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AMERICAN JEWS: EXPRESSING DISSENT

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This is a paper on the question of what, if any forms of public dissent from official Israeli policies or positions are appropriate for American Jews. This is an important, but certainly not an abstract question, and it will be useful for me to describe briefly the perspective from which I write, so that it will be clear what this paper is and is not about.

I am a committed Jew -- committed to the religion, the tradition, and, most pertinent for purposes of this paper, committed to the State of Israel. My ties with Israel are very close; they are both personal and professional. I visit the Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University annually and words cannot express how close is the friendship I and my family share with a remarkably large number of Israeli economists and their families. These relationships go back many years and are among the most important in our lives.

Many (not all) of our close Israeli friends have been disturbed for a long time by what they consider to be the disastrous policies of their government as regards settlement and eventual annexation of the West Bank. They also oppose the Lebanese War, but do so, I think, largely because it has become plain that that adventure was but a part of the larger, West Bank policy of the present government. My friends have been very active in Peace Now; at their urging, I am now active on behalf of that group in

the United States.

In broad outline, then, the position I take as regards Israeli policy is that of Peace Now (for which, I hasten to add, I do not speak officially). I regard the policy of annexation which is being pursued by the government as a disastrous one, whose success would tragically alter the nature of Israel. If Israel incorporates a large Arab population into citizenship, it will remain democratic, but it cannot remain Jewish. If it attempts to keep that population in permanent subjection, then it can remain nominally Jewish, but it cannot remain democratic. Further, in that event it will have to engage, as it is already beginning to engage, in actions which are not consistent with Jewish values and which will brutalize the Israelis themselves. A similar result will follow from policies which encourage the West Bank Arabs to leave.

I am not naive about this. I am very well aware that there is a serious security problem. Neither I nor my friends advocate simply handing over the West Bank to the Arabs so that a Palestinian state can be established there. Without a solution of the security problem, there can be no resolution of the West Bank issue, and that problem is not an easy one. The failure to solve it, or even to attempt a solution lies on Arab, not Israeli shoulders. But it is also true that without a resolution of the West Bank issue there can be no solution of the security problem. While the territory ought not to be surrendered save in return for a secure peace, it is truly naive to believe that a secure peace can ever be achieved without territorial compromise. While there is currently nobody on the other side with whom to nego-

tiate, it will be a tragedy if Israel continues in a policy which makes such negotiations impossible should that situation change.

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This paper, however, is not directly about these issues. Nor is it about the historical rights and wrongs, the bias of the western news media, or the failure of western governments to condemn terrorism. Those are all important issues and they have a lot to do with what Jews should and do say to those who display little understanding of the history or the realities of the situation. But I am here concerned with what Jews should say to each other, more particularly with the question of how, if at all, American Jews who take positions similar to mine should attempt to make that fact known in the hope of influencing the decisions of their Israeli brothers and sisters. This paper is addressed to them.

It is clear, of course, that the expression of such dissent raises special problems for American Jews. Whereas it is possible -- indeed desirable -- for dissenting Israelis to take part in the Israeli political process, either actually in politics or through articles, speeches, and demonstrations, the avenues of expression open to American Jews are narrower. More important, there are serious arguments against the public expression of dissent by American Jews; indeed, there are many who regard such expression as inappropriate or even harmful.

The first argument one hears as to why American Jews should suppress any public manifestation of dissent runs as follows: American Jews have no business mixing in Israeli politics. We do not live in Israel. It is for Israelis to decide their own actions and their own fate. Those who have not had the vision

or, perhaps, the courage to make Aliyah and who live securely in the United States have no business dictating to those whose lives are on the front line. Decisions made in Israel may affect American Jews emotionally, but they will not be matters of life and death to us as they may be to our Israeli brothers and sisters.

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This, at least at first sight, is a powerful argument --although I venture to suggest that its power largely comes from its hidden premise that security considerations are the only ones involved. Certainly, it is an argument with strong roots in the history of the Zionist movement, for it is reminiscent of the position that life in the <u>Galut</u> is necessarily inferior and that only in Israel can Jews lead a full and meaningful Jewish life. That view, indeed, still plays an important role in Zionist ideology. Its echoes are found in statements that the population time-bomb which is ticking on the West Bank will be defused by massive immigration from the West and in the refusal to face the undeniable fact that, in the United States, at least, there is a vibrant, alive, Jewish community which, whatever its problems, is obviously going to continue as an important force in Jewish affairs.

For the fact is that American Jews are necessarily involved in Israeli affairs, and the centrality of Israel does not mean the neutrality of the Diaspora. "We are one," our slogan proclaims, and to deny to American Jews the right to express themselves in any form is to deny that slogan -- to say that we can only truly be one if we all live in <u>Eretz Yisroel</u>.

At a less grand level, it is important to realize that American Jews cannot refrain from involvement in Israeli politics. If we are silent, if we merely continue to send our money through the usual charitable channel and take no other action, if the only public position we take is that of lobbying the American government against putting pressure on Israel, selling AWACs to the Saudis, or dealing with the PLO, then the Begin government uses our actions and our inactions within Israel to claim our support. The artificial unity of American Jews who -- for whatever reason -- hesitate to criticize the actions and policies of the Israeli government is used by that government in its internal politics to claim that American Jews in fact are behind it. If we disagree, we must express that disagreement in some form. If we do not, we are indeed mixing in Israeli politics -- and on the wrong side.

To be sure, American Jews may very properly hesitate before making public pronouncements or even offering advice on issues which are matters of life and death to Israelis and not to themselves. On such matters, the position that Israelis and even the Israeli government knows best is extremely convincing. But the issues on which American Jews with long-standing commitments to Israel are likely to disagree with the Begin government are not generally, or even fundamentally, matters of <u>short-run</u> Israeli security. Indeed, there is not much real disagreement among Israelis on such matters. The overwhelming majority of Israelis, from Geula Cohen to Peace Now, agree with the proposition that any peace settlement must be a secure one. Moreover, noone

supposes that a secure settlement will be an easy one to devise or achieve. We are not talking of handing over the West Bank to the PLO for an irridentist state bent on the destruction of Israel.

In a sense, if short-run security were all that were involved, there would be little for me to talk about. But that is not all that is involved here, even though supporters of the present government occasionally confuse the issue. The principal security issue over which there is disagreement is, as I have indicated, a long-run one. It is the issue of whether there can ever be a secure Israel while a growing and restless Arab population is held in subjection and the West Bank annexed. Further, the remaining issues over which disagreement arises are largely moral ones; as I have suggested, they relate to the character of Israel and what is happening to it.

To see how misleading is the view that short-run security considerations are all that are at stake, it is merely necessary to listen to the statements of the Israeli government itself. If one does this, it is painfully obvious that the Begin government's policies on the West Bank are not solely or even primarily dictated by short-run security considerations. That government is not going to give up Judaea and Samaria in return for a peace agreement. To doubt that is to refuse to take Begin and his Party at their word -- a word which has remained consistent for many years.

No, the issues over which dissent arises are not short-run security ones, and, even if we were still predisposed to believe

that Israelis must know best about them, they are not issues on which Israelis are united. If the silence and Israel-as-usual attitude of American Jews who truly disagree is taken by the government as a sign of support, how disheartening that must be for the many, many Israelis who feel as we do. To take an outstanding example, when the Begin cabinet at first refused to convene an investigation into the massacres in Sabra and Shatilla, their mind was changed largely by the actions of the nearly half-million Israelis who poured into the streets of Tel Aviv. Those demonstrators showed that the soul of Israel was alive. How shameful it would have been had American Jews, by their silence failed to offer them support. Yet American Jews, by their silence on other issues, equally involving the soul of Israel but not so dramatic as those of last September, fail their Israeli brothers and allow themselves to be co-opted by the government.

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The second argument that is advanced as a reason for American Jews not to express public dissent relates not so much to politics and decisions in Israel, but rather to politics and decisions in the United States. By public dissent, may we not give comfort to the enemies of Israel? By failing to show a united front, may we not weaken support for Israel here at home, both in the public at large and, more especially, in Congress? We may be uncomfortable when others speak of the "Jewish lobby," but that lobby is very real, all the same. To be sure, its power often seems like the Emperor's new clothes and, on Israel-related issues, Jews seem to wield political influence out of all proportion to their numbers or campaign contributions. That influence

comes very largely from being able to present a united front. Does not the public expression of dissent carry with it the danger that by exhibiting disunity, we may reveal that the Emperor in fact has no clothes on after all?

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This, too, is an argument that must be taken seriously -although it perhaps bears more on the <u>forms</u> in which dissent should appropriately be expressed than on the question of whether it should be expressed at all. The support of the people of the United States and of its government is of vital importance to Israel and, indeed, to American Jews. To risk it would be no light thing.

But does the public expression of dissent by American Jews really risk the loss of that support? In part, of course, that may depend on how that dissent is expressed, and I shall argue a bit later that the most effective means of dissent are not in any case in the pages of the <u>New York Times</u> or in other actions directly involving the non-Jewish community of the United States. But put that aside for the moment and let us consider the consequences of it becoming known to the Congress that American Jews really are not united in support of the Begin government's West Bank policy? Would that really be so bad?

I believe that the fear that support for Israel will be seriously weakened in this way is greatly exaggerated. In the first place, support for Israel's right to exist, support for Israel as a democracy, support for Israel as an American ally is quite widespread among our non-Jewish countrymen. The experience of the oil crisis and the Tow Kippur War should have taught us

that Jews tend to underestimate the extent of that support among non-Jews. What tends to weaken that support -- both in the public at large and especially in the Congress -- is the behavior of the present government of Israel, which more and more allows itself to be seen as preempting the traditional Arab role of the principal obstacle to peace. It is not at all plain to me that American Jews, by hiding their disagreement with the Begin government on the very issues on which non-Jews are also likely to disagree are contributing very much to maintaining American support for Israel.

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Let me make a closely related point. I find it hard to believe that American Jewish leaders can really be convincing when representing to Congress that American Jews are squarely behind the Begin government on issues where that plainly is not Even if they can be convincing on such occasions, surely, 50. the effectiveness of the American Jewish community will be greater if that community speaks out with a united voice on those issues and precisely those issues on which it really is united. Will not our Senators and Representatives be more inclined to take us seriously when we really do protest on matters affecting Israeli security if we do not also attempt to make the same noise on occasions that do not? I do not believe that it is possible (or even desirable) that the American government and the American Congress should support every move of the Israeli government. Surely, American Jews are likely to be more credible when we lobby our government on those issues on which there can be and is no disunity than if we attempt to apply the same pressure at every turn.

Despite this, I do believe that there is some danger here, although not enough to warrant stifling dissent. That danger is one factor to bear in mind in considering the appropriate and effective forms which dissent should take. As I have already suggested, however, I believe that the most effective forms of dissent are also those which run little risk of alienating American support. To the question of what those forms are, I now turn.

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The expression of dissent can involve taking actions which one would not otherwise take, and it can involve refraining from actions normally undertaken. It can involve words, and it can involve money. I begin with words.

Individual American Jews who disagree with the policies of the Begin government have a rather limited number of outlets in the expression of that disagreement as individuals. We can write to Mr. Begin, to the Israeli ambassador, or to other Israeli representatives. We can join in taking out advertisements in American newspapers. We can, possibly, do the same in Israeli newspapers. If we are particularly articulate or prominent, we can publish letters or even articles in either the American or the Israeli press.

I do not believe that any of these outlets is likely to prove very effective, and some of them are not readily available to most individual American Jews. Letters of protest sent to officials of the Israeli government provide the easiest outlet. I am reasonably certain that they get read; I am equally certain

that they are generally ignored. While it is undoubtedly true that a flood of such letters would be noticed, the capacity for self-delusion of the current Israeli government is sufficiently great, and the possibilities of producing such a flood sufficient ily small, that without the active support and participation of communal organizations, individual letter writing is not likely to accomplish more than individual catharsis. (It may very well be, of course, that there are no effective means of protest, but I think there are more effective ones than this, although the writing of such letters is a good deal better than silence.)

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What about advertisements in newspapers? These, of course, are too expensive for individuals, but they are certainly not beyond the reach of informally organized groups. Further, it is sometimes possible to get space in the letters-to-the-editor column. Here I want to distinguish between ads and letters in the Israeli press and ads and letters placed in the usual organ, the <u>New York Times</u>. I have great hesitation in recommending an ad campaign in the <u>Times</u>. My doubts about the wisdom or the efficacy of such ads stem from more than one source.

I begin with the most practical of reasons. The <u>Times</u>, of course, plays a special role in the life of American intellectuals. (I remember when its staff was on strike thinking that nobody could actually die, since the <u>Times</u> was not publishing obituaries.) There is a great sense of accomplishment and selfimportant congratulation about the publishing of a <u>Times</u> ad or letter on a public issue. Intellectuals -- perhaps particularly academics -- love to believe that they are so important that they

need only announce their position to have a real effect.

The truth, however, is that the people whose behavior we hope (perhaps vainly) to affect are in Israel. It seems very doubtful that the publication in the American press of occasional dissenting letters or ads will do much more than advertise the existence of dissenting intellectuals -- a possibly worthwhile enterprise, but one of limited value. Moreover, those who place ads in the Times are not merely those with long-term records of support for Israel. It has been an occasional source of embarrassment for me since I embarked on the course which has led to this paper that I can be mistakenly taken to be in the same camp as many who have never cared about Israel except to criticize her and others with whose positions I generally do not agree. Yet such people are quick to rush to the Times. It seems to me that, if we are to have any effect by our dissent, the fact that longterm, active supporters of Israel among American Jews have come to speak out in disagreement has to be noticed. I do not believe that Israeli readers of the Times generally bother to make such distinctions through careful analysis of names.

Furthermore, there is another problem. To the extent that the public expression of dissent by American Jews runs any risk of weakening general American support for Israel, that risk is greatest when the dissent is expressed in an American non-Jewish context. Even if one believes, as I do, that such a risk is quite small, one must take into account that many people do not agree with that assessment. Placing a dissenting ad or letter in the general American press, therefore, runs a different, and more

substantial risk -- the risk of antagonizing those Jews and Israelis whose behavior one wishes to influence and who perceive ones actions as merely divisive, if not positively dangerous. This factor makes the efficacy of such ads guite dubious.

That is not to say that such ads or letters should never be placed. There are occasions, such as the failure of the Begin government to convene a commission of inquiry, on which it is imperative to act very publicly and very quickly. There are other occasions on which statements made or ads placed by Israel's enemies require rebuttal. But I do not see the pages of the <u>Times</u> or other general American newspapers as appropriate and effective vehicles for the expression of dissent by Jews who have been committed to Israel. Expression in that form should take place sparingly.

The same arguments, however, do not apply to publication in American Jewish publications, and certainly not to publication in the Israeli press. The taking of ads or the publishing of articles or letters in such journals as <u>Moment</u> does not, I think, carry with it the same risk of being seen to wash the family linen in public as does publication in the <u>Times</u>. Moreover, the appearance of statements by dissenting American Jews in the <u>Israeli</u> press is still not so usual an event as to go unnoticed by Israelis. The very fact that American Jews take the trouble to speak out in Israel rather than in American newspapers gives them a certain credibility as supporters of Israel and distinguishes them from those non-supporters who crowd the pages of the <u>Times</u> at every opportunity.

I am, of course, well aware that the publication of dissent

in Jewish or Israeli media can lead to its publication in the general press. In my own case, the publication of a piece in Moment led directly to my being called and interviewed by a reporter for the Wall Street Journal who correctly and courteously pointed out that, since he would write about me in any case, my only choice was to try to see that he represented my views fairly. I cannot pretend that I was altogether happy about this, even though the resulting response to me personally was overwhelmingly favorable, and even though it gave my dissent more publicity in Israel and among Jews than I could otherwise have hoped for. Nevertheless, I do not believe that I weakened Israel's position among non-Jews (any such weakening came, I should suppose, from the embarrassing posturing of semi-official fundraisers in the same article). In any event, I believe that the taking of such a risk was justified. I cannot subscribe to the position that American Jews must just shut up altogether for fear the govim may hear about it.

Such activities as those I have been discussing, however, are not readily available to most people -- certainly not as a regular thing. The fact is that most individuals do not themselves speak with a loud enough voice to make themselves heard. While individual ads and letters in the Jewish or Israeli press may be useful, it is hard to keep on producing them in sufficient numbers to make much difference.

What applies to individuals, however, does not always apply to the organizations to which they belong. Individual dissenting Jews may not be able to speak loudly enough to be heard, but

dissenting Jewish organizations have a much better chance. That is so whether such dissent is expressed in newspaper advertisements or directly in letters to the Israeli government. It thus seems to me that the verbal way in which dissenting American Jews can have the most effect is through the organizations to which they belong.

Let me be more specific. For too long, American Jewish organizations and their leaders have tended to give unquestioning support to whatever Israeli government was in power. That was true in the days of Labor and, with rare exceptions, it remains true today. Looking back, we see that this was always a mistake. As I have tried to indicate, it is guite important to differentiate between support for the country and support for the country's particular leaders and policies. Yet the habit of welcoming and publicly applauding Israeli leaders is hard to break. We welcome Menachem Begin and -- at least until recently -- even Ariel Sharon just the way we used to welcome Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan. Neither set of people is or was entitled to such uncritical welcome where enthusiasm for their status as symbolic of Israel is confused with support for their particular policies. One of the things that dissenting American Jews really can do is to try to see to it that visits by members of the Begin government to meetings of American Jewish organizations are not occasions devoid of questions and criticism.

That sounds as though I am calling for demonstrations at such meetings. I am not opposed to such demonstrations, but I do not regard them as the most effective way. Demonstrations at such affairs tend to promote counter-demonstrations and tend to

be minimized by the Israeli visitors involved, particularly when their organizational hosts attempt to smooth things over with a particularly warm welcome.

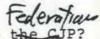
No, I am calling for criticism within and even criticism by American Jewish organizations. I want those American Jews who dissent to work within their organizations to bring that about. I want it to be the case that when Begin comes to this country he cannot say that the only criticism he encountered was from a handful of demonstrators or a room full of professors, few of whom have ever seriously been involved in the Jewish community, while being supported by those who really seem to count. I want it to be plain that those who are active in the community also dissent, and, even though I am sure that many of them do not, I think it important that the organizations be prevented from papering over differences to present an apparently united front. To take a particular example, I want Israel Bonds not only to feel that a visit by Ariel Sharon must be handled with a great deal of secrecy; I want them to understand that there are active Jews who regard it as a disgrace that he should have been invited by them at all following the report of the commission on the massacres in the camps.

There is no need to leave this task to others and no need to wait for a Begin visit to an organization of which one happens to be a member. I have read this paper at two meetings, the first sponsored by the Northeast Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the American Reform Zionist Associa-

tion, as well as by my own synagogue, Temple Isaiah of Lexington, Massachusetts, and the second sponsored by the American Jewish Congress. I see no reason why each of these bodies should not at least consider resolutions on the West Bank and related matters. These are subjects which directly concern synagogue Jews in terms of the moral and <u>Jewish</u> character of Israel; they obviously concern zionists. Even though protest resolutions may not be passed, if there is a large enough body of opinion behind their introduction, the very fact that such organizations are seriously debating such issues will get noticed and will itself be a gain.

Individual synagogues can also play an important role. I can think of no more appropriate activity for a Social Action Committee than the organization of dissent. We have seen, and many of us have signed petitions for a nuclear freeze. It seems to me to be both appropriate and effective for the synagogues to promote a petition for a <u>settlement</u> freeze. Surely, by working through the synagogues, we can collect enough signatures to get noticed when those petitions are sent to the Israeli government and publicized in the Israeli press. What we cannot do alone, we must use our organizational strengths to do.

Verbal action alone, however, is not enough, and I now turn to the inevitable subject of money. I have already pointed out that if American Jews merely continue in established patterns, then our silence, and, indeed, our continued donations are taken as a sign of support by the Begin government. Moreover, our funds, donated through local Federations and the UJA are used in part to finance West Bank settlements, directly or indirectly. Does this mean that an appropriate and effective form of protest



would be to stop donations to the CJI

This is not an easy issue. It is one which my wife and I faced last September, just before the massacres in the refugee camps. We then decided not to continue donations through the Boston Federation (the Combined Jewish Philanthropies --CJP), but to go on giving to local and Israeli charitable institutions directly. We did this for reasons which I stated in a letter to the CJP which later became the piece in <u>Moment</u> to which I have already referred. We took that action with very heavy hearts and we have continued to discuss and reassess it. It would not be honest of me not to tell you that we continue to stand by that action; we do not presently plan to resume our donation.

Despite this, I do not believe that the cessation of gifts to the CJP is an effective form of protest, nor is it one necessarily appropriate for most people. I do not encourage you to follow our lead in that respect. Plainly, my feelings on this issue are complex.

There are several possible reasons for regarding the stopping of end gifts as an appropriate form of protest. The first of these is the hope that the Begin government will notice -- that the flow of funds will be sufficiently affected that something will result. I think it is plain that to believe this is self-delusion. There is no hope that the flow of funds will be much affected (and, as I shall suggest later on, there would be considerable costs if it were). In any event, it is not conceivable that any such effect can halt or even slow down West Bank settlement. The Begin government will clearly starve other deserving causes before it lets that happen.

The second possible reason concerns the UJA itself. Т spoke earlier of the importance of divorcing major American Jewish organizations from automatic support for the Israeli government. It is doubtless too much to hope for that the UJA should publicly protest, but it is not too much to hope that it should cease to be politicized. The spectacle of participants in a major UJA mission rushing to get Sharon's autograph in a West Bank settlement after the massacres is only the most egregious example of the sort of thing which ought to stop. It is noteworthy that when Leonard Fein (the publisher of Moment) in publicly replying in a most eloquent and convincing piece to my letter explaining our action of last Autumn, wrote an open letter to the head of the UJA pointing out that such politicizing of the UJA would make actions like ours correct, he received no answer. I think he deserved an answer. I think I deserve an answer. But I do not yet believe that the right way to get one is to try really to affect UJA, and especially local Federation donations. Those donations are used for too many important purposes, and the institutions involved too important for us to take actions which, if successful, might wreck them.

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Why then do we stand by our action of last Autumn? We do so for two reasons, one of which, at least does not have wide applicability. Because I had been active in CJP and UJA for some years, and especially because I had held national office in the UJA, it seemed to us that, by making a public statement (within the Jewish community) of the reasons for our action, I stood some chance of being noticed. I made some attempt to publicize our

stand and the reasons for it both here and in Israel, and, perhaps due to the timing relative to the massacres, I have received some attention, including the honor of being asked to prepare this paper. In a sense, this is an example of the kind of verbal protest I discussed earlier -- protest within the context of a Jewish organization by its members. For me, that meant protest through and in the CJP; obviously, that is not a reason for others to take the same action which I did.

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The other reason that we stand by our action is more generalizable. We felt that, in conscience, we could not continue in the old way, remaining a part of what is going on. We therefore engaged in what is, after all, only a symbolic protest, since we have pledged to continue donating essentially the same amounts in ways which will certainly replace funds which then go to the West Bank.

Others may feel similarly, but I do not encourage them. For one thing, it is too easy to use such a stand as an excuse not to give at all. I regard that as the greatest danger that setting such an example may provoke. Further, since only a small fraceven indirectly tion of donated funds end up on the West Bank, such a protest is extremely inefficient if thought of in terms of the money invol-For the sake of cutting off a small proportion of the ved. funds, one must cut off all of them. To not give to the West Bank, one must not give to anyone in Israel, for money is fungible and the West Bank is not the first cause which the Begin government will abandon if funds dry up. Moreover, it is unlikely that we can affect enough funds in this way to even be much

noticed. However satisfying such a protest may seem, the satisfaction (and there is not much of that, let me assure you) is largely internal save perhaps in the case of those who have been very active in the past.

There is, however, a way in which dissenting American Jews can use their money to promote dissent in a form which certainly does get noticed. Shalom Achshay -- Peace Now -- is the group within Israel which is committed to the course of reason and morality in these matters and whose presence and activities is a constant reminder to the Begin government that it does not lead a united Jewish people in its march to annex the West Bank. Peace Now is not a small group of fringe dissenters. It was very largely responsible for the enormous rally in Tel Aviv which forced the Begin government to convene the Commission and which restored to us and the world the feeling that the Jewish conscience of Israel was still alive. (It was also, of course, the group at whom a grenade was thrown during the post-Commission demonstrations.) Peace Now, whose leadership includes many former army officers as well as very distinguished intellectuals is the major active force within Israel with which dissenting American Jews should wish to be associated.

While that association can take other forms -- there is a rather loose organization of "Friends of Peace Now" and an increasingly active Boston chapter -- the principal need right now is for money. Those demonstrations cost money: money for transportation; money for signs; money for literature. The January demonstration at Efrat alone cost \$15,000, largely for the printing of the posters hung all over the country and the adver-

tisements in the newspapers against settlement and annexation. Peace Now does not have a very large budget by Jewish charitable standards -- about \$200,000 per year -- but it does not have the funds to meet it.

This is a matter in which American Jews can take part and effectively so. Some are already doing so, giving money through the New Israel Fund, in a tax-deductible form. A good deal of the energies of Boston Friends of Peace Now has been directed at the solicitation of such donations, and appropriately so. I regard this as the single most effective way for dissenting American Jews to act. Not only does the money help, but the fact that it is being contributed is noticed inside Israel.

I hope I have already said enough to convince you that the argument against donations to Peace Now that it is mixing in Israeli politics is a false one. We are already mixing in Israeli politics. If we cannot effectively withdraw the financial support which the Begin government claims as evidence of ideological support, we certainly can provide the relatively small amount of funds which will demonstrate that such is emphatically not the case.

Let me tell you a story. The day after the grenade was thrown at the Peace Now demonstrators, I called some old and extremely close friends of mine in Jerusalem, because I knew that they were likely to have been standing in the forefront. I was right. My friend, Ruth, told me that she had taken her nine year old daughter to the demonstration so that, following the Commission Report, she could see free speech and democracy at work.

They were standing quite close when the grenade went off and while they were unharmed, they were of course very shaken, and she was very depressed at the lesson to be drawn. In a strange way, we are in a familiar situation. The lives of our Israeli brothers and sisters are once again on the line, while we are safe. The least we can do is to provide the needed funds.

sets of In conclusion, then, there are two activities that I would CONSISTSOF point to as particularly useful. One of these in the petition and work within American Jewish organizations for a settlement freeze; the other is funds for Peace Now. Both of these are appropriate activities for American Jews. I spoke earlier about the fact that the unity of the Jewish people as expressed in the slogan, "We are one," implies the right of American Jews to speak out on issues of consequence to all Jews. But the unity of the Jewish people and the concomitant right, indeed, the concomitant duty to express dissent with policies which seem to us immoral, is much older than Zionism. We pray on Yom Kippur, confessing our sins as a people. And we read in the Torah: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart; thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor and not bear sin because of him." Τ take that to mean that if we must confess guilt for the actions of Menachem Begin -- if we must feel shame because of the sins of Ariel Sharon, then it is our duty as Jews not to be silent and store up anger and guilt, but to speak out against what we perceive to be wrong.

BRANDERS UNIVERSITY SEMINAR March. 8, 86 JON WOOCHER'S OUTLINE

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JEWISH LEADERSHIP IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

- I. One of the ways can help current leadership is through systematic study of Jewish political tradition
- II. Many leadership issues today:
 - A. who should exercise authority in Jewish communal life?
 - B. how democratic or elitist should our leadership be?
 - C. what are the respective roles of volunteer leaders and professionals?
 - D. should there be requisites for leadership?
 - E. what role should Israel and its leadership play in Diaspora Jewish life and vice versa?
- III. Jewish culture has a specific approach to leadership issues -- not necessarily singular answers, but a reasonably consistent framework within which to address issues
- IV. Begin with nature of Jewish community as a covenantal polity A. communal/political life of Jews rooted in both kinship and consent
 - B. covenantal paradigm has several key implications with respect to leadership:
 - 1. ultimate sovereignty rests with God
 - people as a whole is source of political authority
 -- i.e., the Jewish polity is republican
 - 3. leadership flows from and must be exercised with reference to covenantal character of the polity -i.e., authority is vested in those who fulfill essential roles in maintaining the covenantal framework
 - 4. power and authority are shared and divided among different actors, each with somewhat different roles -- in classical Jewish political tradition, these are called ketarim:
 - a. keter malkhut -- civil rule -- maintenance of the community
 - b. keter torah -- guidance in adhering to the covenantal stipulations
 - c. keter kehunah -- sacerdotal authority -maintain through ritual the relationship between the community and God
 - 5. lines of division do not conform to our separation of powers -- not branches of government so much as frameworks of authority which can be exercised in various functional domains
- V. Throughout Jewish history, can see dynamics of interplay among these three <u>ketarim</u>
 - A. occasional efforts of one keter to achieve absolute dominance -- rarely successful
 - B. at times, two ketarim do combine to diminish role of the third

- C. appears to be a kind of built-in self-corrective mechanism, so that overall structure is never distorted for too long
- VI. Can this framework provide some insight into current leadership issues? Yes, in several respects
 - A. clarifies overall model of leadership as "aristocratic republican"
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 - authority?
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- A. trying to convey this perspective to the leadership with whom we work -- volunteer and professional
- B. deepens their rootedness in an often neglected dimension of Jewish tradition and broadens the base of knowledge and understanding from which they can approach a variety of leadership concerns, from interorganizational relations to who is a Jew

SOVIET JEWRY RESEARCH BUREAU

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR

			STATISTI	CS				
1965 - June 1967		4,498	1. A. A.	1975		13	,221	
Oct. 1968 - 1970		4,235		1976		14	,261	
. 1971		13,022	-	1977		16	,736	
1972	2	31,681		1978		28	,864	
1973		34,733		1979		51	,320 .	
. 1974		20,628		1980		21	,471	
<u>198</u>	31	1982		1983		-1	984	
January ' 850	(24.9)*	290	(26.9)*	81	(23.5)	88	(25.0)*	
February 1,407	(15.8)	283	(21.9)	125 70	(27.2)	1,40/90	(54.4)	22
March 1,249	(14.3)	289	(27.3)	101	(32.7)	1,74051	(35.2)	285
April 1,155	(15.5)	288	(29.5)	114	(9.6)	1,13274	(32.4)	201
May 1,141	(15.8)	205	(27.8)	116	(29.3)	1.14109	(45.9)	20
June 866	(14.5)	182	(27.5)	102	(38.2)	-72 -	(40.3)	
July 779	(22.2)	186	(23.1)	167	(22.8)	85	(44.7)	i X=
August 430	(22.3)	238	(20.2)	130	(22.3)	11:1.83	(22.9)	23
September 405	(28.6)	246	(20.7)	135	(40.0)	69	(49.3)	2
October 368	(24.2)	168	(34.5)	90	(46.2)	29	(31.0)	
November 363	(25.0)	137	(38.0)	56	(42.9)	55	(29.1)	
December434	(22.8)	176	(39.8)	97	(32.0)	91	(34.1)	
9,447	(18.6) 2	,688	(27.3)	1,314	(29.5)	896	(37.8)	2.525

From October 1968 - December 1984, 264,517 persons left the Soviet Union with Israeli visas. Approximately 163,209 of them went to Israel.

*Figures represent the percentage of those who proceeded to Israel.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122/Cable Address: AMCONSOV, N.Y. • Telex: 237311 NCSJ Washington Office: 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 265-8114

BRINDERS UNIVERSITY SEMINAR Jon woodthen March & 86 JON WOOCHER'S OUTLINE

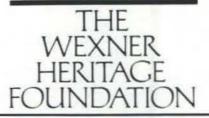
JEWISH LEADERSHIP IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

- One of the ways can help current leadership is through systematic study of Jewish political tradition
- II. Many leadership issues today:
 - A. who should exercise authority in Jewish communal life?
 - B. how democratic or elitist should our leadership be?
 - C. what are the respective roles of volunteer leaders and professionals?
 - D. should there be requisites for leadership?
 - E. what role should Israel and its leadership play in Diaspora Jewish life and vice versa?
- III. Jewish culture has a specific approach to leadership issues -- not necessarily singular answers, but a reasonably consistent framework within which to address issues
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Leslie H. Wexner Chairman of the Board

MARCH 12, 1986

DR. LEONARD FEIN 189 MARLBOROUGH STREET BOSTON, MA 02116

DEAR LAIBEL,

ONE OF THE COLUMBUS PEOPLE CALLED ME THIS MORNING TO SAY THAT HE ENJOYED YOUR STYLE AND CONTENT ABOVE AND BEYOND ANY OF THE OTHER UNESTIMABLE PEOPLE THEY MET DURING THE WEEKEND, SINCE YOU KNOW WHOM THEY MET, YOU SHOULD FEEL PRETTY GOOD.

I PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED THE WARMTH AND FRIENDLINESS YOU DISPLAYED, AND YOU KNOW THAT YOU CHARMED THEM BECAUSE THEY WERE RELUCTANT TO LEAVE.

I HAVE ALREADY SENT A NOTE TO THE CONTROLLER'S OFFICE IN COLUMBUS ASKING FOR A CHECK FOR YOU, AND I HOPE TO HAVE IT SOON.

AGAIN, WITH DEEPEST THANKS, I AM,

AS EVER,

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

P.S. ENCLOSED IS THE LIST OF PEOPLE WITH THEIR ADDRESSES WHO WERE IN YOUR HOUSE. MY SUGGESTION IS THAT YOU SEND EACH OF THEM A LETTER TOGETHER WITH A SUBSCRIPTION BLANK FOR MOMENT.

WEXNER LEADERSHIP GROUP

BOSTON, MARCH 7-9

CAROLE GENSHAFT 296 NORTH COLUMBIA AVE. COLUMBUS, OH 43209

NELSON GENSHAFT 296 NORTH COLUMBIA AVENUE COLUMBUS, OH 43209

BRADLEY KASTAN 57 PRESTON ROAD COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

HOLLY KASTAN 57 PRESTON ROAD COLUMBUS, OHIO

MARILYN KNABLE 2111 PARK HILL DRIVE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

ROBERT KNABLE 2111 PARK HILL DRIVE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

KAREN MOSS 2170 EAST BROAD STREET COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

NEIL MOSS 2170 EAST BROAD STREET COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

JANICE SCHOTTENSTEIN 415 NORTH COLUMBIA AVENUE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

ROBERT SCHOTTENSTEIN 415 NORTH COLUMBIA AVENUE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

BRUCE SIEGEL, M.D. 351 SOUTH COLUMBIA AVENUE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

ELLEN SIEGEL 351 SOUTH COLUMBIA AVENUE COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209 CAROL TRAEGER 107 ASHBOURNE ROAD COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

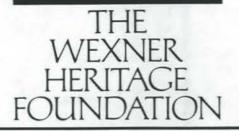
NORMAN TRAEGER 107 ASHBOURNE ROAD COLUMBUS, OHIO 43209

NOT PRESENT BUT INCLUDE

MIRIAM YENKIN 2720 BRENTWOOD ROAD BEXLEY, OHIO 43209

LESLIE H. WEXNER THE LIMITED POBOX 16528 COLUMBUS, OHIO 43216

GORDON ZACKS P.O.BOX 129 COLUMBUS, OHIO 43216



Leslie H. Wexner Chairman of the Board

MARCH 12, 1986

MR. STEVE CAMPBELL WEXNER INVESTMENT COMPANY 41 SOUTH HIGH STREET SUITE 3710 COLUMBUS, OH 43215

DEAR STEVE:

THIS LETTER IS TO AUTHORIZE YOUR ISSUING A CHECK IN THE AMOUNT OF \$1,500 TO MR, LEONARD FEIN. HE WAS ONE OF THE LECTURERS IN BOSTON THIS PAST WEEKEND, WHEN THE ENTIRE WEXNER STUDY GROUP SPENT THE WEEKEND AT HARVARD, MIT, AND BRANDEIS.

You can either charge this in the budget to "Other Honoraria", which you have listed as a budget item; or you can charge it to Travel-Boston, since it was an expense incurred during the Boston trip. Mr. Fein is the editor of Moment Magazine and a prominent scholar and lecturer throught the United States. He spoke to the group at dinner, and following that invited them all to his home, where he conducted a second speech and a lengthy question and answer period.

IF YOU SEND THE CHECK TO ME, I WILL SEE THAT IT IS FORWARDED TO HIM.

SINCERELY YOURS,

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

ST. BOTOLPH CLUB

TELEPHONE

MEMBERSI NO.	
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Leslie H. Wexner Chairman of the Board

MARCH 12, 1986

PROFESSOR HENRY ROSOVSKY HARVARD UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS LITTAUER CENTER 218 CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138

DEAR HENRY,

Your talk with the group the other day at the Harvard Faculty Club was very impressive. You were so generous with your time and your thoughts that they left with a good feeling. In addition to being deeply impacted by you. The way you treated them raised their sense of self-esteem.

WITH FOND REGARDS AND DEEPEST THANKS, I AM

As ever, Herbert A. Friedman



Leslie H. Wexner Chairman of the Board

March 12, 1986

PROFESSOR MARSHALL GOLDMAN HARVARD UNIVERSITY RUSSIAN RESEARCH CENTER 1717 CAMBRIDGE STREET CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138

DEAR MARSHALL,

THE DEPTH OF YOUR PRESENTATION TO THE GROUP ON THE RUSSIAN QUESTION WAS VERY IMPRESSIVE, YOU EDUCATED AND INSPIRED THEM,

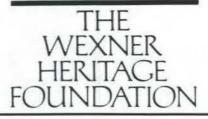
THEY WERE PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED WITH YOUR INTEREST IN HILLEL, AND I THINK THEY ARE GOING TO WRITE TO YOU ABOUT DOING SOMETHING FOR HILLEL, IN HONOR OF YOU AND HENRY, LET THAT BE A CONFIDENCE BETWEEN YOU AND ME, UNTIL YOU HEAR FROM THEM,

WITH FONDEST THANKS FOR YOUR GENEROSITY IN BOTH TIME AND SPIRIT, I AM,

SINCERELY,

Heit

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN



Leslie H. Wexner Chairman of the Board

MARCH 12, 1986

DR. BERNARD REISMAN DIRECTOR HORNSTEIN PROGRAM IN JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY WALTHAM, MA 02254

DEAR BERNIE,

My people had a marvelous time at your shop. They were impressed with the care with which you architected the afternoon. It was obvious to them that you were going out of your way, and that this was not simply some routine presentation. Quality Always shows.

I HAVE A DATE TO MEET ELIOT KARP IN NEW YORK ON MONDAY, MARCH 17, AND I HOPE I CAN PERSUADE HIM. I'LL KEEP YOU POSTED.

WITH DEEPEST THANKS, I AM,

AS EVER,

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

DEAR_____:

YOU HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED TO THE WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION AS A PERSON WHO MIGHT QUALIFY FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE LEADERSHIP SEMINAR WHICH WILL BE FORMED IN MINNEAPOLIS DURING THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, AND WHICH WILL BEGIN ITS STUDIES IN SEPTEMBER 1986.

MAY I SUGGEST THAT YOU THINK OF THIS PROJECT IN ITS LOFTIEST POTENTIAL. A VERY GENEROUS MAN, MR. LESLIE WEXNER, WITH A VERY FAR-SIGHTED VISION OF CREATING FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AN EXTREMELY WELL EDUCATED LEADERSHIP CADRE, IS PRESENTING ALL OF US WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY, ANALYZE, DEBATE, ARRIVE AT CONCLUSIONS AND THEN ACT UPON THEM IN REAL LIFE.

THE PURPOSE OF THE WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION IS DESCRIBED IN THE ATTACHED DOCUMENT. THE PROGRAM WILL REQUIRE A GREAT COMMITMENT OF YOUR TIME AND YOUR INTELLECT. IN RETURN, IT WILL OFFER YOU ENORMOUS PERSONAL SATISFACTION, PLUS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE THE COMMUNITY MORE EFFECTIVELY.

The attached schedule refers to the current year's operation in Columbus, Ohio, where the model program is being developed this year. From the schedule, you will see the calibre of lecturers who participated in the program last year. There is also enclosed a syllabus of the course in history which I am teaching personally. These documents are examples. Next year's syllabus and schedule in Minneapolis might look quite different.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE WEXNER SEMINAR WILL BE LIMITED TO SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 15 - 17 PERSONS. THE REASON IS SIMPLE: THAT IS THE MAXIMUM SIZE GROUP WHICH CAN BE SEATED AROUND ONE SEMINAR TABLE. PEOPLE WHO ARE SITTING AROUND THE SAME TABLE HAVE A TENDENCY TO BOND, WHICH IS ONE OF OUR IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES.

MORE THAN FORTY PERSONS HAVE BEEN NOMINATED. MEMBERS OF THE COLUMBUS GROUP HAVE VOLUNTEERED THEIR TIME TO COME TO MINNEAPOLIS TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN THE SELECTION PROCESS. NAME

My office in New York will be calling you for an appointment. We must match your available time with that of the interviewer coming from out of town. It would be very kind of you, and very much more efficient, if you would agree to come to the hotel to meet with the interviewer for approximately one hour.

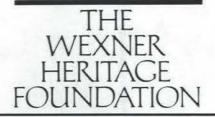
ONE THING WHICH IS QUITE IMPERATIVE IS THAT YOU FILL OUT THE ENCLOSED QUESTIONNAIRE AND RETURN IT TO US <u>WITHIN</u> <u>ONE WEEK</u>. YOU NEED NOT WORRY ABOUT BEING ELEGANT. THIS IS NOT AN APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO YALE. WE WOULD SIMPLY LIKE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT YOU AND I AM CERTAIN YOU WILL EASILY BE ABLE TO FILL IT OUT WITHIN HALF AN HOUR.

THE CONCEPT IS GRAND - ITS REALIZATION WILL DEPEND UPON THE QUALITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SEMINAR.

SINCERELY YOURS,

(RABBI) HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

ENCLOSURES



Herbert A. Friedman President

Leslie H. Wexner Chairman of the Board

MARCH 12, 1986

PROFESSOR FRANKLIN FISHER MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY E52-359 CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

DEAR FRANK,

I THINK YOU TAUGHT MY COLUMBUS GROUP WHAT LEADERSHIP IS ALL ABOUT. YOU EXPLAINED HOW AGONIZING IT IS TO MAKE DECISIONS BASED ON CONSCIENCE, AND YET HOW NECESSARY IT IS TO TAKE A STAND AND DO WHAT YOU BELIEVE IS RIGHT. THAT IS TRULY THE MARK OF A LEADER.

THEY ALSO SAW THAT YOU WERE NOT CLOSED-MINDED, NOR DOGMATIC, NOR ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN OF THE WISDOM OF YOUR STAND. THAT MADE YOU VERY HUMAN IN THEIR EYES. THEY ENJOYED YOUR WIFE - THOUGHT SHE WAS VERY FEISTY - AND EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THEY HAD TO LEAVE SO HASTILY FOR THE AIRPORT.

WE HAVE XEROXED YOUR ARTICLE AND MAILED IT TO THE PARTICIPANTS. THE ORIGINAL IS ON ITS WAY BACK TO YOU.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST THANKS FOR SHARING THE FEW HOURS WITH US.

As ever, Hech

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

11 West 42nd Street, Ninth Floor / New York, New York 10036 / 212-930-9207 41 South High Street, Suite 3710 / Columbus, Ohio 43215 / 614-464-2772

SCHEDULE

WHF TRIP TO BOSTON

FRIDAY, MARCH 7-SUNDAY, MARCH 9, 1986

FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1986 7:51am Eastern #706 to Boston, Arrive 9:26am

LUNCH

12NOON-4:30pm, HARVARD FACULTY CLUB 20 QUINCY STREET CAMBRIDGE, MA 617-495-5758

SABBATH CANDLE-LIGHTING AT 5:23PM HAF TAKES EASTERN SHUTTLE FROM New York-Arrive Boston 9:00am

AMERICAN JEWISH

GUEST: HENRY ROSOVSKY, FORMERLY DEAN OF FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, PRESENTLY PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS

GUEST: MARSHALL GOLDMAN, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AT WELLESLEY; ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF RUSSIAN RESEARCH CENTER AT HARVARD

RABBI GOLD HARVARD HILLEL SERVICES 74 MT. AUBURN STREET CAMBRIDGE, MA 02128 617-495-4696

FOUR SIMULTANEOUS SERVICES BEGINNING AT ABOUT 5:00PM

REGISTER AT CHARLES HOTEL ONE BENNETT & ELLIOT ST, CAMBRIDGE, MA 01238 617-864-1200

SCHEDULE

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1986 MORNING SABBATH SERVICES

AFTERNOON 2:00pm leave Charles Hotel

5:30pm LEAVE BRANDEIS

SABBATH FINISHED 6:23PM

DINNER LEONARD FEIN MOMENT MAGAZINE

SESSION: LEONARD FEIN RUTH FEIN-PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FORMER PRESIDENT OF BOSTON FEDERATION HARVARD HILLEL SEE ABOVE - STARTING APPROXIMATELY 9:00am. FACULTY ATTENDS STUDY AND WORSHIP SERVICE.

BERNARD REISMAN BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY SH RCHIVES S

> ST. BOTOLPH CLUB 199 Commonwealth Boston MA 02116

MR. FEIN'S HOME 189 MARLBOROUGH ST. BOSTON, MA 02116 LUNCHEON SERVED THEREAFTER, MISS CLAVAN FOR RESERVATIONS,

WITH FACULTY AND STUDENTS OF HORNSTEIN PROGRAM IN JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICES

RESERVED

SUBJECT: THE NEXT CHAPTER FOR AMERICAN JEWRY: WHAT DO WE DO WITH OUR SAFETY? (GIVEN THAT CHARLES SILBERMAN IS RIGHT) WHAT DO WE DO BETWEEN CRISES? DO WE SEEK A POSITIVE SURVIVAL

SCHEDULE

SUNDAY, MARCH 9, 1986 9:30am - 10:30am session

LATE MORNING SESSION/ 11:30 - BRUNCH

TO AIRPORT

US AIR #419 LEAVE BOSTON 3:15pm ARRIVE COLUMBUS 6:18pm ONE STOP: PITTSBURGH ISADORE TWERSKY, DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR JEWISH STUDIES: HARVARD

PROFESSOR FRANKLIN FISHER: MIT

CHARLES HOTEL

AMERICAN JEWISH

HAF TAKES NY AIR #121 TO LAGUARDIA 5:00PM ARRIVE 5:59PM P.3

HILLEL HOUSE

TELEPHONE NUMBERS

BOSTON MARCH 7-9

1.	Professor Franklin Fisher	(0) (H)	617-253-3373 617-369-6794
2.	CHARLES HOTEL (Yvonne Grunebaum, Sales Man	AGER)	617-864-1200
3.	LEONARD FEIN Moment Magazine	(0) (H)	617-536-6252 617-266-1837
4.	RABBI GOLD Harvard Hillel	(0)	617-495-4696
5.	MARSHALL GOLDMAN	HARVARD: Wellesley:	617-495-4485 617-235-0320 x2161 617-237-1964
6.	HILLEL MEAL RESERVATIONS (MISS CLAVAN)	ΗΙΥΕS	617-876-3535
7.	Bernard Reisman Brandeis University	(0) (H)	617-647-2641 617-244-6439
8,	HENRY ROSOVSKY	(0) (H)	617-495-4151 617-332-8134
9.	ST. BOTOLPH CLUB (MARIO)		617-536-7570
10.	ISADORE TWERSKY	(0) (H)	617-495-4326 617-232-7356
11.	HARVARD FACULTY CLUB	A ANT	617-495-7356
		N' TYG	

BOSTON COMMON

Purchased by the town of Boston from settler William Blaxton (or Blackstone) in 1634 for about \$150, this historic 5-sided tract served as a training field for the military and as a grazing area for Boston's cattle. In 1638 gallows were built on one of the 4 hills on the 50-acre common; there Indians, Quakers, and other condemned individuals were executed. A ducking stool at the Frog Pond was used for "scolds and raillers," and a whipping post and stocks were built for those who profaned the Sabbath. British redcoats mustered here prior to the Battle of Bunker Hill. Various monuments and tablets on the common commemorate some of the many historic events that took place here.

BUNKER HILL NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, Monument Square, Charlestown

Besieged on the Boston peninsula since the battles at Lexington and Concord, the British attempted to break the siege on June 17, 1775, by storming Breed's Hill in Charlestown, which had been occupied by colonial militia under Colonel William Prescott. The ensuing battle, referred to as the Battle of Bunker Hill (which the Americans had considered occupying but had rejected in favor of nearby Breed's Hill), ended in an American retreat; but the rebels inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy, and their valiant defense of the hill heightened the colonial determination to resist. A granite obelisk, 221 feet high, marks the site of the battle.

Open daily 9-dusk

KING'S CHAPEL NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, Tremont and School streets

King's Chapel was erected in 1754 on the site of the first Anglican church in New England, which had been built in 1686 by the royal governor of Massachusetts. After the Revolution the chapel became America's first Unitarian church. In the adjoining burial ground are the graves of John Winthrop and other early settlers. Open daily 10-4; closed Mon

FANEUIL HALL NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK. Dock Square Known as the Cradle of Liberty because of the many protest meetings held here during the Revolutionary period, Faneuil Hall was built in 1742 and given to the city by Peter Faneuil, a local merchant. At street level was a public market; above was a town hall. Destroyed by fire in 1761, the structure was rebuilt, and in 1805 Charles Bulfinch enlarged it and added a third story. During the British occupation of Boston, the redcoats used the hall as a theater. Today the building, its famous grasshopper weathervane intact, houses historical paintings, a library, and a military museum. Hall open daily 9–4

MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC LAND-MARK, Beacon Hill

On July 4, 1795, Sam Adams and Paul Revere laid the cornerstone for a new State House: a red-brick domed structure designed by Charles Bulfinch. The Massachusetts General Court first met in the new building in January 1798. Today additions on both sides surround the original Bulfinch building. Historic documents, battle flags, and paintings depicting scenes in Massachusetts history are on display, as is the famous "sacred codfish," which hangs in the house of representatives. *Open: Mon-Fri 10-4* "OLD GRANARY" BURIAL GROUND, Tremont Street at Bromfield Street So named because the town granary once stood on the site of nearby

Park Street Church (where William Lloyd Garrison gave his first antislavery address in 1829), this historic burial ground contains the graves 6."3 signers of the Declaration of Independence—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Robert Treat Paine—as well as those of Paul Revere, James Otis, and Benjamin Franklin's parents.

OLD NORTH CHURCH NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, 193 Salem Street

Built in 1723 by William Price, a Boston print-seller and draftsman who had made a study of Christopher Wren's London churches, Old North (Christ Church Episcopal) is the oldest extant church in Boston. From its 190-foot-high steeple were hung the signal lanterns alerting colonial patriots that British troops were on their way to Lexington and Concord. In 1954 a hurricane blew the steeple down and it was replaced, but the original window from which the lanterns burned in 1775 was saved and built into the new steeple. General Thomas Gage, royal governor of the colony, is said to have watched the Battle of Bunker Hill from the steeple, and in 1817 President James Monroe received Communion here. Open dailu 9–5

OLD SOUTH MEETINGHOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, Washington and Milk streets

Like Faneuil Hall, Old South was the scene of angry public protests during the Revolutionary period. James Otis, Sam Adams, and John Hancock all spoke from the pulpit, and it was here that the signal to begin the Boston Tea Party was given. During the war General Burgoyne removed the pews and pulpit and established a riding school for his troops in the meetinghouse. Directly across the street, at 17 Milk Street, is the site of Benjamin Franklin's Birthplace.

Open: Apr-Oct, daily 9:30-4:45; Nov-Mar, Mon-Fri 10-3:45, Sat 10-4:45

OLD STATE HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, Washington Street at State

It was in front of the Old State House, built in 1713 as headquarters for the royal governors, that the famous Boston Massacre took place in March 1770. Six years later the Declaration of Independence was read to excited Bostonians from the east balcony. In 1789 George Washington viewed a parade in his honor from another balcony. *Open: Mon-Fri* 10-4, Sat 9:30-5, Sun 11-5

PAUL REVERE HOUSE NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, 19-21 North Square

The oldest frame house in Boston, built around 1670, was purchased in 1770 by Paul Revere. From here on April 18, 1775, the silversmith began his famous "midnight ride." The house has been restored and furnished in the style of the period when the patriot lived here (1770–1800).

Open: Apr 15-Oct, daily 9:30-5:30; Nov-Apr 14, Tues-Sun 10-4

U.S.S. CONSTITUTION NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK, Boston Naval Shipuard, Charlestown

Launched in 1797, the *Constitution* won fame during the War of 1812 when she was victorious in several battles against British vessels. The 44-gun frigate, called Old Ironsides because of the copper-sheathing made for her by Paul Revere, was due to be dismantled in 1830, but Oliver Wendell Holmes's poem "Old Ironsides" aroused a public outcry.

Open daily 9:30-4

MINUTEMAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

After the bloody encounter at Lexington (see) on April 19, 1775, the British troops marched on to Concord and began to search for and destroy the rebels' military supplies. Massed on a hillside above the Old North Bridge, some 400 militia and minutemen saw smoke rising from the center of town and assumed erroneously that the British were burning Concord. Advancing under orders not to shoot unless fired upon, the Americans encountered at the bridge 3 British companies, which volleved, killing 2 minutemen. In the ensuing fight Americans killed 2 redcoats, fatally wounded another, and hit 9 more; the astonished British retreated, regrouped with their other units. and then began marching back to Lexington. At Meriam's Corner, however. Americans began firing on them from behind stone walls, trees, and fences; their numbers swelled by newcomers who had heard of the encounters at Lexington and the Old North Bridge, the local patriots cut across fields and maintained a steady harassment of the retreating troops. By firing upon the king's soldiers on that momentous day. Americans marked the end of a long political battle and the beginning of the shooting war that was to lead to independence. Minuteman National Historical Park is composed of 750 acres in 3 units. Battle Road Unit, between Meriam's Corner in Concord and Fiske Hill in Lexington, preserves 4 miles of historic battle route. The Battle Road visitor center off Route 2A in Lexington is located in the unit, where a film, "To Keep Our Liberty," a sound and light program, and exhibits are available. In the North Bridge Unit stands Daniel Chester French's Minuteman Statue, and a visitor center on Liberty Street has other exhibits. The Wayside Unit features the home of Samuel Whitney, who was Concord's muster master in 1775; Nathaniel Hawthorne, the Alcotts, and Margaret Sidney lived there in later years. Throughout the park, modern buildings are being removed and the historic houses and landscape are being restored to their 1775 appearance.

North Bridge Visitor Center open daily 8:30-5; Battle Road Visitor Center open: Apr-Nov, daily 8:30-5; Wayside Visitor Center open: Apr-Nov, daily 9:15-9:45; Dec-Mar, closed Mon

LEXINGTON GREEN NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

Under orders to confiscate military supplies stored by the rebels at Concord, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith and 700 British regulars arrived at Lexington Green at dawn on April 19, 1775. They were met there by 50 or 60 minutemen, who had been told by Captain John Parker, "Stand your ground, don't fire unless fired upon, but if they mean to have a war, let it begin here." No one knows who fired the first shot, but it was followed by a British barrage and bayonet attack. Eight Americans were killed and 10 wounded. The cheering British regrouped and marched on to Concord.

CURRICULUM VITAE (SUMMARY) - BERNARD REISMAN

CURRENT POSITION

Associate Professor in American Jewish Communal Studies, Brandeis University

Director, Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service, Brandeis University

EDUCATION

City College of New York, B.S.S., 1949 Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, MSSA, 1951 Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, Ph.D., 1970

OTHER TEACHING EMPLOYMENT

Loyola University, Chicago, IL University of Illinois, Chicago, IL Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel

CONSULTANT

American Joint Distribution Committee - Israel, Europe, Argentina Josepthtal Foundation, Israel Institute for Jewish Life, New York City

BOOKS

The Jewish Experiential Book: Quest for Jewish Identity, 1978 The Chavurah: A Contemporary Jewish Experience, 1977 Reform is a Verb. (co-author), 1972

ARTICLES (partial listing)

"Business Management and Social Work: A New Compatibility," <u>Social</u> Casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 1986

"Adjusting to a Residential Facility for Older Persons: A Child's Perspective," Journal of Gerontological Social Work, Winter, 1986

"Performance Evaluation for Tenured Faculty: Issues and Research," Liberal Education, Winter, 1986

"On Transforming the Jewish School: A Call to Action," <u>Jewish Education</u>, Spring, 1985, Vol. 53, No. 1

A Family Adventure: Parents and Children Learning Together, (N.Y.: American Jewish Committee, 1985)

The Human Service Professional: Technician or Statesman?, Arnulf M. Pins Memorial Lecture, (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984)

. ARTILLES (continued)

"Innovation '85, Program and Leadership Guidelines" (United Jewish Community of Bergen County, N.J., October 1984)

- "Growing Together: Single Parent Families at Camp" co-authored with Gladys Rosen, (N.Y: American Jewish Committee, 1984)
- "On Jewish Identity and Agency Function", Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Fall 1983

"Jews, Judaism and Society: Applying the Tradition in the Contemporary World" co-editor, <u>Institute Proceedings</u>, Brandeis University, July 1983

"Recruitment of Professionals", Jewish Education, Summer 1983

"Americans in Israel: Conflict on A Moshav" Forum, Fall/Winter 1982

"Managers, Jews, or Social Workers: Conflicting Expectations for Jewish Communal Workers", <u>Response</u>, Autumn 1982

"Making Jewish Families: A Review/Essay" Moment, April 1982

"The Jewish Component in the Training Programs of Jewish Communal Workers", Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Winter 1981-82

"Conflict in an Israeli Collective Community", <u>Journal of Conflict</u> <u>Resolution</u>, June 1981

"The Chavurah, A Jewish Support Network" <u>Contemporary American Judaism</u>, American Behavioral Scientist, March/April 1980

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Chairman, Publications Committee Association for the Sociological Study of Jewry: Publications Committee Chairman, Academic Division, Combined Jewish Philanthropies, 1986 Academic Advisory Committee, National Jewish Family Center, American Jewish Committee

Chairman Selection Committee, Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish. History and Culture, London, England

American Jewish Historical Society, Academic Council Association for Jewish Studies

AWARDS

- Distinguished Service Award, El Circulo Social Hebrec Argentino, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1985
- Farfel Jewish Family Service Award, Houston, Texas, for "exemplary support to the Jewish family", 1984

Arnulf Pins Memorial Lecturer, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1983-84

- 75th Anniversary Award. American Jewish Committee for "Cultivation of Jewish Professional Leaders" June 1981
- Whiting Foundation Grant for study of the family in Europe and Israel, 1977

HENRY ROSOVSKY

Biographical Sketch November 1985

Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts

Henry Rosovsky, whose fields of interest are economic history, Japanese economic growth, and higher education, became the Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor at Harvard University on July 1, 1984. In October 1985 he was elected as a Fellow of Harvard College. He has been Professor of Economics at Harvard since 1965, and served as Chairman of the Economics Department from 1969 to 1972. From 1967 to 1969 he served as Associate Director of Harvard's East Asian Research Center. From July 1, 1973 to June 30, 1984 he served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. (From July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1984 he also served as Walter S. Barker Professor of Economics.)

Born in the Free City of Danzig in 1927, he attended the Cherry Lawn School, Darien, Connecticut, received the A.B. degree in 1949 from the College of William and Mary, and the A.M. (1953) and the Ph.D. (1959) degrees from Harvard. In 1963 he received the Schumpeter Prize in Economics from Harvard University, and in 1969 he became a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He has also been awarded the following honorary degrees: College of William and Mary, LL.D (1976); Yeshiva University, L.H.D. (1977); Hebrew Union College, L.H.D. (1978); Colgate University, L.H.D. (1979); Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Ph.D. <u>honoris causa</u> (1982); University of Hartford, LL.D. (1984); Brandeis University, L.H.D. (1984); Queen's University, Ontario, L.L.D. (1984).

Professor Rosovsky served with the U.S. Army to the rank of First Lieutenant from 1946 to 1947, and again from 1950 to 1952.

- 2 -

Before coming to Harvard in 1965, he was Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and then Professor of Economics and History, and also Chairman of the Center of Japanese and Korean Studies at the University of California at Berkeley (1958-1965). He has served as Visiting Professor at Stanford University, Hitotsubashi University (Tokyo), Tokyo University, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1971 he served as consultant to the President's Commission on International Trade and Foreign Investment. In 1977 and 1978 he served as a consultant to the Asian Development Bank.

Professor Rosovsky is the author of <u>Capital Formation in Japan</u> (1961), <u>Quantitative Japanese Economic History</u> (1961), and <u>Japanese Economic Growth</u> (1973, with K. Ohkawa) and editor of <u>Industrialization in Two Systems</u> (1966), <u>Discord in the Pacific</u> (1972), and <u>Asia's New Giant: How the Japanese Economy</u> <u>Works</u> (1976, with H.T. Patrick). He also contributes articles to <u>The American</u> <u>Economic Review</u>, <u>The Journal of Economic History</u>, <u>Explorations in Entrepreneu-</u> <u>rial History</u>, <u>Economic Development and Cultural Change</u>, <u>The American Scholar</u>, <u>The Business History Review</u>, and others.

He is a member of the American Economic Association, the Economic History Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, the Association of Asian Studies (Board of Directors 1963-66), the Commission on the Humanities (1978-1980), and former Chairman of the Council on Research in Economic History and of the Policy and Advisory Board of the Economics Institute at the University of Colorado. Professor Rosovsky is a member of the Board of Directors of Corning Glass Works, American Medical International, Paine Webber, the Asia Society, the Weatherhead Foundation, Encyclopaedia Britannica, and the Center for Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences. He . also has served as Co-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Jewish Congress since 1980.

Professor Rosovsky is married, has three children, and resides in Newton, Massachusetts.



Office it Media Relations

Wellesley College

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MARSHALL I. GOLDMAN

Class of 1919 Professor of Economics

Marshall I. Goldman is the Class of 1919 Professor of Economics at Wellesley College. An expert on the Soviet economy and the economics of high technology, he has served on the faculty since 1958. He is also Associate Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

Goldman has a B.S. degree in economics from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, (1952) an M.A. and Ph.D. degree in Russian studies from Harvard University (1956 and 1961, respectively) and an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (1985).

A frequent visitor to the Soviet Union, he enjoys international recognition as an authority on its economy, environmental concerns and foreign relations. In addition to attending Soviet-American conferences, he has met with Soviet officials, business leaders, and diplomats. He taught American economics to students and general audiences alike while a Fulbright-Hayes Lecturer at Moscow State University in 1977. In 1983 he was invited by the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union to visit as his house guest and deliver a series of lectures on behalf of the U.S. Government.

He has spoken on invitational tours in China and lectured in Austria, Egypt, Germany, Hong Kong, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand on behalf of the U. S. Government. Periodically, he travels to international trade conferences as well.

Marshall Goldman is the author of <u>The U.S.S.R. in Crisis: The Failure</u> of an Economic Model (1983). Other recent books are <u>The Enigma of Soviet</u> <u>Petroleum: Half Empty or Half Full?</u> (1980), <u>Detente and Dollars: Doing</u> <u>Business with the Soviets</u> (1975), <u>The Spoils of Progress: Environmental</u> <u>Pollution in the Soviet Union</u> (1972), and <u>Ecology and Economics:</u> <u>Controlling Pollution in the '70s</u> (1972). Earlier works include

- more -

Goldman - page two

1000

The Soviet Economy -- Myth and Reality, Controlling Pollution: The Economics of a Cleaner America, Soviet Foreign Aid and Trade, Soviet Marketing: Distributing in a Controlled Economy, and two editions of Comparative Economic Systems.

Goldman also publishes articles in <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, <u>The Atlantic</u> <u>Monthly</u>, <u>Boston Globe</u>, <u>Harvard Business Review</u>, <u>New York Times</u>, <u>Washington Post</u>, and other prestigeous periodicals. He is a consulting editor to <u>Current History</u>, <u>Environmental Affairs</u>, <u>Environmental</u> Conservation, and Problems of Economics.

He appears on ABC's <u>Night Line</u> and has been a regular economic commentator for WBZ-TV News, Boston. He is a frequent guest on <u>Good</u> <u>Morning America</u> and served as an observer for the show both before and during the 1985 Soviet-American Summit Talks in Geneva.

Goldman has been a consultant to the State Department, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Council on Environmental Quality and the Ford Foundation. He also consults for private organizations such as Arthur D. Little and Atlantic Richfield.

He is a Director of the Century Bank and Trust Company of Somerville, Massachusetts and currently chairs its investments committee. Active in the United Nations Association, American Economic Association and Boston Economic Club, he is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York and the Committee on Foreign Relations of Boston.

A longtime resident of Wellesley, Massachusetts Marshall Goldman has served as a town meeting member and been active on municipal committees. He and his wife Merle, a professor of Chinese history at Boston University, are the parents of four children.

12/85

LEONARD FEIN

Leonard Fein is a scholar and writer who is widely recognized as one of the most provocative interpreters of the Jewish experience of our time. His essays on every aspect of the Jewish agenda appear regularly in the pages of <u>Moment</u> magazine, which he founded in 1974 and which he serves as editor-in-chief as well as publisher. His prize-winning essays on the Middle East, published in <u>Moment</u>, have been widely quoted-in the New York Times, in Time, Newsweek, and dozens of other publications.

In his academic career as a political scientist, Fein was on the faculty of M.I.T., where he also served as Deputy Director of the MIT/Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies; most recently he was the Klutznick Professor of Contemporary Jewish Studies at Brandeis University. He is the author of four books, including <u>Israel: Politics and People</u>, which was a required text in Israeli universities for more than ten years.

As an observer and analyst of the Jewish experience, Dr. Fein has lectured in more than 300 communities in the United States and Canada, and has travelled as well to Poland, Syria, South Africa, Egypt, and a dozen other countries to meet with local Jewish communities, with government leaders and with other scholars.

Dr. Fein's unique perspective on Jewish life is enhanced by his active participation--as board member or consultant--in a wide array of Jewish organizations, international, national, and in Boston, where he lives and where Moment is published.



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March 7=9 Howard foculty Chab Henry Rosavsky - CK - Tunch Friday @Call Harvard Faulty Unb - Book Dinig Rom (c) 617-425-4151 for 20 fegle 12.30 (c) 617-425-4151 for 20 fegle 12.30 (c) write him latter - he in Japan Jan 2-17. 2 Marshall Coldman is not informatice from the same from the same Herrend (b) 617-485-4485 (b) 237-1964 welles 10 617 - 235 - 0320 - x 348 2161 SAT. NIGHT DINNERS (3) leonard Fein see (below (0) 617-536-6252 (b) 617-266-1836 Fri. pm. a (2) Rabli Gold - Hiller Foundation - Sat. A.M. SUN, MORN 11.30 5) FRANK FISHER - MIT : DR. RICHARD WURTMAN 617-253-6731 9000 friends - : organized faculty for federation (different) 9.00 (ISAGORE TUBESKY - son-to-lew & Soloveitchik SUN. A.M. DEPT of NOOR GASTERN LANGUAGES DIRECTOR CONTER FOR JEWISH STUDIES 617-495-4326 SAT. AFT. BEENIE RIESMAN - BRANDETS (7)(5) RUTH FEIN - Bres. & Fed. - set up Jew Comm. Center see 3 ebre - do hen byeth