Reality," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971). See also Brune Bettelheim, "Unstable Youth: Towards a Psychograph of Adolescent Rebellion," in Encounter, September 1969, pp. 29-42. Cohen, op. cit., suggests that inasmuch as Jewish youth are heavily middle-class they have rejected middle-class norms disproportionately relative to non-Jewish youth, both in radical and in nonconformist non-political directions. Speaking of Hippies particularly, Rabbi Itzhak Greenberg has suggested that Jewish youth entered the Hippie world in large numbers, and far out of proportion to their numbers in the American youth population, inasmuch as Jews on the whole exist within these socio-economic segments of society that are most frustrated by, affected by and changed by accelerated social and technological change in America. (Lecture, Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, September 1972; taped). Also see Part V, infra.

[46] See "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!," in Time Magazine, June 21, 1971, pp. 56-63, for example.

[47] Cf. Time, op. cit., p. 59.

[48] The specifically "Christian" basis of the movement brings to mind, by way of historical comparison, the words of Karl Marx on the question of the place of Jews in Germany: Marx says, of the "Christian state," that "it can permit the Jew as a matter of priviledge to isolate himself from its other subjects, but it must then allow the pressures of all the other spheres of society to bear upon the Jew, and all the more heavily since he is in religious opposition to the dominant religion." (Karl Marx, "On Brune Bauer: Die Judenfrage," essay (In English translation), in T, B. Bottomore, ed., Karl Marx: Early Writings. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1964, p. 4).

[49] Studies and characterizations upon the topic of the sources and bases of Jewish "radicalism" and "social

justice activism" in Jewish history are of course numerous. One exemplary analysis that is fairly representative of a "historical" more than "sociological" style of writing and approach to the subject is that offered by Louis Ruchames in his "Jewish Radicalism in the United States" (in Peter I. Rose, ed., The Ghetto and Beyond: Essays on Jewish Life in America. New York: Random House, Inc., 1969, pp. 228-252). He characterizes sources for radicalism and the pursuit of social justice within the radical vein in the United States thus:

"The recollections of Egyptian bondage with the concomitant emphasis upon liberty are among the most important facts of Jewish history. In ancient Jewish life these resulted in egalitarian and libertarian emphasis in Jewish religious thought and a marked sympathy for the oppressed and enslaved." (Ruchames, p. 228).

[50]Statement by Rabbi Shlome Cunin, of the Chabad Chassidut (Lubavitch Hasidim) Chabad House in Los Angeles, in Westwood (West Los Angeles), to the author, June 1972. See also, "Jews for Jesus," in Time Magazine, June 12, 1972, pp. 66-67. For another view of the impact of the Jesus Movement upon Jewish youth, and its general trends and plausible threats to the Jewish realm, see Harold Goldmeier, "As Long As They Love Jesus," in The National Jewish Monthly, November 1972, pp. 44, 46. See also, for a discussion that contradicts the assertions more widely that the Jesus Movement will attract and convert aliented Jewish youth, Allen S. Maller, "Converts to Judaism Get Little Recognition," pp. 45, 48 in the same issue of the Monthly. He relates, "Even Time magazine fell for the claim (sic) that thousands of Jews are converting to Christianity. This is false. For every Jew who becomes a Christian, there are five or ten Christians who become Jewish." (last line in italics). He relates the results further of a 1965 survey of Reform rabbis--in an era prior to the present "open" and supposedly more "liberal" one--indicating that they alone had instructed "up to 4,000 Gentiles in the previous year, in preparation for their conversion." (Maller, p. 45).

[51]The social and sociological characteristics of "Jesus Movement" groups bear comparison with some "neo-Hasidic" groups and neo-religious nonconformist groups in the United States in existence at the present time in the sphere of Jewish youth. Among these are some Lubavitcher Hasidim-related youth groups and their memberships, such independent and unique "ecstatic" or "revivalist" Jewish religious groups and institutions as the "House of Love and Prayer" in San Francisco, and small local religiously-oriented interest and study groups around the country like

Or Hadash in Los Angeles. See on the "House," Larry S. Price, "Hippie Hasidim - A Religious Alternative" in Hadassah Magazine, Vol. 53, No. 7, March 1972; and M. Maibaum and C. Chayim Crill, "Some Appeals of Hasidism to American Jewish Youth" (unpublished manuscript, in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, 1973); and for a general perspective on Hasidism among American Jewish youth, Efraim Shmueli, "The Appeal of Hasidism to American Jewry Today," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11. No. 2, December 1969. All the above tend to indicate strong similarities between both the appeals of and the social dynamics of and religious behavior manifestations of, these "ecstatic" or "revivalist" religious forms. The reader is also directed for a further discussion of the Jesus Movement and Jewish youth, to M. Maibaum, "The Jesus Movement and US Jewish Youth," in Patterns of Prejudice (London), 6, 5, (September-October) 1972.

[52]Lecture by Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Los Angeles, on "Opportunities for Jewish Youth in the Jewish Community," at Brandeis Institute, Santa Susana, California, September 13, 1970, (taped). Jewish journals, particularly The Journal of Jewish Communal Service, has carried many articles and discussions upon this topic, particularly, over the past seven years and more.

[53]Most noteworthy perhaps here have been the picketings by members of Jewish radical groups like Jewish Radical Communities, Union of Jewish Student groups, and others, in front of Jewish Federation Councils in New York, Los Angeles, and other cities, in the era of 1967-1972, on the grounds of protesting the latters' disinterest in protesting the Vietnam War and in contributing more to the war on poverty, and more recently, on such issues as the latters' lack of providing grounds and vehicles for a voice for Jewish youth in them, their lack of activity on the part of Soviet Jewry and defending the Jewish poor from their crises and problems, and their lack of commitment to Jewish education. At a large symposium held in a prominent Reform temple in Beverly Hills, in California, in May of 1970, a steadily more quiescent audience of youth and young adults cheered Rabbi Shlome Cunin towards the end of the Federation Council-sponsored event when he strode in unannounced, assumed the podium, and addressed the group on the theme of the desperate need for monies for Jewish education. His applause and adulation came from evidently, a wide range of radical and nonradical Jewish youth present, to the embarrassment and chagrin of the Federation "establishment" actives on the overseeing panel. (Observed by the writer, Beverly Hills, California, May 1970). Similar

events and occurrences have been common throughout the later 1960s and early 1970s in many cities.

[54]In a sense, these adults have a problem of conceptualizing what indeed is the "framework" for youth groups' ideologies. They ignore or are otherwise noncognizant of the particular transmutations of classical radical thought by Jewish radical groups into new, unique forms, and criticize the statements, programs and behavior of youth group members while comparing these to "formal-legal" theories of radical writers that they themselves know from history, rather than looking at the actual orientations and modifications of theory, if we will, of the present-day youth groups themselves. Also, many rabbis, community leaders, Federation executives and social service actives, and even applied social scientists in the Jewish realm, are notoriously ignorant of the political and administrative structures and patterns of function of Jewish radical groups and other "new" groups. One rabbi, active at an Hillel in Southern California for many years, and who considered himself a spokesman of the new "sociological" or "rationalist" approach to Jewish religion and life, after perusing a large body of literature on Jewish radical groups and radical activists from 1967 through 1971, persisted in insisting that Jewish radical groups "have the same structure and the same problems that all other Jewish groups in society do" and could not understand his inability to theoretically account for some of the strengths and achievements, thereby, of some radical groups and youth he knew of or heard about. (Discussions before Synagogue __________, West Los Angeles, June 1971, by Rabbi ______, on the subject of "The New Jews").

[55]Perhaps the best categorizations of and listing of bases for Jewish youth radical activism and its directions, in campus protest, antiwar protest, social commitment, and violence, etc., is to be found in Percy S. Cohen, "Student Revolt and Generalization Conflict," op. cit., and in his Young Jews and the New Left (London: The Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1972). He virtually catalogues and also analyzes the most frequently offered, and most prominent theoretical bases for these events in the youth world over the past few years, drawing upon a variety of authors and approaches. (See infra, Part V, for a survey of Cohen's and other surveyed theoretical approaches.)

[56]One effect made to remediate this problem of relationship and of communication has been the development of "Jewish Youth Councils" or agencies with similar names in a number of cities, in Jewish Federation Councils. These

are group of college-aged and older Jewish youth, usually with long histories of involvement in youth activities and with talents for organizational and planning work, who have been appointed by a selecting adult youth-director to serve as a political and coordinating body that communicated the perceived needs and wants of active--and less active--Jewish youth to the adult Federation, that gets funds from them for youth-oriented projects and organizations, and that communicates knowledge about and advice from the adult Federation leadership to actives and affiliates in a wide variety of Jewish youth groups in the city area on the whole. Such bodies function in a sense as a liaison as well, thus, between the organized leadership of the Jewish youth, and adult administrative, worlds. And, they allow for somewhat coordinated policymaking and bargaining between representatives of Jewish youth group leadership, and adult leadership in the community, at the "topmost levels" of leadership, in a pattern that political scientist Arend Lijphart calls "consociational" democracy. (See Arend Lijphart, "Typologies of Democratic Systems," in Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1968, pp. 3-44). These such efforts have the benefits of close coordination and the possibilities for articulate bargaining and comminicating at topmost levels of leadership, across the youth and adult worlds, but at the same time the relative exclusion of lower levels of both the adult organization and the radical and nonradical youth organizations that the youth leaders try to or claim to represent, remains an ongoing problem, recognized by Federation adults, Council youth leaders, and the yet-distanced youth group bulk memberships alike. For a "testament" of sorts in favor of and describing favorably, the Jewish Youth Council effort in Los Angeles, for example, see the "Letters" section of Ha'Am (Jewish student newspaper, at UCLA, Los Angeles), of February 1973, p. 2.

[57]Discussion with the Admissions Chairman, the Department of Sociology, at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, June 1971. He attributed this decline in new applications for graduate level study to the precipitous drop in availabilities for graduate level scholarships and fellowships for advanced study that made graduate study for non-wealthy students possible in the 1960s.

[58]Milton Himmelfarb brings to attention, for example, the effect that the new so-called "reverse discrimination" quotas in college and graduate-school education have and will have upon the relative availability for college admissions and studies of Jewish youth, particularly in urban colleges, state universities, and lucrative

professions upon which foundations so much of the Jewish socio-economic success in this country has been built. (Cf. Milton Himmelfarb, "Is American Jewry in Crisis?," in Commentary, Vol. 47, No. 3, March 1969).

[59]Some studies in the middle 1960s done by the B'nai B'rith nationwide, indicated that a majority of members and attenders at Student Zionist Organization meetings, and the meetings of other Zionist youth groups in the United States, did so essentially because the group was "another Jewish youth group to belong to" and "another organization to join and be part of," rather than because these members were preeminently interested in finding out about Israeli society, about aliyah there, or about problems of Israeli politics and culture. This is not to say, however, that Jewish youth who were members were not interested at the same time, and to some strong degree, in Zionisn and in Israel, or that these organizations did not in fact provide the generations of the 1950s and the 1960s and the early 1970s with a pride in and interest in Israel nonetheless, irrespective of levels of knowledge about Israel and of active commitment to ideas and things definitively Zionist.

[60]Two outstanding youth leaders in the general radical realm of recent history in this category are Mike Lerner of Berkeley, active in the antiwar efforts there and in the dialogues with Arab students and groups there in 1967-1969, and leader of protest picketings by Jewish--and mainly nonJewish--radicals against the Jewish Federation Council in Oakland in 1967, and Daniel ("Danny the Red") Cohn-Bendit in France, one of the leaders of the 1968 student demonstrations in Paris at the Sorbonne and elsewhere. The latter at one time spent some time working on an Israeli kibbutz. (See Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Socialism of Fools: The Left, The Jews, and Israel," in Mordecai S. Chertoff, ed., The New Left and the Jews. New York: Pitman Publishing Company, Inc., 1971; p. 124, for some discussion of him). Sometimes entire "pro-Isreal" Jewish groups, or what might be called "respectable Jewish youth groups" of the old, preradical, pro-Israel model have been converted virtually overnight into or replaced rapidly by radical Jewish youth groups that took, at least in the era 1967-1970, a stand often antithetical to or at least highly critical of Israel. Perhaps an outstanding example of this phenonemon is the Student Zionist Organization of Berkeley of 1966 and its succeeding Union of Jewish Students that was created by interested radical-bent students definitively in its place, one year after the former group disappeared; the latter group six months after its founding, celebrated an "Anti-Israel Day" in the University Plaza where its speakers demanded withdrawal of

Israel from all Arab territory unilaterally and derided Israeli policy as "imperialist." (Maibaum, "Berkeley Hillel and the Union of Jewish Students," op. cit.)

[61]See Mordecai S. Chertoff, "The New Left and the Newer Leftists," in Chertoff, eds., op. cit., pp. 190-196, where he discusses the "new Jewish radical."

[62]See David O. Sears' comprehensive study of the formation of such political and ideological preferences with age, and discussion and characterization of such preferences, in his chapter on "Political Behavior," Chapter 41 in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds., The Handbook of Social Psychology, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, Inc., 1969), Vol. V: Applied Social Psychology; esp. pp. 397-399.

[63]One Jewish student active in Hillel at Berkeley indicated how, over the period 1968-1969, at perhaps the height of the anti-Israel fervor on the campuses in the late 1960s, the Arab students and their allies in the University Plaza slowly but steadily "converted and convinced five, ten students, both Jews and non-Jews a day with the Arabist arguments against Israel, with their wealth of propaganda materials, leftist or pseudo-leftist jargon and literature, and availabilities of funds for such materials. (Dsicussions with Hillel graduate student, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation building, Berkeley, California, April 1969). In a speech before the Jewish Welfare Federation of the East Bay (serving Berkeley, Oakland and other cities adjacent to San Francisco) in December 1969, the former President of the Berkeley Hillel, and veteran of several years' experience with Arabist and other anti-Israel and anti-semitic propaganda and efforts, stressed the "very poor" quality at best of information and other materials available to the Jewish group on the campus to counteract Arabist propaganda. This seems to be the case, or to have been the case, more generally about the country on campuses, during the later 1960s. Interestingly in the Spring of 1972 a nationwide effort, sponsored by a variety of Zionist and other Jewish adult groups, was launched on the campuses in the country expressly to "combat and counteract increasing anti-Israel propaganda on our campuses" and to win Jewish youth back to a positive impression of Israel and Israeli life. In view of the fact that the El Fatah college groups were launched on American campuses nationwide in March 1968 and in some places functioned virtually unmatched in funds and in avaiable counter-information, and were highly successful in others, this latter effort appears to have come approximately four years late, what-

ever its merits and emergent successes.

[64]This is asserted for many years particularly by the ideologues and actives of the Reconstructionist Movement. (See for example, the "Reconstructionist Study Guides," prepared by R. Abraham Winokur of Los Angeles, in use by the Movement and its synagogues and affiliates, which mention this point.) The picture appears to be vastly complicated here and it is not clear that this assertion is true generally of American Jews. The nascent popularity of traditional Judaism and particularly spiritual Judaism, and Hasidism, among youth in the last seven years, and the persistent small size of the Reconstructionist camp, for that matter, would tend to contraindicate this. However, some interesting, if inconclusive comparisons may be made with England and elsewhere. Bernard Wasserstein concludes in a study of Jewish identification at Oxford University, concludes that "...there is nothing which unites, which concerns, and, we may say, which identifies Jewish students in England today as a group more than their relationship with the State of Israel. As current events in other parts of the Jewish world are demonstrating in a heightened form, this is no isolated phenomenon." (Bernard Wasserstein, "Jewish Identification Among Students at Oxford," in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 1971; p. 150). He also relates that, based upon the study findings, that support of Israel was the one form of Jewish identification in which Anglo-Jewish students appeared to equal if not exceed "the intensity of their parents' Jewishness." This survey and study was carried out in June of 1970, and upon 133 Jewish students at Oxford, constituting one-third of the (400 estimated) Jewish students there in June 1970.

Chapter VII: A Concluding Discussion:
Organized Jewish Youth in Perspective, 1965-1972

Introduction

In this chapter some concluding observations will be made and some discussion relating to findings will be presented.

Firstly, the basic hypotheses will be restated, as they were presented in Chapter 1.

Secondly, the general findings in support of the hypotheses will be discussed in an effort to summarize the details of what has been surveyed. Findings will be summarized in the five areas where hypotheses were presented: regarding the dimensionality of youth movement behavior, its confluence and oppositionalism to American life, its similarities to and uniqueness from American life, its divergent development into isomorphism and also separateness, and the "political" context and significance of all youth behavior be it political or nonpolitical youth group that is observed. And other specific findings of note will be mentioned and analyzed, as bases for other and further possible courses of research in the future.

Thirdly, suggested directions for further inquiry in this field will be discussed.

And fourthly, observations will be made at some length from a phenomenal point of view, that is, from one attempting to picture the outlook and perspective of the youth

group member from within, based upon this author's own participant observation of youth group members at work and at study. This will be in an attempt to picture the world of these youth groups as the youth group member sees it, and how this conditions his social, moral, and ultimately his "political" outlook, and his participation in the broader political universe. Here we will discuss religious identity, political definitions of one's place in things, and the cultural, psychological and historical significances of the development of these movements to its immediate parent body, American Jewish "adult" society itself.

Restatement of the Hypotheses

In Chapter I of this study the following hypotheses were presented.

1. Jewish youth group behavior will reflect itself in three definable dimensions, as reflective of the mixed nature of Jewish identity in America: in the religious, in the general-cultural, and in the politically directed. This will be a function of the fact that American Jewish life exists and has existed in these three dimensions and American Jewish youth have problems and interests in these three dimensions of life that they must address themselves to.

2. Much of the behavior of Jewish youth will be very like that of other Americans and much will be very oppositional, reflecting the minoritarian, unique and ethnically, historically, and religiously distinct aspects of American

Jews as a population group in America.

3. Much of the behavior of American Jewish youth will be unique in the American context, and in the context of American youth as an age realm, as reflective of unique patterns and problems in Jewish life and reflective of unique elements and motivators for behavior in the Jewish past. Other behavior will be imitative of other American realms, and youth realms, as reflective of the possibility that American youth of different backgrounds, as part of one large, populous, mobile culture and society, interpenetrate each others' subcultures, cross-fertilize each others' concepts of identity and identity-formation, and learn patterns of coping with adult life from each other, in the American "amalgam" context.

4. It was hypothesized that some forces at work will lead American Jewish youth and have in the period of study led American Jewish youth to become more American in the sense of becoming more like majority American youth, whilst other forces at the same time have been at work to make some youth become less like other American youth in general, more distinct, different, or even isolar. And it is hypothesized that within the broad realm of American Jewish youth both tendencies were present during the period of study, even as "radical" and as oriented to "identity searching" as that era was for American youth. It is suggested that this phenomenon was reflective of and under-

standible in the context of the fragmented and culturally multi-centered nature of the makeup of the adult American Jewish community, and the American Jewish youth community, in the United States during this period.

5. It was hypothesized that all patterns of behavior and affiliation, definitively "political" in their presumed goals as defined by youth or not, will have had specific, identifiable and important "political" significances and also political-moral significances vis-a-vis the effectiveness, appropriateness, and usefulness to broader society and to American Jewish society of members participating in these youth movements. Some patterns of behavior will spell trends in the direction of helping general society, or American Jewish adult society, and others may be termed isolative, regressive, withdrawing, or unproductive in terms of what they appear to have gained for general American society or for American Jewish society. Major areas of political and political-moral significances of developments in American Jewish youth groups with special reference to problems that emerge, will be discussed and analyzed.

Finally, various other specific findings about the appeal of particular movements, courses of social or political or religious action, and patterns of affiliation will be discussed as they emerge.

Discussions of findings with reference to these

points of observation and conjecture follows.

Discussion of Findings

"Dimensionality" of Youth Experience

It appears that youth can be organized along three dimensions grouped along three dimensions, by the type of social experience they sought, the character of the behavior in which they engaged, and the types of issues that were their intellectual and emotional concerns. These can be called, religious group activity; general cultural activity with a Jewish component, including literary, social, communal-living, and scholarly-academic; and definitively "political." It may be said that such a division may be seen as arbitrary. But there appear to be no directions of American Jewish youth movement activity during the period of study that fell outside one of these three areas. And, as may be seen from the record of groups studied here, youth active in one dimension in this period appear to have expressed their energies within that dimension, rather than to dissipate it in the other two and in activities in the other two as well. However, members of a group that could be fit into one dimension, let us say the religious, also did at times participate tangentially in the activities of other groups in that same dimension. As can be seen, youth interested for example in religion and in religious activities tended to join one group, tangentially associated with activities of other "religious"

organizations, and did not as a rule participate in activities of "political" or for that matter general-cultural youth groups except as intermittent, curious observers.

<u>Confluence-Oppositionalism</u>

As proposed, much of the behavior of American Jewish youth groups in this period was very confluent in direction with that of other American youth in this period, and much other behavior was very oppositional and divergent in its directions. This was due to differences of ideology, priorities, and orientation or view of the surrounding world between these active Jewish youth and other American youth.

To provide a concise summary of group behavior, those groups that could be termed "confluent" or at least "more confluent" with the mainstream of American society were there:

Hillel

Traditional Orthodox youth groups of modern bent (Yavneh)

Academic, scholarly, groups centered at universities or near them (like the Sinai Temple ATID)

Tutorial, educational, and other public-service oriented Jewish youth groups in the "general-cultural" realm (like the Jewish Tutorial Projects), often centered at universities

Those groups that could be termed quite oppositional to the general directions of American soceity during this period were these:

Jewish Defense League

Union of Jewish Students

Hippie-Hasidim

Communal living groups in the "general-cultural" realm

Radical Jewish Youth press

Jewish Radical Community groups

Lubavitch Hasidic youth and Lubavitch-sponsored youth

Nascent womens' consciousness groups

Similarity-Uniqueness

It appears that some of the American Jewish youth groups in the study period were similar in their ideology and behavior, and others were quite unique in the American context, when one observes "similarity" of structure and direction within American society in a group by virtue of its directions and behavior.

It can be said that several groups and types of groups were similar to other American youth groups, and to American political and social groups, in their directions and in their interests. They would include these:

Hillel

Academic and scholarly groups in the "general-cultural" dimension

Tutorial, educational and other social service oriented groups in the cultural-general dimension, often centered at universities.

Among those types of groups that could be termed unique in the American context, or divergent in behavior and direction, even where conflict with surrounding Ameri-

can values were not manifest or were not an implicit part of their approach, one could include the following:

Traditional Orthodox Jewish youth groups (Yavneh for example)

Hippie-Hasidic groups

Lubavitcher youth and Lubavitcher-sponsored youth

Communal living groups of all types

The Jewish youth press on the whole

Jewish Defense League

Womens' consciousness groups on the whole

The Union of Jewish Students

Radical Jewish Community groups

Zionist youth groups of socialist, nonsocialist, and also religious bent.

As can be seen, some groups that were "different" or unique or peculiar in the American context were not or would not necessarily be termed inherently "oppositional" to that majority society.

Isomorphism and Apartness

Some groups in this period appear to have been moved by forces towards what may be termed "isomorphism" with the general American experience, and others into positions of uniqueness and apartness. That is, some groups appear in this period to have been moved by forces in society towards amalgamating into general American society and general American youth society. Members became blended in more and more to general American patterns of behavior such

that these American Jewish youth become less distinct, and less identifiable, as anything definitively different than their peers. Other forces were at work that moved American Jewish youth groups to being more isolar, self-contained, or distinctively apparent as something "different" from other youth groups around them.

Those forces that moved groups to be more isomorphic with other developments and trends in American life and youth life were the following, as suggested by our analysis of youth groups and movements:

Secular education, particularly at the college level

The rise of a definitive "youth culture" in America that drew the allegiance of American youth away from other pursuits (including that of specific religio-ethnic affiliations).

The economic assimilation of and integration of American Jews

The social acculturation of American Jews on the model of "equals" and "similars"

Internal psychological pressures at work within acculturating Jews to become similar to other Americans to avoid stigma and also to gain full acceptance and participation in American life

Those forces that appear to have been at work to make American Jewish youth groups members more apart, distinct, isolar in their group life and activities were these:

Rise of concept of ethnic minority pride, based largely but not solely on the model of Black consciousness development

Rise of concept of ethnic minority pride based on identity with and pride in Israel, specific to Jews

Rise of fragmentation of radical youth movements in America into ethnic components, and along separate ethnic lines, in the late 1960s

Retreat of Jewish youth from exigiencies of competitive, pressured, middle-class and upper-middle class social values and mores and into alternative life styles and modes of social experience

Search for roots of one's own background and existence as members of a distinct religious or ethnic minority, as distinct from a "blanket identification" with the broad base of American history and broad sweep of the American experience.

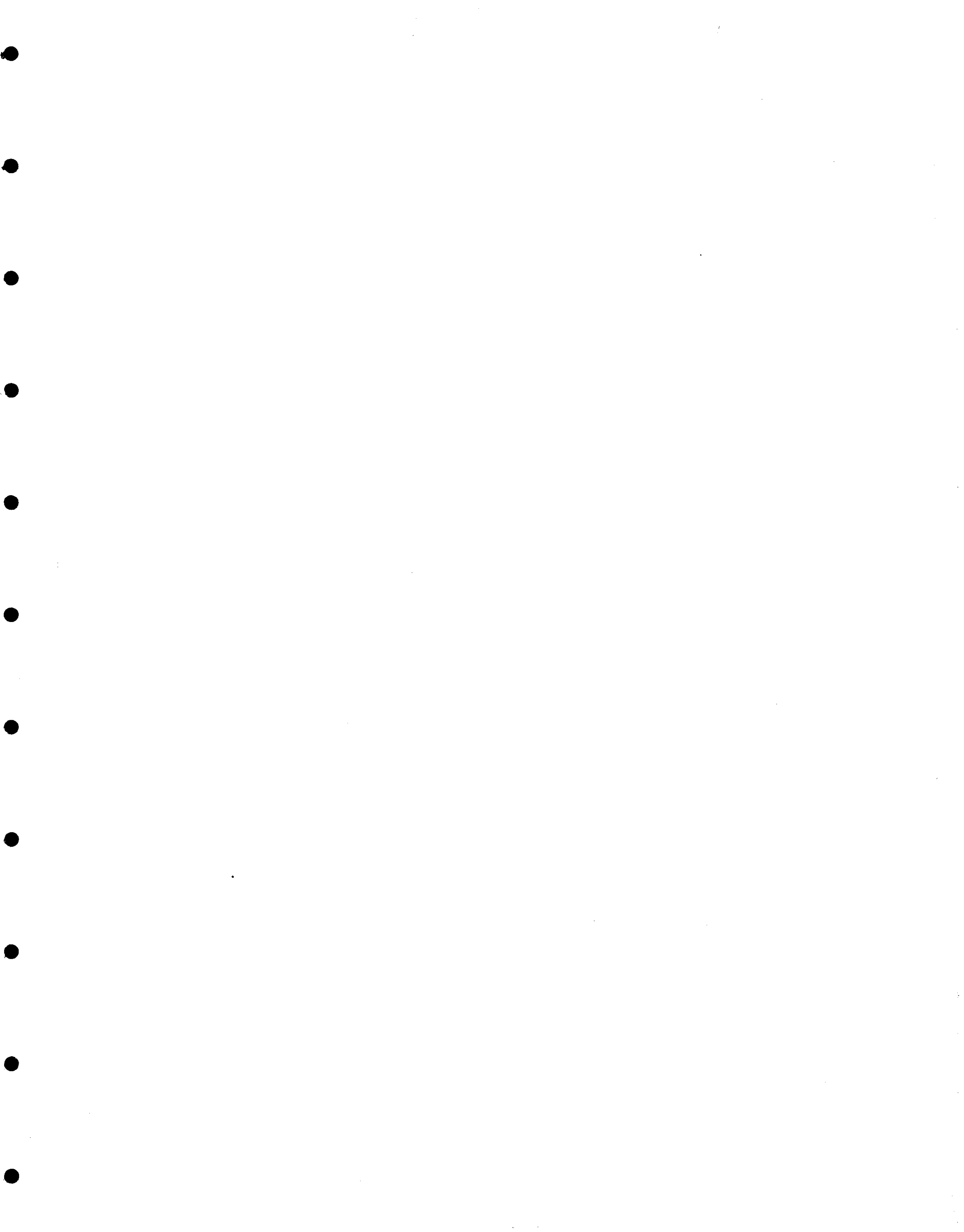
The Political Impact and Import of All Youth Organization

Lastly among our hypotheses, the fifth was one to the effect that these American Jewish youth movements have had specific "political" and related "political-moral" significances vis-a-vis the relationship of their members to American Jewish society and to broader American soceity. It is suggested that the following significances did appear.

Firstly, American Jewish youth felt that there was something they had to say about American political priorities, social life, and directions that life was taking domestically and with respect to the rest of the world. This took the form of support for American domestic or foreign policy at some times, as in the anti-Soviet warnings and campaigning of the CSSJ; something in a direction that differed partially from American governmental positions, as in the different Zionist youth groups' positions on Israel and particularly on American-Israel relations; and sometimes a course antipathetic to American governmental,

or majority social viewpoints at the time, as the positions of some UJS and JRC members against the dominant capitalist economic system, or against what they felt to be a nonpursuit of justice in American society (e.g., the civil rights and equal opportunity movements and efforts of the 1960s) totally aside from specifically "Jewish" issues.

Secondly, the development in particular of youth groups and movements in the direction of distinct specialized groups with distinct, specialized interests and priorities in the "religious" dimension, which emphasized the peculiarity of their outlooks, implied a differing perspective per se on American political priorities, morality, process, and rationality. The more insular, distinctive and different the view that was taken by a group, the more the broad sweep of accepted American political process could be held up to criticism seen as it was from a more oblique perspective than one from which more mainstream Americans saw it. (The same could be compared with the political or governmental outlook of such groups as the Amish, Atheists, or the Mormons for that matter in the United States). It was to be expected that these developments in the religious dimension would imply political oppositionalism at times, as in the cause of some religious Jewish radicals in the UJS; a religiously-informed American patriotism in others, as in some religious members of the



JDL, members of Yavneh, and religious members of the anti-Soviet CSSJ; and a devotion to and appreciation of America but a curiously differing ordering of political priorities stressing both ethnic pride and individual rights, and small government, as in the case of many Lubavitcher youth and many Neo-Hasidim and Hippie-Hasidim.

It has been an aphorism among strongly organized and sectarian religious group members widely around the world, and in the United States, that "There is ultimately no Law but the Lord's." Such members are renowned for resisting the tides of general political process, and of government. One thinks in this context of the sectarian and self-isolating Amish, Memmonites, and ultra-orthodox Hasidic Jews in the United States. Because a religious system pre-disposes a complete integrated environment that creates its own laws, regulations and rules and priorities for human behavior, as secular government attempts to do, it makes an equal and intervening claim upon those energies and human loyalties that one in the modern era and of secular loyalties, delegates to governments and to the world of "politics."[1]

It would appear that such a resistance to temporal authority, and at least testy criticism of it, was at work in the religious and religiously-informed group members studied herein.

Thirdly, the preeminently "political" groups that

emerged that are studied here present a peculiar significance in that all posited or were guided by ideologies distinctly non-American, that is, distinctly atypical of the major platforms of either major American political party over the last hundred years. The UJS viewpoint, when perused, was distinctly more Socialist than anything else; that of the JRC, preeminently socialist and among some leaders Marxist; in the Radical Zionist Alliance, dedicated to increasing the importance of Israel as a cultural center and inspirer of American Jewish life and at the same time to increasing the importance of radical-leftist socialism as a moulder of political priorties among its members who were interested in Isreal, (a state itself ironically becoming in some ways during this period significantly more capitalist!) The JDL took its models of community defense from the Jewish Self-Defense Force militias of Russia of the 1880s and 1900s, and to a lesser degree from Israeli settlement defenders of the earlier 1900s, not from the early American Minutemen, Green Mountain Boys, or elsewhere in the American experience. The most widely read political theorists and thinkers were said on the campus to be Herbert Marcuse, and Paul Jacobs, not centrist American thinkers and ideologies like Richard Rovere, or even progressive American writers, critics and thinkers in the political realm of the 1960s and 1970s such as Hubert Humphrey, Gore Vidal, Vance Hartke or Norman

Mailer. There appears to be no evidence to the effect that this is specifically a Jewish youth radical phenomenon or characteristic. And for that matter such a non-American bent did not increase the popularity of Jewish youth groups among other non-Jewish ethnic youth or radical group members. In fact during the late 1960s and earlier 1970s this writer recalls visiting "information tables" of Jewish radical groups on Berkeley and UCLA campuses over four years, and being told that members of other non-Jewish radical groups and members of other ethnic minority student and youth organizations typically greeted their presence with "disinterest" and on occasion frequently complained that Jewish radical youth were the "least radical" and least dynamic and least revolutionary, and thus least useful, of radical and active youth.

This ideological perspective of Jewish youth would appear to be more a result simply of Jewish politically-inclined youth internalizing and adopting that set of political views and priorities common to the most dynamic and accelerated sectors of the American youth world around them and following suit. And they appear to have done so, and in doing so replicated a general pattern of American Jews of imitating and internalizing those patterns of behavior and belief characteristic of the most accelerated sectors of American upper-middle class society. Political sophistication, sometimes identified to be political

leftism on a foreign model, was often identified with the entourage of urbane, worldly, upper-middle-class social thinking, and appeared to be no less so among American Jews. In the later 1960s a favored ideological substance was imputed leftism with a radical valence. Significant as pointed out was the absence of any definitively American middle-class, anti-leftist and anti-radical youth group (the JDL was anti-leftist but radical, sometimes termed radical-rightist) that stressed uniformity with centrist American politics, or agreement with dominant political party positions. And these political ideological elements of ostensibly West European-like leftism gave their coloring to a broad range of groups in the American Jewish youth world in the eyes of adult Jews. And in the eyes of observant other Americans, even where that leftist political coloring in effect did not exist. And this appears to have both raised the anxieties of the American Jewish adult generations fearing a backlash from general society, and also to have raised the ire of sectors of non-Jewish American adults and increased their defensiveness in the face of contact with American Jewish youth. Thirdly, it socialized an entire generation of American Jewish youth into a progressive, leftist, or radical-leftist frame of mine and set of priorities, most often conditioned by non-American Western writers and thinkers, the long-term results of which, in terms of mature participation in the

American political process, have not yet been seen today.

<u>Other Specific Analyses</u>

Other specific analyses may also be made here.

For one thing, these youth groups were for the most part what Sigmund Neumann in his analysis of parties and pressure/interest groups called "integrative" rather than "representative" parties, or at least quasi-party interest groups.[2] They are oriented towards coagulating the interest of members, disagreeing with outsiders, formulating integrated means of dealing with social problems of both members and the conceived whole society, converting others at large to their beliefs, and mobilizing others after their own goals and in terms of their own perceptions. They are interesting in raising both the insularity of their own members at the same time, and the consciousness of their own members as distinct from belongingness to other movements or to other, and prior, allegiances such as home, family, and class background. And they are mobilized along the lines of specific ideologies adapted or adopted from outside ideologies.

For another thing, one noticeable fact when one peruses the record of major groups developments of this period is that all derived their ideologies from non-religious, non-Jewish, Western radical schools of thought originating in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries, with the exception

of the definitively Zionist youth groups. None that was Zionist but also political bent its political philosophy to bend and fit Zionism; it bent its Jewish orientation to fit its political ideology and purview, on the other hand. And all of these movements were different, and vied with one another very much in the pattern that parties of the Old Left vied with each other in the political arenas of Europe, and have done in the United States.

The preeminent reason for this is probably in that these youth did not believe that Jewish civilization itself indeed had offered any definitive political ideologies and movements of its own. And it may be argued objectively as well that Jewish life has never created any definitive, singular, or even group of "political philosophies" that necessarily derive from Jewish experience, or from however what one may define as "correct Jewish living." Similarly it has been said that Judaism and Jewish civilization have never definitively argued that any one economic system is preferred; it has asked its religionists to function in terms of whatever exigiencies have existed in this or that civilization where Jews have lived, while still however arguing carefully against moral and other abuses as such of political and economic systems "as systems per se" regardless of the particular form that they had. It has even been argued by Herman Isreal[3] that Judaism asks its followers not to put much trust and faith

ultimately in any form of "temporal" authority, and that this accounts for the wide range of temporary or long-term allegiances, flirtations and experiments with different political approaches and movements that is found as a pattern, perhaps the dominant pattern, among Jewish adults and youth in different civilizations where participant political behavior has been observed: the contemporary United States, Great Britain, Western Europe, the Commonwealth countries, 19th century Europe, and the splinter and tangent phenomena in now-Communist Eastern European countries during their formative years earlier in this century. Because Jewish civilization has never called upon any one political approach as the best, and never pushed it as the best, Jewish youth felt free to select widely; because their parents and their parents' ideology and life style was permissive, in its style, they became involved in a wide range possible of possible political involvements in the absence of cultural pressures towards and conducive to centripetality. And in the absence of guides from their religion, however, as to what political system was best, and which were taboo, they were at a loss for guidance. And each youthful Jew has been behooved to try and determine what type of political system and which approach to follow on his own based on his own reading of history as well as based upon his grasp of morality.

In the years ahead American youth may continue to

develop a plethora of groups, movements, and interest-realms that are characteristic of and a product of an "age-regiment" or age-realm. Or they may lapse back into living on the pattern of the 1950s and the earlier 1960s, essentially youthful imitators of their parents' lifestyles and identity-patterns. As to which course they will take only time will tell. This would appear to be true of American Jewish youth specifically as well.

Suggested Directions For Further Inquiry

In turn, there are some questions raised by findings and by our foregoing discussion.

Was there an interaction effect between religious distinctness and political distinctness peculiar to Jewish youth in that Jews are both a religious, and ethnic group? Did this effect spark specifically the growth of so many different, and disparate groups, particularly when seen as the products of so small an American minority? Was there really a "synergic," or multiplicative, effect in Jewish youth of the phenomenon of being religiously different, and also ethnically different, from one's peers?

Did a dialogue between the religious side of the Jew as different, and the political side of the Jew as different, ensue in many or most of all of these involved youth? And if this existed did this guide the genesis of these groups and their broad development and divergence?

Did the development of distinctive youth groups among Jewish youth stem more from historical and cultural roots in the "political" dimension, such as a history of resistance to persecution, assimilation, and subordination to majority cultures, or did it stem more from roots in the "religious" dimension, stemming as many writers within and without Judaism would like to believe, from the Jewish religious command to resist and suspect temporal authority, strive for social justice, and live according to religious-humanitarian values even where this meant living in some way apart from and different from the amalgam of surrounding society? Such a position is maintained by many members of non-Jewish religious groups in America.

Both dimensions of major discussion here, the religious and the political, have a morality to them. Both have or posit belief systems as to how human beings ought to behave towards one another. Which developments and wellsprings of thought worked more strongly to motivate the Jewish youth to organize and to act? Expressed another way, on a personal, psychological level, can the wellsprings of motivation or organize, develop an ideology, and act, be traced more to something called "religious moral" roots or to something called "political moral" roots one learns in early life in the family? Or are they not ultimately perhaps the same?

These questions have not been answered here and it

has not been our attempt to answer them. They are, too, as much the province of the religionist, the philosopher, the historian, and perhaps the psychoanalyst as of the political scientist or sociologist. They beg to be answered.

Cultural, Historical and Psychological Significances of Youth Group Development: A Participant-Observational Perspective

Finally, by way of a phenomenological view of the American Jewish youth group member of the late 1960s and early 1970s, some observations may be made to characterize the way in which he saw his surrounding world, himself, and his priorities for action.

The view from within, subjective, phenomenal as it is, may look substantially different than the more positivist, empirical, observer's view of groups and across groups from without. Nonetheless it is felt that such a perspective can serve to clarify some things, such as one's view of the surrounding world and of oneself and one's motives for action that external empirical observation may not seek or find.[4] And it may raise finally some questions of its own.

How did Jewish youth group members perceive the dominant American Jewish religious orientation of their elders? How did they perceive the dominant political and cultural orientations of their elders? How did they view

relations with parents in terms of these orientations? And finally, how did they view themselves? We will attempt to deal briefly with these questions here.

Views of Dominant American Jewish Religious Orientation

How did youth view the orientation to life in the religious dimension of dominant American Jewish society on the whole?

Often it was heard said in the period of study, by rabbis and lay observers, youth and adults alike, that the only true Reform Jew was in fact a Conservative Jew, and the only true Conservative Jew was the Orthodox Jew. And it was also said that the only "authentic" Jew as a form of radical Jew that did not have a Movement to tell him what he was. In this period, in the eyes of many Jewish youth radicals and adults alike, we appear to have had two types of Jews on the whole. One was the religious Jew, and committed and traditional Jew, or individual where religion at least figured prominently. The other was the Jew who was ignorant and "lost." These kinds of aphorisms comjunicated the way many young Jews felt Jewish life to be. For the Jewish-consciousness oriented or other Jewish radical youth, Conservative Judaism was often said to be bankrupt educationally, socially and morally, and Torah Judaism (Orthodoxy), financially. Reform Judaism was held up to be the archetype of Jewish assimilationism and "Uncle Tomism" in the American context whilst the originators of

this movement, and contemporary leaders and scholars, never planned this to be the case. Newer Reconstructionism, with its demanding ritual and ceremonial rigorousness and middle-class mien, and its impersonal God and revilement of sentiment, spiritualism and emotionalism, appeared for many neo-religious or other Jewish-consciousness youth to be moving top speed in the wrong direction.

Youthful perceptions of the "recognized" adult religious movements in this period, were as uncompromising, harsh, and unperceptive of the facts about and wellsprings of growth and life within existing movements and institutions as these youthful perceptions were of much of the rest of American Jewish and American life. But these kinds of view were yet symptomatic of one crucial feeling: that all these movements appear to have failed to form a bridge between leadership and the "common man" and to analyze problems and meet and resolve them within the Jewish youth or other individual. As one student said, what one needed was a reconstruction of Judaism by Jews "not with capital letters" by people who are not ideogogues of often distant and aloof adult "establishment" movements, all too often irrelevant in their concerns to popular wants and needs. All of these concerns were crucial to Jewish youth in this period. They also would appear to be today.

Jewish youth had to make their way in their fight for adulthood and self-actualization and self-realization,

and as Jews with a viable Jewish identity, in the midst of a maelstrom in which there were and have been no Jewish leaders or spokesmen consistently in contact with them to guide or help them, to shield them, or to back them up in their confrontations with group, or individual American Jewish or American problems. Jewish religious adult movements and particularly religious movements, were seen to have been at least much of the time in the eyes of many youth, brutally disinterested in Jewish youth for that matter. Between the realm of tightly-organized Orthodoxy and the rim of assimilation, there drifted in the vast spaces of acculturated Jewish youth life movements and cross-pressures and interests, some that enticed many and some few, some for a long period of time, some fleetingly. These included Zionism, Labor Zionism, Jewish Socialism, Jewish Radicalism, right-wing Zionist Revisionism, Orthodoxy, Mysticism, Spiritualism, Yiddishism. But these too for most young Jews appeared to be vast incomplete ideologies and social systems to live in, with great emotional appeal but lacking in substantive day to day organizational body to which one could cling and live. The young and youthful Jew had to find his place there too, somehow and cling to it, and infuse his commitment with meaningful activity and productivity that would draw energies from competing necessities such as job, school, and other personal development. Yet, in the period of study, it was in

this direction that more and more of his number went, inspite of difficulties.

It appears that perhaps the best thing that any extant leaders and actives of the adult Jewish world of the years comprising the "Radical Era" did for Jewish youth behind them was to not socialize them and regiment them through their own patterns of ideology and philosophical orientation to life as to "how to be a Jew." Those patterns had already earned from youth the disrespect and disbelief that their moral and educational and psychological failures prompted. But rather the best thing they did was to orient them to experience and learn the world themselves, and to give them the tools and skills and technical competencies in Jewish social learning, social ethics, and in scientific, administrative and legal realms that have comprised the best that the substance and background of these older adults' learning experiences have been like. And this would help such that these youth indeed could start at the top so to speak, in the area of tools and preparation for growth realistically, and develop the belief system that was to be their own, of their own time and in tune with its needs, from there.

It appeared that the substance, the depth and the rigor in fact had to be of the type that traditional Judaism provided, in content if not in form. For it appeared that nothing weaker, more phlegmatic, or bowdlerized could pro-

vide both the depth of learning required as a basis for further thought, and also a psychological and emotional grandeur that could inspire Jewish youth. For these youth lived in an age of floundering social prophets and perverted rationalist romanticisms that were as much producers of the Age of Alienation as a condition of it. And only a firm base of knowledge and workable social ethics could be built any number of viable, and relevant, structures for the expression of social commitment and for the creative fulfillments of individual needs.

Jewish youth has we have seen only partially followed that path. Nonetheless we may have seen the emergence among at least some young Jews, of a Jewish way of living startlingly different from that of the last fifty years in Jewry in America, new and yet old, more "traditional" and yet more modern, disciplined in some ways and yet permissive, complacent and reflective in some ways, and yet revolutionary.

Views of Dominant Political and Cultural Orientations

How did these youth see the dominant political and cultural orientations of dominant adult Jewish society?

In the political and social dimensions, Jewish radical youth saw a phenomenon that they, as a generally college-educated, cerebrally-oriented and thinking group increasingly familiar with their own history, did not like. They had seen the development in America in their parents

and grandparents of the espousal of a radical, leftist, orientation, be it progressive Socialism, Trotskyism, Yiddish-speaking ethnic socialism, or commitment to a variety of labor-oriented movements, or even sometimes Communism. And they had seen the engendering and development of a broad national, ethnic Yiddishist culture and literature and philosophy in America as well, and the carryover of Yiddishist, Jewish culturalist, and religious institutions and ideologies to America as bases for development. And on the other hand they had seen, too, in textbooks and in history books and in the recountings of old men the flight in history of their grandparents and more so their parents from these historic realms of Jewish ideology and Jewish commitment into the non-radical, acculturated, and in some ways even more conservative American middle-class and into a middle-class existence of the business world, the suburban community and the freeway. Many of and perhaps most of these youth were themselves alienated from the unfulfilled by many of the values and styles of middle-class suburban acculturated life on the same basis that numerous non-Jewish youth were.

Additionally many of them found this life-style much at odds with what they found or interpreted in their residual or new-found Jewish ethic, and inconsistent with and antithetical to Jewish ideas and ideals. Many saw the end result of the long, forty-year flight of their parents

from the idealism and culturalism of Yiddishism and the progressive left of that day, and the abandonment of these, for the middle-class. Often too this meant for the job in the war-industry, the military, the "exploitative" and often bewildering large corporation, and the flight from the city and locality, however dirty and unaesthetic it might have been, for the "house on the hill" far from others and removed concentiently from perceived relevant, and communal pursuits, and the failure of this way of life for them. And they were determined to not let themselves fall away from a progressive leftist orientation to social change or with it, rootedness in a substantive Jewish culturalism and spiritual and humanistic world-orientation into what many of them saw to be a dubious world of complacency and intransigence.

In this period, one found signs of change from a prior pattern, if quiet ones, across broader segments of Jewish youth society. Suburban houses across the country boomed rock music and sported increasing amounts of fixtures and items smacking of the exotic and romanticist mentality of the Hippie era, as even noninvolved students and adolescents adopted many of the appearance styles of the Hippie and related realms, and became increasingly involved in "nonpartisan" or "nonpolitical" causes of wide-ranging social and communal importance. These included antipollution, environmentalism, and support increasingly

for local and regional efforts to help certain disadvantaged or handicapped groups including the minorities, the disabled, the aged, the pre-schooler, and the emotionally disturbed. They did this in dedicated and age-appropriate ways, that allowed for an expression of new-found interest and concern in "commitment to society." This interest was more or less the legacy of the liberal era of the sixties for most youth, and with it also among Jewish youth, the legacy of time-tested Jewish custom. This trend towards social involvement of an increasingly liberal type, institutionalized as it became, and respected as it became by youth peer groups and peer society, will probably continue among a broad range of Jewish youth for a long while.

It could be said truthfully as much as sardonically, as it was said indeed by many radical youth, that the vast majority of acculturated American Jewish adults in the period of study had served only two essential social functions to the life and to the future of Jewish civilization. They supplied funding and political support for the creation of and maintenance of Israel, and to Jewish charities for meeting the needs of less fortunate Jews. And they had created a generation of Jewish, or perhaps more correctly a sizable number of children of Jewish origin and ancestry, who if they were not contributors to or participants in Jewish civilization, at least presented the possibility of contributing to Jewish and to the life of other more

identifying Jews, and to future Jewish life in some way. Indeed, even the former functional role appears to have been dubious for some: one Jewish federation fundraiser of many years pointed out in 1966 that fewer Jews on the whole gave to charities, than one would hope, and those who did did not give proportionately to what they could afford: "eighty-five percent of the donations come from fifteen percent of the people." But their offspring offered the possibility as such, for a future of substantive Jewish life in this country that was neither a pale aping of the patterns of their parents or ancestors, nor a narrow selection of a few behavioral elements from either Jewish religiosity or culture. It could be a total, integrated Jewish life with a strong degree of adherence to several areas of Jewish endeavor. The Jewish youth of this era who returned to Judaism, from their own selection point, and not guided by the theme interferences, dogmatisms, and narrow insights of adults around them, could assemble a Jewish life for themselves that in turn could be the basis of a wider Jewish return, and more intense Jewish growth in America.

One thing is often forgotten about American Jewish youth of today that is crucial: they have been a generation that has had as its basis a level of economic wealth, educational facilities, and mobility unequalled in history, one that is more divested than any within the last 150 years of the Enlightenment, of the elements of Jewish

racialist self-hate and stereotyping of its own people and good points, and a generation that has experienced the least anti-Semitism and disdain from others around them. Its very facility for a power and speed of involvement in Jewish civilization was great, and what it lacked more than anything else, was simply a content, a substance being provided them to latch onto, and to make their own.

The Jewish youth of the era of study with the proper depth of education, and counseling from appropriate sources, could yet redeem the cultural, spiritual, intellectual and ethical positive productivities from the emptiness and ludicrous self-abnegation and inanity they found so broadly in Jewish civilized life in America. And these youth in turn ultimately could lead the American Jewish community a long two hundred years after it began, to develop finally into a Jewish and Jewish-based cultural community that paralleled other great and opportune, but never as opportune, cultural times in the Jewish past. To give youth some vehicles and some resources for this growth, in some ways the contemporary era's advancement towards historic goals held dear by many in American Jewry, should have been not only "adult" American Jewry's own goal for its relationship with its youth but a fulfillment for itself as well. Perhaps the development of political institutions and what looked like political institutions among these youth comprised the first stage in such a growth process.

Views of Relations with Parents

How did youth see relations with their parents in the midst of this?

It can be argued that it was good in one sense that these Jewish youth struck out on their own course very much, not adhering to any school of Jewish secular thought or to any religious movement, or to any one accepted path of Jewish adult involvement. And this is in that the adults from whom they might learn were in many cases lost, embittered, disillusioned people as Jews. In spite even of the most inclusive grasp of what they construed to be Jewish "ideals" or the "Jewish way" ultimately for life in the twentieth century, were too traumatized by the Nazi experience, by the trauma of culture shock as Jews acculturating to America, or by trying to synthesize some kind of organized and often dogmatic and inflexible Jewish religious or secular ideology to the fast evolving and ungraspable impersonalities and ambiguities of American society. These adults, found in any movement or secular movement realm, or in any school, university department or synagogue, in positions of importance and leadership vis-a-vis normative adults, could and did speak from and to their own experience. But they could not speak successfully for or to these youth. Just as the Orthodox Jew raised in 1900 had difficulties in trying to relate to the student or to the moving-away acculturated Jew who came

after him, so too the often far-left, far-acculturated, free-thinking and often disillusioned and antitraditional "adult" Jewish thinker, administrator or community figure of recent years, could not speak to or relate to the Jewish youth who had newly searched out and found his consciousness. Ths former's disillusionments, fatalisms, new theologies, Jewish culturalist or secularist social theories, varieties of Communism or Americanism, were products specifically of their time, and of the needs of their time. And these did not relate to contemporary youth who, if they were the types of Jews that believe as did many cultural relativists, that every generation of Jew must write his own script for living, had to have a free hand to write theirs. For the contemporary Jewish consciousness-oriented Jewish youth, or the Jewish radical youth more so yet, the dominant adult world system of official adultworld movement and club, affiliation and orientation, philosophy and status, was meaningless and its ramifications seemed also irrelevant and unproductive. Rather, one could expect fluctuating, and infinitely low or high, levels of religious ritual behavior, ideological or credal belief, and ethical and philanthropic practice, different in each individual, across each different group and across time in response to an ongoing dialectic as experienced by these youth. It was a dialectic between emotional and psychological commitment to meeting the growth needs and problems of Jewry and Juda-

ism (and those of all men, for whom Judaism says the Jew must also care), and the occupation with oneself and one's needs educationally and psychologically and spiritually as a Jewish individual.

Views of the Self

Finally, how did the new Jewish youth see themselves?

There appear to have been three transcendent realities that existed for the Jewish youth in America in this period that did not exist for other American youth and that served to set them apart or to distinguish them. These were, the imagery of and grasp of the fact of annihilation and the ready proximity of the Jew to it; his being a member of a minority group and the status this implied and enforced, and together with this the peculiar and painful problems of securing a life style in terms of this within broader American society; and a system of personal and group-oriented ethical and social values centered around the Jewish religious and to a lesser degree intellectual past that cut out for him a distinct path and duty and social fate, and with it a different world-view and orientation to life itself.

The Jewish youth in America lived perhaps on the average in greater comfort and security physically than any generation of Jewish youth had in any age of history, anywhere in the world. And he lived with the close memory and imagery of the pointless and inexplicable murder of

over one-third of the Jews, and over two-thirds of the Western Jews like him, in Germany and Eastern Europe a bare forty years ago in a world gone mad, that is still itself alive. He lived with the memory of or at least the consciousness of ovens and firing-squads, whilst yet he went about his life in another dimension of social existence ten thousand miles away amid discussion lounges, classrooms, parties, stores and campus elms. Here he was instructed dutifully to dedicate his life to fitting into a system that was truthfully and paradoxically, heir and cousin to that of his past murderers.

He was the youthful progeny of a nation that had never lost a war, or seen its millions killed in war or plague, and that could buy the world, literally, with its wealth and power. And also, he was a miniscule proportion of that nation, three percent of its population and even less of its youth. And his own unique and typical problems were passed by or generalized away, and his existence as a living cultural being, when not made the object of hate or reviled by others, was ignored.

He was a subject of an American "kingdom of the mind" that had produced an incomparable technology and systematicity for getting things done, and incorporated the use of and respect for this into his life. But he saw this system as a way of life increasingly to exhibit gaps and holes, "unfinished business," in its superstructure that became

the festering grounds of social pathology. And in his efforts to both fit into a viable American society and to find and express a viable American Jewish existence, he confronted the necessity for building organization and group, expressive, remediative, or sociative, Jewish-oriented and general, and modeling much or most of his late-adolescent or young-adult life within it.

Some Final Remarks: Whither Youth?

These three main currents of existence were the main ones that moved the Jewish student or other youth through the labyrinths of often contradictory and conflicting currents and realms of American life, with too their sometime antitheses to Jewish thought and Jewish life, and which also moved the Jew as an American through the mainstream of the world at large as an American and as a Jew. He in America was a Jew and a member of a minority unusual even among other minorities, and suffered for his difference among these minorities, as a minority. As an American he was learning that as Americans emerged with the increasingly painful mantle of worldwide involvement, presence, responsibility and accountability in action, so he too as an American suffered and would suffer further pain and tribulation within America for the events and patterns and developments of American life and of American relations with the rest of the world on the whole.

His world-view, and world orientation if any, in-

creasingly had to attend to a transcendent "gestalt" of personal life and the life of the world and of personal ethics and values related to action and commitment on different levels, from within himself to across the world. And it had to attend to self-improvement, and too the education of the self, others, and one's offspring, for a future that could be unlike his but was irrevocably dependent ever upon his actions and motivations in the present. If anything, it was in process and in kind, if not in jargon, the same kind of transcendent "gestalt" of view of the world that marked the dedication, and aspirations, and preparations in life for life, of the traditional Judaism-conscious Jew through the past ages. It was, if we may, not only the same spirit that was demanded and necessary, and the dedication to the same social ends, that was demanded, but dedication to the same social means that could, and must, and probably alone could bring this.

But not only was the improvement of the self, and "self-growth" indicated and important, and the procreation of good feeling important for the perception of and motivation for this world-view. These, stressed until now in normative synagogue life among youth and young adults, and more in the secular campus, were not enough. With this had to go a commitment to those things that made for life and for life in the future of people like himself that he would never see and know, as was called for in Maimonides'

Seventh Order of Charity. This was his future, whether or not this commitment brought to each Jewish youth on his own terms, pleasure and the joy of "personal" fulfillment. To do things even unpleasant, and difficult, and frustrating that also in their turn made for life in the future, like the self-instillation of sensitivity, perceptivity, education, appropriate self-discipline, the attention to the learning and living both of Jewish ethics and social responsibility, and the assumption of a life-style that will lead one to teach all this lastingly "unto one's children," was what in the last analysis was more important. It is this that was the goal and function assigned by destiny, if not by man, to the Jewish individual and to "the group" in Jewish youth society.

Probably foremost and most crucial among elements of this goal, in the period of study, were included support for Israel and what Israel was and could become, socially, economically, financially, politically and technologically, by Jewish youth. They also included support for the interests, yearnings and wants of the Russian Jew, whatever they were in any one particular case; the perpetuation of past Jewish society and all its elements; and the infusion of Jewish ethics, social ethics, and education into American Jewish youth, young-adult and adult life-like in America in consonance however, with what were seen as the most progressive American ideals. It was these goals to-

wards which many American Jewish youth at least were moving or evolving, and these towards which at least many more must ultimately turn.

The path was a hard one to cut. These American Jewish youth faced an unrecognized crisis of leadership. They had to struggle with their own personal problems, unguided by a past that was not communicated well to them, and they had to struggle as part of "the Jewish group" similarly to establish Judaism and themselves within it as a positive force fulfilling its own destiny and possibilities for them, and also for America on the whole. They had to go about realizing their wants, and aims, with virtually no guidance, and with poor support, and with indeed a great measure of revilement and disavowal and denunciation and rejection from older adults in the face of whatever they were attempting or had attempted to do. And yet one saw among them having developed, a viable pattern of activity that deviated from in some ways the norms of their parents and from those of the general American public too, but that at the same time was increasingly manifested as an outburst, surprisingly strong and viable and effective, of energy and effort and creativity. And this was yet oddly within the sphere of what Judaism points to as most important, and most valuable: the development and then living of an ethical life, and of a socially committed life, consonant with both the highest goals of Jewish thought and also con-

sonant with the highest ideals of majoritarian American society.

These efforts of Jewish youth, on the broad scale often appearing contradictory, sometimes feeble and fledgeling, and sometimes irksome to the parental generations, reflected on the whole different aspects of a youth-conceived American Judaism coming once more into rhythm with both the warnings and the beneficial and worthwhile gifts of the Jewish past, a Judaism that was finding its proper pulse again, in a technologic age and in an individual, liberalistic, "post-critical" age. Jewish youth and students generally, in their various movements, appeared to have begun creating a society that was in a sense partly the fulfillment of the idea of "Orthodoxy of the Left," partially and sizably reminiscent of Schechter's "Catholic Israel," something that expressed the kind of idea radical Reconstructionist founder Mordecai Kaplan spoke of in "creative reconstruction," something that expressed the Reform Movement's historic stress upon "social mission in the world," and something that too expressed more and more and drew forth, Hasidism's <u>nefesh</u> <u>yehudi</u>, "Spark of the ineradicable Jewish soul." In many ways, youth involvement in these groups and movement activities and efforts was, and could continue to provide in the long run, with proper direction as well as inspiration and education, the fulfillment at least to a degree of many of historic

Judaism's, and also American society's, cherished dreams.

Chapter VII: Footnotes

[1]Herman Israel, "Some Influence of Hebraic Culture on Modern Social Organization," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 71, No. 4, (January) 1966, pp. 384-394.

[2]Sigmund Neumann, "Toward A Comparative Study of Political Parties," in Sigmund Neumann, Ed., Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 406-407.

[3]Herman Israel, op. cit.

[4]Cf. Robert B. MacLeod, "Phenomenology," in The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. (David Sills, Ed.; New York, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1968, Vol. 12, pp. 68-71). MacLeod says of "psychological phenomenology," that aspect of phenomenology that is relevant here,

"Psychological phenomenology... is essentially an approach rather than a particular kind of theory or system, and it owes as much to Goethe, Purkinje, and the physiologist Ewald Hering as it does to Husserl... psychological phenomenology is frankly and explicitly descriptive. It represents what David Katz called an attitude of 'disciplined naivete', the attempt to suspend all presuppositions (bias, implicit assumptions) and observe and describe the world of phenomena (consciousness, immediate experience, phenomenal world, psychological field) as it is naively apprehended." (p. 69).

This differes from "introspection," which is a related approach, in that in "phenomenological" perspective object reference and contact meaning is retained in the perspective. As MacLeod says further,

"Phenomenological description must not be equated, however, with the introspective analysis of the Wurdtian school, best represented in English literature by Edward B. Titchener. For Titchener... 'existential' experience consists of the pure, irreducible conscious content (sensation, feeling, image) which is left after all object reference or meaning context has been deliberately brushed aside." (p. 69; emphases are this writer's).

It is suggested that the perspective that is most helpful whereby to analyze Jewish youth group members is one that allows one to come to understand their existence not as isolated, sensing and reacting individuals but rather within the reference context and meaning context of their surrounding American, American Jewish, and youth realms. Also with relevance to phenomenology see Marvin Farber, The Foundation of Phenomenology: Edmund Husserl and the Quest for a Rigorous Science of Philosophy (Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1943); Ewald Hering, Outlines of a Theory of the Light-Sense (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964); David Katz, The World of Colour (London: Routledge, 1935); on "psychological field" see Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York, N.Y.: Harper, 1951); and Jan E. Purkinje, Beobachtungen und Versuche zur Physiologie der Sinne. 2 Vols. Prague: Calve, 1819; Berlin: Riemer, 1825. Volume 1 was published in Prague and Volume 2 in Berlin (Germany).

[5]Cf. Milton Himmelfarb, "Secular Society? A Jewish Perspective," Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 96 (Winter) 1967, pp. 220-236. Himmelfarb says,

"This paper concerns the place of Jews and Judaism in a society and a culture that are ambiguous mixture of secularism and Christianity..." (p. 220). And,

"Jews, insofar as they have been modern, have wished to be of as well [as] in their societies. They have made progress in this direction, simultaneously or preliminarily moving away from the older Jewish desire and fact of being in but not of their societies; but they have met obstacles. In general these have been obstacles deposited by the history that secularism was supposed to neutralize or nullify." (p. 221).

He discusses the ambivalent nature of the quality of Jewish existence in the United States wherein he says,

"The Jewish folk expression 'it's hard to be a Jew' means not only that it is hard to fulfill God's commands as he wishes them to be fulfilled, but also that minority existence is painful. In America today it is less hard to be a Jew, in the second sense, than ever before, anywhere else." (p. 230).

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