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Series D. International Relations Activities. 1961-1992.

Box 66, Folder 10, Leadership delegation to Israel, 1984-1987.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 6, 1987

to Participants in AJC Leadership Delegation to Israel

from George E. Gruen *HEG*

subject Background Briefing Materials

As further background for your consultations in Israel, the following is an outline of some matters of our concern. For your convenience and handy reference, we are enclosing selected items that provide additional information on several of the issues that are likely to come up during your meetings with Israeli officials and others.

I. Issues in U.S.-Israel Relations

While generally American-Israeli relations remain excellent and there is close cooperation in many areas, there are several current and potential sources of friction which you may wish to examine in the course of your discussions in Israel.

1. Iran arms-Contra aid issue. What was Israel's role, if any, in the illegal diversion of funds to the Contra rebels? How can we counter the harmful impression that Israel was misleading the U.S. into thinking that arms sales would lead to moderation within Iran and secure the release of the hostages? How can we restore credibility to both the U.S. and Israeli stands against giving in to terrorist demands in light of the Iran arms for hostages dealings?

2. Israeli arms sales to countries violating human rights. The Iran arms sales issue has produced a flurry of articles about Israel's arms industry and its worldwide arms sales, including those to South Africa and Latin American regimes. (See, for example, the attached article from the Washington Post of December 12, 1986.) You may wish to note the negative impact this has had, particularly among Blacks and liberal elements in the U.S. -- including Jews, and other traditional friends of Israel. It should be noted that under the provisions of the law recently passed by Congress on sanctions against South Africa, the President must report to Congress on the sale of arms to South Africa by countries receiving U.S. military assistance, i.e. Israel.

3. Alleged violations of Palestinian human rights. It is noteworthy that the United States chose to abstain and not to veto the UN

Security Council's reprimand of Israel for its handling of the disturbances on the West Bank which led to the death of two student demonstrators. (See Israel Press Highlights of December 15, 1986 and statement by Defense Minister Rabin charging PLO incitement behind the incidents.) Amnesty International's report on alleged human rights violations in the territories, as well as the case of the killing of two captured Palestinian terrorists by the Israel Security Services (Shin Bet) and the subsequent cover-up have produced the impression that there has been an erosion in the scrupulous protection of human rights, especially where Arabs are involved. (The refusal by Israel's Minister of Justice to extradite William Nakkash, convicted in absentia of killing an Arab in France, has raised further questions about Israel's strict adherence to the rule of law.)

4. The Pollard Affair. We have not yet heard the last on this. (See enclosed article in the New York Times of January 7, 1987.) We have made clear our strong opposition to the violation of law involved. If you find it appropriate, you might wish to reiterate our concern that such acts can poison the crucial element of trust that is essential for a healthy American-Israeli relationship. Moreover, we have a right to point out that in recruiting an American Jew as a spy, Israel provides a weapon for our enemies to raise the charge of dual loyalty against American Jews. This is not only counterproductive for Israel but is contrary to the explicit commitment made to the AJC by various Israeli leaders, starting with Prime Minister David Ben Gurion to Jacob Blaustein, not to do anything that would undermine the position of Jews in the United States or other democratic countries.

II. The Israeli Domestic Scene

a. Politics. In October Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir traded places as part of the rotation agreement of the National Unity Government. The enclosed four articles from the Jewish Exponent under the general heading, "Rotation: Israeli Political Wonder," review the record of Peres and Shamir in the domestic and international arena, assess the political difficulties that lie ahead, and examine the potentially crucial position of the religious parties in the jockeying for power in advance of the next elections, scheduled for 1988.

b. Economics. The government has proposed a controversial series of measures as the second stage of its efforts to strengthen and reform the economy. Enclosed are two articles from the Jerusalem Post, which outline the reforms and describe the positions of key persons involved, and our latest Israel Press Highlights, which presents editorial opinion on the reform measures.

c. Religious polarization and pluralism. This continues to be a high priority for us. You will recall that last June AJC organized a press conference in New York at which leaders of the various denominations in American Jewry joined in a "Statement Opposing Resort to Violence" in Israel. A copy of the statement is enclosed. Also

enclosed are the AJC statement last month supporting the Israel High Court's ruling rejecting an attempt by Israel's Minister of the Interior to distinguish between converts and other Jews, and a Press Highlights on this issue. An article by Daniel Tropper, "As Jewish disunity grows, a bold bid to heal the rift," cites other issues of confrontation and describes a hopeful new initiative to build a renewed consensus between religious and secular elements in Israel.

III. Middle East

A brief paper I recently prepared on "Critical Issues in the Middle East" surveys the manifestations of the clash between pragmatism and extremism, developments in the Arab-Israel peace process, the role of the Soviet Union, and Syrian ambitions and support of terrorism. On this last point, also enclosed are an article by Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu on "The Syrian Terror Machine" and a statement by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin expressing concern over Syria's possession of chemical weapons. You will no doubt want to explore with Israeli officials the issue of how serious and imminent they assess the Syrian threat, and whether Israel's now confirmed nuclear capability can serve as an adequate deterrent. While most analysts expect a Syrian-Israeli conflict within the next few years, the enclosed article by Professor Itamar Rabinovich suggests that Israel explore the possibility of reaching a new *modus vivendi* with Syria.

cc: Shimon Samuels

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1/7/87: smm

JAN 5 1987

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 17, 1986

to David Gordis/Marc Tanenbaum

from Shimon Samuels

subject Visits with Jewish-Arab reconcilliation-type programs in Haifa.

STS

I spent a full day in Haifa with the following three organizations:

1. University of Haifa's Jewish-Arab Club;
2. Beit Ha Gefen;
3. Partnership.

1. Gaby Malka, Haifa University Dean of Students, and representative of ISEF, works also in the field of Jewish-Arab reconcilliation. The university as a demographic and regional microcosm of Israel's minority problems is a sociological laboratory for developing such contacts. The project "Mutual Understanding", runs a Jewish-Arab club on campus as a monthly forum. Meetings have been led by Arab and Jewish sociologists (especially Sami Smoocha), there have been Hebrew and Arabic poetry readings, discussions of the status of women among Jews and Arabs, and joint visits to Arab villages and moshavim. These programs have been attended regularly by some 40 students, though a monthly event organized by Smoocha attracted 300.

The Arab Students Committee has not been recognized by the University authorities, as it recognized only the National Union of Israeli Students. The club thus allows the Arab Students Committee a platform. The "Mutual Understanding" program has taken on the "Halisa Project" which works in the mixed Jewish and Arab slum of Haifa. So far Arab students work with Arabs and Jews with Jews without contact between the two communities. 26 students (14 Arabs, 12 Jews) have been involved in the program during its first year. Now in its second year, it aims to bring together the Jews and Arabs in a home-beautification campaign. I was asked whether it might be possible to send two members of the group (1 Arab, 1 Jew) for training in human relations at AJC in New York. There is also a desire for a long-term project which would enhance mutual confidence. Gaby Malka envisages a group of 15 Arabs and Druze, and 15 Jews, all freshmen students, for a three-year program to develop a leadership cadre. This would guarantee maintenance and study costs of each, and subject them to "an experiment in communal living". He spoke of \$3000 per student per year. ie \$300,000 for the total project. He has requested our assistance in thinking how to present such a project to appropriate foundations for funding.

2. Zvi Yisrael, director of Beit HaGefen, displayed the facilities of this spacious Jewish and Arab community center. Conceived by Haifa Mayor Abba Houshy, the center has 10,000 members with joint sport and cultural programs and Arabic/Hebrew language courses. Yisrael showed me a list of 47 organizations working for Arab-Jewish understanding in Israel. Many are financed by Van Leer. I will be making contact with the Prime Minister's Office advisor on Arab Affairs, Moshe Arens and the director of the Education for Democracy and Co-existence unit of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Yitzhak Shapira, for a run-down for the most appropriate of these organizations with which to work.
3. Rabbi Mitchell Smith introduced me to 'Partnership' staff in Haifa and then took me to the Jewish-Arab mixed quarter of Halisa and finally to a 'hands-on' project in the mixed neighborhood of Kiryat Wolfson in Akko. A grant for \$600,000 over three years was made by Van Leer for the latter project which is run by an Australian-Jewish social worker and an Akko-born Arab psychologist. I met with Mariam Mari, the widow of the late Prof. Sami Mari, who also lives in the same neighborhood. The results of Jewish and Arab cooperation in refurbishing the neighborhood are already visually self-evident, but a reading of their inter-communal human relations would be premature.

Partnership is doing some fundraising in the U.S. and has some direct support from the New Israel Fund. I would appreciate your thoughts on some of the issues raised.

Best regards,

cc George Gruen
David Harris

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 7, 1987

to Shimon Samuels

from George E. Gruen *GEZ*

subject 1. AJC Officers Delegation, 2. S. Smoocha

- I. AJC. I tried unsuccessfully to reach you by phone today. Attached is a copy of the memorandum I prepared for the AJC delegation. Additional copies, together with the reference materials referred to in the memo, are being sent to you via M. Dworkin messenger service, which guarantees delivery by Sunday morning. Please have your office deliver copies to
1. Dr. David Gordis
 2. Ed Elson
 3. Howard and Barbara Gilbert.
- The fourth copy is for you.
(We are sending copies to those still in the U.S.)
I tried to determine whether there is any provision for delivery of mail on Friday now that the office is on a Sunday to Thursday schedule. Is there
- 2.
2. Sammy Smoocha
Marc feels that we should be tough and make it clear to Smoocha that his publication of the article in the Jerusalem Quarterly without so much as asking our permission is highly improper. Had he told us, we might have agreed on condition that there was proper acknowledgement in print that this is excerpted from an introductory essay to be published in a volume co-sponsored by the AJC and ISEF. Nina Weiner of ISEF was also unhappy about Smoocha's not informing us that he planned to publish this essay, which we commissioned and for which we are paying, first in another publication.
- We still want to go ahead with publication of the book. However, if Smoocha received an honorarium from the Jerusalem Quarterly that sum should be deducted from the fee to him from AJC and ISEF. American Jewish organizations are not simply cows to be milked by Israelis, be they scholars or others.
- I wanted you to have this information before you see Smoocha at the WOJAC seminar. I am sure you will find a diplomatic yet firm way to convey our sentiments to him.
- cc: Marc Tanenbaum ✓

4 to MT

FOR ISRAEL

attached is material
you requested.

Copy has been faxed
to Shimon Samuels

Yitzchak

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022

DATE: _____

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

TO: Genge Cruen

Please circulate to:

Harry Brillman

____ For approval

____ For your information

☒ Please handle

Soonest

____ Read and return

____ Returned as requested

____ Please telephone me

____ Your comments, please

Remarks:

*please find me
our AJC Earlier statements
on this issue to take
with me to Israel
Marc*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

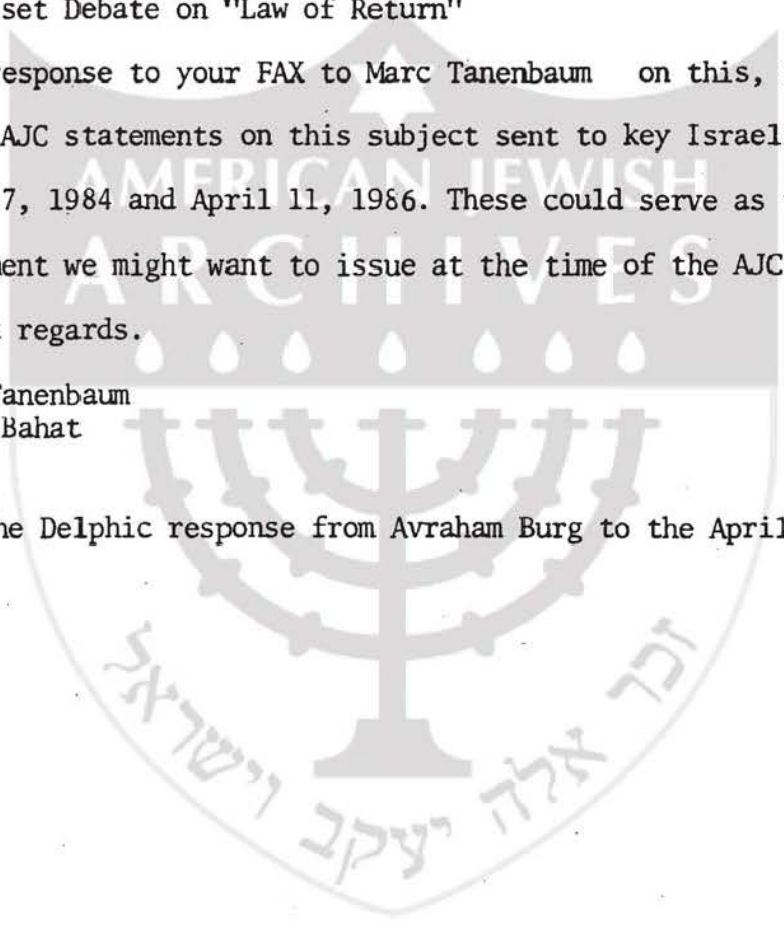
date January 8, 1987
to Shimon Samuels
from George Gruen
subject Knesset Debate on "Law of Return"

In response to your FAX to Marc Tanenbaum on this, I am sending you copies of AJC statements on this subject sent to key Israeli leaders on December 27, 1984 and April 11, 1986. These could serve as the basis for any new statement we might want to issue at the time of the AJC delegation's visit.

Best regards.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum
 Shula Bahat

PS Note the Delphic response from Avraham Burg to the April telegram to Peres.



CABLE

April 11, 1986

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE STRONGLY URGES MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET TO REJECT THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES' REPORTED FORTHCOMING INITIATIVE TO GIVE THE RABBINICAL COURT UNPRECEDENTED WIDE-RANGING POWERS AND FULL AUTHORITY ON THE ISSUE OF "WHO IS A JEW."

THE PROPOSED BILL REPRESENTS A CONCERTED ATTEMPT BY A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL MINORITY WITHIN ISRAELI SOCIETY TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE MAJORITY. THE WIDER AIM OF THE PROPOSED BILL'S PROPONENTS IS TO DELEGITIMIZE THE CONSERVATIVE, REFORM AND OTHER MOVEMENTS NOT ONLY IN ISRAEL BUT WITHIN THE DIASPORA AS WELL. JUDAISM IS A PLURALISTIC AND RICH RELIGION. SUCH A POLITICAL ACTION WOULD BE VIEWED AS MORALLY AND RELIGIOUSLY OFFENSIVE TO THE MAJORITY OF WORLD JEWRY.

TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, WHICH IS BASED ON TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF A JEWISH WAY OF LIFE, WE URGE THE KNESSET TO REJECT THIS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE A MINORITY VIEWPOINT ON "KLAL YISRAEL."

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, PRESIDENT

DAVID M. GORDIS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

LEO NEVAS, CHAIRMAN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, DIRECTOR
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SENT TO: The Hon. Shimon Peres
Office of the Prime Minister

The Hon. Yitzhak Modai
Minister of Finance

Hon. Yitzhak Shamir
Vice Premier

Mr. Uzi Baram
Secretary General, Labor Party

Mrs. Sara Doron
Coalition Coordinator
The Knesset

לשכת ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER'S BUREAU

Jerusalem May 11, 1986
Ref.: 7-DS-504-1

American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

The Prime Minister has received your telegram regarding the proposed legislation on the powers of the rabbinical court, and has asked me to respond on his behalf.

As with the issue of the Law of Return, the Prime Minister will continue, in the future, to act in accordance with his responsibility for "klal Yisrael", and in order to preserve the unity of the Jewish people.

Sincerely,



Avraham Burg
Adviser to the Prime Minister
on Diaspora Affairs

TEXT OF AJC CABLE TO PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES AND OTHER KNESSET MEMBERS
ON DECEMBER 27, 1984, OPPOSING CHANGE IN THE LAW OF RETURN

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE STRONGLY URGES MEMBERS
OF THE KNESSET TO REJECT THE PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILL
PROPOSING CHANGES IN THE LAW OF RETURN.

THE PROPOSED BILL REPRESENTS A CONCERTED ATTEMPT BY
A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL MINORITY WITHIN ISRAELI
SOCIETY TO LEGISLATE NOT JUST ON ISRAELI CITIZENSHIP
LAW, BUT ALSO ON JEWISH LIFE IN THE DIASPORA. THE
WIDER AIM OF THE PROPOSED BILL'S PROPONENTS IS TO
DELEGITIMIZE THE CONSERVATIVE, REFORM AND OTHER
MOVEMENTS WHICH MAKE JUDAISM A PLURALISTIC AND RICH
RELIGION. SUCH A POLITICAL ACTION WOULD BE VIEWED
AS MORALLY AND RELIGIOUSLY OFFENSIVE TO THE MAJORITY
OF WORLD JEWRY.

TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, WHICH IS
BASED ON TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF A
JEWISH WAY OF LIFE, WE URGE THE KNESSET NOT TO AMEND
THE LAW OF RETURN.

DAVID M. GORDIS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, PRESIDENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

copies sent to the following Members of Kneset: Yitzak Shamir, Yitzak Modai,
Sara Doron, Ehud Olmert, David Levy, Moshe Shahal.

STATEMENT OPPOSING RESORT TO VIOLENCE

As representatives of major religious bodies of American Jewry, we join together in expressing our grave concern, outrage and sadness over the resort to violence on the part of militant elements in both the religious and secular sectors of Israeli society.

We are cognizant of the deep differences regarding Jewish law, tradition and belief that divide Jews today both in Israel and in the Diaspora. These in turn result in differences in practice and lifestyle, some of which one group or another may find unacceptable.

In such a heterogenous and pluralistic society it is difficult to demand that everyone love his neighbor as himself. But as Hillel so wisely formulated it, the minimal guideline for coexistence and survival is that "what is hateful to you, do not do unto your neighbor."

In practical terms this means giving due consideration to the feelings of others and exercising self-restraint.

We therefore deplore provocative actions that have violated Jewish religious sensibilities regarding "modesty in dress" in places of worship and in traditionally Orthodox neighborhoods. But insensitivity on the part of secularists to religious observance cannot be a justification for religious zealots, or any other persons, taking the law into their own hands and carrying out acts of intimidation and of destruction of public or private property. Jewish ethics and democratic ideals do not sanction the resort to extra-legal violence as instruments for enforcing public piety. Moreover, such measures only exacerbate tensions and arouse enmity for Jewish tradition among the non-observant. Teaching, preaching and personal examples of pious practice are the only legitimate and ultimately the only effective means of persuasion; violence and coercion are not.

By the same token, it is nothing short of bigotry and hooliganism to carry out acts of reprisals against synagogues or institutions of Torah study. Over and above our repudiation of their acts of physical violence, we are especially horrified that Jews could engage in acts historically associated with anti-Semites. Tearing up holy prayer books and sacred Bibles, desecrating tefillin and the Arks of the Law, and defacing synagogue buildings with swastikas are unbearable to Jews of conscience and memory throughout the inhabited world.

We call upon all elements of Israeli society and of world Jewry to repudiate these mindless resorts to violence and hatred, as well as the religious and secular fanaticism which have incited them. We urge all Jews to join in supporting Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir in their appeals for a cessation of physical

violence and the undertaking of major efforts to promote moderation, tolerance and mutual respect. The precious democracy that Israel has forged must not be allowed to become hostage to irrationality and uncontrolled passions.

The Jewish people have survived over 4,000 years and across some thirty civilizations because at crucial moments of Jewish history the core values of Ahavat Yisrael ("Love of one Jew for another") and sense of mutual responsibility have dominated Jewish consciousness. At this critical hour in Israel and in the Diaspora it is urgent that the entire Jewish people return to these sacred principles of mutual love and respect, the keystone of Jewish survival.

SIGNATORIES

Rabbi Kassel Abelson, President, Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Herbert M. Baumgard, President, Synagogue Council of America

Dr. Gerson Cohen, Chancellor, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, President, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

Dr. Arthur Green, President, Reconstructionist Rabbinical College

Rabbi Richard Hirsh, Executive Director, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association

Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, Executive Vice-President, Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Gilbert Klaperman, First Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America

Rabbi Benjamin Kreitman, Executive Vice-President, United Synagogue of America

Dr. Norman Lamm, President, Yeshiva University

Rabbi Mordechai Leibling, Executive Director, Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot

Rabbi Haskel Lookstein, President, New York Board of Rabbis

Rabbi Henry D. Michelman, Executive Vice-President, Synagogue Council of America

Rabbi Ira Schiffer, President, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Rabbi Walter S. Wurzbarger, Chairman, Interreligious Affairs Commission, Synagogue Council of America

For the American Jewish Committee: Theodore Ellenoff, President; Dr. David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations Department; Dr. George E. Gruen, Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs Division

8865 (IRD-8)

June 27, 1986

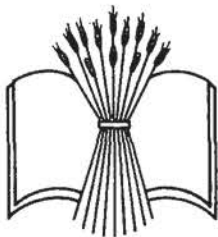
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S STATEMENT
ON ISRAEL HIGH COURT RULING ON RIGHTS OF CONVERTS TO JUDAISM

The American Jewish Committee applauds the ruling of Israel's High Court of Appeal that converts to Judaism are entitled to exactly the same form of identification as persons born Jewish.

The court's decision came in response to the proposal by Interior Minister Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz that the identity cards of converts indicate that the bearer has converted to Judaism. As noted by Judge Eilon in his decision, not only Israeli law, but also Jewish law prohibits any distinction of gerim (converts) from Klal Israel (the Jewish people).

The American Jewish Committee opposes any attempts to cast aspersions or make invidious distinctions among Jews, and is pleased that the court has upheld the principle of the unity of the Jewish people despite the diversity of the backgrounds of individual Jews.

December 2, 1986



Where there is no bread
There is no Torah

Friends of
The Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress
10 East 53rd Street, 6th Fl., New York, N.Y. 10022
212/207-7617

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*Member Executive Committee

December, 1986

Dear Friends,

Enclosed is our new format for the newsletter instead of the monthly digest from the Israeli press, which we had been sending to you previously. We shall now send you a quarterly report by one of Israel's leading economic commentators on major developments in the Israel economy. We hope you will find this abbreviated format informative and useful.

Recently we have appealed to you for financial assistance in our work. We hope you have found time to consider our request and that you will join with us in the vital task of reforming Israel's economy.

As Secretary Schultz observed (in his letter to Prime Minister Shimon Peres), "economic growth is a strategic imperative for the future security of Israel... no less critical than military strength or the quest for peace." Don't you agree?

Wishing you a happy healthy New Year.

Sincerely,

Daniel Doron

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THE NEWSLETTER OF THE ISRAEL CENTER FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

10 East 53rd Street, 6th Floor,

Where there is no bread
There is no Torah

New York, N.Y. 10022, 212/207-7617

Year end report on trends in the Israeli Economy Second half of 1986

by Pinhas Landau

Introduction.

The period under review was characterised by relative stability in the key macroeconomic variables, and by a significant pick-up in the level of activity in most sectors of the local market. The "rotation" of the premiership in October has had no discernible impact on economic policy, at least so far.

In fact, economic policy seems to have lost the momentum that characterised it in the period leading up to, and following, the implementation of the Economic Stabilisation Plan of July 1985. The Treasury and the Bank of Israel, the twin pillars of the policy-making establishment, have become bogged-down in a defensive strategy aimed at holding on to the remarkable progress achieved as a result of the ESP. A steady erosion seems to have taken place in their apparent interest in utilising the opportunity created by the return of a measure of stability, to introduce fundamental reforms directed at restructuring the economy. In the view of many commentators, stability has become an end in itself.

Thus, despite the near-certainty that 1986 will end with a list of impressive statistics, there is a growing feeling of unease regarding the future direction of policy. With regard to the maintenance of stability, this can be distilled into one nagging question: Given an apparent stabilisation of the inflation rate around 15-20% per annum, as the Treasury now envisages, how long can the exchange rate be held steady, when costs, especially wages, are index-linked? The result of a widening gap in relative prices of imports and exports must surely lead on the one hand to increasing demand for imports that are ever-cheaper in shekel terms, and on the other to Israeli exports pricing themselves out of foreign markets.

Furthermore, and perhaps even more disturbing for the longer-term: Even if inflation can be reduced to single-digits, how is real growth in the economy to recommence in the face of an enormous tax burden, distorted capital and labour markets, and the consequent disincentives to investment?

The ongoing retreat from fundamental reforms, covered by a smokescreen of speeches, discussions and the establishment of

endless committees, is gradually undermining confidence in the government's ability to "deliver" the key reforms that are universally agreed to be necessary.

Nevertheless, as will be noted, there is movement in a few limited areas. The danger is that the "window of opportunity" created by the favourable internal and external developments of 1985/86 will be frittered away.

Review

The Budget: The single most important achievement of the ESP was the sharp reduction in the level of the budget deficit, from the rate of 12-15% of GNP in previous years to 2-4% in fiscal years 1985/86 and 1986/87.

In the current year, operating expenditure will be below revenues, and the deficit will result from the cost of debt servicing. The growth in revenues stems from a tax burden that, according to Bank of Israel calculations, reached the unprecedented level of 58% of GNP in the first half of 1986. Both direct and indirect taxation receipts have boomed this year, the former because the new corporate tax law passed in August 1985 is making industry pay hefty taxes after several years of near tax-holiday and the recovery of real wages has made up for the reduction in income tax receipts stemming from adjusted tax brackets, while the latter has soared in the wake of a consumer spending boom directed primarily at heavily-taxed imported consumer durables.

This, and continued restraint in spending, has left the government with a much larger operating surplus than had been envisaged. Some of this has been used to reduce National Insurance contributions from employers and the self-employed, in the period from June 1986 to March 1987. Since these payments are quasi-taxes for most purposes, they have been reduced to help the private sector finance the payment of cost-of-living allowances without having to raise its prices.

A much larger sum has been released by means of not seeking to cover upcoming redemptions of government debt by issuing new bonds. This process of winding down the existing situation of absolute "crowding out" of non-government borrowers by the government's monopoly of savings, has been given great play by official spokesmen, and has been touted as the main element of a general reform in the capital market, under which the government would withdraw and allow non-government borrowers to raise funds directly from savers.

However, the opportunity thus provided for private borrowers to come to market, which has been expanded from an initial

\$300m to more than double that in the course of the year, has met with only lukewarm response. The terms of raising capital are still fixed by the government, and the cost of around 8% real interest per year is too high for many potential borrowers to contemplate. Furthermore, access to the market still runs through the Treasury, and the government has effectively channeled the available credit to firms and sectors that it wishes to assist. These include agriculture, construction and the health funds, who have rescheduled their short-term bank debt by indirect borrowing via bank finance companies which float bonds and deposit the proceeds with their parent bank. These funds, in turn, are used to provide long-term loans to these troubled sectors.

On the expenditure side, the government has little progress to show in terms of permanent cuts in its spending. The attempt to reduce the current budget by 3.9% across the board, that was authorised by the cabinet in July, has been only very partially implemented, and seems headed in the direction of so many earlier budget-cutting resolutions.

Inflation and devaluation: The rate of price increases has remained moderate throughout the year, at an underlying rate of about 1.5% per month. This has been subject to normal seasonal variations, so that in July the CPI remained flat, while in September it rose 1.9% and in October 2.2%. You see my guesstimate nearly hit the jackpot. A basic difference in approach has emerged among policy makers, with the more conservative Treasury approach, led by director-general Emmanuel Sharon, satisfied with a steady 15-20% per annum, while the Governor of the Bank of Israel, Michael Bruno, heads a group who believe that inflation must be reduced quickly to 5-10% if the achievements to date are to be made to stick.

At the end of July, the central bank moved to unpeg the shekel from its anchorage to the US dollar, and fixed its value instead to a trade-weighted basket of currencies. In practice, the relative stability of the international currency markets since then—compared to the preceding period, when the dollar slumped—has meant that the change has had little impact, but its purpose is to prevent the importation of inflation via the further strengthening of the European currencies, as happened in late 1985 and early 1986.

In sum, the projected annual inflation for 1986, of about 17% and the devaluation against the basket of currencies of 6-7%, are the most dramatic evidence of the success of the ESP, and these variables continue to serve both the government and the public as indicators of the strength of the stability that has been achieved. Mainstream economists, of course, pay closer attention to the development of the budget surplus or deficit as a portent of possible trouble.

For purposes of comparison, the rates of inflation and devaluation against the US dollar since 1983 are given below.

	1983	1984	1985	1986*
Inflation	190	445	185	17-18
Devaluation	220	491	134	0

*=estimate.

Wages and employment

The wage front is probably the source of greatest concern to the government in the coming months. It is most important, however, to distinguish between the private sector and the public in connection with wages.

Speaking in general terms, it may be said that market forces have been increasingly felt in the private sector, and have served as a moderating influence on wages. Although those sectors caught up in the boom have been able to pay higher wages, others have been squeezed by loss of markets, either at home through government budget cuts, or overseas as a result of the exchange rate freeze, and they have cut back on employment and been able to negotiate low real wage increases. But in the private sector as a whole, real wages have increased by an estimated 8-10 percent over their pre-June 1985 levels.

This has been accompanied by a rise in output and, it would seem, of productivity. Figures are not available to confirm these findings, but the trends revealed in the Bank of Israel's quarterly review of business indicate that production has risen while employment has, if anything, fallen in the industrial sector. This can only be on the basis of significant productivity gains—which might have been expected in a disinflationary environment that has released large resources of labour and capital hitherto tied up in financial activity.

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Director

Employment overall has risen in the private sector, but the big gains have come in the commerce and services groups. Despite the impact of redundancies in the banks, small employers such as shops and—the fastest-growing sector in the economy—restaurants, have taken on many more employees to cope with the pressures stemming from the consumer spree.

The public sector offers a very different picture. Wages here fell much harder in the summer and fall of 1985, and recovered more slowly. Restraint, even unaccompanied by large-scale staff reductions, paid off for a long time in terms of reduced government spending on its wage bill.

However, the long and bitter struggle with the hospital nurses that stretched from June to late October of this year, and the quite large settlement that they extracted from the Treasury in the end, have triggered a growing expectation of more labour trouble ahead, as other unions seek to exploit the breach that the nurses made in the government's wage policy. Finance Minister Moshe Nissim's oft-repeated determination to stand firm in the face of wage claims is likely to be tested more than once, as doctors, teachers and others will clearly not accept at face value the government's justification of the nurses' settlement as an exceptional case.

For this reason, the Treasury is opposing the moves afoot in the Knesset to "remove" the pay of personnel in the standing army from the national wage "league." Policymakers do not believe that this gambit of special circumstances will be believed, even when referring to the armed forces.

The fall in the unemployment rate from 7.9% in the second quarter to 6.7% in the third quarter summarises the background to what is shaping up as a tough winter for the treasury on the key wages front. With the private sector feeling prosperous, at least in parts, and the public sector feeling hard done by, the government will be hard put to hold the line as successfully as hitherto.

Financial markets: One of the strongest proofs of the extent that stability has taken hold is in the behaviour of the two markets that alone are unregulated—the money market for unlinked shekel deposits, and the "black" market for foreign currency. The former shows no signs of a "run" on the shekel, as a prelude to a devaluation. To the contrary, the banking system, and the public as a whole, are happy to hold shekels in a variety of deposits paying interest of 15-20% and sometimes more. Even the increase in borrowing rates engineered by the Bank of Israel in October to cool-off the public's spending spree, which was financed to a large extent on consumer credit, caused little more than a ripple in the markets.

This attitude is powerfully confirmed in the foreign currency market, where there is indeed an ongoing run—from cash dollars, assiduously hoarded in previous years, to shekels which can bring a decent rate of return. The central bank estimates that over \$500m dollars came out from "under the mattresses" in the year following the introduction of the ESP, and this trend has continued in recent months. The oversupply of dollars has forced the black market rate down to the same level as the official exchange rate, compared to a premium of around 30% in April/May 1985. One result is that Israelis going abroad

don't bother to buy their allotment of \$800 per person from the banks, where they are charged a 15% tax on top of commissions, but from the dealers in the black market. Without this source of demand, a negative premium (discount) would almost certainly have developed.

The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange has also been performing quite positively for most of this year, and volumes in the share market have doubled to an average \$7m per day. If the public begins to suspect that the stability is in danger, the three indicators mentioned here will be the first to sound warning bells.

Reforms: Despite the absence of major reforming initiatives, a number of moves are underway in several sectors that may point the direction of the economy as a whole.

ENERGY: Energy minister Moshe Shahal has announced a partial, but important, deregulation of the energy sector, to take place early next year. Needless to say, this is being bitterly opposed by the three oil companies, Delek, Sonol and the government-owned Paz, whose cosy cartel existence, where everything works on a cost-plus basis, is threatened with a blast of competition.

Shahal wants the companies to be free to import refined products, instead of having to buy from the (government-owned) Oil Refineries, and he wants the major users, such as the Israel Electric Corporation, to be able to import their own crude and sell it to the refineries for processing. The enormous stockpiles which the oil companies hold on behalf of the government will revert to the state, which really owns them anyway, while the companies use their asset-value for their own purposes.

This last, quite logical, step has been denounced as nationalisation by the companies, who have also said that the present system is optimal and any tinkering would only harm the country.

BANKING AND INVESTMENT: In addition to the very limited impact of the lessened government borrowing requirements, in terms of freeing the capital markets, there have been other changes in the financial sector. In the wake of the Bejski commission of inquiry into the 1983 bank-share collapse, the dominant role of the commercial banks in the investment field is being reduced.

New central bank regulations have finally, after over a decade of discussion, imposed minimum standards of training for the investment advisers employed by the banks, as well as detailing the kind of information they must give clients on each sort of prospective investment. The banks, in fact, have reduced the number of branches offering full-scale investment services, and many of them intend to set-up separate brokerage firms to give up market services to well-heeled clients.

Retail banking services have undergone sweeping changes in the course of the year, with consumer loans being given prominence for the first time in Israeli banking history—to the displeasure of the old-timers who regard all consumption as sinful. The decision of Visacard Israel to offer a revolving credit facility to cardholders has turned it into the first proper credit card in the country—another step along the road to normal Western banking facilities.

The stock exchange, for its part, is going ahead with the establishment of a data bank for the use of all members, and later others, and is experimenting with a new trading system to replace the single-daily-price-fixing system that has long been felt to be outmoded.

Outlook

The closing weeks of 1986 and the first part of 1987 are unlikely to witness any change in the existing trends in the economy. Inflation in November and December benefits from a seasonal improvement, and January is traditionally a low-inflation month. Last year the CPI declined 1.3%, helped by falling oil prices, and this year a similar decline is on the cards as a wide range of import prices will fall in the wake of a roll-back in customs and import levies on January 1, mandated by the Free Trade Agreements with the US and the EEC. There is also no serious likelihood of a devaluation at least until the end of the current fiscal year on March 31.

Wages, as noted will be an important determinant of the mood in the country, and of the government's future policies. But the major policy debate in the coming months will be over the 1987/88 budget, and whether the Prime Minister and Finance Minister will be able to persuade their colleagues in the key spending ministries to accept further cuts. The defence budget remains, as always, the focus of this debate, and the two sides are still limbering up for the main clash, with the Defence Ministry demanding a rise in the name of national security needs, while the Finance Ministry insists that a further round of cuts is vital.

The orthodox, i.e. Treasury, view is that without significant budget cuts, no progress can be made in the area of tax reform. However, like all other public statements at this time, this should not be taken as the last word on the subject, and it is possible that failure to cut the budget will spur the tax reform lobby to press ahead anyway, even if whatever limited measures

are suggested are not "revenue neutral." The chances of reform, however, are not good at this time.

The other main area of reforming activity, where at least some progress has been made in the past year, namely the capital markets, is likely to remain of more interest than the tax arena. Here the momentum of the initial moves has created a clear clash between the banks and others, who want more freedom and hence further deregulation, and the "establishment" who are plainly afraid of losing their hitherto total direct control of every aspect of economic policy.

But the chances of progress in the wider sense should be measured precisely in the narrower applications of reform, such as in the energy sector noted above. If the vested interests in the oil industry can be defeated, this will be a clear signal of fundamental change, on a par with the weakening of the banking industry whose stranglehold on many areas has been prised loose in the wake of the Bejski report.

The continuing interest, and influence, of the Reagan administration, and of secretary of state George Shultz in particular, in the progress and processes of the Israeli economy, will undoubtedly be a major factor in determining the direction and pace of events, as it has been in recent years. Should Shultz himself resign, the effect on Israeli domestic policy-making would probably be greater than on foreign policy, although he has made efforts to institutionalize the US-Israel economic policy "monitoring" operations that he has established.

In summary, the past year has been one of significant achievement, and the short-term is unlikely to see any regression. But the failure to build on the foundations laid is undermining confidence in the ability to achieve not merely stability, but stable growth, and should many more months pass without major policy initiatives in the key areas of tax reform and the capital and labour markets—in other words, in the much-talked about "restructuring of the economy"—then even what has been done since July 1985 will be in jeopardy.

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100-108881-1000

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 10, 1986
to Those Listed Below
from George Gruen
subject Black Hebrews

Attached is our revised draft letter to the Council of Churches of the City of New York, which has been approved by Haskell Lazere and myself. Please let me have your comments as soon as possible.

With suitable changes, it could also be sent to Franklyn Richardson of the National Baptist Convention. We also suggest enclosing some background information on the Black Hebrews to support the points made in our letter, in addition to the attached letter from Geneva Holley.

GEG:mr

- Enc. -

George

P.S. We have omitted the point that Israeli officials have indicated that individuals who have left the cult might be permitted to remain in Israel as permanent residents, because this is something that should be included in the letter of response from one of the Israeli officials to whom the protest letter was addressed.

Harold Applebaum
David Gordis
Malcolm Hoenlein
Haskell Lazere

Michael Miller/Harriet Mandel
Jim Rudin
✓ Marc Tanenbaum
Asher Naim - Israel Embassy - Washington
Moshe Yegar - Israel Consulate - NY

DRAFT

Dear

Your letter of November 3, 1986 regarding the status of the Black Hebrew Israelite community in Dimona leaves us deeply disturbed. There is a surprising amount of misinformation upon which your letter is based.

We understand and share your concern for the plight of individual members of this group. However, we suggest that you and your committee first familiarize yourselves with all the facts surrounding the case before you publicly accuse the Government of Israel of such damaging allegations as racism and other violations of fundamental human rights.

It is an established fact that many members of the Black Hebrew community have illegally entered or remained in Israel. Moreover, leading members of this group residing in the United States have been convicted in U.S. Federal courts of conspiracy involving stolen airline tickets, credit cards, and other fraudulent activities.

Within Israel, the community has segregated itself, under the leadership of its self-appointed authority, Ben-Ami Carter, refusing to accept medical and other services offered them by Government authorities. They have refused to adhere to the laws of the sovereign state of Israel. The cases to which you refer have received full judicial review by the Israel Supreme Court, which has decided that expulsion orders are valid, based upon their illegal residence and employment in Israel.

Persons who have been deported have, of their own choice, refused to take their children with them, despite Israel's offer to pay the cost of the children's passage. Israel has not singled out the Black Hebrews. Last year, when Israel was faced with serious unemployment problems because of its

... more

austerity program, it deported several hundred aliens from various countries, because they were working illegally. The United States follows the same practice. If the Black Hebrews were not deported earlier, Israeli authorities explain, it is because they displayed forbearance, sensitivity and compassion beyond what was legally required. Human rights have not been violated in any respect, except perhaps by the leaders of the group against its members. (See attached letter from Mrs. Geneva Holley.)

As regards the allegations of racism by the Government of Israel in their handling of this case, Israel has recently become the haven for thousands of persecuted Ethiopian Jews, for whose rescue the Government of Israel has exerted extraordinary efforts. Moreover, individual American Blacks, both Jews and non-Jews, who have entered Israel legally, and who have become citizens or permanent residents of Israel, enjoy the same rights as white Jews and non-Jews.

Any fair-minded person must ask himself why persons who have entered, reside and work illegally in a given country, who refuse to adhere to the laws of that state, and who reject the authority of that state should be allowed to remain there. Indeed, the leaders of the Black Hebrew cult have declared that they are the only authentic Israelites and have vowed to replace the elected government of Israel with a kingdom of God ruled by Ben-Ami Carter.

The organized Jewish community in New York has labored hard to maintain strong working relations with the Council. We believe it to be in the interest of all parties concerned to continue to engage in productive dialogue in order to foster harmony between our religious and ethnic groups. In this respect, your approach to the matter of the Black Hebrews, whose peaceful resolution is in our common interest, leaves much to be desired.

Enclosed are several items of background information which we hope you will find instructive.

cc

Haskell Lazere

Michael Miller/Harriet Mandel

Malcolm Hoenlein *Press only*

Harold Applebaum

Jim Rudin

Marc Tanenbaum

David Gordis

Moshe Yegar *Isr consulate NY*

Asher Naim *Israel Embassy Wash DC*

515 PWH



[Transcript of handwritten letter sent to the World Council of Churches]

1005/8 Hanitzahon Drive
Dimona 86000 Israel

April 7, 1984

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you because I need help from your organization; will you please help me? I came to Israel in 1974 to be with a group of people called the Black Hebrews; they are a group of Black people from America who say they are the original people of the Bible. They are convinced they have a prophetic messianic mission to establish God's Kingdom here in Israel.

Their leader is Ben Ammi Carter of Chicago who says he is the Messiah. He isn't any more the Messiah than I am. He controls the mind of his followers; his philosophy is to conquer the mind of a man and you will own his soul.

This group have touched the lives of many families throughout America. People are still coming here to join them; although the Israeli government is trying to prevent them from entering the country. I do not want another elderly person to go through what I have been through. I worked hard all my life and had a beautiful home in Detroit, Michigan and a summer home in northern Michigan in America. I had all the material things that one wanted and everything paid for, with money in the bank. I sold everything and gave the money to this group, because I believed them when I was in America. I have had one problem after another since I have been in Israel with them. I am not with the group any more and will return to the States soon.

There have been far too many deaths and attempted suicides for this number of people, including my 32 year old son, who attempted suicide in July 1982 and will be a cripple the rest of his life. Births, as well as their deaths are not registered with the proper authorities in order to conceal information. Bodies are buried around their village in vacant fields. Relatives in America do not know their loved ones are missing here in Israel.

In 1976 the group were going to be deported back to America by the Israeli government, because we are in the country illegal. Ben Ammi was going to have a mass revolution suicide for us, somewhat like Jonestown, Guyana except we were going to the mountain to starve to death. He had contacted all the news media, the Israeli government backed off. He's capable of doing something like this again.

The Hebrews are settled in three cities here in Israel. There is only one telephone in each of [the Black Hebrew communities in] the three cities, which has a lock on it. One person is assigned to the telephone who monitors all calls. If they do not want their followers to receive a call, then they are not told about the call. The same with the mail. One person picks up all mail at

the post office, and it is censored in the office before it is passed out. Relatives in America often have to go through the American Embassy to get in touch with their relatives here and that is sometimes impossible.

The group are vegetarians and many are suffering from malnutrition; many need dental work. There is a twenty-two year old young man that used to play with their band. He had a nervous breakdown a few years ago, he is now kept locked in the bathroom. He needs professional help like so many more.

In 1972 Ben Ammi had 86 of his followers to renounce their American citizenship. They were obedient to their leader. Now many want to return to America. They find that they are stateless; they and their children. The American Embassy says the Israeli government is responsible for them and the Israeli government are ignoring them. This is exactly what Ben Ammi wants, as they are destitutes. They have no place to go and will have to remain with him. He is a twisted megalomaniac. His followers are brainwashed physically and psychologically beaten into the will of a paranoid leader whom they believe [to] have divine power. I see him as a con man no different than the pimp in the ghetto.

I am most concerned about the children who are growing up illiterate and cultured deprived.

I have met with the mayor and the chief of police here in Dimona and have contacted the police department in Jerusalem, I have written three letters to the Interior Minister here in Israel and they were ignored. I have written to the American Ambassador here in Israel and to various organizations here and America asking for help. Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally of California was here to see me on August 22, 1983. He said he was going to look into this matter. I haven't heard from him since, although I have written to him.

I am thoroughly convinced that the Israeli government want to deport the group back to America, but they don't want to ruffle any feathers with the Blacks in America. Whatever [is] to be done to solve this problem will have to be done by the Blacks. The Israelis do not want to be labeled anti-black. They want me or some other black to take the initial step to bring this issue to the public.

There are human rights that are being denied, as I often say these are crimes against humanity.

Will you help me to get the truth to the people to help my people here in Israel? I appreciate any help you can give me. Thanks in advance.

[signed] Sincerely,
Geneva Holley

Geneva Holley
1005/8 Hanitzahon St.
Dimona 86000 Israel

11/14/86

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 31, 1986
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from George E. Gruen *GEG*
subject Meeting on Coordination of Israel-Related Programs

I hope you will be able to participate in the next meeting of the ad hoc committee to coordinate our Israel-related programs, which will take place on Friday, November 14, at 11 a.m. in Room 800-B.

As you know, Shimon Samuels has just returned to Jerusalem to assume the post of director of the AJC's Office in Israel. David Gordis and Marc Tanenbaum have asked me to convene this meeting so that we will have the benefit of the thinking of all the departments and institutes involved in Israel-related programs or which will call upon the Israel Office for assistance.

So that we can have a meaningful discussion, it would be most helpful if you could prepare and give me in advance of the meeting a listing of any programs and projects involving the Israel Office that 1. you are presently engaged in, and 2. which are to be initiated within the next year.

Together with a brief description of the project, please include an estimate of the amount of staff time on the part of the Israel Office that will be required.

We would, of course, also appreciate your thoughts more generally on what the Israel Office should be doing. I am enclosing a copy of my memo to Shimon Samuels outlining some guidelines and suggestions that we have developed here. I would welcome your comments.

Please call Marilyn Rogers (ext. 311 or 259) to indicate whether you will be able to participate in the meeting on November 14th.

GEG:mr

- Enc. -

cc

✓ David Gordis

✓ Marc H. Tanenbaum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 30, 1986
 to Shimon Samuels
 from George E. Gruen *GEH*
 subject Some Guidelines and Suggestions

Welcome back to Jerusalem! I hope it will be a good omen that as the Jewish world begins a New Year, you are coming to inaugurate a new era for the AJC's Office in Israel. As Rosh Hashanah is a time for Heshbon Hanefesh, I thought it would be useful to take stock of where we are and offer some guidelines and suggestions as you begin this important assignment.

To look first at the asset side of the balance sheet, you have four things in your favor:

1. Your own knowledge and wealth of experience in Israel and abroad.
2. The AJC's 80-year record of achievement in Jewish and international affairs.
3. The pioneering work of the AJC's Israel Office in the field of intergroup and Israel-Diaspora relations over nearly 25 years.
4. My personal and professional commitment as Director of Israel and Middle East Affairs to work closely with you to help make the Israel Office as effective and significant an "embassy" for AJC as possible. I believe that this objective is shared by my professional colleagues and many of AJC's lay leaders as well.

As against these assets you will also be facing certain liabilities and "sins of omission."

1. There has recently been a virtual hiatus in the activity of the AJC Israel Office and others have sought to fill the vacuum.
2. AJC no longer enjoys a unique standing because more and more American Jewish national and local groups (e.g. the Los Angeles and San Francisco federations) have in recent years opened offices in Israel.
3. There are other groups in Israel working in the areas of human

rights and intergroup relations whose budgets and staff now far exceed that available to AJC's Israel Office.

4. While we still hope eventually to expand the scope of AJC's presence in Israel through the creation of an Institute of Human Relations in Israel to be housed in physical facilities more suitable for holding conferences than the current cramped quarters, the present reality you and we have to live with is a limited staff and a modest budget.

These constraints lead to several practical conclusions.

AJC as Catalyst and Facilitator.

1. You can not be expected to do everything and will have to be selective in making new commitments. AJC has traditionally gotten "more bang for the buck" by acting as a catalyst, co-ordinator and convenor of individuals and groups to focus on emerging issues in intergroup and Israel-U.S. relations. We believe that a primary mission for the Jerusalem Office in the coming year will be to involve the AJC prominently in efforts to promote the values of pluralism and to lessen polarization in intergroup relations within Israel -- religious-secular, Ashkenazi-Sephardi, Arab-Jewish, interreligious -- and in Israel-Diaspora relations. (I am sending you a separate memo outlining a study currently being prepared jointly for us and the International Sephardic Education Foundation by Professor Sammy Smooha of Haifa University on ethnic relations and pluralism in Israel. It may well serve as a basis for a major conference or consultation.)

AJC's Israel Office, in short, should be seen as the primary promoter of the values of American Jewry in Israel: commitment to democracy in which diversity is not only tolerated, but pluralism is considered a positive and enriching social value.

Evaluation of Existing Organizations and Programs

2. You will want to re-evaluate AJC's existing relationships with such organizations as the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), the Israel Interfaith Association, Interns for Peace, Neve Shalom and the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute to determine the most effective areas and means of cooperation. You will also want to consult with the New Israel Fund about their inventory and evaluation of these and numerous other groups, such as the Golda Meir Institute, that have sprung up in the field of intergroup relations. (The New Israel Fund is spending over \$1 million this year and plans to spend \$1.9 million next year. They are giving \$30,000 to ACRI and \$60,000 to its new Israel Legal Defense Center. The Ford Foundation and US AID are other donors of major grants to groups such as Van Leer.)

Fulfilling the Ambassadorial Function

3. In terms of the ambassadorial function of the office, a top priority is to establish and cultivate contacts with the major factors in Israeli society relevant to our work. This means the top professionals and key aides in the Prime Minister's office and in other ministries. In the Foreign Ministry this includes not only the divisions dealing with North America and Diaspora Affairs, but the heads of other geographic departments and the research and information divisions. The aim is multifold: to acquaint them with AJC programs and concerns, to gather information on Israeli policy and raw research materials we can use for our own reports and analyses (e.g. Arab anti-Semitic statements, threats to endangered Jewish communities, Japan and the Arab boycott), to alert us to upcoming issues before they make the headlines and to determine ways in which we may be helpful to Israel through our international contacts. The U.S. Embassy and the consulate in Jerusalem, key foreign correspondents and Israeli political writers, the major think tanks and institutes of the various universities are naturally also sources and resources worth cultivating. While you could spend all your time at the Knesset, periodic meetings with members of the foreign relations and defense committee should certainly prove useful. There may also arise occasions when it would be appropriate for you to testify on behalf of AJC on an issue of our concern, such as Who is a Jew. (Or if that is not possible, to have a friendly MK introduce our views in the Knesset debate.)

Special Reports and Special Events

4. We expect that the information you have garnered from these contacts will be reflected in insider "intelligence" briefings for AJC as well as background analyses and reports for general circulation. They may also give you suggestions for papers to be commissioned from outside sources and forthcoming conferences in which AJC lay leaders and/or staff should be involved. If you alert us to the forthcoming visit of a foreign dignitary to Israel we may be able to help provide an opportunity for AJC programming. For example, through Marc Tanenbaum's special relationship with Cardinal O'Connor, it should be possible to arrange for AJC to host an interreligious convocation and reception for him. Conversely, if you can inform us of planned visits to the United States by prominent academics, political and cultural figures who you feel would be of special interest to AJC, we can arrange suitable meetings for them in New York and/or the chapters.

Not only individual visitors but special events can be the basis for creative programming. For example, the fact that we are entering the Ben-Gurion Centennial Year should enable us to develop conferences or consultations both here and in Israel focusing on the special relationship between Jacob Blaustein, then president of AJC, and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and the guidelines they developed for the proper relations between officials of the State of Israel and the Jewish communities of the United States -- and by extension, other Diaspora

communities. In the discussions that Bert Gold and I had with Jack Spitzer, chairman, and Dr. Benjamin Hirsch, executive director of the Centennial Committee in the U.S., we agreed that it would be appropriate for AJC to focus not only on the 1950 Agreement as a historical event, but also on the developments in Israel-U.S. Jewish relations on the ideological and practical level from 1950 until today and the prospects for the future. Bert suggested a day and a half conference here immediately preceding the Annual Meeting in May. We left open for your discussions with Rechavam Amir, the executive director in Israel, the timing and format of the event or series of events in Israel. It would obviously be wise to try to make it at a time when members of the Blaustein family and some other AJC leaders could be present.

Increasing Mutual Understanding Between American Jews and Israelis

5. The Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations (IAJIR) has been doing important work in this area, which has been a natural priority for AJC's Office in Israel since its inception. Bert Gold assures me that Mordechai Gazit is prepared to establish a collegial working relationship with you and Bert is eager to integrate IAJIR's work fully within the framework of AJC's Israel program. He suggests that you speak with Gazit and with Zalman Abramov, long-time AJC friend and currently chairman of IAJIR's Israeli Advisory Board, about practical cooperation. Indeed, Bert suggests that we take over the follow-up on some projects initiated by IAJIR. One of these is the younger Israelis' missions to the U.S. As I noted in my memo to David Gordis and Theodore Ellenoff before their visit to Israel in June, "I think much more can be done without too much additional input of time and money to maintain ongoing AJC contact with the 'alumni' of these missions to develop them into an informal network for AJC within Israeli society. Over the long run, cultivation of the potential Israeli leaders can prove to be an effective means for increasing popular understanding of AJC as an organization and for disseminating our philosophy and ideas within the younger generation."

You may also wish to examine the feasibility of creating a "Friends of the American Jewish Committee" or some similar body of Israelis from across the political spectrum who share some of our basic concerns and interests. The Advisory Board of the IAJIR is a nucleus, but the scope of the group I have in mind is broader. I believe there are quite a number of Israelis, including some participants in the Israel Forum, who would be interested in supporting our work not only with their ideas but even with some financial contributions. (You should check what ADL, the AJCongress and other American groups have managed to do in this regard.)

Another subject you should explore with Gazit is the current status of the proposal initiated by IAJIR and the Ministry of Education to evaluate what is being taught about the Diaspora in Israeli schools and ways to enrich the curriculum. (This is to update the study for AJC done by Reuven Surkis many years ago.) Similarly, among the proposals submitted to AJC in June by Aluf Hareven as part of Van Leer's education

for democracy project was the inclusion in the school curriculum of materials demonstrating the pluralistic character of Jewish life in the United States and other Diaspora communities. Possibly work on this could be combined with the Ministry of Education project.

Enhancing the Effectiveness of Tefutsot Israel

6. As you will see from the list of topics covered by Tefutsot Israel in recent years, this quarterly has provided indispensable information for the Hebrew reader on major issues of concern to American Jewry and other Jewish communities around the world, ranging from Black-Jewish relations in the U.S., to the varieties of Jewish religious expression, and informal Jewish educational efforts in the Diaspora and Israel. To enhance the effectiveness of Tefutsot I would recommend that in planning future issues arrangements should be made for a symposium in Israel on the subject of the issue, including possibly bringing over some of the key authors whose articles are included so that they can have a face-to-face interchange with their Israeli counterparts. The discussion should be held in a public forum and videotaped for possible use on educational television. The edited proceedings could then become part of a subsequent issue of Tefutsot.

Involvement of AJC Lay Leaders and Professional Staff

7. Whether in planning future issues of Tefutsot or of specific conferences in Israel, we should give strong consideration to incorporating the idea of Robert Goodkind that the expertise of the AJC's national commissions be utilized in areas that have an Israeli application. Thus, for example, we should build into the program of the Israel Office on a semi-annual or annual basis an opportunity for members of the Jewish Communal Affairs Commission to participate in a conference in Israel on Jewish education or changing Jewish family patterns, and the next year the National Affairs Commission or the Institute for Pluralism and Group Identity to participate in discussions of ethnicity, etc. There are obviously also topics of mutual concern in Israel for the International and Interreligious Commissions.

In addition to such formally structured conferences we should do more to promote and to utilize the visits to Israel of individual AJC lay leaders and staff with particular expertise, e.g., a Hyman Bookbinder, by arranging lectures, informal meetings and other settings for getting greater visibility for them, and through them, for the AJC as a major factor on key American and international issues.

Upgrading Communication

8. The medium may not be the message, but without the proper medium, namely Hebrew, much of our message is lost in Israel. I know that David Gordis has already asked that major AJC press releases

relating to Israel be issued in Hebrew as well as English. I would recommend doing this on a selective basis for other key national and international issues in which AJC is involved and which we wish the Israelis to know about. Relying on the American correspondents for Israeli papers in the U.S. is too chancy. We need to upgrade the electronic communication facilities we have not only with Israel but with all our overseas and area offices. I know that you are also convinced of the importance of this. If you had an on-line computer capacity and not simply a FAX connection, we could greatly enhance the speed and efficiency of communication, eliminating unnecessary duplicate keyboard inputting of information by word processing in New York of the Israeli Press Highlights and other special reports we receive from the Israel Office for editing here. The same holds true for our national backgrounders and statements that could be printed out directly off a computer terminal in Israel. FAXed material is not of camera-ready quality.

Improving Coordination of AJC's Israel-Related Programs

9. As should be obvious from the above, virtually every AJC program department, the IAJIR and many chapters are involved in programs in Israel itself or that have a potential relevance for our work in Israel. To avoid duplication and confusion and to maximize the synergistic effect of our joint efforts, we plan now to re-establish a coordinating mechanism such as the committee that used to meet about once a month. The committee -- on which all the relevant departments and institutes were represented -- reviewed progress of current programs, evaluated new projects and exchanged ideas about ways in which an interdisciplinary approach could strengthen a specific project, as well as to assign responsibility for followup. The committee also served the useful function of shielding the director of the Israel Office from numerous, uncoordinated and excessive demands. For example, we required that all field office requests for services to visiting AJC members were to be relayed through the Israel & Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department and were to be accompanied by a confidential questionnaire filled out by the area director indicating the person's importance in the community and significance for AJC. I intend to send out a reminder to the field shortly. If you have specific questions you want included in the questionnaire, please let me know quickly.

I welcome your comments and suggestions.

Again kind regards and best wishes for the New Year to you and your family.

cc: David Gordis
Marc Tanenbaum
7964 (IRD-9)/og

SEP 17 1986

NACHMAN, RON

ARIEL



CITY OF ARIEL

Date 3rd September, 1986.

No LM/199

Dr. David M. Gordis
Executive Vice President
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 10022
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Gordis

I hope that this letter finds you well and that you have had a chance to rest after the hectic schedule and pressures of your recent visit to Israel.

Not long ago, I sent you a brief outline of some ideas that had been formulated by members of my City Council, to strengthen our ties with the American Jewish Community. I hope you have had the chance to give it some attention.

I have also spoken to Uri Gordon about your plan for sending youth emissaries to Germany and have asked that a representative of Ariel be included in the mission. If you have no objections, I will send him a formal letter on the subject.

I have been given to understand that the AJC group that was to have visited Israel will not be coming after all. If there is some change in plan, I would very much like to host them in Ariel.

I am planning to be in the States in November and will be in New York from November 29th to December 6th. I hope you can set aside some time then, so that I could meet with you, with Mr. Allanoff and with any other people you feel could be helpful in promoting the programs we discussed both in the States and in Israel, as well as any other ideas you may have.

...../2

ARIEL



CITY OF ARIEL

Date 3rd September, 1986.

No LM/199 cont'd.

- 2 -

As I promised, I will be in touch with the head of your Jerusalem branch, Mr. Resnikoff's replacement, before I leave for the States.

I am very proud to report that Ariel is growing in leaps and bounds. Another 400 families have joined us this summer which means that today we number well over 6000 people. During the coming year, we expect another 2000 people will be moving to Ariel. To accommodate this influx of people, we are starting construction of another school and several new kindergartens, nurseries and day-care centers. We are also making plans for a community center, something we sorely lack in Ariel.

I have suggested to Rabbi Joe Glaser and Rabbi Benjamin Walfish, both of New York, to undertake a multi-purpose project in Ariel, one that would accommodate the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform movements. The project would include a school, synagogue and community center. We have already received a commitment from the Orthodox to help us in building a new synagogue and Rabbi Walfish assures me that there would be no objections to having the structure accommodate the other movements as well. I am planning to approach the Conservative and Reform movements to co-operate with us in establishing the school and community center when I am in the States. I really believe that a project of this type, especially here in Ariel, could do wonders in breaking down the barriers between the movements and set an example for Jewish communities the world over. I do hope that you agree.

As we discussed when you were in Israel, I would like to remind you how helpful it would be if you could contact Neil Sandburg in Los Angeles and encourage him to assist us in establishing a new library in Ariel.

...../3

ARIEL



CITY OF ARIEL

Date 3rd September, 1986
LM/199 cont'd.
No

- 3 -

Before closing, I would like you to know that as per suggestions made by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the City of Ariel is undertaking to provide housing space to accommodate American Jewish writers and intellectuals for extended periods of time. I hope we can count on your assistance in promoting this program which would bring these people to a better understanding of Ariel and surrounding areas.

If you have any plans to be in Israel in the near future, I do hope that you will allow me the privilege of acting as your host in Ariel. I look forward to hearing from you and would like to extend my best wishes to you and yours for a happy and healthy New Year, Shana Tova u'mevurachat, a year of prosperity and peace.

Yours sincerely

Ron Nachman
Mayor, Ariel.

cc: Mr. Moshe M. Segal.

RN/da

cc sent 9/17/86 to:
Bert Gold
Alfred Moses
Marc Tanenbaum /
George Gruen
Yehuda Rosenman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 17, 1986
to David Gordis
from Shimon Samuels
subject Proposal for Tel Aviv branch office.

STS

I met in Haifa with Noach Orion who told me of his discussion with you regarding his serving as our representative in the Tel Aviv area on two days a week. He proposed requesting the use of office facilities at the Diaspora Museum.

Though I agree with him wholeheartedly in regards to the need to "de-Jerusalemize" some of our attention and activities, by maintaining contact with Histadrut, Kibbutz, industrial and business circles, I informed him that our budgetary limitations would not permit formal representation at this time.

By spending 1½ days each week (generally Thurs./Fri.) I hope to make and maintain the initial contacts. Moreover, I shall, as we discussed, soon be in contact with ZOA House in Tel Aviv to try to obtain the use of their facilities as long as this does not incur financial responsibilities.

I would appreciate your response to Orion's offer.

Best regards,

CC Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen

**Steering Committee of the
International Relations Commission
Monday, December 15, 1986
Miles Jaffe, Chairman, Presiding**

MINUTES

I. Academy of the Air for Jewish Studies

Richard Maass commenced the meeting with a brief report on the Academy of the Air for Jewish Studies, a project which broadcasts via Kol Yisrael, Jewish cultural, religious and historical programs into the USSR. Each of the half hour programs is presented in dialogue form by leading Jewish scholars from the United States and Israel. The programs, the total cost of which is estimated at 6-700,000 dollars, are taped in both Hebrew and English and translated into Russian. Although the broadcasts are currently scheduled to air for a half hour per week, Mr. Maass expressed the hope that the Academy will expand the programming to six hours per week. The first of twenty contracted broadcasts aired in the Soviet Union on Sunday, December 7, 1986. As of this date, however, it is not known whether the broadcast was received or jammed.

This project is the result of a request made by refuseniks to a group of AJC officers who visited the Soviet Union in 1983. The need for such a program was stressed by the refuseniks because they fear that without such measures Judaism in the Soviet Union will become extinct.

David Langsam then asked whether it was possible to broadcast these programs via Radio Liberty or Swedish Broadcasting, in addition to Kol Yisrael, if air time was scarce. Mr. Maass responded that Radio Liberty is too controversial because it is accused of being an arm of the CIA, and that Swedish Broadcasting cannot supply the Academy with sufficient air time.

II. Reorganizing AJC's Office in Jerusalem

Miles Jaffe called upon David Gordis and Marc Tanenbaum to report on their recent visit to Israel.

David Gordis said that the principal purpose of their trip was to work with the Israel Office's new director, Shimon Samuels, to initiate the process of reorganizing the office's structure and modes of operation. A number of steps were taken to improve communications and other technical structures.

Dr. Gordis identified the primary foci of AJC's work in Israel as: (1) Israel-Diaspora relations, (2) human relations and intergroup relations in Israel, and (3) disseminating information on Diaspora Jewry. All AJC press releases and publications relating to Israel will be translated

into Hebrew and distributed in Israel. We have already begun to build relationships with Israeli groups who share our concerns for tolerance, pluralism, intergroup relations and democratic values.

AJC will be co-sponsoring a major conference in June on the religion-state relationship in Israel, together with the Leonard Davis Institute at Hebrew University. We have also forged relationships with Alouph Hareven of the Van Leer Institute, faculty members at Tel Aviv University, the Israel Interfaith Association, and significant Israeli political figures.

During an unscheduled meeting, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek asked Dr. Gordis and Rabbi Tanenbaum how AJC could support his positions for which he receives little domestic support. They suggested that AJC could provide exposure of his views in the U.S., keeping in mind that the agency must retain a non-partisan posture in Israeli politics.

Dr. Gordis noted that the Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations is already developing a much closer relationship with the Israel office, and that Mordechai Gazit and Shimon Samuels are working in partnership on choosing research topics and facilitating visits of Israelis to the U.S. and vice-versa. The work of the Institute and the Israel Office is becoming more integrated.

Marc Tanenbaum reiterated that the primary purpose of the trip was to sharpen the focus of our operation in Jerusalem, and to identify priorities. Significant groundwork was laid for moving in that direction. We have also sought to preserve the strengths of programs established by Bernie Resnikoff, especially his ecumenical work.

Rabbi Tanenbaum noted that AJC has not been seen as having a sufficiently serious presence in Israel by the Israel Government. In such a highly-politicized society preoccupied with its security, foreign organizations must demonstrate that they have a significant role to play.

Tanenbaum, Gordis and Samuels had an important meeting with Prime Minister Shamir, during which they discussed AJC's contacts with officials of Greece, Poland, Austria and Germany. Shamir told them, "What you are doing is extremely important." They also met with Foreign Ministry officials responsible for Israel's relations with Europe, Africa and Asia, and discussed AJC's potential role in helping Israel address its central foreign policy concerns. Samuels was introduced to Foreign Ministry officials as AJC's "ambassador" to Israel.

Rabbi Tanenbaum expects those meetings to pay significant dividends for the agency.

George Szabad asked if AJC has relations or influence with the Likud Party.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that Likud Prime Minister Shamir's response to AJC could not have been more positive.

Mr. Szabad asked if Shamir shares our concern for pluralism.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that when Ted Ellenoff and David Gordis met with then-Prime Minister Peres to discuss co-sponsoring a conference on Israeli pluralism, Shamir responded instantly that he would encourage such an endeavor. Some of Shamir's advisers, however, were reluctant to get involved, so rather than become embroiled in an Israeli political issue, AJC opted for an academic co-sponsor - Hebrew University's Davis Institute. The conference will involve members of government from various parties, but not extremists who might attempt to sabotage it.

The AJC is in the process of building a cluster of Israelis to develop an indigenous ideology of pluralism, but is not trying to impose American pluralism on Israelis.

Rabbi Tanenbaum added that Shimon Samuels has already hosted a reception for Israeli notables in his home, which was attended by the Director-General of the Foreign Ministry. Samuels was encouraged to develop a broad spectrum of relationships.

David Langsam asked for a biography of Samuels.

Marc Tanenbaum responded, saying that Samuels' academic background is rooted in political science and international relations. He directed ADL's European operations in Paris, and also worked in Mexico and Central and South America. He is fluent in Hebrew, French, Spanish and English. He is an Israeli citizen and knows a great many Israelis, including media people. He has a good sense of the media, and used to sponsor regular luncheons with correspondents based in Paris.

Samuels will use his various skills to strengthen AJC's political and diplomatic presence in Israel. AJC's New York office will provide direction to make sure the agency's priorities are implemented in Jerusalem.

III. Update on South Africa

Robert Goodkind opened the discussion by outlining the policy statement on South Africa adopted by the NEC last November. This statement is divided into the following principle areas: (a) endorsement of the Lugar Bill; (b) AJC's opposition to disinvestment and support for penalties on companies that do not uphold fair employment practices; and (c) the South African Civil Rights and Education Project, which will aid disadvantaged black South Africans in areas such as civil rights and education.

With regard to the latter, Mr. Goodkind stated that we are presently waiting for information from Harry Schwarz and other leaders of the

South African Jewish community, who will suggest which institutions the AJC should support.

Mr. Goodkind then referred to a discussion with Harry Schwarz. Mr. Schwarz is quite pessimistic about the future of the South African Jewish community since they are in a very vulnerable position. Marc Tanenbaum suggested that it might be wise to establish a task force to meet with HIAS and discuss contingency plans to assist the South African Jewish community in case of emergency. (Such effects are already under way.)

In conclusion, Mr. Goodkind said that he was disturbed because in both the press release of the Statement on South Africa and the recent AJC Journal there was no mention of AJC's opposition to disinvestment. Mr. Goodkind asked the committee whether it was appropriate to highlight this information as a separate press release. Fred Hift responded that it was possible, since disinvestment was an important current concern. However, Miles Jaffe and Richard Maass disagreed with Mr. Hift and suggested that there would be a problem of perception if the policy opposing disinvestment was released as a separate item.

IV. Subcommittee on dissent from Israeli policy

Miles Jaffe began by noting that an idea had emerged at the previous day's Executive Council session to form a subcommittee to develop standards for criticizing Israeli policies to which we object, in light of the recent violence on the West Bank. Mr. Jaffe expressed his support for the idea.

Robert Goodkind said that the purpose of such a subcommittee would not be to seek occasions to pounce on Israel, but to express our concern, as a human rights organization, for human rights issues in Israel proper and in the administered territories. As an interested American Jewish group, we should have a lay body that is au courant on these issues. This group would, perhaps, be better prepared to react publicly in certain instances.

Miles Jaffe said that such a task would not be possible without developing explicit standards.

George Szabad suggested that the proposed subcommittee should consider whether the agency should even be issuing statements critical of Israel at all.

Leo Nevas noted that the Board of Governors had considered this issue in the past, on many occasions, and that the results of its discussions were inconclusive. There is a feeling now, due to recent events, that the issue should be readdressed. Circumstances, attitudes and concerns have changed. Now may be the time to reexamine the question as to whether critical statements should be issued, and if so, under what circumstances. The purpose of this exercise is to make recommendations

for consideration by the Board of Governors.

Maynard Wishner called the proposal to develop standards a time-consuming and useless exercise, as the criteria for issuing statements are well-known: Does it help or hurt? How will it be used? Does it affect our credibility among others?

Mr. Wishner agreed that there should be a lay group well-versed on Israeli human rights issues, and when that group feels the moment has come to issue a public statement, it should propose it to the Commission for consideration.

Miles Jaffe said that the effort to develop standards would be worthwhile. A systematic consideration of the problem by a small group of people may help the manner in which these events are defined and discussed.

Bob Jacobs said that such a method would not be conducive to a timely consideration of current events. By the time a decision is reached, the event under discussion will have been history.

David Hirschhorn agreed, saying that reactions must be to specific events, not theoretical cases. Abstract standards are not useful. In the most recent case of the Israeli army using lethal force to quell rock-throwing Palestinian demonstrators, our silence destroys our credibility as a human rights organization. The agency should be willing to be constructively critical.

Sidney Liskofsky noted that the AJC helped found the Association of Civil Rights in Israel, which could provide guidelines on the very questions being addressed by the Steering Committee.

George Gruen added that there had once been an AJC task force on solidarity and dissent in Israel-Diaspora relations. The AJC publicly called for a commission of inquiry following the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, supported the prosecution of Jonathan Pollard, and has stated its position during attempts to amend the Law of Return. Other cases were dealt with privately. Future cases should be examined in the context of previous experiences.

V. An Appraisal of the Current Situation in the Middle East

The committee was then addressed by Marrack Goulding, UN Undersecretary-General for Special Political Affairs. Mr. Goulding's off-the-record remarks dealt with the political obstacles to the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and his generally pessimistic assessment of prospects for peace. He then responded to questions regarding UN efforts to foster Middle East peace negotiations, developing appropriate means to deal with terrorism, and the Soviet role in the region.

VI. Report of AJC meeting with Dr. Karolos Papoulias, Foreign Minister

of Greece

Leo Nevas reported that as a result of Maynard Wishner's contacts with the Greek community of Chicago and Marc Tanenbaum's contacts with Greek diplomatic and religious officials in the U.S., a meeting was set up between AJC and the Greek Foreign Minister on December 1 in New York. Mr. Nevas, Mr. Wishner, Norman Alexander, Ted Ellenoff, David Gordis, Rabbi Tanenbaum, Bill Trosten and David Harris met with the Greek foreign minister, the director-general of the Greek foreign ministry, the Greek consul-general of New York and the Greek ambassador to Washington. (Mr. Nevas referred the members of the Steering Committee to the full report of their meeting in the information kits.)

Mr. Nevas said that what amazed him was that the Greek officials took a lot of criticism from the AJC officers and responded in a most cooperative manner. AJC noted Greece's voting record on human rights issues in the UN, and added that it is the only West European country without full diplomatic relations with Israel. Its relations with Israel, in fact, are of about equal diplomatic status to those with the PLO.

The attitude of the Greek officials was not at all hostile; on the contrary, it was cooperative. The ambassador was aware of Rabbi Tanenbaum's efforts with the Greek Orthodox church, as well as Greek-Jewish dialogue in Chicago. This gave the AJC a firm foundation from which to talk to the Greeks about other matters.

At the meeting, Mr. Nevas continued, Rabbi Tanenbaum suggested that the AJC and the Greek government embark on a joint effort to examine the history of Greek-Jewish relations -- one that would not ignore the existence of anti-Semitism in Greece, which the Greek officials did not wish to acknowledge. The officials responded enthusiastically to the overall proposal, and even suggested that it be held in Salonika, the historic center of Jewish life in Greece.

Miles Jaffe noted that the meeting Mr. Nevas described provides an important opening in connection with AJC's domestic work with ethnic groups. He suggested that chapters consider ways to apply it to their local efforts. The agency has now established significant contact and credibility with the Greek government, based in part on its interactions with Greek-Americans.

Marc Tanenbaum said that when he and Dr. Gordis were in Jerusalem, Prime Minister Shamir and members of the Foreign Ministry attached considerable importance to moving the Greek government to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel. Under Prime Minister Papandreu, Greece has made diplomatic gestures toward Israel, yet they have been paralleled by equal gestures toward the PLO.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that one of the most significant aspects of the discussion came when the Greek foreign minister said that he intends to make an official visit to Israel in 1987. It was also clear that the

Greek government regards the role of American Jews as significant -- in regard to both its relations with Greek-Americans and the U.S. government.

The Greek ambassador to the U.S. sent a report of the meeting to his government, and was subsequently given official approval to explore the possibility of co-sponsoring a major conference with AJC in Greece to examine the whole range of Greek-Jewish-Israeli relationships.

VII. IRD Mission to South America

Jacob Kovadloff announced that IRD's mission to South America has been postponed until the summer of 1987 due to scheduling conflicts. He stressed that the mission, which will visit Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, is especially important to those countries' Jewish communities at this time.

VIII. The Iran-U.S. Arms Crisis -- Implications for Israel and American Jewry

Miles Jaffe opened the discussion by saying that the issue was bound to be discussed at the Board of Governors meeting.

Mort Lowenthal noted that there had been a strongly worded op-ed in the New York Times by a Member of Knesset, in which he attacked President Reagan. Mr. Lowenthal felt that the author's scathing attack on Reagan might endanger the American Jewish community's relationship with the Administration.

Elmer Winter asked if AJC had issued any statement on the affair.

Marc Tanenbaum replied that following discussions with key staff and lay people, the agency decided not to issue any statement. A Jewish member of the President's Intelligence Committee advised us that we can do nothing useful -- and would probably be doing something harmful -- if we were to issue a statement. Further, no Jewish organization has the authority to say anything that will carry any weight; the principal actors in this case are the American, Israeli and Iranian governments.

Our policy is to say nothing until we have something useful to contribute. We will await the findings of the congressional investigating committees.

We have, however, taken a number of practical steps. Our Washington Office has contacted congressmen and State Department officials to determine the extent of scapegoating of Israel. We have also advised our area and foreign offices to monitor editorial treatment of Israel's role. Once we have gathered the data, we will systematically analyze it, and then discuss our findings with staff and lay bodies.

George Gruen noted the agency's concern for the remaining Jewish community in Iran, and said that there had been a number of factual

errors in press coverage of Iranian Jewry. The consensus among Jewish agencies dealing with Iranian Jews is to refrain from challenging these inaccuracies publicly, in order not to draw attention to the issue, which might endanger the community. The absence of AJC public statements on the situation of Iranian Jewry, Dr. Gruen concluded, is not due to a lack of knowledge or concern, but precisely the opposite.

In regard to the op-ed in the New York Times, Dr. Gruen said that it was unfortunate that its author, Yossi Sarid, was not identified, for he falls on the extreme left fringe of the Israeli political spectrum, and has always opposed the U.S.-Israeli relationship of strategic co-operation.

Gerald Jermias proposed that AJC send a delegation to Israel to urge top Israeli officials to tell their story directly to the American people.

Dr. Gruen noted that Shimon Peres had made a lengthy statement in the Knesset explaining the rationale for Israel's involvement in arms sales to Iran, and a denial of Israeli involvement in the diversion of funds to the contras.

Miles Jaffe asked the committee if there was any support for Mr. Jermias' proposal. Although there was no significant support in the committee, it was decided that the idea should be aired in the Board of Governors meeting.

IX. Poland

Marc Tanenbaum spoke to the Steering Committee regarding the recent controversy surrounding the decision to establish a Carmelite convent at Auschwitz.

Feeling that they lacked political influence, the leaders of European Jewry implored their American counterparts to intervene. As a result of a series of meetings held between Jewish leaders, Cracow Cardinal Marcharski and other Catholic authorities, the building of the convent has been suspended.

Rabbi Tanenbaum informed the Steering Committee that the larger issue that emerged from this controversy is the difference in perception that Jews and Poles have of Auschwitz. Jews view Auschwitz as the symbol of supreme Jewish martyrdom. Poles, however, view Auschwitz as the site where only Polish citizens were killed. Based on these differing perceptions, Rabbi Tanenbaum proposed that a symposium be held between Poles and Jews in Poland to discuss the meaning of Auschwitz for Jews, Poles and all mankind. Cardinal Marcharski, in a recent letter to Rabbi Tanenbaum, agreed with the proposal, and it is currently being reviewed by the Polish Catholic Church's Episcopate on Catholic-Jewish Relations.

(Minutes prepared by Harry Milkman and Jordana Schein-Levi)

* * *

FAX - 17

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 7, 1987

to ~~M. K. Batam~~
from Shimon Samuels

subject KNESSET DEBATE ON "LAW OF RETURN" STS

I met yesterday together with American Jewish Congress and ADL in the Prime Minister's Office with Eli Rubinstein on this question.

We seem to be over the hump until next week.

Last night, M.K.'s Uzi Batam, Ehud Olmert, and Avraham Shapira discussed it on T.V. and our point of view came out strong and clear.

Have arranged that Dick Hirsch join Ted, David and yourself, for dinner on Sunday, Jan. 11 at the King David Hotel, on the assumption that you will be with us by then.

Perhaps the Officer's Visit would be a good occasion for a release on this issue.

Best regards.

cc: George Gruen
Shula Bahat



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022
(212) 751-4000

Date: 12-22

To: Marc Tanenbaum

From: Eugene Du Bow, Director
Community Services Department

I think Zev's idea is
a very good one.

↓
David Harris,
let's discuss
Mark

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

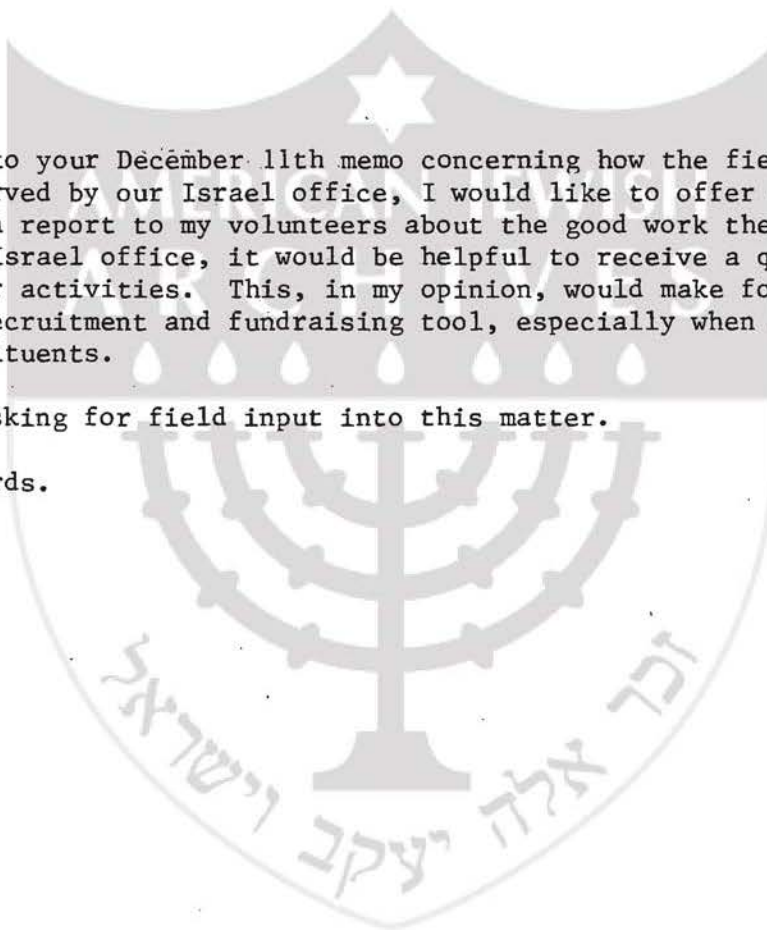
date December 17, 1986
to Gene DuBow
from Zev Kessler *ZK*
subject Israel Office

cc: Geri Rozanski
 George Gruen

In response to your December 11th memo concerning how the field might be better served by our Israel office, I would like to offer a suggestion. So that I can report to my volunteers about the good work the AJC is doing through its Israel office, it would be helpful to receive a quarterly report on their activities. This, in my opinion, would make for a fine membership recruitment and fundraising tool, especially when soliciting Jewish constituents.

Thanks for asking for field input into this matter.

Warmest regards.





The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
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212 751-4000

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National Executive Council

Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti

John Slawson

Bertram H. Gold

DATE: January 5, 1986

TO: Participants in Consultations in Israel

FROM: Ted Ellenoff

Enclosed is the tentative schedule for our four-day visit to Israel. When we arrive in Israel we will be receiving the final agenda as well as biographical information about the people we will be meeting.

A memo to Shimon Samuels regarding AJC's work in Israel is also enclosed. You may find it useful as background for our discussion with him on Monday, January 12th.

Finally, you will find a list of the participants with their dates of arrival and departure.

Bon Voyage!

TE/ha
Enclosure

F A X
TO JERUSALEM OFFICE

RICHARD MAASS
270 MARTINE AVENUE
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y. 10601
(914) 761-6484

Address Reply To:
P. O. Box 270
White Plains, N. Y. 10602

SCHEDULE OF RICHARD MAASS AND
ABRAHAM SILVERSTEIN IN ISRAEL

Leave N. Y. on Saturday, Jan. 10 on El Al at 10:40 P.M.
Arrive Tel Aviv on Sunday, Jan. 11 at approximately 1 P.M.

Leave Tel Aviv on Sunday, Jan. 18 on TWA, 9-10 A.M.
Arrive JFK on Sunday, Jan. 18 at 1 P.M.

We would like to make the following appointments at the times suggested and arrangements as follows:

Appointments to be made by Mr. Samuels of AJC :

1. For RM & AS with Abe Harmon, late Sun. afternoon, Jan. 11 or in the morning of Mon. , Jan. 12
2. For RM only with Justice Haim Cohen, Mon. P.M. (Jan. 12)
3. For AS only with Justice Benj. Halevy, Mon. P.M. " "
4. For RM & AS with Abraham Burg on Tues. A.M. if possible.
5. For RM only with Bartov in Tel Aviv Tues. PM (after Burg)

Appointments to be made by Gen. Ben Porat:

1. For RM & AS with Akiva Levinsky on Mon. , Jan. 12, A.M. if possible.
2. For RM & AS with Ariye Dulcin, whenever the time can be fitted in.
3. For RM & AS with Victor Grayewsky on Tues. , Jan. 13 A.M.
4. For RM & AS with Moshe Arens on Tues. , Jan. 13 if possible.
5. For RM & AS with Harry Horowitz on Wed. , Jan. 14 A.M.

Appointments to be made by Abe S. with many academics, incl. the following:

1. Michael Zandt
2. Adin Steinsaltz
3. Prof. Ohrbach
4. David Yutan in Tel Aviv

Finally, of course, we would like to spend time with Zalman Abramov if he is in the country, as well with Bernie Resnikoff and Mr. Samuels.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 6, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Mort Yarmon
subject

Jonathan Braun, who you may remember was managing editor of Jewish Week and now is in the oil-exploration business in Israel, phoned this morning with a suggestion.

He has a friend named Dr. Ariel Merari, professor of psychology at Tel Aviv University, who is one of the great experts on terrorism. Merari has established a data bank on terrorism that, according to Jonathan, is one of the best around. His students are continuously updating the material. Jonathan adds that Merari's material is not being used anywhere near to its potential, and he and Merari wondered if there isn't something here for AJC to get involved with.

If on your trip next week you have some time, you might want to contact Merari. He is at the Jaffe Center, 4th floor in the Gilman Building, at Tel Aviv University. Phone: 03-420-200.

Through making available this material, AJC might take a big step getting into the anti-terrorism business.

Hunt.

MY:ir

PARTICIPANTS

CONSULTATIONS IN ISRAEL
JANUARY 12-15, 1987

King David Hotel: phone # 02-221111
fax # 232-303

Sholom Comay -- arriving January 10 -

Ted and Lois Ellenoff -- arriving January 10 - TWA #884
at 1:00 PM

Ed Elson -- arriving January 7 - Pan Am #114 at 4:10 PM

Howard and Barbara Gilbert -- arriving January 8 -
TWA #804 at 3:00 PM

David Gordis -- arriving January 11 - Iberia #888 at 4:20 PM

Charlotte and Alex Holstein -- arriving January 10 -
TWA #884 at 1:00 PM

Robert Jacobs -- arriving January 10 - TWA #884 at 1:00 PM

Marc Tanenbaum



5th fl. 502

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 30, 1986
to Shimon Samuels
from George E. Gruen *GEH*
subject Some Guidelines and Suggestions

Welcome back to Jerusalem! I hope it will be a good omen that as the Jewish world begins a New Year, you are coming to inaugurate a new era for the AJC's Office in Israel. As Rosh Hashanah is a time for Heshbon Hanefesh, I thought it would be useful to take stock of where we are and offer some guidelines and suggestions as you begin this important assignment.

To look first at the asset side of the balance sheet, you have four things in your favor:

1. Your own knowledge and wealth of experience in Israel and abroad.
2. The AJC's 80-year record of achievement in Jewish and international affairs.
3. The pioneering work of the AJC's Israel Office in the field of intergroup and Israel-Diaspora relations over nearly 25 years.
4. My personal and professional commitment as Director of Israel and Middle East Affairs to work closely with you to help make the Israel Office as effective and significant an "embassy" for AJC as possible. I believe that this objective is shared by my professional colleagues and many of AJC's lay leaders as well.

As against these assets you will also be facing certain liabilities and "sins of omission."

1. There has recently been a virtual hiatus in the activity of the AJC Israel Office and others have sought to fill the vacuum.
2. AJC no longer enjoys a unique standing because more and more American Jewish national and local groups (e.g. the Los Angeles and San Francisco federations) have in recent years opened offices in Israel.
3. There are other groups in Israel working in the areas of human

rights and intergroup relations whose budgets and staff now far exceed that available to AJC's Israel Office.

4. While we still hope eventually to expand the scope of AJC's presence in Israel through the creation of an Institute of Human Relations in Israel to be housed in physical facilities more suitable for holding conferences than the current cramped quarters, the present reality you and we have to live with is a limited staff and a modest budget.

These constraints lead to several practical conclusions.

AJC as Catalyst and Facilitator.

1. You can not be expected to do everything and will have to be selective in making new commitments. AJC has traditionally gotten "more bang for the buck" by acting as a catalyst, co-ordinator and convenor of individuals and groups to focus on emerging issues in intergroup and Israel-U.S. relations. We believe that a primary mission for the Jerusalem Office in the coming year will be to involve the AJC prominently in efforts to promote the values of pluralism and to lessen polarization in intergroup relations within Israel -- religious-secular, Ashkenazi-Sephardi, Arab-Jewish, interreligious -- and in Israel-Diaspora relations. (I am sending you a separate memo outlining a study currently being prepared jointly for us and the International Sephardic Education Foundation by Professor Sammy Smooha of Haifa University on ethnic relations and pluralism in Israel. It may well serve as a basis for a major conference or consultation.)

AJC's Israel Office, in short, should be seen as the primary promoter of the values of American Jewry in Israel: commitment to democracy in which diversity is not only tolerated, but pluralism is considered a positive and enriching social value.

Evaluation of Existing Organizations and Programs

2. You will want to re-evaluate AJC's existing relationships with such organizations as the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), the Israel Interfaith Association, Interns for Peace, Neve Shalom and the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute to determine the most effective areas and means of cooperation. You will also want to consult with the New Israel Fund about their inventory and evaluation of these and numerous other groups, such as the Golda Meir Institute, that have sprung up in the field of intergroup relations. (The New Israel Fund is spending over \$1 million this year and plans to spend \$1.9 million next year. They are giving \$30,000 to ACRI and \$60,000 to its new Israel Legal Defense Center. The Ford Foundation and US AID are other donors of major grants to groups such as Van Leer.)

Fulfilling the Ambassadorial Function

3. In terms of the ambassadorial function of the office, a top priority is to establish and cultivate contacts with the major factors in Israeli society relevant to our work. This means the top professionals and key aides in the Prime Minister's office and in other ministries. In the Foreign Ministry this includes not only the divisions dealing with North America and Diaspora Affairs, but the heads of other geographic departments and the research and information divisions. The aim is multifold: to acquaint them with AJC programs and concerns, to gather information on Israeli policy and raw research materials we can use for our own reports and analyses (e.g. Arab anti-Semitic statements, threats to endangered Jewish communities, Japan and the Arab boycott), to alert us to upcoming issues before they make the headlines and to determine ways in which we may be helpful to Israel through our international contacts. The U.S. Embassy and the consulate in Jerusalem, key foreign correspondents and Israeli political writers, the major think tanks and institutes of the various universities are naturally also sources and resources worth cultivating. While you could spend all your time at the Knesset, periodic meetings with members of the foreign relations and defense committee should certainly prove useful. There may also arise occasions when it would be appropriate for you to testify on behalf of AJC on an issue of our concern, such as Who is a Jew. (Or if that is not possible, to have a friendly MK introduce our views in the Knesset debate.)

Special Reports and Special Events

4. We expect that the information you have garnered from these contacts will be reflected in insider "intelligence" briefings for AJC as well as background analyses and reports for general circulation. They may also give you suggestions for papers to be commissioned from outside sources and forthcoming conferences in which AJC lay leaders and/or staff should be involved. If you alert us to the forthcoming visit of a foreign dignitary to Israel we may be able to help provide an opportunity for AJC programming. For example, through Marc Tanenbaum's special relationship with Cardinal O'Connor, it should be possible to arrange for AJC to host an interreligious convocation and reception for him. Conversely, if you can inform us of planned visits to the United States by prominent academics, political and cultural figures who you feel would be of special interest to AJC, we can arrange suitable meetings for them in New York and/or the chapters.

Not only individual visitors but special events can be the basis for creative programming. For example, the fact that we are entering the Ben-Gurion Centennial Year should enable us to develop conferences or consultations both here and in Israel focusing on the special relationship between Jacob Blaustein, then president of AJC, and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and the guidelines they developed for the proper relations between officials of the State of Israel and the Jewish communities of the United States -- and by extension, other Diaspora

communities. In the discussions that Bert Gold and I had with Jack Spitzer, chairman, and Dr. Benjamin Hirsch, executive director of the Centennial Committee in the U.S., we agreed that it would be appropriate for AJC to focus not only on the 1950 Agreement as a historical event, but also on the developments in Israel-U.S. Jewish relations on the ideological and practical level from 1950 until today and the prospects for the future. Bert suggested a day and a half conference here immediately preceding the Annual Meeting in May. We left open for your discussions with Rechavam Amir, the executive director in Israel, the timing and format of the event or series of events in Israel. It would obviously be wise to try to make it at a time when members of the Blaustein family and some other AJC leaders could be present.

Increasing Mutual Understanding Between American Jews and Israelis

5. The Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations (IAJIR) has been doing important work in this area, which has been a natural priority for AJC's Office in Israel since its inception. Bert Gold assures me that Mordechai Gazit is prepared to establish a collegial working relationship with you and Bert is eager to integrate IAJIR's work fully within the framework of AJC's Israel program. He suggests that you speak with Gazit and with Zalman Abramov, long-time AJC friend and currently chairman of IAJIR's Israeli Advisory Board, about practical cooperation. Indeed, Bert suggests that we take over the follow-up on some projects initiated by IAJIR. One of these is the younger Israelis' missions to the U.S. As I noted in my memo to David Gordis and Theodore Ellenoff before their visit to Israel in June, "I think much more can be done without too much additional input of time and money to maintain ongoing AJC contact with the 'alumni' of these missions to develop them into an informal network for AJC within Israeli society. Over the long run, cultivation of the potential Israeli leaders can prove to be an effective means for increasing popular understanding of AJC as an organization and for disseminating our philosophy and ideas within the younger generation."

You may also wish to examine the feasibility of creating a "Friends of the American Jewish Committee" or some similar body of Israelis from across the political spectrum who share some of our basic concerns and interests. The Advisory Board of the IAJIR is a nucleus, but the scope of the group I have in mind is broader. I believe there are quite a number of Israelis, including some participants in the Israel Forum, who would be interested in supporting our work not only with their ideas but even with some financial contributions. (You should check what ADL, the AJCongress and other American groups have managed to do in this regard.)

Another subject you should explore with Gazit is the current status of the proposal initiated by IAJIR and the Ministry of Education to evaluate what is being taught about the Diaspora in Israeli schools and ways to enrich the curriculum. (This is to update the study for AJC done by Reuven Surkis many years ago.) Similarly, among the proposals submitted to AJC in June by Aluf Hareven as part of Van Leer's education

for democracy project was the inclusion in the school curriculum of materials demonstrating the pluralistic character of Jewish life in the United States and other Diaspora communities. Possibly work on this could be combined with the Ministry of Education project.

Enhancing the Effectiveness of Tefutsot Israel

6. As you will see from the list of topics covered by Tefutsot Israel in recent years, this quarterly has provided indispensable information for the Hebrew reader on major issues of concern to American Jewry and other Jewish communities around the world, ranging from Black-Jewish relations in the U.S., to the varieties of Jewish religious expression, and informal Jewish educational efforts in the Diaspora and Israel. To enhance the effectiveness of Tefutsot I would recommend that in planning future issues arrangements should be made for a symposium in Israel on the subject of the issue, including possibly bringing over some of the key authors whose articles are included so that they can have a face-to-face interchange with their Israeli counterparts. The discussion should be held in a public forum and videotaped for possible use on educational television. The edited proceedings could then become part of a subsequent issue of Tefutsot.

Involvement of AJC Lay Leaders and Professional Staff

7. Whether in planning future issues of Tefutsot or of specific conferences in Israel, we should give strong consideration to incorporating the idea of Robert Goodkind that the expertise of the AJC's national commissions be utilized in areas that have an Israeli application. Thus, for example, we should build into the program of the Israel Office on a semi-annual or annual basis an opportunity for members of the Jewish Communal Affairs Commission to participate in a conference in Israel on Jewish education or changing Jewish family patterns, and the next year the National Affairs Commission or the Institute for Pluralism and Group Identity to participate in discussions of ethnicity, etc. There are obviously also topics of mutual concern in Israel for the International and Interreligious Commissions.

In addition to such formally structured conferences we should do more to promote and to utilize the visits to Israel of individual AJC lay leaders and staff with particular expertise, e.g., a Hyman Book-binder, by arranging lectures, informal meetings and other settings for getting greater visibility for them, and through them, for the AJC as a major factor on key American and international issues.

Upgrading Communication

8. The medium may not be the message, but without the proper medium, namely Hebrew, much of our message is lost in Israel. I know that David Gordis has already asked that major AJC press releases

relating to Israel be issued in Hebrew as well as English. I would recommend doing this on a selective basis for other key national and international issues in which AJC is involved and which we wish the Israelis to know about. Relying on the American correspondents for Israeli papers in the U.S. is too chancy. We need to upgrade the electronic communication facilities we have not only with Israel but with all our overseas and area offices. I know that you are also convinced of the importance of this. If you had an on-line computer capacity and not simply a FAX connection, we could greatly enhance the speed and efficiency of communication, eliminating unnecessary duplicate keyboard inputting of information by word processing in New York of the Israeli Press Highlights and other special reports we receive from the Israel Office for editing here. The same holds true for our national backgrounders and statements that could be printed out directly off a computer terminal in Israel. FAXed material is not of camera-ready quality.

Improving Coordination of AJC's Israel-Related Programs

9. As should be obvious from the above, virtually every AJC program department, the IAJIR and many chapters are involved in programs in Israel itself or that have a potential relevance for our work in Israel. To avoid duplication and confusion and to maximize the synergistic effect of our joint efforts, we plan now to re-establish a coordinating mechanism such as the committee that used to meet about once a month. The committee -- on which all the relevant departments and institutes were represented -- reviewed progress of current programs, evaluated new projects and exchanged ideas about ways in which an interdisciplinary approach could strengthen a specific project, as well as to assign responsibility for followup. The committee also served the useful function of shielding the director of the Israel Office from numerous, uncoordinated and excessive demands. For example, we required that all field office requests for services to visiting AJC members were to be relayed through the Israel & Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department and were to be accompanied by a confidential questionnaire filled out by the area director indicating the person's importance in the community and significance for AJC. I intend to send out a reminder to the field shortly. If you have specific questions you want included in the questionnaire, please let me know quickly.

I welcome your comments and suggestions.

Again kind regards and best wishes for the New Year to you and your family.

cc: David Gordis
Marc Tanenbaum
7964 (IRD-9)/og