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Winter Retreat. "Challenge of Peace." 1993-1994.

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The Wexner Heritage Foundation
Winter Retreat

JANUARY

21 *through* 23

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WESTFIELDS

Chantilly, VA

THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE



5:00 - 6:00 pm	Mincha & Ma'ariv Services Orthodox Traditional-Egalitarian	Jeffersonian I Jeffersonian V
6:15 - 6:30 pm	Havdallah	Washingtonian
6:45 - 9:00 pm	Dinner The Challenge of Peace in the Middle East <i>The Honorable Prince Bandar Bin Sultan</i> <i>Saudi Arabia's Ambassador to the</i> <i>United States</i>	Washingtonian

9:00 - 10:30 pm	Cocktail Reception Pianist: <i>Steve Zawel</i>	Westfields Lounge
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SUNDAY, January 23rd

7:00 - 7:30 am	Services	Jeffersonian I
7:30 - 8:45 am	Breakfast	Grand Dominion
9:00 - 9:20 am	The Economic Challenge of Peace: A Wexnerite's Mission to the Middle East <i>Mr. J. Philip Rosen</i> <i>Weil, Gotshal & Manges</i>	Washingtonian
9:30 - 10:15 am	Closing Keynote Address The Challenge of Peace to American Jewry <i>Rabbi Herbert Friedman</i> <i>President, Wexner Heritage Foundation</i>	Washingtonian
10:15 - 10:45 am	Evaluations	Washingtonian
11:00 am	Departures	

9:30 - 11:00 am	Reform Services	Jeffersonian V
11:00 - 11:15 am	Kiddush	Promenade
11:15 - 12:45 pm	Workshop I	
	1. Peace as a Theme in Jewish Liturgy <i>Rabbi Saul Berman</i>	Madison
	2. What Geopolitical and Economic Forces led to the 1993 Israeli-Palestinian Peace Accord? <i>Dr. Ellen Cannon</i>	Jeffersonian III
	3. After the Palestinians: Can the Jewish People Co-Exist Peacefully with One Another in the State of Israel? <i>Dr. Michael Chernick</i>	Hamilton
	4. Does Jewish Law Permit the Return of Land in Exchange for Peace? <i>Rabbi Daniel Gordis</i>	Adams
	5. Is Peace a Biblical Value? The Biblical Morality of War <i>Rabbi Donniel Hartman</i>	Franklin
	6. Non-Violence and Conflict Resolution from the Sources of Judaism <i>Dr. Reuven Kimelman</i>	Jeffersonian VI
	7. Martin Buber and Gershom Scholem: The Idea of the Bi-National State in Early Zionism <i>Dr. Hava Tirosh Rothschild</i>	Wellesley
	8. Doves on the World, Hawks on Israel: American Jewish Foreign Policy Attitudes and Their Effect on US-Israel Relations, 1967-1993 <i>Rabbi David Saperstein</i>	Jeffersonian II
	9. The Changing Configuration of the Middle East <i>Dr. Haim Shaked</i>	Monroe
	10. War or Peace: Perspectives from the Battles of David <i>Rabbi David Silber</i>	Cumberland
	11. Contemporary Religious Approaches to Peace in Israel: Oz VeShalom and Gush Emunim <i>Dr. Bernard Steinberg</i>	Suite 346
	12. Making Peace with Enemies: Jacob and Esau as Archetypes <i>Dr. Devorah Steinmetz</i>	Cambridge
	13. The Debate Over Peace-Making During the Great Rebellion of 66-70 CE <i>Dr. Jeffrey Woolf</i>	Marlborough

1:00 - 2:30 pm Lunch Grand Dominion

Mr. Leslie Wexner
Chairman, Wexner Heritage Foundation

3:30 - 5:00 pm **Workshop II**

1. The Quest for Peace and its Impact on Jewish Law
Rabbi Saul Berman Madison
2. The 1993 Peace Accord from the Perspective of U.S.-Israeli Diplomatic History
Dr. Ellen Cannon Jeffersonian III
3. Does the Secular Zionist State Have the Authority to Make Peace?
Dr. Michael Chernick Cambridge
4. What Does Peace Mean for American Jews? Where Do We Turn after "Sacred Survival"?
Rabbi Daniel Gordis Adams
5. Is Peace a Rabbinic Value? The Rabbinic Morality of War
Rabbi Donniel Hartman Suite 346
6. Can There be Peace in the Middle East Without Democracy?
Dr. Reuven Kimelman Hamilton
7. Zionism, Power and Peace: The Evolution of a Jewish Self-Understanding
Dr. Hava Tirosh Rothschild Cumberland
8. The Peace Accord: Its Impact on American Jewish Politics
Rabbi David Saperstein Monroe
9. Is the Arab-Israel "Hundred Year War" Over?
Dr. Haim Shaked Marlborough
10. Biblical Attitudes Towards War and Peace
Rabbi David Silber Jeffersonian II
11. Maimonides on Peace
Dr. Bernard Steinberg Jeffersonian VI
12. Land as Dream and as Reality in the Torah: Implications for Conflict and Peace
Dr. Devorah Steinmetz Franklin
13. The Teachings of Rav Soloveitchik and Rav Kook, and their Implications for the Peace Process
Dr. Jeffrey Woolf Wellesley

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, January 21st

ROOM

12:00 - 1:00 pm	Registration	Lobby
1:00 - 2:15 pm	Lunch Greetings <i>Rabbi Nathan Laufer</i> <i>Vice President, Wexner Heritage Foundation</i>	Washingtonian
2:30 - 3:30 pm	Opening Keynote Address The Challenge of Peace in Judaism <i>Rabbi Saul Berman</i> <i>Professor, Yeshiva University</i>	Grand Dominion
3:30 pm	Free Time to prepare for Shabbat	
4:45 - 5:00 pm	Songs To Welcome Shabbat & Candlelighting	Washingtonian II & III
5:00 - 6:00 pm	Services Orthodox <i>Rabbi Nathan Laufer</i> Traditional-Egalitarian <i>Rabbi Daniel Gordis</i> Reform <i>Rabbi Ramie Arian</i>	Jeffersonian I Jeffersonian V&VI Hamilton
6:15 - 9:00 pm	Dinner The Challenge of Peace to Israel <i>The Honorable Itamar Rabinovich</i> <i>Israel's Ambassador to the United States</i>	Washingtonian
9:00 - 10:30 pm	Oneg Shabbat	Westfields Lounge

SATURDAY, January 22nd

7:30 - 9:30 am	Breakfast	Grand Dominion
8:00 - 11:00 am	Services Orthodox Traditional-Egalitarian	Jeffersonian I Washingtonian II

THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE TO AMERICAN JEWRY

by

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

January 23, 1994

For almost a half-century, living through six wars, countless terrorist raids, innumerable political crises based on threats of war, and huge military budgets, the State of Israel has flourished magnificently. She has grown in population and economy, expanded in diplomatic relations with more than one hundred nations including the Vatican, and maintained the solid friendship of the United States from the very beginning.

During this incredible maturing of its national sovereignty Israel has enjoyed almost unmitigated support from the Jewish world. Every time war has erupted, adrenaline flowed fiercely through the system of Diaspora Jewry, and the concern for Israel manifested itself more quickly and sharply than before.

Now Israel is embarked on a new path, which, though paved with risk and uncertainty, is preferable to the old road which led so often to war. And now it is very hard for people, in Israel and throughout the entire Jewish world, to adjust to peace when they have grown so accustomed to war. Somehow we all must learn how to become as excited about the prospects for peace as we did when the shells and bombs fell on the land. Will the adrenaline flow as strongly when the sound of the turtle-dove is heard in the land?

William James, the great American philosopher and

psychologist, wrote a book in 1902 entitled "The Varieties of Religious Experience." He probed human instincts and behaviour, and concluded that men loved war. "The beauty of war is that it is so congruous with ordinary human nature. Ancestral evolution has made us all potential warriors. The most barbaric tendencies come to life in war. The fact remains that war is a school of strenuous life and heroism.....What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war; something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be."

Can peace become the moral equivalent of war? Can peace become a form of human conduct which will yield similar pleasures without being murderous, destructive and immoral?

Today we Jews are being given an opportunity to test this question. For more than 100 years war has raged in the Holy Land between Arabs and Jews. Are we willing to face the challenges of peace and risk as much for peace as we have always done for war?

Heroism in the search for peace can be, should be, as heart-quickenning as military kinds of heroism. Heroism in pursuit of peace requires the nobility of soul which can overcome hatred, the coolness of intellect which can grasp the benefits, the thrill of compromise which solves sticky obstacles, the breadth of vision which glimpses the far future. Heroes who possess these characteristics and utilize them artfully for the good of their people are much more valuable than other kinds of heroes who wield

their swords successfully. The sword is indispensable when one is attacked, but after that...?

Heroism in the pursuit of peace demands the courage of risk-taking, which is exactly what Rabin and Peres have decided to do. And now listen to the key words in the last few sentences: far vision, intellect, compromise, risk, courage - are these not the very words we use in describing the key attributes of leadership conduct? If Israel's leadership displays these characteristics, should American Jewish leadership be far behind?

I see five major challenges to American Jewry which must be faced, analyzed and conquered, just as war must be conquered and a new type of leader-hero must give us the moral equivalent so eagerly desired.

1. American Jews must have patience - not expect overnight miracles. History does not work that way. Negotiating steps are slow and painful. Meanwhile acts of terror and murder continue. Remember that these acts cannot destroy Israel. They can only harm individuals.

2. American Jews must realize that peace will be financially costly. There is a price to be paid for peace.

3. American Jews must maintain a high level of support for Israel in the area of the Administration and Congress; as well as in the arena of public opinion. This will be particularly

relevant concerning Syria and the Golan.

4. American Jews must do everything possible to strengthen the Palestinian economy. Nothing guarantees peace more than full bellies and good schools. These require physical infrastructure and an expanding GDP.

5. American Jews must face the probability of a Palestinian state.

- a. Do not be misled by the argument regarding "security". All treaties are backed up by the Israel Defense Force, which is very strong.
- b. Do not be confused by conflicting opinions on the subject of relinquishing land.

I should like to elaborate on each of these points.

1. PATIENCE

A. War comes suddenly - peace comes slowly. Israel makes peace with its enemies, not its friends. It is hard to sit with enemies, to bargain, to negotiate. When they become stubborn and make demands, you get angry and feel like shooting them, as they shot you over many many decades. When they change tactics, and beg and wheedle and whine about how poor and underprivileged they are and how you the victor must be compassionate and flexible, you

feel like spitting at them for their stupidity at not having accepted peace long ago instead of wasting a half-century and scores of thousands of lives.

But you can neither shoot nor spit. You, who have wanted peace from the beginning, who have accepted every partition plan proposed, either by the various British Royal Commissions, or by the UN, or by individual nations acting as intermediaries - you must now sit patiently negotiating every detail because your enemy has finally accepted the fact that he cannot destroy you in war, so at last he must now accept whatever quarter-loaf or eighth-loaf will be the result, instead of the full half-loaf he could have had 50 years ago.

You must sit patiently, holding firm to certain points, compromising on others, and running, as Rabin and Peres have been doing, in one of the most remarkable displays in modern diplomatic history, from Norway to America to Morocco, from Oslo again to Paris to Cairo, never losing temper. The two top leaders have outdone themselves, to maintain momentum, to display to their own people an earnestness of conviction which has sustained the morale of a worried Israeli public.

The very doggedness and persistence of the top leaders in their pursuit of an agreement has a calming effect on the public. The opposition to the peace process is raucous and strident, provocative and dangerous, for murder by one side begets murder by the other, and as the atmosphere becomes more poisonous, their very objective of aborting the peace process may slowly

occur. But the hopeful sign is that the bulk of the population is silent. This silence - acquiescence - is a vote of support to the leadership. Most Israelis are either "cautiously optimistic or hopefully pessimistic", said a recent article in Sh'ma. I personally am optimistic concerning the outcome. We simply must stay the course.

B. The PLO is shabby, disillusioned, internally divided, financially weak and cannot even set up a mechanism by which to receive the \$2 billion dollars committed by the U.S. and other powers, including Israel, to the reconstruction of Gaza and Jericho. To add to the confusion, the King of Jordan has accused Arafat of reneging on an agreement he made to use the central bank of Jordan as a clearing house for the financial aid waiting to come in from abroad. Local Palestinian leaders are deserting the PLO but cannot get themselves organized as negotiating partners with Israel. If the Palestinians cannot control the street or the murderous terrorism by fundamentalist Muslims, the Israeli public might lose faith in the Rabin-Peres position. A strong showing of support by U.S. Jewry would be very helpful at such a moment.

The government of Israel is intensely committed to the peace process, yet is equally intense in guarding its security interests. On December 12, 1993 Rabin and Arafat met in Cairo, one day before the date set for the start of Israeli troop withdrawal, to make another effort to find agreement on the three main outstanding problems. These were:

1. Control of the border crossing points from Gaza to Egypt and from Jericho to Jordan.
2. The exact number and locations of the Israeli troops to be left behind in Gaza to protect Israeli settlements there.
3. The exact size of the area to be designated as the Jericho District.

Arafat pleaded, with tears in his eyes, "Mr. Prime Minister, help me. I am in trouble. You know that, so please help me and try to understand my position." Rabin was willing to take political risks, but was very careful concerning military risks, and was adamant on the matter of border control. Rabin explained over and over that he wanted to make a deal, but would not leave the borders solely to the Palestinians without Israeli police and army to examine who was going in and out. Arafat insisted the PLO had to manifest its sovereignty and Rabin insisted that Israel had to guard its security. The meeting ended in stalemate and Rabin allowed the crucial date to pass without agreement. This strong position enheartened the Israeli public.

A few days later a delegation of 30 Jewish parliamentarians from 20 different countries (only one American among them) was received for a briefing. When the meeting concluded, a Canadian MP said he was impressed "by the courage and even serenity" of Rabin and Peres in the face of these severe political challenges. Serenity - what a lovely word to hear, in the face of TV showing Arab murders and Israeli retaliations. How good it is to hear that the two leaders are quiet and confident, not

afraid to continue working on the three sticking points. If the leaders do not panic, the Israeli populace will not. And if American Jews maintain a strong posture behind the government, Israeli Jews will be further fortified.

2. PEACE WILL BE COSTLY.

The first thought is that peace, if successfully negotiated and implemented, will result in a great saving, for Israel's defense budget could then be substantially reduced. The second thought, more sober and reflective, is that the transitional and intermediate stages will increase costs, at least temporarily. Without entering elaborate detail, just think of the extra costs involved in performing the following functions:

A. Redeployment of troops

- Moving tanks and artillery
- Building new warehouses
- Moving headquarters and barracks
- Building roads to all new locations
- Laying new communications links

B. Training of Palestinian police

- Fundamentalist Muslims, opponents of peace, must be kept under control, and the Palestinian police are to be responsible for law and order. Israel is helping to

train and equip them with light arms, armored vehicles, uniforms, supplies. Israel police must also be available with extra manpower to assist them, if necessary.

C. Re-opening Israel to Arab labor, especially from Gaza

- This will involve higher security costs for screening.
- There may be subsequent unemployment among new immigrants, causing higher welfare costs.

D. Helping the Arabs prepare for Self-Government

- Providing equipment for elections
- Supplying many experts to assist
- Supplying manpower and equipment in organizing many governmental departments for education, health, tax-collecting, etc

The bottom line of the financial matter is that both the Jews of the U.S. and their government must understand the cost of peace and remain prepared to assist. The Jews must continue and even increase their annual aid in all forms - UJA, Bonds, business investments - because, quite aside from the peace costs, the Russian and other migration will continue at the rate of 75,000 per year and the Operation Exodus special campaign will conclude in

1994.

The Congress seems to understand this, for Rep. Lee Hamilton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee said recently he had "no doubt" Congress would support President Clinton's pledge to maintain foreign aid to Israel at the 3 billion dollar level for 1994-5. That is good news, for the conventional wisdom was that Israel's foreign aid would be cut in the next fiscal year.

3. POLITICAL SUPPORT CRUCIAL RE: SYRIA AND GOLAN

There is active discussion among those involved in the behind-the-scenes negotiations between Israel and Syria concerning a proposal for U.S. troops to be located on the Golan Heights as a security buffer. This has not been discussed openly in Congress, but Rep. Hamilton said he would support the idea if the parties asked for it. President Clinton committed troops to Somalia, without any major protest from the American public, because TV pictures of fly-specked babies with starvation-bloated stomachs won American sympathies. Would American public opinion be as favorable toward a U.S. peacekeeping force on the Golan? Perhaps it would, if the proper groundwork were laid throughout governmental and media channels. American Jewish support, at least, would have to be rock-solid.

4. STRENGTHENING PALESTINIAN ECONOMY

Everything which Israel does to help develop growth and independence in the Palestinian economy will eventually benefit Israel itself. As their economy expands and individual material standards improve, the Palestinian people will gradually realize that they have a tangible self-interest in peace. As this perception takes hold, joint ventures will be established between Israeli and Palestinian entities. And this will lead to Israeli connections, through third parties, and later directly, with companies in Arab countries further afield, even out to the emirates in the Gulf, and lastly to Saudi Arabia itself. From there the line will stretch to the farthest part of the Moslem world in the Far East - Indonesia, Malaysia, India and others.

We heard from Phil Rosen this morning of a recent trip he made through Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. That trip was made with the active cooperation of the Saudi Embassy in Washington. Doors were opened to major business and political figures in the Arab world. All key persons said, for publication, that they would not dissolve the Arab boycott. The same figures said, in private, they would be interested in joining any business deal with Israel in which they could make real profit.

Remember the line in Robert Frost's poem - "good fences make good neighbors"? Well - good business relations will make the best neighbors, for when every party benefits, no one will wish to violate the peace. Good fences, set up along borders, will

not be electrified and fortified. They will be fences along which neighbors will gossip peacefully, as suburban householders often do. American Jewish businessmen, lawyers, entrepreneurs and venture capitalists can be of great help in the whole process, and should accept this challenge of peace with alacrity.

5. A PALESTINIAN STATE

The strongest argument invoked against the peace process is the charge that it will lead sooner, rather than later, to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State which would dedicate itself to Israel's destruction. The strongest challenge we face is to accept, without fear or prejudice, that such a state may indeed take shape during the five years that the interim arrangement will mature into the final settlement.

The argument hammered at world Jewry for the 14 years of the Begin and Shamir administrations was based on the code-word security. This word implied that a Palestinian state would create great danger for Israel: continuous bombardment, not by some small guerilla group, but now by a sovereign country with heavy arms; actual invasion by large field armies of other Arab states which would be invited in through the front door by Israel's newest and nearest neighbor; take-over of small Palestine by an Iranian-backed fundamentalist army, etc., etc. Sharon waved his maps to prove that the border of the Palestinian state would be only nine miles from the Mediterranean, thus able to cut Israel in

half. Palestinian SA-7 shoulder-held missiles could be brought close enough to Ben Gurion airport to shoot down every plane landing or taking off. The kernel of the argument was that the tiniest territorial compromise would inevitably lead to the largest - a full-fledged sovereign country whose simple existence constituted a fatal risk to Israel's security.

The argument was persuasive to some, and even those not persuaded, at least felt they must be silent, because whenever an Israeli politician talked of jeopardy to security, American Jews felt they must not argue since it would not be their sons and daughters who would have to fight the next war.

For the past year and a half a new government has changed goals and is pursuing a peace-with-prosperity policy, which declares that the best way to avoid the next war is to make peace. Failure to come to an arrangement with the Palestinian people will lead to an escalated intifada; then a full-scale underground resistance movement, blowing-up bridges, power stations, water pipe-lines, military headquarters; and finally a constant barrage against civilian targets, shops, office buildings, accompanied by daily assassination attempts on high-level political and military persons.

What I have just described were and are the standard tactics of any underground movement seeking its own freedom and independence - the Irish in Belfast and London; the blacks in South Africa; the European nations occupied for years by the Nazis; the Jews under the British Mandate 50 years ago. A frustrated, enraged,

disappointed Palestinian people, under a new younger charismatic leader, and heated-up by the preaching of fiery religious leaders, will utilize all these tactics against the hated Israeli occupiers. Failure to make peace will result in this type of scenario which can continue for decades and be far more dangerous for Israel than the potential threats attributable to a small Palestinian state.

Another argument often cited by opponents of the peace process is the religious statement that every inch of Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), which may ultimately provide some of the territory for the State of Palestine, was promised by God to Abram, and therefore must be held by Jews as sacred terrain for all time to come. This doctrine has inspired its believers to amazing acts of hardship, such as the gradual building of Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, and such as the settlers living in trailers and tents on barren rocky hillsides in tiny groups until little villages sprouted. Their feelings were impassioned and their ideology was tied to the themes of redemption and obedience to the word of Torah.

The biblical passage most often quoted in support of this position is Genesis 15:18, which reads: "God made a covenant with Abram, saying 'To your descendants I have given this land, from the Egyptian River as far as the Great River, the Euphrates.'" There is some difference of opinion as to the definition of the Egyptian River. Some say it means the Nile. Others, including the Book of Numbers 34:5, say it refers to the Wadi El Arish in the Gaza Strip. The Tanach, incidentally, has five different

conceptions of what constituted the Land of Israel: Canaan, as promised to the Patriarchs; Canaan plus the territory conquered by Moses (Transjordan); Canaan as conquered by Joshua; the land of actual settlement subsequent to Joshua; and the kingdoms of David and Solomon, which did not reach the Euphrates but did go beyond Damascus.

Very senior rabbinical personalities in the orthodox world are themselves not in agreement on the issue of surrendering land in order to achieve peace. Former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren fiercely defends the position of not giving up one inch. Former Sephardi Chief Rabbi Yosef Ovadia holds that land may be given up if this will save even one life in war. He invokes the doctrine of pikuach nefesh, and the oldest Ashkenazi seer in Israel, Rabbi Eliezer Schach, agrees with him. What is the ordinary person to believe? The point is clearly moot. Perhaps a precedent will help.

In the Tanach there is the story of King Solomon building the Temple with the help of a friendly king in the north (what is now Lebanon) who supplied him lavishly with necessary materials. 1 Kings 9:11 tells us: "Hiram, King of Tyre, had supplied Solomon with all the timber, both cedar and pine, and all the gold that he desired, and King Solomon gave Hiram 20 cities in the Land of Galilee." Well, these lands were certainly in the territory which God had promised to Abram and his descendants forever, but Solomon had no compunctions about giving them away in order to build a house for God. The story ends, by the way, with

Hiram paying a visit to the Galilee, inspecting the cities and rejecting them because of their poor quality.

If the State of Palestine is ever born in a process which eliminates war, let us hope that its villages will be of good quality, its people prosperous, living like good neighbors behind good fences, and that this condition will be the forerunner of a regional Middle East peace in which a new Golden Age can flower between Israeli and Arab, between Muslim and Jew. If a Palestinian state will unlock a future, then its birth will have been justified, and need not be feared.

CONCLUSION

The rewards of peace can stir our hearts and imaginations. Think ahead, near term, about the balance of your Jewish lives. Think ahead, long term, about the balance of your children's Jewish lives. With love for Israel motivating you, make your choices concerning these challenges. If you are not moved to work hard, while remaining patient; to work skillfully around every roadblock, while remaining serene; to work with passion, while keeping cool; if you are not so motivated, then history will pass you by, and American Jewry will have played no role in shaping the future. The Israelis will have to do it by themselves.

Knowing you, I cannot imagine this. Rather do I see you grasping the nettlesome challenges, one by one, massaging them, manipulating them, forcing them to yield to the intensity of your

desire. My generation played a role in the first half-century of Israel's life, but the second half-century will be more important, for your generation will either see peace breaking out all over, or you will see a long grey period of unremitting struggle. You hold that second half-century in your hands. Run with the decades, let your adrenaline run you, and be careful with the egg you hold. Don't let it fall and break.



St. Vincent's Hospital and Medical Center of New York

153 WEST 11TH STREET/NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011



Est. 1849

Department of Medicine

Alan B. Astrow, M.D.
Program Director
Section of Hematology/Oncology

(212) 790-8903, 366-6022, FAX (212) 790-1578
A University Hospital of New York Medical College.
Assistant Professor of Clinical Medicine
New York Medical College

Jan. 17, 1994

Rabbi Herbert Friedman
The Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Ave
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Friedman:

As I'm sure you are aware, my congregation, B'nai Jeshurun, lost our rabbi Marshall Meyer two weeks ago. We are all in a state of shock and mourning and are asking ourselves how we can best honor Marshall's memory.

I knew Marshall for only five years, but in this brief period he affected me deeply. Though his obituary stressed his public voice and political courage, it was, I think, Marshall's fierce loyalty toward Jews and Judaism and his genuine love and concern for his congregants (which he showed without regard for a person's wealth or prominence) that touched so many of us.

I discovered Marshall and B'nai Jeshurun soon after the death of my father, and I met my wife Jill in his weekly class on Abraham Joshua Heschel's The Prophets. I came to see Marshall as an authentic modern Jewish hero. Even when you disagreed with him, you felt that within him was the true spark of Judaism. He taught that Judaism was about what he called "the guts of life", and with his overflowing vitality and through personal example, he revived moribund institutions and re-connected thousands to their Judaism.

Since I believe that we have lost a major figure in contemporary Jewish life, I am wondering if it would be appropriate for someone to say a few words about Marshall at the upcoming retreat. I also enclose Marshall's last message to B.J., about the relationship of our congregation (and by extension of all American Jews) to Israel. I think that he is here, as usual, on to all the right questions. As the retreat focuses on the prospects for peace in Israel, I would ask if some of these might be a good starting point for discussion.

Yours truly,

Alan Astrow, M.D.

cc. Rabbi Nathan Laufer
Rabbi Ramie Arian

JESHURUN JOURNAL

JANUARY/FEBRUARY
1994

The Rabbis' Column

WE HAVE PEACE NOW - WHAT DOES ISRAEL MEAN NOW?

Since the partition plan in 1947, American Jewry has been organized to address the perpetual security and economic crises of the State of Israel which will soon be 46 years of age. Thank God for the handshake and all that is implied therein. To be sure, more problems remain to be addressed than have as yet been addressed. There will be sabotage on both sides. Undoubtedly, tragically, more blood will flow, but the peace process is irreversible - there is no turning back. Hopefully, by the time you read this article the first halting steps of autonomy will have been taken and other peace pacts will have been signed.

The leitmotif of American Jewry's relationship to Israel has been crisis-oriented. The settlement of Holocaust survivors, of Jews from the Islamic countries, the *ma'abarot*, the wars, the *feddayin*, security issues, Ethiopian and Russian Jewry, the occupation and 26 years of festering bitterness. We seem to move from one emergency to the next. The time has come for an in-depth focus on a *real* relationship between American Jewry and a secure, independent Israel living in peace with its neighbors. How can we enter into creative dialogue without a better knowledge of who we are, what we stand for and where we want to go, as well as what we have in common

with the Jewishness of the State of Israel? What is the nature of our Jewish identity? Are the Israelis involved in the preservation of Jewish values, culture and civilization? Do we have a common language? What is there beyond philanthropy, task forces and study missions? Should young leadership be limited to check writing and bond buying? Hasn't the time come to address the meaning of Jewish destiny? Do we have a role to play in the forging of that common destiny?

It is crucial to begin the arduous task of defining a positive creative relationship between Diaspora Jewry and Israeli Jewry. The original goals of 19th and 20th century Zionism are already fulfilled; we must rediscover, redefine and revitalize Zionism for the 21st century. The majority of our members have visited and many have lived in the State of Israel. We have a newly formed Israel committee. Yet it behooves us to be honest: the present ties between BJ and Israel are still nebulous. We have yet to organize a BJ tour of Israel. If, indeed, BJ is questing for a relevant Jewish message to ourselves and to the world, then we must challenge Israel to embark on the same quest.

It is inconceivable for us as BJ's rabbis that every member is not in some way or another involved with the State of Israel. If it were up to us this would be a *conditio sine qua non* for membership. Perhaps this should be our first step. We have already donated a *Sefer Torah* to Moshav Yodfat, but in what additional ways are we seeking to involve ourselves as participants in the Jewish life of the State of Israel?

Do we want to have a branch of BJ in Israel? Do we want to have apartments in our names where we can stay when in Israel? Do we want our *B'not* and *B'nai Mitzvah* to travel to Israel as they mark this great milestone in their Jewish lives? Do we want our children to spend at least one year of their formal education in Israeli institutions of higher learning? Are we adults willing to learn Hebrew so that we can communicate with our brothers and sisters in our Jewish language? Are we willing to have a personal learning experience in the State of Israel regardless of our age? Tragically, it appears that we have little to learn about Jewish spirituality in the 21st century from Israel. Do we have something to teach, to give, to share? If the answer is in the positive, then how do we propose to do so? On the other hand, if there is a great deal to learn from Israeli spirituality, what precisely is the message and how do we go about receiving it?

It seems self-evident that we have not elaborated a specific constructive program vis a vis Israel. We suggest that this is not only a lack at BJ, but also in American Jewish organized life. The problem is not new, but it now becomes urgent. How Jewish are our lives, and how Jewish are the lives of our brothers and sisters in Israel? We must know, dialogue with and nurture each other, we must love and respect one another, we must learn from one another, we must forge a Jewish future together.

- Marshall T. Meyer
- J. Rolando Matalon

Jerusalem Report
Jan. 19, '94

14 Days



FLASH 90

Goren stirs up a storm: Rabbi Shlomo Goren, the former Israeli and IDF chief rabbi, provoked a furor with a halakhic ruling that soldiers should refuse to obey any order to dismantle settlements. Prime Minister Rabin termed Goren's statement 'extremely grave,' Peace Now called it 'seditious' and Attorney General Michael Ben-Yair asked the police to see whether there were grounds for prosecution. Goren, unrepentant, said he would refuse to cooperate with any police investigation.

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune



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Do American Troops Really Belong on the Golan?

By Meir Rosenne

NEW YORK — When Bill Clinton meets Hafez Assad on Sunday, the prospect of Israeli-Syrian negotiations will top their agenda. It is possible that they will discuss the notion of American security guarantees for Israel in the event of its withdrawal from all or part of the Golan Heights, as part of a peace settlement. The core of any such guarantee would be the placement of American armed forces on the Golan, committed to fight in support of Israel's defense in case of attack.

Such a notion requires careful scrutiny. The first thing to be ascertained is how the people of Israel and of the United States would feel about such an unprecedented and risk-laden development.

In its 45 years of existence, Israel has been the object of massive, systematic, concerted Arab belligerence, in half a dozen wars and wave upon wave of state-sponsored terrorism. Not once did Israel request or receive military defense from any power, nor was any foreign soldier ever asked to fight and die for it. The feisty pride engendered by this history of self-reliance has long been a major source of intense, profound inner strength for the people of Israel, sustaining them through the many years of crisis and bolstering the nation's moral and political authority in dealing with other nations, especially the United States.

A series of questions flow from these considerations.

• Might the psychological role reversal wrought, for the first time, by American guarantees have the effect of undermining this reservoir of national morale, perhaps even inducing a sense of loss of independence, and a mood of helplessness and defeatism?

• Since the guarantor is bound to impose constraints upon its protégé, to what extent would Israel lose independence of action taken outside its borders, in pursuit of its national interest and security needs?

• Would the international perception of Israel's dependence on a great power for its security dim the luster of its independence, and diminish the force of its moral and political authority in world affairs?

• How would such constraints relate to a situation like Israel's successful unilateral bombing of Iraq's Osirak nuclear war facility in 1981 or Israel's rescue of its nationals at Entebbe in a plane hijacked by terrorists to Uganda in 1976?

• In light of disasters perpetrated by foreign terrorists in America, how would such constraints affect Israel's possible military action against terrorist bases outside Israel?

The United States is under potent moral and psychological constraints on its own freedom of action in international affairs, and fundamental questions must arise about their potential effect on the extent, utility

and force of any security guarantees that it might extend to Israel.

• Since the United States has made clear in recent years that it is strongly disinclined, unless vital national interests are at stake, to act alone in critical situations, but prefers collective action in concert with friendly states, would not unilateral American military action to back security guarantees for Israel be construed in world opinion as a blatant exercise of American imperial power, and would the American public be ready to accept such a harsh condemnation in this specific instance?

• Even if the United States were willing to brave such condemnation, might not the proliferation of missile and nuclear arms in the hands of enemies of Israel — Middle Eastern terrorists and states sponsoring terrorism — tend to inhibit or compromise unilateral or any other form of strong American military action in Israel's defense?

• In view of the wariness and distinct lack of enthusiasm in the American public and Congress regarding any policy that could lead to risky foreign military entanglement and the quagmire of long-term involvement costly in money, arms and armed forces, could effective security guarantees for Israel gain a broad consensus of support among the American people, as well as the requisite ratification

of any such treaty by the Senate?

It has not been doleful national honor alone that has sustained the Israeli people's durable streak of self-reliance. It has been an even broader streak of skepticism that any power, even its dear American friend, would rush to its defense in time of critical attack by an enemy.

The validity of this searing doubt is borne out by the historical record. No one ever came to Israel's defense in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 or 1973, or in the never ending war on terrorism.

Any such great-power action would have to be grounded in that power's perception of a vital national interest, and Israelis are duty-bound to ask themselves: Would America view it as a vital national interest to assume an ironclad military undertaking to Israel on the Golan Heights?

None of these questions can be answered with certainty now, but they will have to be addressed. For, in stepping down from the Golan, Israel would take a grave security risk, and the people of Israel and any government they elect will surely insist that more than paper formulas must be in place to minimize or eliminate that risk.

The writer is president of the State of Israel Bonds and a former ambassador of Israel to the United States and France. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

This is not the issue. The thought is to place a peace-keeping U.S. force as a buffer, not a fighting force. Such a force exists in the Sinai.

Jan. 15, 94

OPINION

We've all been feeling butterflies in our stomachs. For some, it's the fear that the Israel-PLO agreement will turn out well, which means the end of the dream of a Greater Israel. For others, it's concern that the agreement will fail, and with it the hope of an Israeli-Arab peace.

Again an attempt is being made to complete negotiations and sign the agreement on the interim stage. Clearly, this is our last chance to get straight answers to the questions that trouble those who want to see the pact signed and properly implemented.

Following the Declaration of Principles in Oslo, criticism focused on why those troubling questions hadn't been properly thrashed out. If all the current phase of talks does is produce an agreement that leaves all the bothersome issues still clouded, that will be most regrettable.

What are these issues? They fall into three categories:

- Issue no. 1, and unquestionably the most important: Security. Israel chose to pursue this agreement with the PLO in the belief that by getting out of Arab territories it holds, it can terminate the cycle of enmity and bloodshed.

But more than three months have passed since the White House ceremony, and there hasn't been any tranquility. On the contrary, terrorist activity has escalated.

We expect a clear statement from any Palestinian leadership with which we intend to sign a document. And that statement is: "With the removal of the civil administration and the transfer of responsibility to us, we undertake to end the violence." We will not make do with merely denouncing violence,

Some straight answers

Shlomo Gazit

nor acquiesce in the excuse that the IDF couldn't end terrorism during the Israeli administration either.

The purpose of the agreement is to find an outlet for the Palestinians' aspirations and eliminate their reason to struggle against Israel. If not now — when?

- Issue no. 2: If it becomes plain that one side isn't honoring its commitments, there will be a need to draw back from the process.

Israel's formula must be clear and simple: There will be no passage to Palestinian independence without a halt to violence. It is simply inconceivable that Israel should be expected to

fulfill its part of the agreement and withdraw to an agreed border while terrorist murders continue and perhaps even increase.

The Palestinians have to know that the process isn't one-way. It isn't simply a change from a state of occupation to political independence. They have to be made to realize that they also have obligations under the agreement and that if they don't keep them, the process will simply grind to a halt. This knowledge, more than anything else, will be the main factor motivating the Palestinians to honor the agreement.

- Issue no. 3: Both parties must clearly undertake not to create new facts which will upset the negotiations on the final settlement. The guiding line for agreement on the interim stage is its remaining "open." We are ap-

proaching the application of the transitional period when, ostensibly, all options remain open for discussions on the final-status solution.

Any attempt to create facts that contradict this arrangement, any move now to establish new facts that will crystallize the future solution is a violation of the agreement. Such a violation would terminate the process, canceling out all achievements to date.

It isn't enough to limit discussions on the interim phase to the details worked out at Oslo. The key to a successful interim stage lies in the three categories listed above. They are the master principles. If they are not acted upon, they will endanger both the agreement and the peace process.

The writer, a former chief of IDF Intelligence, is a senior research fellow at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.



RESPONSA

DAVID GOLINKIN

This is an extremely complex and emotional issue that has been widely debated by halachic authorities since the Six-Day War¹ because *Eretz Yisrael* (the Land of Israel) holds such a special place in Jewish tradition and history.² Indeed, God's very first utterance to Abraham concerns *Eretz Yisrael*; "Go forth from your native land to the land that I will show you...I will give this land to your offspring" (Genesis 12:1,7) and again: "Raise your eyes and look out from where you are, to the north and south to the east and west, for I give you all the land that you see to you and your offspring forever" (Genesis 13:14-15). This promise is reiterated on numerous occasions to Isaac (Genesis 26:1-6), Jacob (Genesis 35:11-12) and Moses (Exodus 6:2-8).

Furthermore, *Eretz Yisrael*, the Promised Land, is inherently holy. According to the Torah, Israel's predecessors were expelled from the land because they defiled the holiness of the land (Leviticus 18:24-28 and Genesis 15:16). According to the rabbis, the land of Israel is the holiest of all lands (*Mishnah Kelim* 1:6). Prophecy only takes place in the land of Israel or regarding the land of Israel.³ *Eretz Yisrael* is also special because many of the *mitzvot*, such as the Sabbatical year, can only be performed there (*Kiddushin* 36b and *Sota* 14a). The rabbis went so far as to say that whoever lives outside of *Eretz Yisrael* is considered as one who has no God (*Ketubot* 110b) and whoever is buried in *Eretz Yisrael* is considered as if he had been buried under the altar (*Ketubot* 111a).

Those who oppose territorial compromise advance at least three basic arguments. Some declare that it is halachically forbidden to return any part of "*Eretz Yisrael hashleimah*" ("the whole land of Israel"). Rabbi Theodore

Does Jewish law permit the State of Israel to give back part of *Eretz Yisrael* for the sake of peace?

Friedman, however, has conclusively shown that there is no such concept in Jewish tradition because Israel's borders changed countless times throughout Jewish history both in theory and in practice.⁴ One example from the biblical period will suffice: God promised Abraham the land "from the River of Egypt" (Genesis 15:18) while he promised the Israelites the land from "the Wadi of Egypt" (Numbers 34:5). The "River of Egypt" is the Nile, while the "Wadi of Egypt" is Wadi el Arish, which is 180 miles east of the Nile!

Similar flexibility of boundaries is evident in the rabbinic period when the rabbis needed to define the borders of Israel for the purpose of observing commandments such as tithing and the Sabbatical year. The borders changed from *mitzvah* to *mitzvah* and the main criterion for inclusion seems to have been the Jewish population of the town. Thus Caesarea, a city inhabited by pagans and Jews, was originally considered part of *Eretz Yisrael* for the purpose of tithes and the Sabbatical year, but was later excluded.⁵ Similarly, Bet Shean was originally considered part of *Eretz Yisrael* vis-a-vis tithing, but Rabbi Judah the Prince excluded it from *Eretz Yisrael* when the Jewish population shrank.⁶ Thus, the borders of *Eretz Yisrael* were fluid and the concept "the whole land of Israel" has no basis in our classical sources.

Others object to handing over territories to non-Jews on the basis of Deuteronomy 7:1-2: "When the Lord your God brings you to the land that you are about to enter and possess, and He

dislodges many nations before you... seven nations much larger than you... you must doom them to destruction, grant them no terms and have no mercy upon them (*lo tehanem*)." This is the simple meaning of "*lo tehanem*," but the rabbis explained it to mean "do not give them a hold (*hanayah*) on the land" (*Avodah Zarah* 20a). *Tosafot* (ad. loc.) interpret this to mean that one may not sell or give parts of *Eretz Yisrael* to any non-Jew. This approach would rule out any territorial compromise. However, many authorities rule that one may not sell or give parts of *Eretz Yisrael* to idol worshippers such as the seven nations mentioned in the verse lest they "turn your children away from me to worship other gods" (Deuteronomy 7:4).⁷ Therefore, since Muslims are not idol worshippers, many authorities rule that it is permissible to sell or give them parts of *Eretz Yisrael* and territorial concessions to Arabs would thus be permitted.

Lastly, other opponents of territorial compromise rely on the opinion of Nahmanides. The book of Numbers (33:53) states: "And you shall take possession of the land and settle in it, for I have assigned the land to you to possess." Nahmanides interprets that verse as a positive commandment: "...that we may not leave the land in the hands of other nations...and the sages called this a commanded war...."⁸ In other words, we are commanded to conquer *Eretz Yisrael* and keep her in Jewish hands regardless of the danger and any loss of Jewish life that might occur in the process. However, Nahmanides here is the only one who considers it a *mitzvah* to capture and retain the land of Israel.⁹ Furthermore, many have explained that even according to Nahmanides this *mitzvah* only applies in the days of the Messiah.¹¹

On the other hand, there are at least

continued on page 89



three arguments in favor of territorial compromise:

1. Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, former Sephardic chief rabbi of Israel, has emphasized that *pikuah nefesh*, the saving of human life, takes precedence over all the commandments in the Torah except for idol worship, forbidden sexual relationships and murder (*Sanhedrin* 74a). Thus, even if it were a *mitzvah* to keep the territories under Jewish sovereignty, *pikuah nefesh* would take precedence. As Rabbi Yosef states: "Therefore, if the military commanders along with the members of cabinet decide that it is an issue of *pikuah nefesh*...that if territories are returned, the threat of war shall be decreased and there is the possibility of lasting peace, it appears that according to all halachic opinions it is permissible to return territories of *Eretz Yisrael* for the sake of attaining this goal, for nothing stands in the way of *pikuah nefesh*."¹²

2. Secondly, there is a clear biblical precedent for handing over Israeli territory for the sake of peace: "Since King Hiram of Tyre had supplied Solomon with all the cedar and cypress timber and gold that he required [for building the Temple], King Solomon in turn gave Hiram twenty towns in the region of Galilee" (1 Kings 9:11).¹³ If King Solomon was permitted to give away 20 towns in the Galilee as a token of friendship for services rendered, we are permitted to give away sections of *Eretz Yisrael* for the sake of peace.

3. And this leads us to the last point. Peace is one of the great ideals of Judaism: "By three things is the world preserved: by justice, by truth and by peace" (*Avot* 1:18). If the Jewish people worships idols but lives in peace with each other, God forgives them (*Sifrei Naso*, par. 42). Great is peace, for all major prayers and blessings end with the word "*Shalom*" (*ibid.*). But it is not enough to sit back and wait for peace to happen. The Psalmist says: "Seek peace and pursue it" (Psalm 34:15). "Hillel said: be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace" (*Avot* 1:12).

We have here a classic case of conflicting values in Judaism—our love of *Eretz Yisrael* vs. our desire to save human life and our desire to pursue peace. The choice is not an easy one and has aroused strong emotions on both sides

of the issue. Yet in light of the sources presented above, it seems clear that when the majority of the political and military leaders of the State of Israel decide that giving up certain territories will ultimately save lives and lead to peace, Jewish law permits us—and perhaps even requires us—to do so. 

Rabbi David Golinkin is Senior Lecturer in Talmud and Dean of Academic Affairs at the Seminary of Judaic Studies of the Masorti Movement in Jerusalem, where he chairs the *Va'ad Halachah* of the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel.

1. See J. David Bleich, *Contemporary Halakhic Problems*, vol. II. (New York: KTav, 1983), pp. 189-221; *Journal of Halacha and Contemporary Society*, no. XVI, pp. 55-95 and no. XVIII, pp. 77-110.

2. For the centrality of *Eretz Yisrael* in Jewish tradition, see Abraham Halkin, ed., *Zion in Jewish Literature* (New York: Herzl Press, 1961) and Benjamin Segal, *Returning: The Land of Israel as Focus in Jewish History* (Jerusalem: WZO, 1987).

3. *Mekhila, Pisha*, chapter 1, ed. Lauterbach, vol. 1, pp. 48 and especially Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari, Part Two*, par. 13-14.

4. Rabbi Theodore Friedman, *Responsa of the Va'ad Halachah* of the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel, vol. 2 (5747), Jerusalem, 5748, pp. 73-77.

5. *Tosefta Oholot* 18:16-17, ed. Zuckerman, p. 617.

p. 617.

6. *Hullin* 6b and cf. the explanation of Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age*, vol. II (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), p. 731

7. *Tur Hoshen Mishpat* 249 and the *Bah ad. loc.*; *Responsa of the Rashba*, vol. 1, no. 8; the Meiri to *Avoda Zara* 20a.

8. R. Raphael Meyuhass, *Mizbah Adamah*, Salonika, 1777, fol. 12b; R. Abraham Isaac Kook, *Responsa Mishpat Cohen*, no. 63; R. Zvi Pesach Frank, *Ke'em Tziyon*, vol. 3, p. 13; R. Yitzhak Isaac Halevi Herzog, *Shanah B'shanah* 5746, pp. 136-140; R. Shaul Yisraeli, *Amud Hayemini*, no. 12, par. 3; and R. Ovadiah Yosef cited below in note 12.

9. Nahmanides's additions to *Sefer Hamitzvot* by the Rambam, no. 4 and cf. Nahmanides's commentary to the verse.

10. Maimonides, *Sefer Hahinukh* and others do not include it in their enumerations of the 613 *mitzvot*.

11. R. Isaac de Leon in *Megilat Esther* to *Sefer Hamitzvot ad. loc.* and others.

12. *Torah Shebe'al Peh*, vol. 21 (5740), p. 14 and again *ibid.*, vol. 31 (5750), p. 16. Of course, some say we will save more Jewish lives by not returning the territories, but today most Israeli political and military leaders disagree.

13. The parallel passage in II Chronicles 8:2 says the opposite, but that version seems to be later apologetics—see *Entziklopedia Mikra'it*, vol. 4, col. 6. For other explanations, see Jacob Myers, *The Anchor Bible: II Chronicles* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), p. 47.

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12/30/93

Point and Counterpoint With Arafat and Rabin

By WALTER GOODMAN

Tonight's edition of "Talking With David Frost" confirms that whatever Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin say in public during this period of on-and-off negotiating is naturally or unnaturally phrased with an eye as much on their own divided constituencies as on each other, not to mention on outsiders like Mr. Frost's audience.

The hourlong program itself is divided between Palestinian and Israeli, with the first half given to the enduring leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who seems almost to have shaved for the occasion. Despite a little talk-show vamping ("But that's the dream that's never left you," Mr. Frost prompts Mr. Arafat about Palestinian claims to Jerusalem), the program does get into several prickly subjects.

On Jerusalem, Mr. Arafat, whose spotty English requires Mr. Frost to repeat some answers, proposes making the contested city the joint capital of Israel and a Palestinian state. For some reason, Mr. Frost does not elicit the Israeli Prime Minister's opinion of any such innovation. Nor does he ask Mr. Arafat about his intentions toward the Jewish settlements in Gaza, which Mr. Rabin maintains "are going to stay; they are not going to be uprooted."

Although Mr. Rabin avows his commitment to successful negotiations, he does not exude as much confidence as his new television partner, who announces more than once, "Where there's a will, there's a way." To one interesting question — what would the newly organized Palestinian police force do if a Palestinian should shoot an Israeli — Mr. Arafat replies, "Sorry, we are not speaking about small issues."

Among the issues that Mr. Rabin

Talking With David Frost

PBS, tonight at 10
(Channel 13 in New York)

Robert Muller, coordinating producer; produced by Wallace Westfeldt for David Paradine Television and WETA in Washington; John M. Florescu and David Frost, executive producers; Mr. Frost, host.
WITH: Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat.

does not consider small is whether, as Mr. Arafat holds, an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho represents the beginning of a Palestinian state or whether, as Mr. Rabin views it, the withdrawal is only "an interim agreement that leaves the future open." They also disagree on which side will control the borders of the territories in question.

Both men assure Mr. Frost that they can manage the opponents among their own people to any agreement, but Mr. Rabin expresses skepticism about Mr. Arafat's ability to bring into line groups like Hamas, which are continuing to attack Israelis. The Prime Minister observes in his flat bass: "They deny the right of Israel to exist. They opposed the very peace negotiations. They are against the agreement."

The two leaders display different styles. Mr. Arafat is more the showman; he speaks of himself as a martyr. Mr. Rabin is the Jewish Al Gore. But in their different ways, both leave hope with wariness as they edge toward what Mr. Rabin calls "calculated risks for peace."

Their appearance tonight makes plain, in case there was any doubt, that despite Mr. Arafat's waving away of what he calls "small issues," the road to peace in the Middle East is still a minefield of details as well as principles.

FROST PUSHED JERUSALEM
as something Arafat wanted

Q. - we can manage how to govern J.
where there is a will there is a way
(repeated twice)

A. This is not a PLO-Israel agreement.
It is international

Q. Israel has agreed to 25 K
police

Q. Let's not deal with small issues
(police action, etc.) - only with global
issues

Q. Arrogance of (Israeli) power
cannot survive.

A - I want the right to return of all
Palestinians - but not all of them
will come

Jerusalem is the "first shrine"
for all Muslims

DF - You must Rebin

A - yes I do

F - Do you trust Arafat?

R - We became partners - A. is the symbol of the Pal. struggle.

Euphoria has evaporated
Israeli + Pal. support has diminished

But I stick to my commitments

We made the right decision

I take him as a partner

I hope he will keep his commitments

F - Borders?

R - are we building an interim agreement or are we "the beginning of a state"?

Borders, Jerusalem, refugees, etc. are to be discussed two years after the interim agreement when we start to talk about permanent solution.

I understand they want Jewish

F - can extremists destroy the agreement?

R - no.

I am aware of ~~the~~ the calculated risk I'm taking - but let's see the results. If A. can control Hamas, fine, I doubt he can. If Hamas can be converted to be in favor of the P.O.P., I have no objection to them

R - I am for elections in July 94
If Pal. changed their minds
and decided against elections, that
is their decision.

Our position on settlements is
that the settlements can remain.
This was clearly stated in the DOP

F - When will you release 10K prisoners?

R - I will not specify dates. It is
part of seeing how the interim
agreement goes.

F - Can the DOP survive the
death of you or A.?

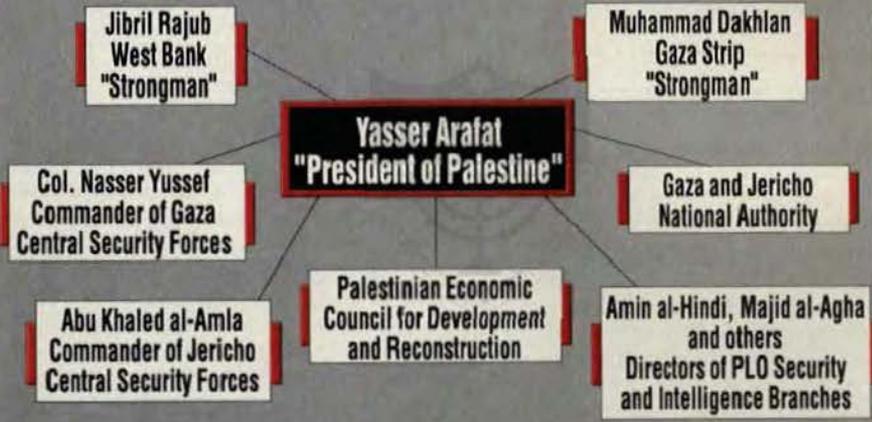
Yes - but it will be easier
if we are alive.

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All Roads Lead to Arafat



Jerusalem Report
Jan. 13, '94

ANALYSIS

'Mr. Prime Minister, help me' *Desperate days for the President of Palestine*

By DOUGLAS DAVIS

"You must do something, you must make some concessions to my people," pleaded PLO leader Yasir Arafat when Israeli Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer visited his Tunis headquarters earlier this month to discuss technical arrangements for the Cairo summit with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Ben-Eliezer left, promising to pass on the message to Rabin, but the melodrama was not simply for effect. When Arafat's aides entered their leader's office a few moments later, they found him convulsed in tears.

"That was the first time I saw this man cry like a baby," said one senior aide. "Not just tears in his eyes, but heartfelt sobbing that shook his entire body. Arafat is a brave man, not a man of tears, but he has simply collapsed."

Nor was this extraordinary emotional outburst an isolated lapse. When Arafat and Rabin met in Cairo to delay implementation of their Declaration of Principles, he was again close to tears.

According to sources close to the Israeli leader, Arafat pleaded with Rabin: "Mr. Prime Minister, help me," he said. "Understand me. I am in trouble. You know that, so please help me and try to understand my position."

But the whimpering later gave way to an outburst of fury when Rabin aide Jacques Neriah traveled to Tunis to explain that Israel would not compromise on issues of security and would not allow the Palestinians to control the border crossings from Jericho to Jordan and from Gaza to Egypt.

"OK, no problem," said Arafat menacingly. "If this is what you want, so be it. You want everything, so you can keep it all, including Gaza and Jericho."

Neriah's attempts to placate the

PLO leader only evoked further anger. "I am not waiting any longer," shouted Arafat. "In two minutes I will leave this room and tell the media that all is lost. I will tell them that I made a mistake in signing the agreement and I will ask Allah to forgive me. I will not allow Israel to humiliate me."

Neriah's final request to Arafat to stop sending faxes to Rabin's office bearing the inscription, "President of Palestine," prompted a renewed outburst: "I am the president. I am His

state is disturbed.

Jordanian officials, who this month discovered that Arafat was unwilling to ratify an economic agreement that had earlier been negotiated, at his direction, by PLO economics chief Abu Ala'a, described his behavior as "paranoid" and "obsessive."

Officials in Amman now openly compare Arafat to the deposed Ugandan dictator Idi Amin and say he has lost touch with reality in his pursuit of grandiose schemes.

'That was the first time I saw this man cry like a baby. Not just tears in his eyes, but heartfelt sobbing that shook his entire body. Arafat is a brave man, not a man of tears, but he has simply collapsed.'

Excellency the President of Palestine."

Reports that Arafat has become psychologically unhinged is not a matter of Israeli propaganda or satisfaction. Indeed, Israeli officials are reluctant to concede that the PLO leader's mental health may in any way be impaired.

They have, after all, gambled everything on striking a deal with him. They know that if they lose this high-stakes game, they may well have to face not only the violent, uncompromising face of the Islamic extremists, but also the possible collapse of the peace process itself.

Israelis are not alone in expressing concern about the psychological stability of the PLO leader. According to the mass-circulation Hebrew-language daily *Yediot Ahranot* last weekend, Western governments have been warning Israel that Arafat's mental

"Instead of talking to us about economic cooperation, he tells us he wants his own currency, which is as unrealistic as his obsession with having his portrait on Palestinian stamps and currency notes," said one official. "At night, he dreams of taking the salute in a march-past of Palestinian policemen."

The Norwegian government, midwife of the Israeli-Palestinian accord, was equally mystified, and miffed, by Arafat after he recently declared that Norway had "a moral obligation" to build him an airport in Jericho.

When asked by a Norwegian official why his government should pay for an airport in Jericho, a town with three dusty streets, a few banana plantations and a population of 15,000 inhabitants, Arafat responded indignantly: "How else will I get there?"

Noted one senior European diplomat in London: "It's a bit rich that while the Palestinians are supposed to inspire trust in their international donors, Arafat flies around on a celebration binge making demands like this."

On the eve of Arafat's visit to London last week, David Hirst, a highly respected British journalist and long-time champion of the Palestinian cause, took three pages in the liberal *Guardian* newspaper to question Arafat's psychological stability and recount the disillusionment being expressed by some of Arafat's closest aides in Tunis over their leader's bizarre, egotistical behavior and the material excesses of his wife Suha.

"I have no doubt," a member of the PLO executive committee told him, "that he really is paranoid, and the more threatened he feels, the more he has to dominate."

"He has gradually built a situation where... everything will collapse without him, or at least he has created in us the very real fear that it will."

The aide and his colleagues felt "trapped" by the accord with Israel: "We thought that with this agreement, however limited, we would begin to realize our dream, but the dream has become a nightmare. We need him, but we have to oppose him at the same time. But when we do that, he blackmails us."

The despair of the Arafat entourage, wrote Hirst, is not without a measure

Fundamentalists, rivals prepared to kill Arafat

Arafat has cause for his alleged paranoia, according to the Saudi-owned daily *Asharq al-Awsat*.

At the Cairo summit earlier this month, Rabin is understood to have graphically outlined plans by Islamic extremists, as well as rebel Fatah factions, to assassinate the PLO leader and other members of the PLO leadership.

Another Saudi-owned daily, *al-Hayat*, reported that a leader of Islamic Jihad in Damascus said that the assassination of Arafat and other PLO leaders could not be ruled out.

"Every traitor to the Palestinian cause," he said, "will one day face a Khaled Islambouli [the Egyptian Islamic extremist at the center of the plot to assassinate former Egyptian president Anwar Sadat] who will hold him to account and make him pay the price."

In another interview with the same paper, George Habash, veteran leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, warned that "history will record Arafat committed national treason against our people and its struggle, against every martyr who fell for the liberation of Palestine."

"And history," he added, "has no mercy on traitors."

— DD

Jordan losing patience with Arafat

Amid mounting political tensions over the failure of PLO leader Yasir Arafat to ratify a draft economic agreement with Jordan, officials in Amman last week said that PLO leader Yasir Arafat could not be trusted to keep his word.

"So many agreements have been signed with Arafat, but there has been no compliance on his part," a Jordanian official told the London-based daily newsletter *Mideast Mirror*.

"He signs an agreement, then turns his back and forgets all about it the next day," the Jordanian official was quoted as saying. "I think Arafat's foot-dragging on this agreement gives us the justification to make our own deal with Israel."

The draft agreement, which defines the role of Jordan's financial authorities in autonomous Palestinian areas, was negotiated with Jordan by PLO economics chief Ahmed Kra'i (Abu Ala'a) in September and was expected to have been ratified when Arafat visited Amman earlier this month.

The agreement would make the Jordanian dinar legal tender, allow Jordanian banks to operate and enable the Central Bank of Jordan to regulate financial activity in the territories during the five-year interim period of Palestinian self-rule.

Jordanian officials said that Arafat was proving incapable of acting as a head of state who could be held accountable for the actions of officials and aides whom he delegated to negotiate with other parties.

They also said that if Arafat did not ratify the accord, Amman would "take unilateral steps to protect its interests."

PLO sources in Tunis reportedly appealed to Amman to be "patient" and said Arafat would face intense pressure to ratify the agreement.

However, the newsletter also quoted Palestinian sources in Amman as warning that Arafat, who "enjoys wide support in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan," could create trouble if Jordan attempted to override the interests of the PLO.

Jordan is anxious to secure a financial foothold in the territories in order to maintain the value of the dinar, but PLO officials reportedly fear that Jordan will seek to translate its economic power into political influence.

According to PLO officials, Arafat believes the economic accord with Jordan will inhibit his main goal of securing international recognition for Palestinian nationhood.

Arafat had previously raised the prospect of establishing a Palestinian central bank and introducing a Palestinian currency as symbols of Palestinian sovereignty.

The latest Jordanian-PLO rift is an echo of a crisis that bedeviled relations in February 1986, when King Hussein, asserting that Arafat was incapable of keeping his word, suspended a co-ordination agreement with the PLO, closed down Fatah offices and expelled several Fatah functionaries from Jordan. —DD

of self-criticism: "Arafat," said one aide, "is a reflection of ourselves, of all our weaknesses, contradictions, personal and factional interests."

Another, who traveled with the Arafat entourage to Paris, recalled the aftermath of a shopping expedition by Suha Arafat: "I can see her now, boarding the plane with all her Louis Feraud packages. Can you imagine what our Gazan refugees would think if they knew about it?"

Making his first official visit to London, a visit that was heavy in symbolism given Britain's historic role in the region, Arafat was reported by aides to be "devastated" that questions about his psychological state had been raised in the *Guardian*, a newspaper that is a largely uncritical cheerleader of the Palestinian cause.

British journalists who sought to test Arafat's stability emerged shocked by the experience. Interviewed on BBC-TV's prestigious "Newsnight" current affairs program, Arafat allowed his affable mask to fall perceptibly when he was persistently questioned about disaffection within his own Fatah ranks over his autocratic leadership style and his insistence on retaining exclusive control of the PLO's finances.

At one point Arafat turned on his interviewer: "You are trying to squeeze me," he said, his face con-

torted in anger. "Not to continue squeezing me. This is an attempt to interfere in our interior (*sic*) affairs. I can imagine you have the right to do so, but you have to respect our independence."

The flash of anger appeared again the following day when the issue of his autocratic rule was taken up at a press conference: "I am very proud of Palestinian democracy, which allows any Palestinian to question Yasir Arafat," he said, warning outsiders not to "meddle" in Palestinian affairs.

For most, proof that something was seriously wrong came when Arafat compared his suffering to that of Jesus Christ: "Even the messiah, peace be upon him, did not convince many people during his lifetime," he said.

But he saved his most bitter riposte for the correspondent of the London-based weekly magazine *al-Wasaf*, whose current cover story is, perhaps prophetically, entitled: "The last days of the PLO: The war between the leadership and the rank-and-file."

"What you wrote," Arafat raged at the hapless correspondent, "was insincere, careless and dishonest."

The PLO leader's two-day visit to London, timed to coincide with the "sacred date" when Palestinian self-rule should have taken its first tentative steps in Jericho and Gaza, was intended to be a triumphal occasion.

Instead, to the dismay of the Palestinians, the British and the Israelis, it was marked by incessant speculation about "his mental fitness to run a railroad track, let alone a mini-state."

By the end of the visit, the undercurrent of disenchantment at his political malaise and economic ineptitude that had been exposed by his close engagement with Israel turned to scorn.

This week, the major British daily, the *Times*, castigated Arafat for his "egotism, paranoia and cronyism," declaring that "his triumphalist strutting on the world stage has been a major error of judgment."

Yasir Arafat has survived a plane crash, 25 attempts on his life by fellow Palestinians, as well as the military wrath of the Syrians, the Jordanians, the Iranians and the Israelis.

The most lethal enemy of all, however, may turn out to be, not the precision-guided missile, but old-fashioned ridicule. And Yasir Arafat, it seems, has already been transformed from an international terrorist to an international joke.

Dec 23-30, '93



Secretary of State Warren Christopher answers reporters' questions after a private meeting with Jewish leaders organized by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Photo by Michael Datikash

Christopher Speaks

Secretary of state gives Jewish leaders the Mideast lowdown in private meeting.

STEWART AIN
STAFF WRITER

The Clinton administration reportedly is working with congressional leaders to prevent further reductions in the \$10 billion U.S. loan guarantee to Israel. This year's \$2 billion installment was reduced by nearly one-fourth to reflect the money Israel spent in the territories.

In a private meeting with Jewish leaders organized by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, Secretary of State Warren Christopher reportedly said negotiations between the administration and Congress are ongoing. Christopher, according to sources, said that the Clinton administration believes Israel should receive a credit for the expenses it has incurred in the pursuit of peace.

Christopher reportedly also revealed that the United States has offered to look into the possibility of providing "non-lethal assistance" to the 15,000-member Palestinian police force now being formed to patrol the Gaza Strip and the west bank town of Jericho.

Those who heard his 50-minute address, held in the ballroom of the UJA-Federation headquarters in Manhattan, said Christopher also disclosed that there is talk about establishing a major fall conference involving Israel, Jordan, the United States and other nations interested in economic development between Jordan and Israel.

Christopher is also said to have reported that officials of both Lebanon and Jordan told him during his weeklong trip to the Middle East earlier this month that Syria is the key to a comprehensive peace in the region. He reportedly said that until progress is made with Syria, Jordan could be expected to make only incremental agreements with Israel on such matters as trade and fiscal affairs.

Regarding the Palestinians, Christopher reportedly said he was pleased with the progress they are making regarding their planned use of the \$2 billion in assistance pledged to them over five years by 47 nations last month. He said the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction is moving in the right direction and that he is impressed with the progress it is making.

Christopher met twice with Syrian President Hafez Assad and was promised that Assad would allow all Syrian Jews to leave the country by the end of the year and to help a congressional staff delegation search for four missing Israeli soldiers. He reportedly told the Jewish leaders that in addition to the congressional staff, the Clinton administration will provide a group of experienced foreign service personnel to accompany them and that they would be briefed first in Israel.

During his trip, Christopher also met with families of the four Israeli MIAs. He reportedly described that meeting as "touching" and added that he carried a letter to Assad from Sarah Katz, the mother of MIA Yehuda Katz.

The chairman of the Conference of Presidents, Lester Pollack, told the meeting that Christopher called him from the Middle East to brief him on his negotiations. Christopher earlier privately thanked Pollack for the work of the conference and said he was pleased with the working relationship he had with Jewish leaders.

Negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors will resume next month. Christopher reportedly said that the heads of its Syrian, Lebanese, Jordanian and Palestinian negotiating teams will meet Jan. 18 in Washington with the heads of the Israeli teams in what he described as "informal" talks. The full delegations will convene in the last half of January.

President Bill Clinton will confer with Assad in Geneva on Jan. 16, and Christopher reportedly said he believes that meeting is important to keep the peace process moving. He later told reporters that he believes the progress made toward peace is "irreversible," although Israeli leaders have said the agreements are null and void if the PLO does not fulfill its commitments.

While in the Middle East, Christopher said at a press conference that he also tried to get other Arab nations to reach out to Israel. He said it is important for the Israeli public to understand that there is a sea change taking place in the Arab world regarding their attitude toward Israel.

He reportedly told the Jewish leaders that this change is not coming about through any dramatic gesture but rather through small, confidence-building steps. He said that in his discussions with King Hassan of Morocco, he was told that Morocco and Israel will begin direct mail and telephone service, that business delegations will be exchanged between the two nations, that Israel's two chief rabbis will visit Morocco and that its passport laws will be changed to allow Israelis to travel to Morocco.

Christopher also said that Tunisia is expected to allow Israelis of Tunisian descent to travel to Tunisia.

Regarding the Arab boycott, Christopher reportedly told the Jewish leaders, and later reiterated at a press conference, that the secondary and tertiary Arab boycott has "largely dissipated." And he expressed the hope that the Arab League will lift the boycott next year.

Asked about the recent elections in Russia, Christopher said he hopes the strong showing by ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy will serve as a "wake-up call" to the Yeltsin government that has been insensitive to the pain inflicted on Russians because of economic reform. □

Jan. 4, '94

Rancor Rises as Jordan Warns Arafat and Palestinians Squabble

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM
Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Jan. 3 — Talks between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization appear to be caught in a thickening web of rancor and recrimination, not only between Palestinians and Israelis, but more vividly between Jordan and the P.L.O., among Palestinians themselves and, to some extent, within Israel's governing Labor Party.

Over the weekend Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel accused the P.L.O. of duplicity, wondering aloud whether any agreement with it is valid and saying he will suspend the talks to make Palestinians "sweat it out."

King Hussein of Jordan delivered a virtual ultimatum to the P.L.O. to either coordinate its actions with Jordan or face unspecified unilateral decisions by Amman.

And Haidar Abdelshafi, the Gaza physician who led the Palestinian delegation at the Madrid peace conference of 1991, traveled to the Tunis headquarters of the P.L.O. chairman, Yasir Arafat, to ask him to step aside.

Petition Signed by 118

Leading a delegation of seven prominent Palestinians, Dr. Abdelshafi arrived in Tunis on Sunday carrying a petition signed by 118 Palestinian figures in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank denouncing what they described as Mr. Arafat's autocratic style and mediocre management of the transition to self-rule accepted in principle by Israel and the P.L.O. in September.

The petition was not made public. But its signers said their document declared that they had had enough of the P.L.O.'s corrupt practices and nepotism and the chaotic ways of Mr. Arafat's conduct of peace negotiations. It demanded that "democratic practices" be introduced to take into account views of Palestinians who have lived under Israeli occupation for the last 26 years.

Israel continues to insist that Mr. Arafat renege on a deal worked out between its Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, and the P.L.O.'s chief negotiator, Mahmud Abbas, during three days of talks in Cairo last week.

Mr. Peres said at a news conference on Wednesday, as the Cairo talks ended, that there was a "meeting of the minds" between Israel and the P.L.O. But when Mr. Abbas followed him to the podium at the Itihadiya Palace here, he said nothing of any agreement, speaking only of differences still to be ironed out.

Egyptian and some Israeli officials say some of these differences are between Mr. Peres and Mr. Rabin. The two men have been political rivals within the Labor Party for years, and it is an open secret in Israel that the Prime Minister thinks that Mr. Peres is often tempted "to announce successes and rush to take credit for them," in the words of an Israeli journalist who accompanied Mr. Peres to the Cairo talks.

Arafat Surprises Aides

There is little question that Mr. Arafat's manner contributed to the eruption of anger in Israel and confusion among his aides. When his negotiators rushed to the Cairo airport early on Thursday to greet Mr. Arafat and show him the results of their efforts, the P.L.O. leader surprised them with a whole new set of demands.

"He should have warned them some-



Reuters

Right-Wing Rally in Jerusalem

Thousands of right-wing Jews gathered at the Western Wall of the Old Temple in Jerusalem yesterday for a mass prayer and protest calling on God to save Israel from the peace initiatives of the Government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. About 10,000 Jews attended the rally.

thing like this was coming, but he didn't," said an Arab diplomat who was involved in the talks and asked not to be identified.

The harshest criticism of Mr. Arafat and of the P.L.O. came from King Hussein of Jordan on Saturday, in an unusually prickly speech to his army officers. The army is known for its deep antipathy toward Palestinians in Israel, having fought a bloody war to oust the P.L.O. from Jordan in 1970.

The King complained that Mr. Arafat had ducked every opportunity to sign an economic agreement already negotiated with Jordan that allows Jordanian banks to reopen their branches in the West Bank and decrees that Jordan's central bank act as a clearing house for financial aid to the occupied territories after an agreement with Israel is signed.

"We have tried and we have overlooked many things, but we cannot go on this way," he said. "We cannot continue to say there is cooperation where there isn't or that there is agreement where there isn't. There must be a significant commitment, not words."

He threatened to make unspecified "unilateral" decisions unless the P.L.O. signed the agreement with Jordan by Tuesday.

Doubts About Arafat

But even these disputes, bitter as they seem, were overshadowed by a growing revolt in Palestinian ranks that has raised serious questions about Mr. Arafat's ability to enforce any agreements he does reach with Israel.

Nearly half the 18 members of the once-powerful executive committee of the P.L.O. have resigned to protest Mr. Arafat's concentration of all decision-making in his hands. Scores of young P.L.O. cadres in the occupied territories have also quit in the last few weeks, saying they were being ignored in favor of corrupt cronies of Mr. Arafat.

Upon arriving in Tunis on Sunday to present the protest petition, Dr. Abdelshafi, who now has a far higher popular standing than Mr. Arafat, articulated this anger in an unambiguous way.

"We want to broaden the bases for decision-making so it will not stand in

the hands of Abu Ammar," he said, using the nom de guerre by which Mr. Arafat is known to most Palestinians. "There should be a collective leadership."

Israeli Troops Kill 3 Arabs

GAZA, Jan. 3 (Reuters) — Israeli soldiers shot and killed three Palestinians in clashes with stone-throwing demonstrators in the occupied Gaza Strip today, hospital officials said.

Palestinians said all three were supporters of the Muslim militant group Hamas, which strongly opposes the Israeli-P.L.O. accord on Palestinian self-

rule. The Palestinians said the paramilitary border police had shot and killed Fadel Rehan, 19, in a clash in the northern Gaza village of Jabaliya. More clashes erupted in the Shati refugee camp near Gaza City when news of the killing reached camp residents, and the Palestinians said undercover troops in the camp had opened fire, killing Abbas Said, 17. Israeli troops later shot and killed Farid Sharawi, also 17, in the camp.

At least 48 Palestinians and 23 Israelis have been killed since the agreement between Israel and the P.L.O. was made public in September.

The Varieties of Religious Experience
(Excerpt from pp. 358-359 "*The Value of Saintliness*")

The beauty of war in this respect is that it is so congruous with ordinary human nature. Ancestral evolution has made us all potential warriors; so the most insignificant individual, when thrown into an army in the field, is weaned from whatever excess of tenderness toward his precious person he may bring with him, and may easily develop into a monster of insensibility.

But when we compare the military type of self-severity with that of the ascetic saint, we find a world-wide difference in all their spiritual concomitants.

"Live and let live," writes a clear-headed Austrian officer, "is no device for an army. Contempt for one's own comrades, for the troops of the enemy, and, above all, fierce contempt for one's own person, are what war demands of every one. Far better is it for an army to be too savage, too cruel, too barbarous, than to possess too much sentimentality and human reasonableness. If the soldier is to be good for anything as a soldier, he must be exactly the opposite of a reasoning and thinking man. The measure of goodness in him is his possible use in war. War, and even peace, require of the soldier absolutely peculiar standards of morality. The recruit brings with him common moral notions, of which he must seek immediately to get rid. For him victory, success, must be *everything*. The most barbaric tendencies in men come to life again in war, and for war's uses they are incommensurably good."

These words are of course literally true. The immediate aim of the soldier's life is, as Moltke said, destruction, and nothing but destruction; and whatever constructions wars result in are remote and non-military. Consequently the soldier cannot train himself to be too feelingless to all those usual sympathies and respects, whether for persons or for things, that make for conservation. Yet the fact remains that war is a school of strenuous life and heroism; and, being in the line of aboriginal instinct, is the only school that as yet is universally available. But when we gravely ask ourselves whether this wholesale organization of irrationality and crime be our only bulwark against effeminacy, we stand aghast at the thought, and think more kindly of ascetic religion. One hears of the mechanical equivalent of heat. What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be compatible. I have often thought that in the old monkish poverty-worship, in spite of the pedantry which infested it, there might be something like that moral equivalent of war which we are seeking. May not voluntarily accepted poverty be "the strenuous life," without the need of crushing weaker peoples?

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

PRINCE BANDAR BIN SULTAN BIN ABDULAZIZ

HRH Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz is the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the United States of America.

His Royal Highness Prince Bandar bin Sultan was born on March 2, 1949 near Taif, Saudi Arabia, the summer capital of the Kingdom. He is the son of His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, the Second Deputy Premier and Minister of Defense and Aviation. He is married to Princess Haifa bint Faisal. They have three sons and three daughters. On September 27, 1983, Prince Bandar was appointed Ambassador to the United States by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud as his representative in Washington.

Prince Bandar attended the British Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, England, graduating in 1968 and was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF). He received pilot training in the United Kingdom and the United States. He has flown numerous fighter aircrafts, including JP 3-4, T-38, T-33, F-5, F-53/55 and the F-102. His 17-year military career included commands of fighter squadrons at three RSAF bases, and program management responsibilities in the major RSAF modernization Project Peace Hawk. He has reached the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Prince Bandar had special assignments in Washington, DC, during the controversial debate between the U.S. Administration and the Congress concerning the sale of F-15's to Saudi Arabia (1978) and the sale of AWACs to Saudi Arabia (1981). In 1982 he was assigned to Washington as the Kingdom's Defense Attache.

Prince Bandar has completed post-graduate education in several U.S. professional military schools including staff courses with the Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, Montgomery, Alabama, and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Ft. McNair, Washington, DC. He received his Master's Degree in International Public Policy from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC, in 1980.

Prince Bandar has acted as special envoy for the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd in special assignments which included negotiating a ceasefire in the Lebanese Civil War in 1983. He has been a member of Saudi Arabia's delegation to the United Nations' 38th through the 43rd Session of the General Assembly.

His Royal Highness Prince Bandar has been awarded medals and decorations, including the Hawk Flying Medal of Aviation, the King Faisal Medal, the King Abdulaziz sash, and medals from other nations.

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RABBI SAUL BERMAN

Stern College
245 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016
212-340-7700
212-340-7788 FAX

Professor and former Chairman, Department of Jewish Studies, Stern College, Yeshiva University, New York. Formerly rabbi of Lincoln Square Synagogue, New York, NY. Rabbi Berman is a noted authority on Talmud, rabbinic text, and modern issues in Halachah.

DR. ELLEN CANNON

Dept. of Political Science
Northeastern Illinois University
5500 N. St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, IL 60725
312-794-2709

Professor of Political Science and Public Policy, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, IL; Adjunct Professor of Public Policy Making, Public Administration, and Middle East Politics, Roosevelt University, Chicago.

DR. MICHAEL CHERNICK

Hebrew Union College
One West Fourth Street
New York, NY 10012
212-674-5300
212-533-0129 FAX

Professor of Jewish Jurisprudence at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. He is an authority on Talmud and Midrash Halacha, and has published numerous scholarly articles on these and related topics.

RABBI DANIEL H. GORDIS

9323 Kirkside Road
Los Angeles, CA 90035
310-476-9777

Dean of Administration and Assistant to the President at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, where he is also Assistant Professor of Rabbinic Literature. Additionally, he serves as a Senior Contributing Editor of The Jewish Spectator, and as a faculty fellow at the Brandeis-Bardin Institute in California.

RABBI DONNIEL HARTMAN

JCC on the Palisades
411 East Clinton Avenue
Tenafly, NJ 07670
201-569-7900
201-569-7448 FAX

Director of the Shalom Hartman Institute in North America and Judaic Scholar-In-Residence at the JCC on the Palisades, Tenafly, New Jersey. As an Orthodox Rabbi serving the multi-denominational and religiously diverse constituency of one of the largest JCC's in America, he has developed a method of pluralistic study founded on mutual respect and intellectual openness.

DR. REUVEN KIMELMAN

CLAL
99 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10016
212-867-8888
617-736-2963 (Brandeis University)

Chief Program Associate of CLAL-- The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership; Associate Professor of Talmud and Midrash at Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.

DR. HAVA TIROSH ROTHSCHILD

Department of Religious Studies
Sycamore Hall 230
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47405
812-855-3531

Associate Professor of Religion at Indiana University, and formerly with Emory University in Atlanta, GA. She has published numerous articles on various aspects of medieval Jewish philosophy, and has recently completed work on her first book, and examination of the life and thought of David ben Judah Messer Leon.

RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

Religious Action Center
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-387-2800
202-667-9070 FAX

Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, he represents the Reform Jewish movement to the Congress and Federal administration, provides extensive legislative and programmatic material to synagogues nationwide and coordinates social action education programs that train nearly 2,000 Jewish adults, youth, rabbinic and lay leaders each year. Rabbi Saperstein is also an attorney and an adjunct professor in comparative Jewish and American Law at Georgetown University Law School.

DR. HAIM SHAKED

University of Miami
Middle East Institute
P.O. Box 248123
Coral Gables, FL 22124
305-284-6882
305-284-4406 FAX

Professor of Middle East Studies at the University of Miami's Graduate School of International Studies; Professor of Middle Eastern History, Department of Middle Eastern and African History; Senior Research Fellow, the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University. He is an expert on military affairs, including geo-political strategy, and Israel's military history.

RABBI DAVID SILBER

Drisha Institute for Jewish Education, Inc.
131 West 86th Street
New York, NY 10024
212-595-0307
212-595-0679

Founder and Director of the Drisha Institute of Advanced Jewish Studies in New York City. His specialty is text study of the narrative portions of the Bible.

DR. BERNARD STEINBERG

Harvard Radcliffe & Hillel
74 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-495-4695

Director of the Hillel Foundation at Harvard University, and formerly Executive Director of Judaica at the Cleveland Jewish Community Center. He has been a teacher of Jewish Philosophy at a number of institutions, including the Pardes Institute of Jewish Studies and the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

DR. DEVORA STEINMETZ

Beit Rabban School
15 W. 86th Street
New York, NY 10025
212-595-1386

Founding director of Beit Rabban, a new Jewish day school which opened in New York City in the fall of 1991. She has taught at Drisha Institute in New York and at the Jewish Theological Seminary. She is the author of From Father to Son: Kinship, Conflict and Continuity in Genesis.

DR. JEFFREY WOOLF

36 Jabotinsky Street #7
Jerusalem, Israel
02-631-674

Lecturer in Talmud at Talmud and Jewish history at Bar Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel. He serves as Executive Chairman of the Orthodox Roundtable, an Orthodox Halachic "think tank." Formerly Scholar-in-Residence for the Riverdale YM-YWHA.

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Misha Galperin	Kekst
Kim Gantz	Proskauer
Caron Gelles	
Steve Gelles	Wachtell

David Glimcher	Columbus
Victoria Glimcher	Columbus
Tobi Gold	Columbus
Ari Goldman	Seagram
Janet Goldman	
Ronald Goldman	Kekst
Ben Golub	Kekst
Cindy Golub	Kekst
Jerry Gontownik	Seagram
Sid Good	Cleveland I
Alex Greenberg	Skadden
Larry Greenwald	
Peggy Gries	Cleveland I
Gary L. Gross	Cleveland II
Marcy Gross	Columbus
Marilyn Grossman	Seagram
Zev Grossman	
Rubin Guttman	Cleveland II
Seth Haberman	Proskauer
David Hagans	
Lynn Halbfinger	
Marty Halbfinger	Kekst
Caren Hammerman	Proskauer
Hillel Hammerman	
Carrie Harris	Wachtell
Steve Hartman	Cleveland I
Mark Hauser	Seagram
Karen Hauser	
Judith Henner	
Lester Henner	Sidley
Ronnie Heyman	Skadden
Deborah Himmelfarb	
Stuart Himmelfarb	Seagram
David Hirsch	Seagram
Robert Immerman	Cleveland II
Cari Immerman	Cleveland I
Francine Immerman	Cleveland II
Ronald Immerman	
Ari H. Jaffe	Cleveland II
Rae Janvey	Skadden
Richard Janvey	
Linda Jesselson	Kekst
Michael Jesselson	Kekst

Peter A. Joseph	Skadden
Larry Kadis	Cleveland II
Bruce Kafenbaum	Skadden
Sandi Kafenbaum	
Annette Kasle	Seagram
Daniel Kasle	
Kyle Katz	Columbus
Martin Kaufman	Skadden
Shelley Kaufman	
Danny Kayne	Columbus
Naomi Kayne	
Ken Kelner	Proskauer
Barbara Klock	
Lynette Koppel	
Steven Koppel	Skadden
Joseph Korn	Proskauer
Adinah Kranzler	
Elliot Kranzler	Seagram
Ed Kraus	Cleveland I
Vladimir Kvint	Wachtell
Daniel Lehmann	CLAL/Wexner Fellow
Lisa Lehmann	
Marty Leventhal	
Gloria Levenfus	
Mark Levenfus	Wachtell
Neil Levin	Sidley
Ann Marie Lieberman	
Mark Lieberman	Kekst
Annie Wiesenthal Linhart	
Richard Linhart	Wachtell
Bruce Maier	Proskauer
Elissa Maier	
Beth Mann	Skadden
Ellen deJonge Markowitz	Seagram
Lauren K. Merkin	Seagram
Bonnie Milenthal	Columbus
David Milenthal	Columbus
Karen Milenthal	Columbus
Richard Milenthal	Columbus
Judith Miller	Wachtell
David J. Mitchell	Wachtell
Amy Morgenstern	Cleveland I
David J. Nathan	Sidley

Jill Nathanson	
Beth Ostrow	Seagram
Ron Ostrow	
Michael Peterman	Cleveland II
Bernard M. Plum	Proskauer
Hugh Pollack	Skadden
Martha Pollack	
Eliane Rackman	
Joseph Rackman	Kekst
Brian Ratner	Cleveland I
Ronald Ratner	Cleveland II
Tawny Ratner	Cleveland I
Alise Reicin	
Cheryl Reicin	Wachtell
Alayne Reitman	Cleveland II
Steven Richman	
Sandra M. Rocks	
Robert Rose	Wachtell
Yvette Rose	
Malki Rosen	
Philip Rosen	Seagram
Howard Rubin	Seagram
James Samuels	Cleveland I
Deborah Lafer Scher	Seagram
Howard Scher	
Elizabeth H. Scheuer	
William Schottenstein	Columbus
Jill Schottenstein	
Steven Schottenstein	Columbus
Jeffrey Schwarz	Seagram
Jodi Schwartz	Wachtell
Joan Bloomberg Sebelin	Cleveland I
Katie Shames	
Michael Shames	Skadden
Scott Shay	Kekst
Susan Shay	
Charna E. Sherman	Cleveland I
Salem D. Shuchman	Kekst
Anita Siegal	Cleveland II
Michael Siegal	Cleveland II
Marc Alan Silverstein	Cleveland I
Stuart Simms	Cleveland II

Gilles Sion	Sidley
Lina Ajami Sion	
Alan Slifka	
Virginia Slifka	Skadden
Bruce Soll	Columbus
Joy Soll	Columbus
Lily Starr	Washington, D.C.
Neil Starr	
Jason Stein	
Jeffrey Stern	Sidley
Julie Swidler	
Michael Swidler	Wachtell
Adele Tauber	Sidley
Ronald Tauber	
Charles Temel	Wachtell
Judy Wesalo Temel	
Mark Tsesarsky	Seagram
David Trachtenberg	
Debra Richman Trachtenberg	Seagram
Neil M. Tramer	Cleveland I
Matthew Ungar	
Susan Ungar	Columbus
Ric Wanetik	Columbus
Dale Wang	Seagram
Peter Wang	Seagram
Joni Wasserman	Cleveland I
Steven Wasserman	Cleveland II
Judith Stern Waxman	Cleveland II
Muriel Weber	Cleveland II
Ronald Weiner	Kekst
Vicki Weiner	
Sarah Weinstein	Sidley
Mark Weisman	Cleveland I
Robert Weiss	
Abigail Wexner	Columbus
Leslie Wexner	
Linda White	Seagram
John Wolff	Proskauer
Alan Yanowitz	Cleveland II
Eric Zahler	Wachtell
Karen Gantz Zahler	Wachtell
Barbara Zimet	
Robert Zimet	Skadden

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

JANUARY 21 - 23 1994

WINTER RETREAT

EVALUATION FORM

Name _____ Community _____

We are very pleased that you were able to attend and participate in our 1994 Winter Retreat.

Our goal for the retreat was to explore many of the challenges posed by the September 13th agreement signed on the White House lawn.

The consummation of a real and lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians will radically alter the face of Jewish life into the next century. There will be major new risks and opportunities for Israel, American Jewry and for the Arab peoples of the Middle East.

What does the Jewish tradition have to say about the challenges of peacemaking? What is likely to be the shape of the "Final Status" agreement between Israel and the Palestinians? What are the chances for Israel and her other Arab neighbors to conclude agreements in the near future? How is American Jewry to respond to the changing landscape of the Middle East?

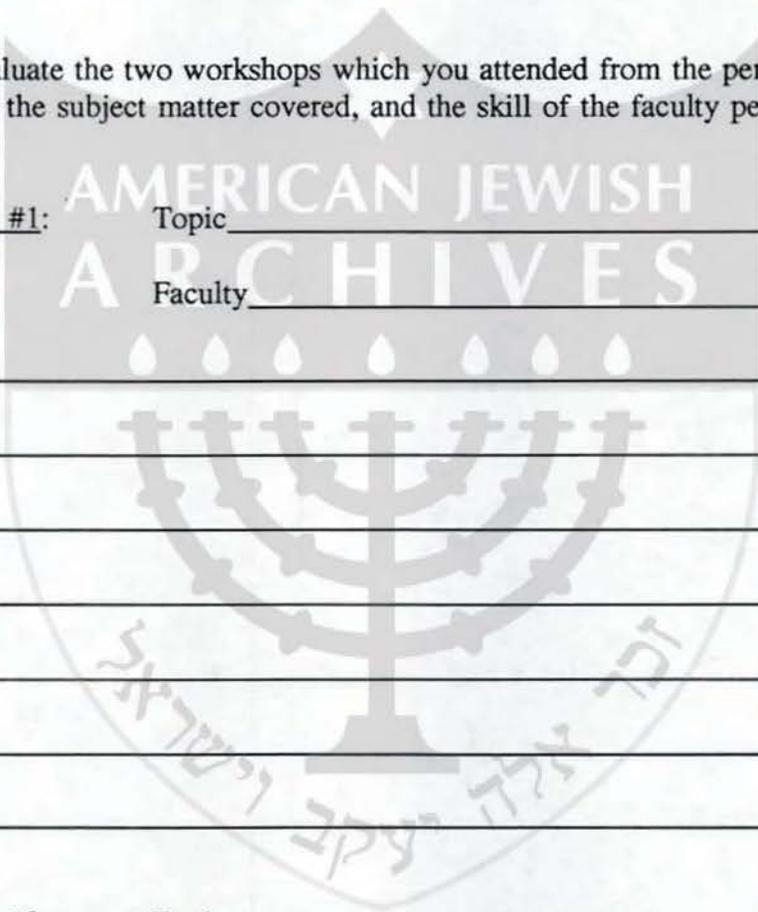
By answering the following questions you will help us determine the success of the program in meeting our objectives:

- (1) Has your point of view regarding the current peace process been strengthened or modified as a result of this retreat? Which plenaries or workshops made a particular impression on your thinking? Please explain fully.

(2) Please evaluate the two workshops which you attended from the perspective of the interest of the subject matter covered, and the skill of the faculty person in leading the workshop.

Workshop #1: Topic _____
 Faculty _____

Workshop #2: Topic _____
 Faculty _____



Mr. J. Phillip Rosen: The Economic Challenge of Peace: A Wexnerite's Mission to the Middle East

Rabbi Herbert Friedman: The Challenge of Peace to American Jews

- (4) Please give us any additional feedback you have regarding the retreat: the facility, the services, transportation arrangements, etc.

Thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts with us. Have a good trip home!



The Wexner Heritage Foundation Mid-Year Retreat

JANUARY

21 *through* 23

1 · 9 · 9 · 4

WESTFIELDS

Chantilly, VA

THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE



November 10, 1993

TO: Wexner Heritage Foundation Members
FROM: Herb, Nathan, Ramie and Lori
RE: Mid-Year Retreat
January 21-23, 1994

The handshake between Prime Minister Rabin and Yasser Arafat was a historic milestone. But what are its implications for the Israelis, for the Palestinians and for American Jewry in the future? What challenges lie ahead? We shall explore these questions at our upcoming Mid-Year Retreat entitled **The Challenge of Peace** which will be held outside Washington, D.C. 15 minutes from Dulles Airport at:

Westfields
International Conference Center
14750 Conference Center Drive
Westfields, Virginia 22021
Tel: 703-818-0300
FAX: 703-818-3655

HOTEL REGISTRATION

To confirm your participation and reserve your hotel room and workshop selections, please complete the enclosed Registration Form. Be sure to include your spouse's name, only if s/he is attending. All rooms are double occupancy. Those attending without a spouse will be assigned a roommate. If you desire a Single Room, it is available at an additional charge (\$ 50 per night). Please use the form to indicate whether you and/or your spouse requires vegetarian food.

If you are unable to attend, please return the registration form with a note of explanation.

TRAVEL INFORMATION

Airline ticketing will be handled by Adelman Travel. Please call our contact, Vicki at 1-800-231-3999 to reserve your flights.

Below is the flight schedule. Please be sure to book the appropriate flight for your city with Adelman Travel.

Friday, January 21st

<u>DEPART</u>	<u>FLIGHT & NUMBER</u>	<u>DEPART TIME</u>	<u>ARRIVAL</u>
New York	U.S. Air #6431	10:00 am	11:06 am (National)
	Delta # 1747	9:30 am	10:43 am (National)
Cleveland	United # 6549	10:00 am	11:25 am (Dulles)
	Continental # 124	8:07 am	9:18 am (National)
Columbus	United # 6288	9:55 am	11:15 am (Dulles)

Sunday, January 23rd

<u>FLIGHT & NUMBER</u>	<u>DEPART</u>	<u>ARRIVAL TIME</u>	<u>ARRIVE</u>
U.S. Air #6460 (National)	1:00 pm	2:00 pm	New York
Delta # 1752 (National)	1:30 pm	2:20 pm	New York
United # 6422 (Dulles)	12:10 pm	1:45 pm	Cleveland
Cont.# 1637 (National)	1:59 pm	3:18 pm	Cleveland
United # 6381 (Dulles)	12:20 pm	1:50 pm	Columbus

Seating is limited; please call immediately to make your flight arrangements and avoid having to be put on different flights.

Transportation between Dulles and National Airports and Westfields will be supplied for the *group flights only*. The Wexner Heritage Foundation will cover all costs for members and spouses, except incidentals and spouse's airfare.

We request that all members use Adelman Travel for their flight arrangements. If alternate flight arrangements are required, members are responsible for any additional air or land costs that may result.

WORKSHOP REGISTRATION

Enclosed is the title of each session for workshops I and II along with brief descriptions for your review and selection. Also enclosed are brief biographies of the faculty.

Please indicate your **first, second and third choices** for each workshop on the enclosed Registration Form and return immediately **but no later than November 23rd**. **WORKSHOPS WILL BE ASSIGNED ON A FIRST RECEIVED BASIS.**

You can return the Registration Form by mail or by FAX (212-751-3739).

If you have any questions regarding your registration, transportation or accommodations, please call Lori Baron. We look forward to seeing you in January.



Wexner Heritage Foundation

MID-YEAR RETREAT

January 21 - 23, 1994

WORKSHOP I

1. **Peace as a Theme in Jewish Liturgy**

Rabbi Saul Berman

The Siddur is the central repository of the hopes, aspirations and values of the Jewish People. Every service, and virtually every segment of every service, in the traditional liturgy contains and reiterates prayers related to peace. We will examine the role of these prayers for peace in their varied manifestations, as praise, petition and expressions of gratitude. We will also examine the tension between particularism and universalism which especially manifests itself in these prayers.

2. **What Geopolitical and Economic Forces led to the 1993 Israeli-Palestinian Peace Accord ?**

Dr. Ellen Cannon

As we move toward the 21st century, profound changes are redefining the basis of international arrangements. These changes include: the transformation of global economics; the decline of the nation-state system; the emergence of regional decision-making bodies. Placing the 1993 peace accord within the context of these larger changes, this workshop will establish how Israel has properly positioned itself for new leadership potential in the 21st century.

3. **After the Palestinians: Can the Jewish People Co-Exist Peacefully with Each Other in the State of Israel?**

Dr. Michael Chernick

Do modern Zionist thought and traditional Jewish law provide the bedrock for the creation of a cohesive, peaceful Jewish society in the State of Israel? We will consider the thinking of such diverse personalities as A. B. Yehoshua and David Grossman, along with the thinkers of Shas and Degel Ha-Torah.

4. **Does Jewish Law Permit the Return of Land in Exchange for Peace?**

Rabbi Daniel Gordis

The permissibility of turning over Jewish lands to non-Jews has long been a subject of intense debate in Jewish legal opinions. Long a theoretical issue, this question now has an urgency and immediacy few could have predicted only months ago. What, in fact, does Jewish law say? How are these rulings likely to influence the debate between secular and religious parties in Israel?

5. **Is Peace a Biblical Value? The Biblical Morality of War**

Rabbi Donniel Hartman

While as Jews we often speak of the centrality of peace to our tradition, biblical history and law seem to give lie to this claim. Our treatment of the seven Canaanite nations, to name but one instance, does not reflect a tradition founded on the principles of peace. What is the Bible's notion of a just war? Was peace between Israel and its neighbors a biblical aspiration?

6. **Non-Violence and Conflict Resolution from the Sources of Judaism**

Dr. Reuven Kimelman

Within Jewish tradition, what models exist for resolving conflict without violence? In these models, what image of humanity is presented? How is this image of humanity extended to the adversary? What can these models teach us about human nature? How can one rebuke and reprove without alienating? How much of this is relevant to the contemporary situation? These are some of the issues we will consider in this session.

7. **Martin Buber and Gershom Scholem: The Idea of the Bi-National State in Early Zionism**

Dr. Hava Tirosh Rothschild

In 1925 a group of Jewish intellectuals founded an association -- Brit Shalom (Peace Association) -- to foster friendly relations between Arabs and Jews and to seek a joint solution for the future of Palestine. Brit Shalom favored a bi-national state in the whole of Palestine, with Jews and Arabs having an equal share in its administration regardless of the size of their respective populations. This position was attached by almost all Zionist parties, especially the Revisionists. By the mid-1930's Brit Shalom ceased to exist, though there were repeated attempts to revive its ideology through the 1960's. This workshop focuses on the seminal thinkers of the movement for a bi-national state: Gershom Scholem and Martin Buber. We will explore their attitude toward Jewish-Arab relations in the context of their approach to Zionism, the revival of Hebrew culture in the Land of Israel, and the study of Jewish mysticism.

8. **Doves on the World, Hawks on Israel: American Jewish Foreign Policy Attitudes and Their Effect of US-Israel Relations, 1967-1993**

Rabbi David Saperstein

From 1967-1993, the Jewish community held quintessentially liberal foreign policy views: opposing the war in Vietnam, supporting nuclear disarmament, and urging smaller U.S. military budgets. At the same time, it advocated substantial military aid to Israel and transfer of a wide range of advanced weaponry. Neo-conservative Jews criticized the contradictions of this position and warned that it would hurt Israel. What actually happened? How did these internal political debates of the Jewish community play out? What lessons from this era can help shape Jewish views on U.S. foreign policy in the post-Cold War era?

9. **The Changing Configuration of the Middle East**

Dr. Haim Shaked

The Middle East has been likened to a kaleidoscope -- with every twist a new picture emerges out of the same particles. Have the demise of the Soviet Union, the Gulf War, the "Israeli-PLO handshake", and other momentous developments ushered in a new era in the Middle East?

10. **War or Peace: Perspectives from the Battles of David**

Rabbi David Silber

During the period prior to his becoming King, David commanded a small private army. The Biblical book of I Samuel depicts several incidents where military skirmishes are averted by creative peacemaking ploys. The workshop will focus on the story of David and Abigail, I Samuel chapter 25. Through a careful reading of the Biblical text we will explore the range of options available to David and the counsel of Abigail.

11. **Contemporary Religious Approaches to Peace in Israel: Oz VeShalom and Gush Emunim**

Dr. Bernard Steinberg

The religious response to peace in Israel is usually identified with the political right, specifically Gush Emunim ("The Block of the Faithful"). During this workshop, we shall explore a different religious approach, that of Oz VeShalom ("Strength and Peace") and will address such questions as: What role do religious voices play in contemporary Israeli politics? Is a specifically religious response to peace needed? What distinguishes Oz VeShalom from Peace Now? Does Gush Emunim represent the most viable religious response? What does Oz VeShalom have in common with Gush Emunim?

12. **Making Peace with Enemies: Jacob and Esau as Archetypes**

Dr. Devorah Steinmetz

On his way back from exile to the Promised Land, Jacob encounters his brother Esau. The episode is unique in the Torah in its portrayal of reconciliation between brothers without reunification. Jacob and Esau neither remain enemies nor become one family/nation. We will study this Biblical narrative along with a selection of classical interpretations and evaluations of the episode.

13. **The Debate Over Peace-Making During the Great Rebellion of 66-70 CE**

Dr. Jeffrey Woolf

In the face of seemingly overwhelming odds, an intense debate raged over the propriety of suing for peace with Rome. We will reconstruct and discuss this debate through reading descriptions in the Talmud, Midrash and the works of the contemporary historian Josephus Flavius.



WORKSHOP II

1. **The Quest for Peace and its Impact on Jewish Law**

Rabbi Saul Berman

Peace as a Jewish legal value makes its impact felt not only in the relationship between nations. It also has significant effect on the legal governance of the relationships between friends, between husbands and wives, and between a community and its disadvantaged citizens. We will examine closely a set of Rabbinic statutes the legislative motive of which was "Darkhei Shalom" (Ways of Peace). We will examine the sources of the conflicts which needed to be resolved, and the way in which the Law implemented its goal of peace.

2. **The 1993 Peace Accord from the Perspective of U.S.-Israeli Diplomatic History**

Dr. Ellen Cannon

Since the creation of Israel, three underlying assumptions have defined and driven U.S.-Israeli relations: the moral and psychic legacy of the Holocaust; the presumed affinities of what is referred to as "Judeo-Christian values"; and the exigencies of the Cold War. This workshop explores the 1993 accord not only as a continuation of some elements of these assumptions, but also as the first glimpse of the new and emerging diplomatic paradigm in U.S.-Middle East diplomacy.

3. **Does the Secular Zionist State Have the Authority to Make Peace?**

Dr. Michael Chernick

According to Jewish law, does the secular State of Israel have the authority to cede part of the Biblical Land of Israel to the Palestinian people? We will examine the halakhic principle of "Dina d'malchuta Dina" -- the law of the land is law, whether and how it applies to the Jewish state, and how it might apply to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

4. **What Does Peace Mean for American Jews? Where Do We Turn after "Sacred Survival"?**

Rabbi Daniel Gordis

For almost half a century, many American Jews have expressed their Jewish identities through association with two political agendas: the memory of the Shoah (Holocaust) and the protection of the State of Israel. With major edifices in Washington and Los Angeles dedicated to the former, and the latter apparently more secure, where will American Jews turn for identity? If "sacred survival" will no longer motivate Jewish identity, what will? Will Jews turn inward? Are there paradigms in Jewish history which give us guidance in this pivotal period of Jewish reassessment?

5. **Is Peace a Rabbinic Value? The Rabbinic Morality of War**

Rabbi Donniel Hartman

While the biblical morality of war seems to have significant ethical deficiencies, the Rabbinic tradition embarked on a major attempt to reinterpret and redesign our tradition's attitude towards war and peace. What is the Rabbinic morality of war? How did the Rabbis shape the contemporary Jewish perception of the role of peace in the Jewish political process?

6. **Can There be Peace in the Middle East Without Democracy?**

Dr. Reuven Kimelman

This session will discuss the relationship between the structure of government and the proclivity for war-making and peace-making. It will investigate the correlation between those governments that quash internal dissent and those which get involved in violent conflict. It will then ask what can be done to enhance the possibility of getting a Palestinian government structure to promote peace.

7. **Zionism, Power and Peace: The Evolution of a Jewish Self-Understanding**

Dr. Hava Tirosh Rothchild

Zionism reflects a new Jewish approach to physical power. In contrast to traditional Jewish passivity and the moral injunction against the use of power, Zionism aspired to create a "muscular Jew" who would be physically strong and willing to use force when necessary. This workshop explores the evolution of the conception of power and its corollary implications for peace making in the three major branches of Zionism -- Cultural Zionism, Labor Zionism and Revisionism. We will highlight the role of the ideology of power in the formation of diverse Zionist attitudes toward the Arabs, and the tension between that ideology of power and quest for peace.

8. **The Peace Accord: Its Impact on American Jewish Politics**

Rabbi David Saperstein

For several decades, the Jewish community has been one of the most effective single-issue lobbying entities on the American political scene. If the peace accords continue towards an agreement, how will this new reality affect American Jewish politics? Will Jewish advocacy and community relations resources be channelled into other issues? A more multi-issue agenda? What will this mean for coalitional relations with Christians, Blacks, Arab-Americans, and other groups with whom the Jewish community has had substantial strains over Middle East Issues?

9. **Is the Arab-Israel "Hundred Year War Over?"**

Dr. Haim Shaked

The recent breakthrough in Israeli-Palestinian relations, fragile as it still is, already has momentous consequences. What is it really all about? What could it turn into if it blossoms? What might be the impact of failure? What are its implications for the Arab-Israeli conflict?

10. **Biblical Attitudes Towards War and Peace**

Rabbi David Silber

The Bible deals with issues of war and peace in a variety of settings: legal material, plus a variety of stories, including tales of family or clan skirmishes, stories of battles during our years of wandering in the desert, and accounts of the various battles of David and other kings. In this workshop we will examine several of these seemingly unrelated passages, and try to discern the Bible's underlying approach to this crucial issue.

11. **Maimonides on Peace**

Dr. Bernard Steinberg

Maimonides' attitude toward peace is informed by bitter personal experience and profound hope. At the age of Bar Mitzvah, he fled the Almohades, a fanatic sect of Muslims who invaded his home at Cordova, Spain. Maimonides eventually escaped from North Africa to Israel only to face the Crusaders' devastation of Jerusalem. Yet, the concluding and climactic chapters of his Mishneh Torah articulate a vision of peace which is unique in Jewish letters for its synthesis of sober realism and passionate idealism. In this workshop, we shall explore Maimonides' writings on peace and address the questions: Is peace with a relentless enemy impossible? Is peace utopian or realistic? Is it worth "the price"?

12. **Land as Dream and as Reality in the Torah: Implications for Conflict and Peace**

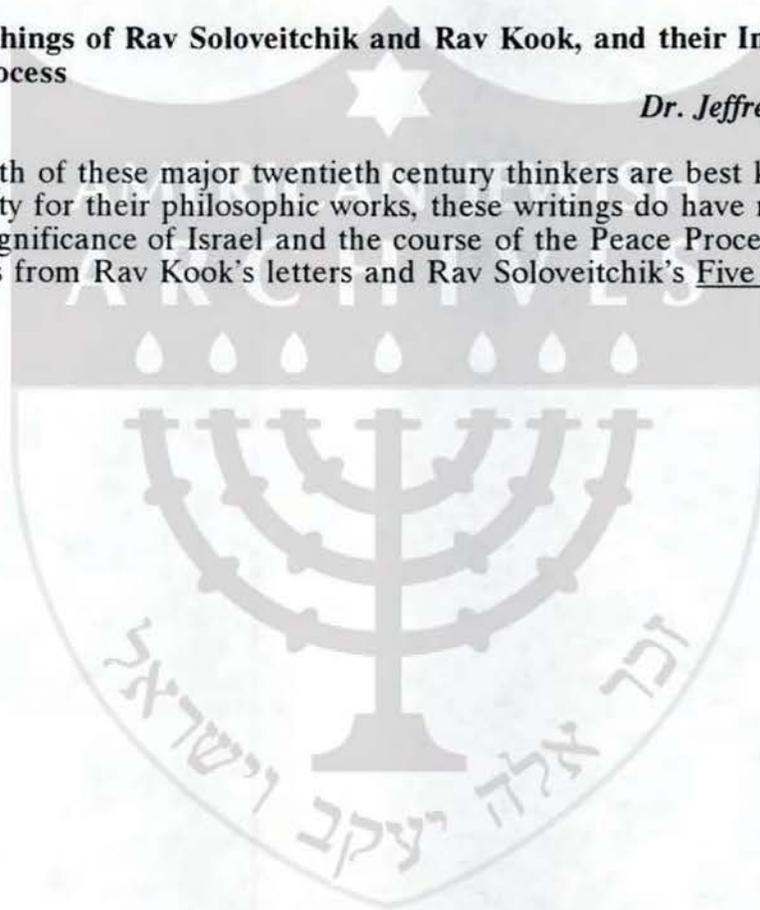
Dr. Devorah Steinmetz

How does the Torah understand the Land of Israel: as a real geographic entity, or as a dream or ideal? In passages where the text deals with physical land as the locus of God's blessing, the Land is often a source of discord and conflict. In other passages, where Land is treated metaphorically, it is generally a force or symbol for peace. Are the ideal of peace and the reality of the land mutually exclusive?

13. **The Teachings of Rav Soloveitchik and Rav Kook, and their Implications for the Peace Process**

Dr. Jeffrey Woolf

While both of these major twentieth century thinkers are best known in the wider community for their philosophic works, these writings do have major implications for the significance of Israel and the course of the Peace Process. We will read selections from Rav Kook's letters and Rav Soloveitchik's Five Addresses.



WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

MID-YEAR RETREAT

January 21 - 23, 1994

FACULTY

RABBI SAUL BERMAN

Professor and former Chairman, Department of Jewish Studies, Stern College, Yeshiva University, New York. Formerly rabbi of Lincoln Square Synagogue, New York, NY. Rabbi Berman is a noted authority on Talmud, rabbinic text, and modern issues in Halachah.

DR. ELLEN CANNON

Professor of Political Science and Public Policy, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, IL; Adjunct Professor of Public Policy Making, Public Administration, and Middle East Politics, Roosevelt University, Chicago.

DR. MICHAEL CHERNICK

Professor of Jewish Jurisprudence at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. He is an authority on Talmud and Midrash Halacha, and has published numerous scholarly articles on these and related topics.

RABBI DANIEL H. GORDIS

Dean of Administration and Assistant to the President at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, where he is also Assistant Professor of Rabbinic Literature. Additionally, he serves as a Senior Contributing Editor of The Jewish Spectator, and as a faculty fellow at the Brandeis-Bardin Institute in California.

RABBI DONNIEL HARTMAN

Director of the Shalom Hartman Institute in North America and Judaic Scholar-In-Residence at the JCC on the Palisades, Tenafly, New Jersey. As an Orthodox Rabbi serving the multi-denominational and religiously diverse constituency of one of the largest JCC's in America, he has developed a method of pluralistic study founded on mutual respect and intellectual openness.

DR. REUVEN KIMELMAN

Chief Program Associate of CLAL-- The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership; Associate Professor of Talmud and Midrash at Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.

DR. HAVA TIROSH ROTHSCHILD

Associate Professor of Religion at Indiana University, and formerly with Emory University in Atlanta, GA. She has published numerous articles on various aspects of medieval Jewish philosophy, and has recently completed work on her first book, and examination of the life and thought of David ben Judah Messer Leon.

RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, he represents the Reform Jewish movement to the Congress and Federal administration, provides extensive legislative and programmatic material to synagogues nationwide and coordinates social action education programs that train nearly 2,000 Jewish adults, youth, rabbinic and lay leaders each year. Rabbi Saperstein is also an attorney and an adjunct professor in comparative Jewish and American Law at Georgetown University Law School.

DR. HAIM SHAKED

Professor of Middle East Studies at the University of Miami's Graduate School of International Studies; Professor of Middle Eastern History, Department of Middle Eastern and African History; Senior Research Fellow, the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University. He is an expert on military affairs, including geo-political strategy, and Israel's military history.

RABBI DAVID SILBER

Founder and Director of the Drisha Institute of Advanced Jewish Studies in New York City. His specialty is text study of the narrative portions of the Bible.

DR. BERNARD STEINBERG

Director of the Hillel Foundation at Harvard University, and formerly Executive Director of Judaica at the Cleveland Jewish Community Center. He has been a teacher of Jewish Philosophy at a number of institutions, including the Pardes Institute of Jewish Studies and the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

DR. DEVORA STEINMETZ

Founding director of Beit Rabban, a new Jewish day school which opened in New York City in the fall of 1991. She has taught at Drisha Institute in New York and at the Jewish Theological Seminary. She is the author of From Father to Son: Kinship, Conflict and Continuity in Genesis.

DR. JEFFREY WOOLF

Assistant Professor of Talmud and Jewish history at Bar Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel. He serves as Executive Chairman of the Orthodox Roundtable, an Orthodox Halachic "think tank." Formerly Scholar-in-Residence for the Riverdale YM-YWHA.