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Winter Retreat. "War and Peace: A Vision." 1990-1991.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the  
American Jewish Archives website.

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The Wexner Heritage Foundation

581 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Huntington Center Suite 3710  
41 South High Street  
Columbus, Ohio 43215

212 365 6115 New York  
614 464 2772 Ohio

November 7, 1990

**TO:** WINTER RETREAT FACULTY  
**FROM:** RABBI RAMIE ARIAN  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS  
**RE:** RETREAT WORKSHOP DETAILS

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Nathan or I had the pleasure of speaking with you by phone about your participation in the Wexner Heritage Foundation Mid-Winter Retreat, February 22-24, 1991, outside of Atlanta. As you know, the theme of the program is "War In the Jewish Experience".

We will need you at the conference from noon on Friday, February 22 until 1:00 pm on Sunday, February 24. The conference will take place at the Evergreen Conference Center, Stone Mountain, Georgia (about 30 minutes from the Atlanta airport). As is our custom we are inviting your spouse to join us for the weekend. Please let Lori Baron know if he or she will be attending.

A tentative program for the retreat is enclosed for your perusal. As you can see, there are three sessions of workshops, as follows:

Workshop A -- The Wars of Ancient Israel

Workshop B -- Dilemmas of Warfare: Case Study

Workshop C -- The Wars of Modern Israel

Participants will have the opportunity to select the topic of their choice for the "A" and "C" sessions.

If you are teaching one or more workshops in these sessions, we need some information from you in order to allow participants to make their selections. Please send us:

1. the workshop **TITLE** in the wording you would like to use. (You will maximize participation by making the title short and enticing.)
2. a **BRIEF DESCRIPTION** of the contents of the workshop, in one paragraph.

3. the **BACKGROUND MATERIALS** you would like participants to read in advance. This should be limited to a maximum of 20 pages per workshop. (If the readings you desire are from readily available sources, it is sufficient to give us a citation. If the material is relatively obscure, or out of print, please send a clean xerox copy.)
4. Finally, we will need any **TEXTS** you would like to use during the workshop sessions.

We need to receive the above information by Friday, NOVEMBER 23.

To assist you in planning your workshop session, we have compiled a series of questions to consider, relative to the war(s) your workshop(s) cover. These are intended to guide you and help provide focus, not to limit your analysis. Feel free to expand on these and extend them as seems most appropriate for your particular topic.

As always, thanks for your timely help in the preparation of these materials. We look forward to working together in creating an unusual and exciting Retreat.



## WAR IN THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE

### Questions to Consider

1. What events led up to the war?
2. What other alternatives could have been exercised in lieu of war?
3. What were the strategic and tactical objectives of the war / (battle)?
4. How did the results differ from the objectives?
5. What factors proved to be decisive?
6. What type of war was it: Halakhic or Ahalakhic? Just or Unjust?
7. How did the war reflect or differ from other wars of that generation?
8. What made this war unique (special enough to be recorded in history)?
9. Was it a local or a Superpower conflict: How did that affect the outcome?
10. What lessons can we learn both ethically and realpolitically from this war?

Draft 11/7/90

**WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION**

**WINTER RETREAT**

**FEBRUARY 22-24, 1991**

**STONE MOUNTAIN, GEORGIA**

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22**

- 12:00-2:00 pm Registration  
2:00-3:15 pm Introductory Remarks  
Plenary I  
The Jewish Tradition of War  
Speaker: Rabbi Moshe Hier  
Dean, Simon Wiesenthal Center  
3:30-5:00 pm Workshop I (14)  
The Wars of Ancient Israel  
5:00-6:00 pm Free Time to Prepare for Shabbat  
6:00-6:15 pm Candlelighting  
6:20-7:15 pm Services  
7:30-9:00 pm Dinner  
9:00-10:00 pm Evening Program  
Speaker: Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
10:00-12:00 pm Oneg Shabbat

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23**

- 7:30-9:30 am Breakfast  
8:30-11:30 am Orthodox Services  
Conservative Services  
10:00-11:30 am Reform Services  
11:30-11:45 am Kiddush  
12:00-1:00 pm Plenary II  
The Jewish Rules of War  
Speaker: Rabbi David Saperstein  
Director, Religious Action Center  
of Reform Judaism

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23 cont.

1:15-2:30 pm      Lunch

2:45-4:15 pm      Workshop II (14)  
                      Dilemmas of Warfare: Case Studies

4:15-7:15 pm      Free Time

5:30-5:45 pm      Orthodox Service - Mincha

6:00-7:00 pm      Shiur  
                      Rabbi David Silber

7:10-7:25 pm      Orthodox Service - Ma'ariv

7:30-7:45 pm      Havdallah

7:45-9:00 pm      Dinner

9:00-10:00 pm      Speaker: Leslie Wexner  
                      Chairman ?

10:00-11:00 pm     Concert & Cocktails  
                      Songs of War & Peace - & Purim...

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24

7:15-8:00 am      Orthodox Services

7:00-8:30 am      Breakfast

8:45-10:15 am     Workshop III  
                      Wars of Modern Israel

10:30-11:45 am    Plenary III  
                      Israel and the Next War  
Speaker: Edward Luttwak  
                      Burke Chair in Strategy  
                      Center for Strategic &  
                      International Studies

Concluding Remarks

11:45-12:00 pm     Evaluations

12:00-1:00 pm      Lunch & Departures

# Heroes of Muscular Judaism

**TOUGH JEWS**  
**Political Fantasies and the Moral Dilemma of American Jewry**  
 By Paul Breines  
 Basic Books. 277 pp. 19.95

By Edward W. Said

**I**N THIS remarkably interesting and suggestive essay in cultural analysis, Paul Breines shows how after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War the image of the Jew in American popular culture as a gentle, meek and even saintly figure changed dramatically. The new image to emerge was that of a tough and lethal fighter, one prepared to do battle with hostile non-Jews—Arabs usually—who are equated with Nazism and anti-Semitism. Breines connects this change directly with the politics of Israel and Zionism, arguing subtly that the new image was addressed paradoxically to non-Jews who had rejected anti-Semitism; the tough Jew image foreclosed the options culturally available to outsiders who were now to be confronted almost exclusively with the Jew as a savage macho fighter.

Edward W. Said, who teaches English at Columbia University, is the author of "Orientalism" and "After the Last Sky."



S. RINGER/BETTMANN FILM ARCHIVE, UNITED ARTISTS RELEASE. © CARYLE-ALPINA S.A.

Paul Newman as Ari Ben Canaan in the movie "Exodus"

This figure's origins in the 20th century were to be found in people like Vladimir Jabotinsky, patriarch of the Revisionist Zionism that has lately brought Menachem Begin and Itzhak Shamir to unchallenged prominence in contemporary Israel.

Breines claims that the change in image derives from a change in attitudes to the body, once conceived of as weak and unimportant, now transformed by history and fantasy into an all-encompassing and threatening muscularity. The irony, says Breines, is that the tough Jew now peopling the nov-

els of Leon Uris, Ken Follett, Howard Hunt, John Fredman, Marge Piercy and others (not an impressive roster of talents) is connected exclusively to Israeli tough guys: in a compact chapter, "From Massada to Mossad," he presents an alternative historical record of Jews as warriors, gangster and the like. "In reality," he says, "Jewish Americans did not need Zionism and Palestine to demonstrate Jewish toughness in the period before 1948." Jews were historically tough and gentle, depending on the circumstances.

The gist of Breines's book is therefore that what he calls "gentleness"—a word required to do more service than perhaps it can—has been banished by muscular Zionism, which in turn has inflicted a series of distortions upon Jewish culture and politics, here and in Israel. For one, it has legitimized killing as a result of re-thinking the Holocaust, giving a "moral sheen" to militancy as part of the Jewish "need to be ethical" in responding to the horrors of an appalling history. Given the complexities of Israeli-Palestinian struggle, Breines is right to believe that Rambo-esque Jewish characters (and Gen. Sharon) are far more of a hindrance to peace than a boon to Israel.

Second, the demonization of the Arabs in tough-Jew literature is, according to Breines, a terrible human diminishment of an entire people. Not only is it reminiscent of the racial stereotypes heaped upon Jews; it also either obscures or encourages the actual brutalizations of Palestinians by Israeli Jews and their American supporters. Lastly, Breines says that tough-Jew ideology has in effect brought an anti-Jewish sentiment into Jewish life; in the words of Israeli author and politician Amnon Rubinstein, this is "stunning in its strength and in its longing for the pagan and the Gentile."

**T**HERE ARE many other perceptive and often disturbing insights in Breines's iconoclastic book. Many of them center on the career of a particularly horrifying Jewish tough-guy, Rabbi Meir Kahane, whose life and career are rigorously chronicled in Robert Friedman's recent book *The False Prophet*. Breines, however, is not strictly speaking a biographer or historian, nor is he a political analyst.

—Continued on page 7

in the conventional sense. He writes as a dissenting Jew, and also as an intellectual who is aghast at the impoverishment of an ideology that sees all Arabs as Nazis, for whom the best fate is death or endless punishment. Because of such views he will surely be accused by supporters of Israel as being "soft" on the Arabs, not drawing enough attention to their violence, not criticizing them enough for their evils, etc.

But that, I think, would be too easy and obvious a tactic, and it does absolutely nothing to mute the severity of Breines's self-critical exposé. He writes about what he feels he can influence—the culture of America and of American Jews—and doesn't fall into the dutiful polemic indulged in even by Zionist doves (e.g. Michael Lerer of *Tikkun*, Amos Oz, *et al.*) of getting off five blasts at the Palestinians for every one tiny demurral at Israel.

I won't pretend here that as a Palestinian and an American I can read Paul Breines with complete detachment. I find it encouraging and refreshing that for a change resourceful analysis of this sort is turned not against Palestinians but against a notion that regards Palestinians as legitimate targets for killing.

Yet something more is needed than that, especially since the current situation (worsened by the Gulf crisis) is so massively weighted against the Palestinians. With an overwhelmed and poorly performing leadership, Palestinians face more persecution,

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*"Breines writes as a dissenting Jew, and also as an intellectual who is aghast at the impoverishment of an ideology that sees all Arabs as Nazis."*

as the gains of the *intifada* lessen and the dreadful right-wing Israeli government contemplates more settlement, mass deportation and perhaps even genocide against the defenseless population of the Occupied Territories. As an antidote to those actualities, "gentleness" seems to me unsatisfactory, too slender, vague and even a bit fey. I would have wished Breines to carry his analysis further, to distinguish between American and Israeli fiction, to connect his ideas substantively to the work of Chomsky, Shabak and other dissenting Jews, and to consider in more depth the various options proposed by the Palestinian national movement itself for compromise and reconciliation.

There is something truly depressing about the fearsomely charged situation sketched by Breines. But there are signs that an alternative to it is slowly emerging, for example in the studies of reconciliation and self-criticism by Jewish liberation theologians like Marc Ellis, whose challenging book *Beyond Innocence and Redemption: Confronting the Holocaust and Israeli Power* is a serious moral and interpretive achievement.

Yet in the present atmosphere, with much of the Israeli peace camp retreating like frightened rabbits, Breines's forthrightness is to be admired. At the very least *Tough Jew* keeps the discussion going, prevents it from settling down into the triumphalist formulas of the pro-Israeli lobby, shows up toughness for the self-gratifying fantasy that it is. ■

Written after January 15, 1991  
for delivery February 22, 1991

WAR AND PEACE

A Vision

Israel's fate - what happens to her, for good or bad - is the most meaningful element in the complex web of values and memories which constitute our Jewish sense of identity. Religion and sentiment and tradition are also woven into this tapestry of our existence - but if physical Israel were destroyed and only the other spiritual factors remained, the Jewish people worldwide would become an endangered species within 2 generations. Thus our adrenalin races as fear mounts whenever Israel enters the shadow of war. Will she emerge whole and safe? Our very lives, thousands of miles away, come under attack also. We feel it viscerally.

War is a one-word summation of Israel's history - past and present. She has never lived a sovereign national existence without it, except for the long night of exile, 1813 years, between Bar Kochba and Ben Gurion - the son of a star and the son of a lion club. Thus, the topic of this retreat is wholly relevant. Believe it or not, the topic was selected before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait slammed Scud missiles into Tel Aviv streets. Some have suggested that we arranged the Gulf war in order to validate the topic. Just as it was common in years past to accuse me, largely in jest, of course, of arranging a war whenever the fund-raising campaigns were lagging.

The topic was selected to highlight the lesson that war always was and still is an integral, fundamental part of Israel's very hold on life. Wishful thinkers, liberals, pacifists, even conscientious objectors - all those who speak and march and protest against war in general, or a specific war in particular - simply do not comprehend that modern Israel's very existence comes into question every several years as one enemy country, or a group of them, decides to annihilate her. Therefore, her ability to wage war successfully and stave off defeat must be applauded, praised, appreciated and assisted. War is a fact of life for the Jewish people.

The ancient Hebrews were certainly a warrior nation, skilled in the art of Mars, conquering a territory for themselves; being conquered by larger empires; rising again and rebuilding; and once again being overwhelmed. The cycle kept repeating itself - Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Greece, Rome - all took a crack at her, and she out-lived them all, until the final moment when she was totally dispersed, without government or army, and entered the two millennia of powerlessness. She did not sleep during this long hibernation, but turned inward and survived by creating an intricate inner world of law and faith and ritual which sustained her self-image as a people chosen for suffering until God would one day restore her to former strength and glory.

Amazingly, this happened, for modern Israel's founding father, David Ben-Gurion, understood intuitively that the revival of national independence could come only through the force of arms. Birth occurs through blood - there is no other way. He worked immediately and intensely to create an army by merging the larger Haganah and the two smaller underground groups, Irgun and Lehi, into one official Israel Defense Force, IDF, whose very name underscored the fact that the nature of Israel's wars would be defensive, against attacks designed to destroy her. He succeeded brilliantly, and she is here today, growing stronger by the decade, because of his concentration on training and inspiring a new generation of warrior-leaders.

When you think of it in this perspective, it is somewhat amazing that the perception ever arose of the Jews as cowardly or awkward or non-belligerent. This was a fighting people in its very origin, which miraculously overcame the long centuries of non-use of its military skills, and within a very few days of reborn nationhood re-asserted that warrior instinct which was indispensable in fighting off the Arab attempt to throttle the very birth. Within a few decades, modern Israel has developed one of the most powerful fighting machines on earth, thank God. This has not occurred without price. The cost so far has been 13,000 dead and scores of thousands wounded, in all the wars.

Israel's posture in the Gulf war has been wonderfully mature, wise. She restrained herself, under incredible provocation, from being seduced into a war which was not hers. Though missiles were fired at her on the very first day of that war, and almost every day thereafter, she did not respond, out of sharp political and military instincts. Yet she knew that Saddam Hussein, even defeated, would retain an arsenal capable of attacking her in the future. Thus, holding her fire now earned the goodwill of America and European allies, at least, plus allowing her to state publicly that she would settle the account with Saddam at a time and in a manner of her own choosing. So - we know there is an Iraqi-Israeli clash awaiting in the future - near or farther. And there may be others as well, for Syria's silence at the moment may simply be a convenient postponement of an intractable enmity.

Since war has been a permanent feature of the modern Israeli landscape for more than a half-century, and will remain so until the conditions are created to eliminate it, I would like to turn to those constructive acts and programs which Israel might undertake to achieve a state of real peace. The time to do so is now - right now - immediately after active warfare ceases. There is no better time to get into the details of peace-making than the period when the after-effects of war are fresh. The opportunity passes after a year or two, when memory fades and conditions return to "normal" - i.e. what they were ante-bellum.

With all the love I have for Israel, in my opinion, she has always waited for others to make the moves and initiatives. You recall Secretary Baker saying some months ago, with a touch of pique, that whenever Shamir wanted to call and revive his own plan for an election in the West Bank, the White House phone number was 202 - 456-1414. Well, Baker was only copying Moshe Dayan's statement of many many years ago that Dayan was waiting for the phone to ring from King Hussein's palace. Even the famous Sadat visit to Jerusalem in 1977 was brokered in far-away Morocco, when the King secretly met with Dayan to ascertain whether Begin would be willing to receive the Egyptian President. Perhaps the time has come for Israel to make the moves which can set the peace wheels into forward motion. There are three distinct steps which can be taken.

1. Settle the Palestinian question. Israel has probably been correct in constantly rejecting the PLO as a partner in negotiations, for it lacked the meaningful authority of a sovereign state, and could not really settle anything. Anyhow, the PLO has now become moot, because it chose the wrong side, and in the post-Gulf War world it may not even exist if Saudi Arabia and Kuwait decide to cut off its finances. But the Palestinian question will remain on the agenda, and if Israel can find the political will-power either now, or when the war is over, to negotiate directly with the Palestinians living in the West Bank, without the PLO, which she has always said she wants to do, the possibility of a settlement looms large. The prominent Israeli

author, A.B. Yehoshua put it very succinctly recently in an article in *Yediot Achronot*:

"Our strange and new military alliance between us and the coalition countries will be able to survive only if it is not poisoned by the Palestinian problem. This is exactly the hour to make the Palestinian people a clear and generous offer which can only be judged by one criterion: Had we been in their place, could we accept it?"

Remarkably, Leslie Gelb writing in the N. Y. Times Op-ed page, on the same day, expressed an identical thought:

"The Arafat blunder (of supporting Saddam Hussein) creates the possibility of Israel's doing what it has always desired - ignoring Arafat and negotiating directly with the Palestinians in the occupied territories. But no new group of Palestinian leaders will risk stepping forward unless Israel makes them an offer they cannot refuse. At a minimum, this means the right to organize their own elections and government, and not foreclosing their dream of a Palestinian state." All the arrangements for maintaining that state in a demilitarized condition can be settled during the negotiations.

2. Move on to direct negotiations with individual Arab states, which Israel has repeatedly insisted to be the most successful route to regional peace and secure borders. The post-war mood may provide that opportunity. Once the Palestinian problem has been put on the track toward settlement, and no Arab country need any longer hide behind the fig-leaf of protecting Palestinian rights, the second track, parallel and even simultaneous, can be laid toward negotiations, first with Syria, and afterwards with Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Syria no longer has a Soviet protector, and can only look to the Saudis for help in rebuilding its shattered economy. Thus the Saudis, having been partners with Israel, at least psychologically, in sharing the experience of Scud missiles, might be induced to push Syria in the direction of sitting down with Israel. The Americans can certainly help in that maneuver. And the Syrians themselves know that if there is ever a chance of recovering any part of the Golan (which must also remain demilitarized), they can do so only by negotiating with Israel. No one else can ever get it back for them. Just ten days ago Syria is reported to have told the German Foreign Minister that she is ready to recognize Israel as part of a general settlement if Israel recognizes the Palestinian right to self determination. Israel's cautious response to this vague approach was that she is always ready to enter into "direct bilateral unconditional" negotiations with its Arab neighbors. This toe dancing can continue forever, and not go anywhere. The way to break the logjam is for one side or other to take a real initiative. Who has the most to gain from establishing peace?

Israel of course. The most Syria can get is possibly a piece of the demilitarized Golan. Israel can get another border free of the eternal threat of war. Should the Syrians ever come to the point of talking directly with the Israelis, who have always proven to be generous when the talk is really serious (viz. Begin with Sadat, re Sinai), Jordan and Saudi Arabia will not be far behind.

No international conference, which the Israelis fear and hate, will ever be necessary if the bilateral conversations with each Arab country succeed, one after the other. Oh yes - a great victory conference could be held at the end to celebrate the shift of the region from a cockpit of war to a mutually supportive area where the states help each other develop economically and socially under the beneficent eye of the United States and the Europeans.

3. Formalize a strategic alliance with the United States, now, in the post-war period, while the memory of the close cooperation during the war is still strong and fresh. Israel's attitude during the Scud attacks earned the lavish praise and gratitude of the American administration and Congress. Fearful that the coalition might lose its Arab members if Israel entered the war by responding to the missiles, America was gratified by Israel's restraint. When America provided Patriot anti-missile missiles, and no Arab protests were heard, rather statements of

understanding from both Egypt Saudi and even Syria that every nation has the right of self-defense, the Americans increased the Patriot batteries being airlifted from their bases in Germany.

Bush's thinking calls for a "new world order" in the Middle East. No one knows exactly what this means, but it must envisage an American presence in whatever kind of formal organization emerges. In the long run, a permanent American base in Israel, emerging from a NATO-type organization for the Middle East, once peace treaties are signed between the most important players, would be to the advantage of both Israel and the U.S. Yes - there is close military co-operation now, but not total, as witness the argument about providing Israel with the American daily IFF codes. It would be an improvement for all concerned, including moderate Arabs, if America had the right, by alliance, to pre-position in Israel quantities of food, fuel, ammunition, equipment, aircraft and even manpower, in the event that some future Saddam once again rises to threaten the stability of the oil-rich gulf. Israel would be a willing host; the moderate Arab states would have no cause for unease, since non-aggression pacts would exist between each of them and Israel; and the U.S. would not have to go searching for a base in the event of trouble, but would have a 50-year old de-facto ally now turned into a fully established de-jure ally.

These three steps - settling with the Palestinians; which could help open direct negotiations with the main Arab nations; which could culminate in a strategic alliance with the U.S. - would produce such great benefits for Israel as to justify the necessary compromises, she would undoubtedly have to make in the whole process.

The possibilities of future wars would diminish almost to zero and just think of the benefits of that: 1. The absorption of Russian immigrants could continue without distraction. 2. The economy could grow as the additional population added to the GNP. 3. The water crisis could obtain the extra funds needed for such solutions as large desalination plants and a Med-Dead canal. 4. Even the seemingly intractable social problems, such as electoral reform and religious pluralism, could then be addressed properly and solutions found. If all this sounds like the Garden of Eden, it might just be. The opposite picture is one of constant war with its long-term debilitating effects. If wars must be fought - we will fight them to victory. But in the long run the state and people will suffer, growth will be throttled, and a sickly sovereignty is the best to be achieved.

The real destiny of the Jewish people - the Hebrew nation - as she has always visualized it for herself, expressed it in her holy literature, and defined it openly for all to hear - is to act as the harbinger of a messianic age in which entire mankind can enjoy the eternal blessings of peace, health and

happiness. This destiny is the dream, for which wars are fought, and which can come true when wars are no longer necessary.

The dynamics of the Middle East have changed, and I feel the moment is now for a fundamental shift in Israel's policy. Let us take a strong initiative, make the moves and compromises, take the risks for peace, pray that this works - and keep our powder dry.



Wexner Heritage Foundation  
1991 Mid-Winter Retreat

FACULTY LISTING

(DRAFT -- October 3, 1990)

<u>FACULTY</u>	<u>Ancient</u>	<u>Scenarios</u>	<u>Modern</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
	Wars <u>WKSHP 1</u>	WKSHP 2	Wars <u>WKSHP3</u>	
Blanchard (1000)	X	X		
Brauner (1000)	X	X		
Chernick (1000)	X	X		
Friedman			X	
Katz (1000)	X	X		
Kimelman (1000)	X	X		Cons. Services
Kula (1000)	X	X		
Landes (1000)	X	X		
Millen (1000)	X	X		
Rekhess (1500)			X	
Rothschild (1000)		X	X	
Ruderman (1000)	X	X		
Saperstein (2000)		X		Plenary 2
Shaked (1000)	X		X	
Silber (1000)	X		X	Shiur
Sprinzak (1000)			X	
Steinberg (1000)	X	X		
Woolf (1000)	X	X		
Joseph Alpher (2500)			X	Plenary 3
Martin Kramer (1000)			X	
Deb. Lipstadt (1000)	X	X		
Moshe Hier (2000)				Plenary 1
Benjie/Les (2000)				Ref. Services, Shabbat, Concr Orth. Services, Shiur
Porath (1000)		X	X	
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3 Plenaries 3 Services Concert 2 Shiurim</b>

(ALTERNATES)

Dore Gold  
Luttwak  
Telushkin  
Stein

9-18-90

IN THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE

WAR

B.C. and 2nd century war

# 1 The Jewish Tradition of War

1. Necessary, productive, important re sovereignty
2. History of wars until 2nd CE
3. Renewal of military capability
4. The cliché - peace is good & war is bad - is not always true.

JOSHUA

~~THE~~

- b. Dennis Prager, Marvin Hier

# 2 The Jewish Rules of War

- a. Kinselman
- b. Berman
- c. Saperstein

# 3 Israel and the Next War

- a. Gen. Ehud Barak
- b. C/S Motza Gur
- c. Edward Luttwak

Workshops first - each workshop deals with one of the seven wars - students choose. use Haetzner's book as reading assignments

1. Introduction - ~~✓~~. Ramis
2. Conclusion - N.L.
3. HAF\* - Fri. nite
4. Warren - Sat. nite

\* HAF should speak outside of the rabbi. Personal talk - e.g. my own experiences in relation to war. (B.B. story - in Dan Caesarea - in hundred years war) New S.S.W. - pacifism vs. Shabbat writer.

Workshop leaders for #3 (Choose your own <sup>Israeli</sup> war)

Shaked; Sprinzak; Shai Feldman; Dore Gold + consulate + Ruth + <sup>wheat</sup> + IndyK  
Seth Carus

Workshop leaders for #2 - Case Studies

any one of regular faculty who knows the Biblical + Rabbinic material

Workshop leaders for #1 - (Choose your own war - Biblical or <sup>Second Temple</sup> period)

any one of regular faculty who can do these two periods

↗ How about this fellow as  
an alternative supplement  
to Luttwak on the topic of  
"Israel & the Next War".  
e.g. Ed Luttwak in America Today.  
Gov. Hype: An Israeli Perspective



## *From a possible war to a threat to the American-Israeli alliance, Israel faces new strategic challenges from Iraq's attack on Kuwait.*

Iraq's attack on Kuwait presents Israel with a number of new strategic challenges.

Among them:

1. The possibility of a military attack by Iraq on Israel itself. Prior to Iraq's threats to Kuwait, and the subsequent attack, Israel was the only country in the Middle East that had been directly and consistently threatened by Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi President-for-Life.

Within a week after the hostilities began, the United States and much of the Arab world had lined up against Saddam. In response, Saddam appeared to be laying the basis for a possible attack on Israel aimed at distracting Arab opinion and diverting the Arab strategic effort away from the defense of Saudi Arabia and toward its more traditional shared hostility against Israel.

Iraq might conceivably attack Israel even if Saddam recognized that he could not win such a war. If he were desperate enough, he might well be prepared to suffer a drubbing from Israeli retaliatory bombing, if by so doing he rallied other Arabs to his cause and thereby softened the pressures of the economic and military ring tightening around him.

2. The downgrading of the American-Israeli strategic alliance. In its effort to effect an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, the U.S. collaborated with a number of Arab and other regional states to effect a broad coalition. In this way, the U.S. hoped not only to contain and ultimately dislodge the Iraqis from Kuwait, but also to protect Western and Japanese access to vital oil resources. All this occurred with minimal Israeli input. Both Washington and Jerusalem understood that the U.S.-Israeli strategic relationship was likely to be an impediment to American strategic coordination with the likes of Syria and Saudi Arabia.

Undoubtedly American military planners took comfort in the knowledge

that in many ways the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) were the ultimate regional strategic reserve, but they would have to be desperate indeed before calling upon the IDF for help.

3. The realigning of alliances. Of major concern to Israel was the defection to the Iraqi side by the PLO and Jordan, the two main Arab players in any Palestinian settlement. As of mid-August, not a single Palestinian personality anywhere had spoken up against Saddam and in favor of the principles of international order and respect for sovereignty that would have to form the basis of any compromise Palestinian settlement. Once again, the Palestinian national movement had misread the opportunities of history and shot itself in the foot.

For Israel, Jordan's defection presents a special problem: Alone among Iraq's neighbors, Jordan had during the prior 18 months developed a close collaborative relationship with Saddam's regime. The extent of military cooperation between the two was alarming. King Hussein's apparent motives included his economic troubles and his need for powerful outside backing to counter local Islamic and Palestinian threats. He was also motivated by a deep-seated fear lest Israel's policy in Judea and Samaria, coupled with the pressures of Soviet immigration, somehow force a Palestinian migration into Jordan, thereby "Palestinizing" his country and toppling his regime.

By virtue of its near alliance with Baghdad, Jordan has become a critical potential link between Israel and Iraq. Were King Hussein to allow Iraqi forces to establish a permanent presence on Jordanian soil, Israel would have no alternative but to regard this as a *casus belli*. Better to take on Saddam's huge army far from the Jordan River border than to wait, like Kuwait, while Saddam massed an attack force nearby. Were the Iraqis to lob missiles at Israel or to con-

duct air sorties and were Israel to reciprocate, Jordanian air space would be violated; the Hashemite Kingdom would be dragged willy-nilly into the fighting—precisely what Saddam would hope for.

Because of these potential scenarios, Israel is faced with the strategic challenge of persuading King Hussein to keep his distance from Saddam and thus to make Jordan an effective geostrategic buffer between Israel and Iraq. Indeed, this objective is shared by the entire anti-Iraqi alliance. To this end King Hussein should be given reassurances and support, not only from Israel but from Egypt and the United States as well. If, on the other hand, King Hussein continues to falter, Jordan might need, or get, a new ruler.

Jordan is thus central in Israel's immediate effort to avoid a bloody clash with Iraq.

Once the immediate crisis ends, Israel will need to look at the American-Israeli relationship on a more long-term basis: To the extent that Syria, Saudi Arabia and particularly Egypt cooperate successfully with the United States, Washington's postcrisis attitude toward its critical interests in the Middle East (primarily the guaranteeing of oil supplies) appears likely to focus on these Arab countries more than on Israel. Conceivably, America would feel obliged to reward the Arab coalition and firm up the new strategic order in the Middle East by pressuring Israel to make concessions on the peace process. With both the Palestinians and Jordanians in disgrace, attention might focus, by default, on Syria and the Golan.

On the other hand, American policymakers would not forget that it was Israel alone that had correctly assessed, and warned of, the aggressive nature of the Iraqi regime. It was Israel that pressed ahead with the Arrow anti-missile missile, correctly having argued

*continued on page 60*

## FORUM continued from page 12

support his argument for a gender separation in the ancient synagogue. I had countered with the evidence for female religious leaders in ancient synagogues, early Christian churches, the Roman imperial cult and the religions of Isis and Sarapis. Schiffman responded, "I take the view that the 'synagogue' in the Hellenistic world, as reflected in the inscriptions she studies, is the Jewish *community*, not the place of worship (usually known as *prosouche* [sic—the correct Greek term is *proseuché*, B.J.B.] in Greek, not *synagogos* [sic—the correct Greek term is *synagogé*, B.J.B.]). I agree that women played a major role in the communal structure of the ancient Jewish communities of the Diaspora."

Schiffman's distinction between *proseuché* (literally "prayer") and *synagogé* (literally "assembly") is linguistically inaccurate. Extensive evidence in ancient Jewish inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> Philo of Alexandria<sup>2</sup> and Flavius Josephus<sup>3</sup> demonstrates that both terms commonly designated a Jewish place of worship. The New Testament contains dozens of references to *synagogé* with that meaning.<sup>4</sup> Ironically, when the word *proseuché* occurs twice in the Acts of the Apostles (16:13, 16), scholars have argued that it cannot have the technical meaning of Jewish place of worship because Acts mentions only Jewish women as in attendance and because *synagogé* is the usual technical term within Acts! In sum, Schiffman has not presented historically verifiable evidence to contradict the existence of female religious leaders within Judaism and other religions throughout the ancient Mediterranean.

Schiffman's focus on Jewish communities of the eastern Mediterranean raises a larger historical question. He states that women who bore titles in "Hellenistic Jewish communities" have nothing to do with "Palestinian Jewish synagogues" and that the Jewish temple in Leontopolis, Egypt, had no influence "on the development of Jewish law and practice in talmudic Palestine or its Babylonian offshoot," and he speaks of "rabbinic synagogues." As a historian of post-biblical Judaism, I study the vital Jewish communities found throughout

the ancient world. Why should the Jewish communities of the East take priority over the thriving communities of Rome, Alexandria or Sardis? The question before us is historical, namely, what evidence exists for a separation of the sexes in the ancient synagogue? If we consent to work as historians, we are required to follow the accepted principles of historiography, which in this case means that we cannot base a historical discussion on the normativity of certain texts and of the communities which created them. On the contrary, evidence from all available sources and regions is admissible. In the end, Schiffman's distinction does not actually bolster his argument, since Palestinian and Babylonian communities do not yield greater evidence for a separation than do the Jewish communities to the west of ancient Israel.

Schiffman does not cite any new evidence for an early Christian separation of the sexes but rather refers only to evidence cited by me and by Ze'ev Safrai (in his informative response). If the earliest Jewish-Christians separated women from men, then why is there no evidence for separation until the church has rejected Jewish-Christianity and become a Gentile church?

Bernadette J. Brooten, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor of Scripture and Interpretation  
Harvard Divinity School  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

<sup>1</sup> On *synagogé*, see Jean-Baptiste Frey, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (CII), 2 vols. (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology, 1936, vol. 1; 1952, vol. 2), vol. 1 reprinted with prolegomenon by Baruch Lifshitz (New York: KTAV, 1975); CII 1404, a synagogue inscription from Jerusalem during the time of the Second Temple; CII 861, from Syria; CII 720, from Greece. On *proseuché*, see CII 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, from Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Every Good Man is Free, 81, on the *synagogai* of the Essenes, F. H. Colson, ed. & trans., *Philo*, vol. 9 (Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1941), pp. 56-57.

<sup>3</sup> Jewish War 2,285, on a Jewish *synagogé* in Caesarea; H. St. J. Thackeray, ed. & trans., *Josephus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1927), pp. 434-435. Life 277, 280, 293, on the *proseuché* in Tiberias, H. St. J. Thackeray, ed. & trans., *Josephus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1926), pp. 102-109.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew 4:23; Mark 1:39; Luke 4:15, 16; Acts 13:14.

## ALPHER

continued from page 17

that the Third World missile threat would dominate war scenarios in the 1990s.

And it was the inter-Arab system that had failed to deal effectively with Saddam, that had misread both his strategy and his tactics, and had thrashed about helplessly during the first week of the crisis—until America showed the way.

Moreover, Washington's close relationship with Jerusalem has not impeded developing an instant military alliance with Arab countries as disparate as Syria and Saudi Arabia.

For Israel, much depends on the Arabs' questionable capacity to maintain an alliance with the U.S. on the basis of an uncompromising stand toward Iraq. If war does break out between the U.S. and Iraq, the Middle East will never be the same again. Even without war, however, Israel stands to benefit from a new order from which the Iraqi threat has been eliminated. As for the Palestinian peace process, it has probably been relegated to a back burner (if not the freezer) for some time to come. Yet it will not go away, and there is no alternative to the PLO on the horizon. M

*Joseph Alpher has been deputy head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University since 1986. He coordinated and edited the JCSS Study Group report Israel's Options for Peace in 1989. He is currently editing The Middle East Military Balance 1989-1990.*

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## WAR IN THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE

### Questions to Consider

which war are you  
talking about? or -  
is this a theoretical  
set of questions about any  
war?

1. What were the strategic and tactical objectives of the war? (battle)? Who initiated the war? Why?
2. How did the results differ from the objectives?
3. What factors proved to be decisive?
4. What type of war was it? - Using Kimelman, Walzer, (Plato?): Halakhic or ~~A~~halakhic? Just or Unjust?
5. How did the war reflect or differ from other wars of that generation? (which either they fought or others fought).
6. What made this war unique? (Special enough to be recorded in history.)
7. Was it a local or a Superpower conflict? How did that effect the outcome?
8. What lessons can we learn both ethically and realpolitically from this war?

### Why Run a Conference on This Theme

1. Preparation for Israel 1991 - i.e. a society shaped by war - get them to think about what it means to be embattled.
2. Israel likely to face giant war this decade.
3. United States involved in major conflict - tools to think about U.S. involvement in war.
4. Wars are "in extremis" situations which are often fought over ultimate values (real or imaginary). Help members identify what is ultimate in Jewish values and how those values have changed or remain valid.
5. Unusual topic - don't see others doing it.

6. Challenging to the faculty as well as the students.
7. Teach members about Judaic categories of war.
8. HAF should like topic because of his interest in warfare - Draw on his expertise.

## I. HISTORY OF WARS OF THE JEWISH NATION - Examples of Wars

Discuss motives behind each war

War of Joshua - conquest of the land } eastern portion,

Wars of Judges - continuation of above } also north + south

Wars of Saul - western portion - vs. Philistines + coastal plain

Wars of David - ditto

War against Babylonia - ~~defense~~ defense vs. an attacker

War of the Maccabees - civil war; traditionalists vs. Hellenizers

Wars against Rome - defense

Wars of Bar Kokhba - revolt vs. Roman rule

Battle of Partisans - World War II? - guerrilla warfare vs. Nazis

Battles of Warsaw Ghetto - to preserve heroic image for posterity + for self-pride

War of Independence - ~~attack~~ defense vs. attack; to solidify on battlefield what was declared on paper (1776)

War of Suez - to establish country on world stage

Six Day War - alliance with Britain + France)

War of Attrition - pre-emptive war

Yom Kippur War - defense vs. attack

Lebanon War - political objective, to dismember Lebanon + divide spoils with Syria

II. SECTION SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO JEWISH DEFINITIONS OF WAR

RULES and

JUST UNJUST PERMITTED NOT PERMITTED

EXEMPTIONS FROM BATTLE NOT DESTROYING TREES

(invite Walzer)

SECTION ON ISRAEL'S WARS

as outlined

~~invite an Israeli military correspondent - Hirsch Goodman~~  
~~fellow from Haaretz (?)~~

## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



#### IV. SECTION SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND POLICY

1. Use Shai Feldman's book "Israel Nuclear Deterrence" - Columbia University Press  
1982
2. Assign for reading: Introduction (pp 1-6)  
chap. 4 - (pp. 142-175) - The Risks of a Nuclear Middle East  
Epilogue - (pp 237-243)
3. (Invite Shai Feldman) to come from Israel  
give one lecture to plenary  
sit on panel with others  
conduct one workshop

#### III. SECTION SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO SCENARIOS OF NEXT WAR

1. JUMP OFF FROM PRESENT SITUATION: "IRAQ TURNS AGAINST ISRAEL"
  - a. because it does not wish to confront us.
  - b. " " wants to gain favor in Arab world
  - a. 2. IRAQ TEMPTS ISRAEL TO ATTACK
    - a. by going toward or into Jordan

#### 2. PICTURE LONGER RANGE SITUATION: WAR WITH SYRIA

Read: "ISRAEL IN YEAR 2025" - by Alan Price, 1988, (pp. 80-108)

(invite Edward Luttwak)

DATE: December 13, 1990  
TO: Herb & Nathan  
FROM: Ramie  
RE: Mid-Winter Retreat

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For your information, and relevant to our Mid-Winter Retreat, here are some materials I just received from David Saperstein. They include:

- 1) Text of a resolution passed by the UAHC Board of Trustees on 12/2/90 on the Persian Gulf Crisis.
- 2) Letters from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops outlining the Catholic doctrine of "just war." See especially the letter to James Baker, pp. 2-3.

**UAH**

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES DECEMBER 2, 1990**

**Resolution on the Persian Gulf Crisis**

The Board of Trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
resolves:

A. Jewish tradition explicitly endorses the right of self-defense and regards a pre-emptive military action in the face of a real and imminent danger of attack as a form of self-defense.

- Peaceful means for the resolution of conflict need to be fully explored before military force is employed.

- Such action should be taken with the broadest possible support, including public opinion and the Congress.

- Military action if undertaken should be employed at the appropriate levels required to accomplish the goals in the shortest possible time and with the lowest loss of life.

B. We join in the condemnation of Iraq's conquest of Kuwait. The invasion must not be allowed to succeed. International law demands Iraq's unconditional withdrawal.

C. We are encouraged by the broad international coalition that President Bush has so successfully assembled, and we applaud the actions of the United Nations Security Council, *particularly the resolution 7 Nov 29, 1990 setting the deadline 7 January 15, 1991.*

D. We regard the use of military force to accomplish the restoration of Kuwaiti independence, the freeing of all hostages, and an effective deterrent, or end to, Iraq's capacity to threaten other nations, as an acceptable response by the United States and other nations.

E. We reject any linkage or comparison between the current crisis and other regional disputes, in particular the Israel/Arab/Palestinian issue. This issue neither

are not comparable situations. The West Bank and Gaza, unlike Kuwait, were not sovereign entities prior to the 1967 war; Israel neither sought nor initiated that war, unlike Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; and UN Resolution 242 calls for Israeli withdrawal from territories it occupied only in the context of a negotiated peace that includes secure and defensible borders for all the parties.

5. After weeks of deepening crisis and increasing possibilities of war, we note with hope the initiative of President Bush in inviting the Iraqi Foreign Minister to the United States and sending Secretary of State James Baker to Baghdad to pursue the possibility that Iraq can be induced to abide by the UN resolution and the view of the entire civilized world.

6. As the crisis continues, we call on the President of the United States to explore all reasonable means to resolve the current crisis without the use of military force, recognizing that when all such means have been considered and explored, the use of military force is an acceptable moral option to accomplish the restoration of Kuwaiti independence, freedom for the hostages, the elimination of Iraqi biological, chemical and nuclear capabilities and the diminishment of Iraq's offensive military capacity.



Office of the President

CONFERENCE 3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3100 FAX (202) 541-3196 TELEX 7400424

Most Reverend Daniel E. Pilarczyk, S.T.D., Ph.D.  
Archbishop of Cincinnati

November 15, 1990

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I write as President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to offer our prayers for you, our President, at this time of difficult choices on how best to confront aggression and preserve human life and human rights in the Middle East. I also write to share our Conference's deep concerns about the moral dangers and human costs which could be the result of war in the Persian Gulf.

The Catholic Bishops of the United States met in our nation's capital this week and voted to affirm and make their own the enclosed letter of Archbishop Roger Mahony sent to Secretary Baker on November 7. The letter's central point was the urgent need to assess carefully and thoroughly the ethical and human consequences of war in the Persian Gulf. The letter strongly urges the moral imperative of persistent pursuit of non-violent international pressure to halt and reverse Iraq's aggression without resort to war.

As pastors we are deeply concerned about the human consequences of the crisis -- the lives already lost or those that could be lost in war, the freedom denied to hostages, the suffering of victims of aggression and the many families separated by the demands of military service. As religious teachers, we are concerned about the moral dimensions of the crisis -- the need to resist aggression, to protect the innocent, to pursue both justice and peace in a way that conforms with ethical criteria for the use of force. As U.S. citizens, we are concerned how our nation can best protect human life and human rights and secure a peaceful and just resolution to the crisis.

These are not new concerns for Catholic bishops. We are heirs of a long tradition of thought and moral reflection on issues of war and peace, including The Challenge of Peace, our pastoral letter of 1983. Catholic teaching reflects a strong presumption against war while admitting the moral permissibility of the use of force under certain restrictive conditions. These

traditional "just war" criteria limit strictly the circumstances under which war may be morally justifiable and also govern the means by which war may be carried out. Now our Conference seeks to apply this tradition to the complex and changing situation in the Persian Gulf. While there may be diverse points of view on the specific application of these principles, our Conference finds significant consensus on four key priorities:

- 1) Strong condemnation of Iraq's aggression, hostage-taking and other violations of human rights and our strong support for world-wide peaceful pressure and action to deter Iraq's aggression and secure the peaceful liberation of Kuwait;
- 2) The urgent need for the careful consideration of the moral and human consequences of the use of force, as well as the military and political implications;
- 3) Clear moral criteria must be met to justify the use of military force. As outlined in Archbishop Mahony's letter, these include questions of a clear and just cause for war, proper authority, and sufficient probability of success to justify the human and other costs of military action. The criteria also ask whether war is genuinely a last resort; all reasonable peaceful alternatives must be fully pursued. Another criterion is proportionality: the human, economic and other costs of war must be proportionate to the objective to be achieved by the use of weapons of war. In this case, will war with Iraq leave the people of Kuwait, the Middle East and the world better or worse off? Our tradition also requires that the means and weapons used to pursue war must be proportionate as well and must discriminate between combatants and ordinary civilians. I fear that, in this situation, moving beyond the deployment of military forces in an effort to deter Iraqi aggression to the undertaking of offensive military action could well violate these criteria, especially the principles of proportionality and last resort.
- 4) Therefore, in our Conference's view, our nation should continue strong, persistent and determined international and peaceful pressure against Iraq. Our Conference understands that a strong military presence can give credibility to a vigorous pursuit of diplomatic and economic approaches to the crisis. Our concern is that the pressures to use military force could grow as the pursuit of non-violent options almost inevitably becomes difficult, complex and slow. We urge our government and our allies to continue to pursue the course of peaceful pressure and not resort to war. The use of weapons of war cannot be a substitute for the difficult, often time-consuming and frustrating work of searching for political solutions to the deep-seated problems in the Middle East which have contributed to this current crisis.

We are also concerned not only about the international consequences of possible war, but the domestic impact as well: the resources diverted, the human needs neglected, the potential political conflict and divisions within our society.

I believe, Mr. President these are your concerns, even as they are ours.

I offer these reflections not to diminish in any way the necessary condemnation of Iraq's brutal actions. Rather, I speak with the firm conviction that our nation needs to continue to assess and discuss the ethical dimensions of this difficult situation. These discussions and this assessment must take place before, not after, offensive action is undertaken.

We stand with our government and the United Nations in the effort to halt and reverse Iraqi aggression, to condemn the taking of hostages and to secure their release. We strongly support and commend your efforts to build global solidarity and world-wide pressure against Iraq. Because of the serious moral and human factors involved, we ask you and the leaders of other governments to continue and intensify the determined and creative pursuit of a peaceful solution that seeks to bring justice to the region without resort to war.

Our prayers are with you as you face these awesome challenges and as you undertake a journey at this Thanksgiving season so important for our country and the world. We also pray that other world leaders meet their responsibilities to pursue both justice and peace. Our prayers also go out to all those directly touched by this crisis: the victims of aggression, the hostages, troops in the field and their families. We especially remember the members of our military forces who face a difficult task in trying circumstances and who will bear the burden of the decisions made on how best to resolve this crisis. We hope and pray that these reflections from our Conference's perspective as pastors and teachers will strengthen our nation's determination to pursue true justice through peaceful means.

Prayerfully and Sincerely,

+  
*Daniel E. Pilarczyk*

Most Reverend Daniel E. Pilarczyk  
Archbishop of Cincinnati  
President, National Conference  
of Catholic Bishops/United  
States Catholic Conference



## Department of Social Development and World Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 341-3180 FAX (202) 341-3139 TELEX 7400424

November 7, 1990

The Honorable James Baker  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
2201 C St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I write as Chairman of the International Policy Committee of the U.S. Catholic Conference to share several concerns and criteria regarding possible use of U.S. military force in the Persian Gulf. As Catholic bishops we are deeply concerned about the human consequences of the crisis -- the lives already lost or those that could be lost in a war, the freedom denied to hostages, the victims of aggression and the many families divided by the demands of military service. As religious teachers, we are concerned about the moral dimensions of the crisis -- the need to resist brutal aggression, to protect the innocent, to pursue both justice and peace, as well as the ethical criteria for the use of force. As U.S. citizens, we are concerned about how our nation can best protect human life and human rights and secure a peaceful and just resolution to the crisis.

Our Conference has thus far emphasized five basic issues in addressing the crisis:

- 1) The clear need to resist aggression. We cannot permit nations to simply overwhelm others by brutal use of force.
- 2) The need for broad-based, international solidarity which seeks effective and peaceful means to halt and reverse aggression. We strongly support the United Nations actions and the international pressure which has effectively halted Iraqi aggression and offers hope for the peaceful liberation of Kuwait.
- 3) The need to condemn the taking of hostages and the mistreatment and killing of civilians. We deplore the cynical and intolerable actions of the Iraqi government in taking innocent civilians against their will and using them for protection or propaganda, as well as, the brutal treatment of civilians in Kuwait.

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- 4) The essential need to distinguish between the leaders of Iraq and the civilians of Iraq and Kuwait. In the carrying out of the embargo and other actions we need to take care so that innocent civilians are not deprived of those essentials for the maintenance of life, i.e., food and medicines.
- 5) The imperative to seek a peaceful resolution of the crisis and pursue legitimate objectives by non-violent diplomatic means. We continue to call for effective solidarity, perseverance and patience in the search for a peaceful and just outcome to the crisis.

It is on this last point, the persistent pursuit of a peaceful solution, that I write to you now. As the Administration assesses the military and geopolitical implications of initiating combat, we also ask you to carefully assess the moral consequences of resort to war.

Our country needs an informed and substantive discussion of the human and ethical dimensions of the policy choices under consideration. In the Catholic Community, there is a long history of ethical reflection on these issues and diverse points of view. As Chairman of this committee, I share these reflections with you, not to offer a definitive judgement but to suggest some essential values, and raise some key questions which must be considered as the U.S. explores its options. We hope they will contribute to the necessary and growing public debate about whether the use of military force could be morally justified and under what, if any, conditions. We specifically seek to draw attention to the ethical dimensions of these choices, so that they are not ignored or neglected in a focus on simply military and geopolitical considerations.

In our tradition, while the use of force is not ruled out absolutely, there is a clear presumption against war. The right to self-defense or to repel aggression is restricted and governed by a series of moral principles, often called the "just war" theory. These criteria spell out the conditions which have to be met for war to be morally permissible. Among the major criteria are:

(a) Just Cause: Is there "a real and certain danger" which can only be confronted by war? Several objectives have been put forth for US policy: to deter and repel aggression, to safeguard human rights, to assure adequate and affordable energy supplies, to advance a new international order, to overthrow a hostile dictator. In order to meet the just cause criteria US policy would have to clarify its precise objectives, measure them by

ethical values and demonstrate that they can only be achieved through the use of force.

(b) Competent Authority: This principle asks who in this case is the competent authority to authorize the use of force. The President acting alone, the President and Congress, the UN which has played an indispensable role in securing international condemnation of Iraq? This principle is crucial given past conflicts in our own country, about who has such powers.

(c) Right intention: Are the reasons set forth as a just cause for war the actual objectives of military action?

(d) Last Resort: Have all peaceful alternatives been fully pursued before war is undertaken? Can the international economic and political pressure on Iraq bring about a just solution over time without resort to violence?

(e) Probability of Success: Is the prospect of success sufficiently clear to justify the human and other costs of military action?

(f) Proportionality: Is the damage to be inflicted and the costs incurred by war proportionate to the objectives to be achieved by taking up arms? In this case are the expressed values at stake so important i.e., the survival of Kuwait, repelling aggression, etc., that they justify the resort to force and the consequences of the use of force? Will war with Iraq leave the people of Kuwait, the Middle East and the world better or worse off?

In addition to these criteria, there are others which govern the conduct of war. These principles include proportionality and discrimination, i.e. the military means used must be commensurate with the evil to be overcome and must be directed at the aggressors, not innocent people. For example, the Second Vatican Council declared

"any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation".

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Military action against Iraq would have to be restrained by these two principles, necessarily ruling out tactics and strategies which could clearly target civilian lives. This means this war would have to be a limited war, raising again the criteria of the probability of success and the price to be paid given the hostile physical environment, the fragility of the anti-Iraq alliance and the volatility of regional and domestic political support.

Those considerations lead me to strongly urge that the US, in continued cooperation with the United Nations, the Soviet Union, Arab states and other nations, stay the course of persistent, peaceful and determined pressure against Iraq. A resort to war in violation of these criteria would jeopardize many lives, raise serious moral questions and undermine the international solidarity against Iraq. We understand that a strong military presence can give credibility to a vigorous pursuit of non-violent solutions to the crisis. My concern is that the pressure to use military force may grow as the pursuit of non-violent options almost inevitably become difficult, complex and slow. Strength, creativity and persistence are virtues required for a peaceful and just conclusion of this crisis. They may also open the door for a new, broader and more imaginative dialogue concerning the deep-seated and long-standing problems which have contributed to the current situation.

We pray for the safety and welfare of the peoples of that troubled region. We pray for the liberation of the hostages and the people of Kuwait. We pray that the American men and women deployed in the Gulf may by their presence support a peaceful resolution of the crisis and return home safely and soon. And, finally, we pray that our leaders and all other parties concerned will have the persistence, wisdom and skill to resolve the current crisis in peace and with justice.

Sincerely yours,

*Roger Mahony*  
Most Reverend Roger M. Mahony  
Archbishop of Los Angeles  
Chairman  
International Policy Committee

## WORKSHOPS A

1. THE MORAL AESTHETICS OF CONQUEST: THE WARS OF JOSHUA --  
Rabbi Daniel Landes

Can a gentle people imbued with a memory of persecution "overnight" turn themselves into an effective fighting force? What are the limits imposed by morality upon the conduct of war? At what price is the unity of single purpose to be demanded of members of a nation at war? These three questions are opened up by a study of the entry of the People Israel into the Land of Israel under the leadership of Moses' successor, fellow ex-slave and former spymaster, Joshua.

2. DEBORAH'S WAR -- Rabbi David Silber

Deborah's war, the last great battle for the conquest of Canaan, is described in biblical prose and poetry. Through a study of the biblical account in the Book of Judges (chapters four and five), we will analyze the significance of that battle and the role of women in securing the victory.

3. GIDEON AND THE MIDIANITES: AN IDF SOURCE OF INSPIRATION --  
Dr. Haim Shaked

The famous biblical battle of Gideon against the Midianites served as a source of inspiration for the Haganah, and then the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), concerning appropriate tactics in the modern battlefield. The workshop will explore the parallels in warfare between ancient and modern times.

4. WOMEN AND THE WARRIOR: SEX AND AGGRESSION IN THE WARS OF SAMSON -- Rabbi Tsvi Blanchard

Haunted by women, Samson's life of desire cannot be separated from his role as warrior and judge. His battles were as much an expression of the complexities of his own passions and temptations as of political and religious policy. We will study his wars as military engagements, ruled by archetypicalness of the warrior/saviour. From his special birth to his spectacular death, Samson reflects the impact of the psychology of the warrior on war making.

5. A JEWISH HOLY WAR: SAUL'S WAR AGAINST AMALEK -- Dr. Michael Chernick

The workshop will consider the implications of a Jewish government carrying out genocidal war in order to fulfill one of God's commandments. Is there ethical justification for such a war? What kind of God would command such a thing? What makes an action, especially a war, ethically justifiable according to Judaism? If contemporary values and Jewish values conflict, which prevails for you? Is there a way of mediating between tradition and modernity? What does this war tell us about war in our time?

6. WHY WAS ISRAEL'S FIRST CIVIL WAR ALSO A FAMILY WAR? -- Dr. Reuven Kimelman

Throughout history the most destructive wars are civil wars. Civil wars not only split countries, but also families. They test the loyalties of all inhabitants, frequently pitting parent against child and sibling against sibling. This session will focus on the war between King David and his son Absalom. It will inquire into the causes of the war to ascertain why there was such a groundswell against David. It will then ask about the price of the war, whether it was worth it, and finally whether it was avoidable. In conclusion, we shall seek to assess the interplay of family loyalties, moral considerations, and military tactics in the achievement of final victory.

7. BLOODSHED, WAR AND INTERNAL STRIFE: THE LEGACY OF KING DAVID -- Rabbi Henoch Millen

While King David is known as the sweet singer of Israel, his life and reign were filled with war and bloodshed. In I Chronicles 22:8 we read, "But the word of the Lord came to me, saying: thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great war; thou shalt not build a house unto my name because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight." In our discussion we will deal with David's wars from two perspectives: an analysis of his wars with external enemies (Philistines and Ammonites); and the internal strife within his ranks and family. We will strive to understand which wars were justifiable, and which disqualified him from building the holy temple in Jerusalem.

8. THE MACCABEAN REVOLT: WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE US  
-- Dr. Ronald Brauner

Can one be fully loyal to a rich Jewish life and still enjoy the benefits of the majority, non-Jewish culture? What is authentic Judaism and what are the limits beyond which we cannot go without losing our identity? Is it possible to live in two worlds simultaneously? The real miracle of Hanukkah has nothing to do with olive oil!

9. THE GREAT REVOLT AGAINST ROME: DESPERATE RELIGIOUS FOOLHARDINESS OR CALCULATED POLITICAL AUDACITY? -- Professor Steven Katz

No war has been more fateful for the course of Jewish history than the rebellion against Rome. By the year 70 CE, the Temple and Jerusalem were destroyed, political autonomy dissolved, and tens if not hundreds of thousands of Jews were flooding the slave markets of the Roman Empire. Ever since then, a majority of Jews have been diaspora denizens. In this session, we will ask whether the war could have been avoided, could it have been won, and finally to what degree is a politically autonomous culture essential for the success of Judaism?

10. THE EAST IN FLAMES: THE REVOLT OF WORLD JEWRY AGAINST ROME (115-117) -- Rabbi Jeffrey Woolf

In 115 CE the Emperor Trajan invaded Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq). The Jews of that area united with their brethren throughout the eastern part of the Roman Empire to overthrow Rome, liberate the Land of Israel and rebuild the Temple. They almost succeeded. In this session we will examine the origins, strategy, development and results of this little-known episode in our history.

11. JEWISH RESISTANCE AND THE BAR KOCHBA REVOLT -- Dr. Bernard Steinberg

In the year 131 CE, the Jews declared the "Year of Redemption" and rebelled against Rome, under the military leadership of Bar Kochba, declared the Messiah by Rabbi Akiva. The results of the Jewish rebellion were disastrous: the Romans destroyed 985 villages, killed 500,000 Jews, and razed Jerusalem to the ground. For the first time in many centuries, the Jewish community became a minority in its own country. What motivated the Jews to rebel against a mighty empire? What was the national goal? Was there a consensus within Jewish leadership concerning the goal and the means to achieve it? How could the Jews have failed to foresee the hopelessness of their resistance? Did the Jewish leaders not learn a lesson from the Great Revolt, just 60 years earlier? What does the Bar Kochba revolt symbolize in contemporary Israel?

12. MACHIAVELLIANS AND PACIFISTS: THREE MEDIEVAL RESPONSES TO THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN -- Dr. David Ruderman

Jewish attitudes about war have been shaped as much by the reflections of great thinkers as they have by the events of warfare itself. Maimonides, court physician in Fez and Cairo; Don Isaac Abravanel, financier to the thrones of Portugal and Spain; and Abraham Portaleone, confidant of the Duke of Mantua in Renaissance Italy occupied positions of influence in the governments of the super-powers of their day. Their divergent ideas about warfare, based both on their practical experiences and on their reading of Biblical sources, helped mold Jewish thinking about war.

The Wexner Heritage Foundation

551 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Huntington Center Suite 3710  
41 South High Street  
Columbus, Ohio 43215

212 355 6115 New York  
614 464 2777 Ohio

January 15, 1991

TO: WORKSHOP <sup>B</sup> FACULTY

FROM: RABBI RAMIE ARIAN  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS

RE: SCENARIO ON "WAR OVER WATER"

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At our Saturday afternoon workshop, you will be leading a group which will analyze a hypothetical scenario regarding a future war in Israel. The scenario envisions Israel initiating a war in an attempt to secure its water supply. This packet contains the text of that scenario, and the background material you will need in order to prepare for the session.

The contents of this packet are listed below. The participants in the sessions are also receiving these items, except those marked with an asterisk (\*), which are being distributed to faculty only:

1. "War Over Water" -- the text of the scenario.  
Note that the content of the workshop will consist principally of a discussion of the questions on the last page.
2. Map -- showing the principle water sources relevant to the scenario.
3. "Divvying Up the Drops" and "Israel Facing a Catastrophic Water Shortage" -- two short articles showing that the facts cited in the scenario are not farfetched.
4. \*A short excerpt from The Arab-Israeli Wars, by Chaim Herzog -- indicating that water played a contributory role leading to the Six Day War. [Faculty Distribution Only].
5. \*"Middle East Water: Source of Conflict or Catalyst for Peace", by George E. Gruen -- a detailed description of Israel's water sources, and the interplay of water and international politics in the Middle East. [Faculty Distribution Only].

Please familiarize yourself with these materials prior to your arrival at the Mid-Winter Retreat.

**NOTE: THERE WILL BE A MEETING FOR ALL FACULTY WHO ARE LEADING THIS WORKSHOP, AT 10:00 PM ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22. AT THAT TIME, WE WILL OUTLINE SPECIFIC STRATEGIES FOR CONDUCTING THIS WORKSHOP.**

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

MID-WINTER RETREAT - FEBRUARY 1991

WAR OVER WATER

The year is 1995. The Israeli cabinet is meeting in emergency session. The cause of the emergency is the dire water shortage which the country is facing and the threat of imminent water rationing.

The Minister for Water, a recently created post, opens the meeting with the following statement:

"As you all know, the problem of water scarcity is nothing new to a region like the Middle East. But Israel finds itself in a desperately dangerous situation which requires immediate and drastic action.

Within days, or a few weeks at most, we must stop pumping from Lake Tiberias, for the water will have fallen below the statutory minimum level mandated by the Knesset. Therefore, only a trickle will flow through the National Water Carrier which now extends throughout the entire country. That trickle will come mainly from a few deep wells, which themselves are already so overdrawn that salinity is beginning to appear. We should really shut them down also - but then there would be nothing but

undrinkable waste water. Our nation's agriculture, industry and population are on the verge of a major catastrophe.

There are three basic causes of this condition:

1. The five years of drought between 1987-1992, which produced the lowest rainfall in this century.
2. The blessing of the Great Soviet Exodus, which brought almost one million additional souls to our country, increasing the demand for water by 25-30%.
3. The international conference of 1992, which resulted in the welcome peace negotiations now underway with our Arab neighbors, but which also resulted in a Palestinian Entity being formed in the West Bank and Gaza. The two critical aquifers which contained 60% of our water supply lie deep under the territory we relinquished.

We are thus faced with providing water for 6 million people (5 million Jews plus 1 million Israeli Arabs), from lesser resources than we enjoyed three years ago. The Cabinet therefore, must decide on a water rationing plan which will severely reduce the amount available to every individual, factory and farm."

Other ministers spoke about warnings which the government had ignored for years. These warnings discussed ideas for increasing water capacity all of which had been debated and discarded, because they were too costly or technically difficult. But all this was spilt milk, and suddenly the Cabinet was confronted with the awful moment of truth. The Prime Minister asked the head of the Water Planning Authority (TAHAL) if there were solutions other than a drastic rationing scheme.

TAHAL's suggestions included towing an iceberg from the Arctic Circle (deemed impractical); importing water by supertankers from Turkey (deemed exorbitantly expensive and politically dangerous to place Israel's fate in the hands of a foreign power); reviving the Mediterranean Sea-Dead Sea Canal (Med-Dead) proposal with it's massive desalinization component (deemed to take five years to complete - too long to be of immediate help).

With no practical alternatives on the table, the Prime Minister turned to the Minister of Defense and asked him to put forward any military plans through which TZAHAL (Israel's Defense Forces) could alleviate the situation.

The Defense Minister presented three proposals:

- a) Expand the IDF's "security zone" in Southern Lebanon so that it would encompass the Litani River (see map) plus

a further fifteen kilometer strip north of the Litani (to protect against terrorist attack). The IDF corps of engineers could then follow the troops in and lay a pipeline from the Litani down into Israel proper which would double Israel's water supply within sixty days. (The Litani's water is currently deposited in the Mediterranean Sea and goes to waste.)

The risk of this operation was the possible response from Syria and the rest of the Arab and world communities to this new instance of Israeli "imperialism". There was the ominous possibility that this limited incursion could expand into a region-wide conflagration with great loss of life to Israel. There was also the possibility that the "world community" would not let the results of the invasion stand (as was the case with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990-91). On the other hand, since the country being operated on was Lebanon, which had not had a legitimate government in two decades, Israel might be able to escape a larger military engagement.

- b) Invade Jordan and seize the territory surrounding and including the Yarmuk River (see map). While such a military operation could also solve Israel's water needs for a significant period of time, it was fraught with the same kind of dangers as in proposal (a).

Additionally it was even more likely to evoke a concerted military response. To make matters more complicated it would require crossing through the Palestinian Entity in order to invade and then retrieve water from Jordan. The positive side of this operation is that it would please the religious and nationalistic elements of Israel's population which believe that the East Bank of the Jordan River - no less than the West Bank - should be part of "Eretz Yisrael Hashlaymah" (Greater Israel).

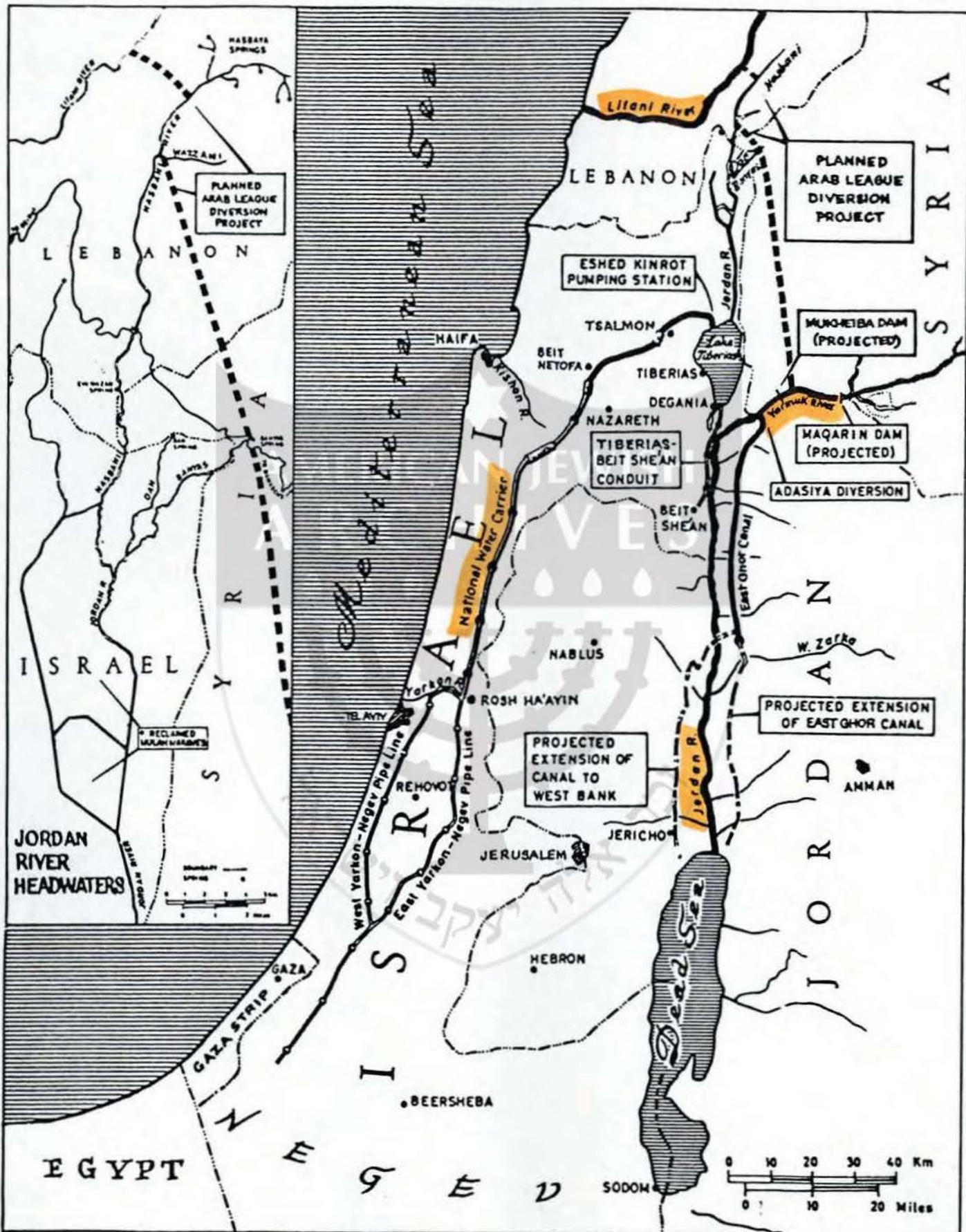
- c) Retake the West Bank and Gaza, thus regaining access to the aquifers. This would ease the water shortage for approximately five years, during which time Israel would undertake the digging of the Med-Dead Canal and build a massive desalinization plant. Since the Palestinian Entity was demilitarized, this option was likely to bring the least military resistance initially, but was also likely to bring the most damaging political (and eventually military) response from the Arab countries and the world community.

The Cabinet considered all the options presented by TAHAL and TZAHAL and concluded that the most realistic and least politically damaging option was military option (a) - "expanding" the Lebanese security zone to include the Litani River. They so voted, and ordered the defense minister to begin an immediate

mobilization of the army reserves in preparation for a quick, short war.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE JEWISH TRADITION

- 1) Do you think that this war is an obligatory, defensive war (milchemet mitzvah), or an optional war (milchemet reshut)?
- 2) Do the Prime Minister and his Cabinet have the right to go to war under these circumstances or must they consult with and get approval from the Knesset?
- 3) A group of religious reservists file a class action suit with Israel's Supreme court, requesting the right of exemption from the military call-up, on the grounds that they were conscientiously objecting to this "unjust war". Should the exemption be granted?
- 4) In the event that your answer to #3 is affirmative, would these reservists still be exempted if the fighting escalated into a pan-Arab war against Israel?



THE JORDAN-YARMUK RIVER SYSTEM



Ben-Gurion University scientists search for water in the desert

# Divvying Up the Drops

## Israel Contends with Water Scarcity

by D'vora Ben Shaul

**S**tanding at the edge of a cotton field in the Negev in 1970, the late General Avraham Yoffe, first head of the Israel Nature Reserve Authority, looked at the irrigation sprinklers across the field and said, "That's what the big war is going to be all about."

"About cotton?" I asked.

"No, about water. When we run out we're going to have to get it somewhere and that means war."

Israel is a thirsty land. It has neither the snow-fed rivulets and rivers of Lebanon or the well-watered plains of Iraq that nourished the flourishing civilization of Babylon. Rainfall is scant at the best of times and droughts are common. The "former rains and the latter rains" as

promised in the Bible are often late and some years are markedly absent.

From earliest recorded history, years of drought and crop failure brought about mass migration of the human population. Had it not been for drought, Jacob and his children would never have needed to sojourn in the Land of Goshen in Egypt and a different history might well have been written.

Politics has always become intertwined with the issue of the region's scarce water supplies. The book of Kings records that several years of drought brought King David to the drastic move of executing all of the surviving sons and grandsons of his predecessor, King Saul. Times of drought are restless times, no less so today than then and water remains one of Israel's

most serious problems and one of the region's most eruptive political issues.

When a drought hits, the public turns its attention to the barren, rocky shore of the Sea of Galilee (the Kinneret). The edges of this 68 square-mile lake recede as it loses water faster than it is replenished. Actually, the Kinneret supplies a bare one-third of the water used each year in Israel, but the lake is a visible symbol of a persistent problem. Although the underground water table is also low and the aquifers are drying up, this is out of sight and therefore largely out of mind for most people. The Kinneret is reality.

Of the more than two billion cubic feet of water consumed in Israel annually, some 700 million come from the Kinneret through the National Water Carrier. This



The National Water Carrier: supplying a thirsty land

is water that previously flowed out of the lake via the Jordan River and down to the Dead Sea. The diversion of this water has naturally affected both the Kinneret and the Dead Sea. The Beit Shean water carrier, drawing its water from the Jordan River, provides another 12 percent of the nation's yearly consumption. The remainder comes from the Yarkon River, from artesian wells and from the capping and diverting of natural springs. A small amount is derived from rainfall catchments, mainly in the Golan Heights and some parts of the Galilee.

Due to this winter's low rainfall and the resulting dangerously low water table and shrinking Kinneret, Mekorot, the national water company, and the water commissioner announced a 20 percent reduction in water supply for the coming year. Not surprisingly, each sector hit by the cuts - domestic, industry and agriculture - is convinced that it should be someone else that must do without. As water is also a necessity for wildlife, nature protection authorities fear that they will be the ones to bear the brunt of the shortage. As a result, heated political lobbying is already under way.

Most vociferous is the agricultural sector. It is here that the political nature of water distribution in Israel becomes most obvious. For the country's first 30 years the agricultural sector, and especially the kibbutzim, needed no lobby. A Labor government was in power and the kibbutz was one of Israel's most sacred cows. In fact, most of those holding political power hailed from a kibbutz or other agricultural background. No one questioned

that the country's first priority, in terms of water distribution, was the green fields that had come to symbolize the reclamation of the land.

The agricultural sector thus got the lion's share of water allocations; and if the kibbutzim also used this cheap, subsidized water for their swimming pools, communal lawns and developing factories, no one blinked. Even when private industry, paying premium water rates and struggling with less than optimal allocations, argued that the kibbutz factories were unfair competition, legislators turned a deaf ear.

## Many plans have been discussed for obtaining extra water but so far all are still on the drawing board

But in recent years, as cheaper labor costs in other warm countries have created a highly competitive market, particularly for out-of-season crops in Europe, and the influence of the European Community has grown, many people have started to question the wisdom of the significant water allocations to the two percent of the population the kibbutzim represent. ("It doesn't matter how green your parsley is, Israel cannot support itself by growing parsley," according to the Likud's David Levy.) Another issue being raised is whether water-guzzling cotton, a subsidized crop in a falling market, is economically viable to the nation as a whole, even if it is worthwhile to the kibbutz cotton growers.

## Whence the Water?

Israel's rapidly expanding industrial complex has a growing need for water as well. With the arrival of large numbers of Soviet Jews, urban domestic use will inevitably rise. The question on everyone's mind is, where will the water come from? Industry can make an effort to eliminate waste, agriculture will have to cut back on its consumption, and domestic users must be educated to conserve water. But in the Middle East, this is not a problem that can be solved by showering with a friend.

Israel has currently reached its limit of available water. Much vital water reserve has been lost. Pollution by agricultural nitrate fertilizers has brought about the capping of more than 100 wells in the coastal plain. Further, pollution by fertilizers, pesticides and oil products has finally forced the admission by the Environment Ministry of the impaired state of the country's drinking water.

Unfortunately, Israel alone cannot protect its water sources, since 280 square miles of the 1,100 square-mile catchment

area of the Kinneret is in Lebanon. In addition, Syria's diversion of waters from the Vazani River, which feeds the Yarmuk, a vital source for Israel, and Jordan's diversion of the Jordan River, have further decreased the water supply flowing into Israel.

Many plans have been discussed for obtaining extra water but so far all are still on the drawing board. Desalination of sea water, for example, is not yet feasible on a large scale. Other suggestions include covering the Kinneret with plastic to prevent the annual loss of 300 million cubes of water to evaporation. That this would turn the lake, with its 20,000-ton biomass of plankton and an immeasurable biomass of other living creatures, into a slimy sludge pond did not seem to occur to the originator of the idea. Another possibility involves the towing of large icebergs, covered with a protective shield to slow melting, from the polar areas to special shoreline catchments from which the water could be pumped off as it melts. This is technically possible but at this stage both uneconomical and possibly environmentally undesirable.

In view of the highly political nature of water issues within Israel together with the other complicating factors, many Israeli planners look northward. The amount of water that daily pours into the sea from the Litani River, a few miles into Lebanon in the Israeli-controlled security zone, is equal to Israel's total water needs. Knowledgeable people in the government and the military say that former Prime Minister Menachem Begin had water in mind as a consideration while planning the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Once a friendly power headed the Lebanese government and a peace treaty was signed, Israel could dam the Litani and build a hydroelectric station. This would allow Lebanon to vastly improve living standards in its underdeveloped south and Israel would buy the water that came over the dam. But, as one leading politician said, "It was a great plan but it didn't hold water."

Nevertheless, many speculate that Israel will never leave the security zone in southern Lebanon because of the Litani as much as because of terrorist infiltration. Some Arab sources have already accused Israel of pumping water from the Litani, though this has been officially denied. Any move to gain access to these waters would clearly provoke an immediate reaction from Syria, Lebanon and probably Iraq and Egypt as well. In the meantime, the religious pray for rains in their season and the rest of the population just cross their fingers and hope for the best. Two or three winters of record rainfall will not solve the basic problem of providing sufficient water to all sectors, but it would take the pressure off. Otherwise General Yoffe may turn out to be a prophet. ■

# FOCUS

*Comment/Opinion/Insight*

## Israel facing a 'catastrophic' water shortage

By HELEN DAVIS

**J**ERUSALEM — Israel is exhausting its water reserve and faces a "catastrophe" within five years unless drastic emergency measures are taken.

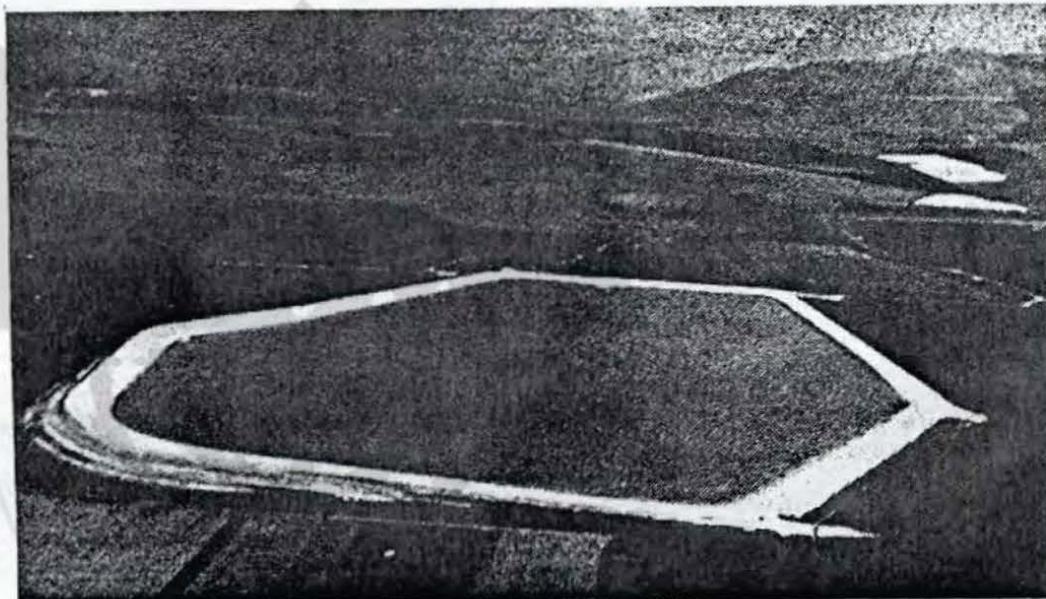
That grim message was delivered recently to Prime Minister Yitzchak Shamir by a delegation of 16 senior hydrologists from major scientific institutions. They told him that Israel is using up its water reserve 15 percent faster than it can be replenished each year. Years of over-pumping ground water are leading to a deterioration of both the quantity and quality of Israel's supplies, they added.

Declaring that the need for emergency measures is urgent — even if they involve such politically sensitive decisions as cutting back agricultural production — delegation members said the bottom line is: Unless such measures are implemented, there will be a catastrophe in five years.

Israel is not alone among Middle East states facing a water crisis. Warnings are growing steadily louder that the next major Middle East conflagration will not draw its inspiration from the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian problem, Islamic fundamentalism or any other of the myriad rivalries, jealousies and suspicions that characterize relationships in the region. The next war, according to both politicians and scientists, will be over water.

A sign of the times came earlier this year when Turkey, the emerging water "superpower" of the region, unilaterally turned off the flow of the Euphrates in order to fill its new Ataturk Dam. The dam is the centerpiece of an ambitious \$21 billion project that will eventually involve creation of 21 new dams, 17 hydro-electric plants and irrigation to transform some 46,000 semi-arid square miles of Mesopotamia into a new fertile crescent.

The Turkish action drew a response as swift as it was unexpected: a short-lived alliance between traditional arch-rivals Syria and Iraq. Both draw water from the Euphrates, and both suffered acute shortages, electrical disruptions and crop failures when the flow was halted. Within weeks, the strained relations approached breaking point, with headlines appearing in Syrian and Iraqi newspapers warning of war unless water supplies were restored immediately. Just one month after they stopped the flow, authorities in Ankara turned on the tap again.



The Reshafim Reservoir in the Jezreel Valley was built by the Jewish National Fund to help alleviate the chronic water shortage in Israel.

Photo/Jewish National Fund

Nevertheless, the harsh facts of life are that Turkey's farsighted, ambitions water projects could ultimately cost Syria a devastating 40 percent of its Euphrates water, while Iraq could lose up to 90 percent.

**C**ONCERN ABOUT THE REGION'S diminishing water supplies in the face of a rapidly rising demand — which is being fueled by exploding populations and the increased needs of agriculture and industry — has been given dramatic expression in the United States. A 1987 State Department report noted grimly that "there will be insufficient water to sustain Egypt's population by the year 2000 unless dramatic conservation and management improvements are put into place in the next few years."

More recently — and in more apocalyptic terms — the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies warned that the Middle East was standing on the edge of another major resource crisis. "Before the 21st century,"

noted a research paper, "the struggle over limited and threatened water resources could sunder already fragile ties among regional states and lead to unprecedented upheaval within the area."

Despite the warnings, little has been done to conserve existing supplies, to apply those supplies more efficiently and economically, to establish fresh sources that could avert the predicted catastrophe.

The Syrian capital, Damascus, which is without water most nights, is estimated to be losing as much as 30 percent of its water supply as a result of old, leaking pipes. In Egypt, up to two-thirds of the water supply allocated to cities and towns is being lost through inefficient use, while farmers in the fertile Nile delta use twice as much water as necessary because of primitive irrigation techniques. Saudi Arabia uses 90 percent

of its non-replenishable deep-well fresh water supplies for agricultural produce that could be imported at one-tenth the cost. Israel uses 70 percent of its water for agriculture and some 17 percent of its energy resources simply to pump water around the country.

A complicating political factor in Israel's calculations — and a cause for sober consideration by those advocating a return of the administered territories — is that no less than 40 percent of Israel's fresh water comes from aquifers beneath the west bank and Gaza Strip. That represents 95 percent of the aquifers in the territories.

The Jordan River, shared by Israel and Jordan, is so over-used that its increasingly saline water can irrigate only some of the most salt-resistant crops. Water allocation from the river is a matter of constant haggling between Israeli and Jordanian officials. According to sources in London, the flow is so meticulously monitored and the supplies so carefully allocated that the debate between the two sides overheated when Israel recently removed a large boulder in the river that slightly increased its share of the water flow.

Indeed, so critical is this natural resource a factor in Middle East politics that Jordan's King Hussein has reportedly told visitors that water is the only factor that would induce him to go to war against Israel again.

Relief may come if Israel can strike a deal with Lebanon over water from the Litani River and with Jordan over the untapped Yarmuk River, where Hussein had planned to build a \$350 million "unity dam" that would supply water to Jordan and Syria. Observers believe that Israel, which claims a share of the Yarmuk, would take drastic action if it were excluded from a strictly Jordanian-Syrian division of the water or if plans to construct the dam broke down over what the Jordanians consider excessive Israeli demands for its share of the Yarmuk waters.

Israeli experts now predict a water shortfall of up to 30 percent by the end of the decade, Syria and Iraq are expected to suffer shortfalls of up to 60 percent, while Jordanians are forecasting that by the year 2010 they will require about twice as much water as they now consume.

Both Saudi Arabia and Libya have embarked on hideously expensive water-development projects, both of which bear the hallmarks of desperation rather than cool, long-term strategic planning.

Riyadh has already spent at least \$20 billion on a seawater desalination plant, which provides less than 3 percent of its water supplies. Libya's Muammar Khaddafi has embarked on a characteristically bizarre scheme, a \$24 billion project he has dubbed "The Eighth Wonder of the World." The Libyan plan involves construction of massive concrete pipes to carry water to the coastal plain from non-replenishable underground lakes deep in the country's southern desert. The lakes are expected to dry up soon after the project is completed in about 10 years.

A realistic prospect for Israel is contained in a recent agree-

ment with Turkey to purchase up to 250 million cubic meters of water a year — equivalent to almost the annual amount provided by the National Water Carrier — at a cost of up to 35 cents per cubic meter. The plan is for Turkish water to be shipped to Israel in huge plastic barges. Infrastructure work alone, including the construction of special terminals and additional pipelines, is expected to cost some \$200 million.

The agreement recently evoked a howl of outrage from Jordan. The Turkish ambassador to Amman was summoned to the Foreign Ministry for a severe rebuke: Jordanians, he was told, were displeased that the Turkish government had struck a deal to supply Israel with water.

While agreeing to relay the protest to Ankara, the Turkish envoy responded firmly that his government was committed to supplying the water needs of all countries in the region.

However, there is no international legal obligation to share water resources, and "downstream" countries will increasingly be at the mercy of "headwater" states, prompting fears that, as demand increases, water may become a more powerful lever than oil in regional affairs.

Turkey's President Turgut Ozal has repeatedly promised that he will "never use control of water to coerce or threaten" his neighbors, but the Syrians and Iraqis believe that much of the damage has already been done.

Syria relies on the Euphrates for 90 percent of its surface water. Shaker Bazoua, director general of Syria's Al-Thawra Dam on Lake Assad, which is fed by the river, has been quoted as saying that the new Turkish dam will cut the flow of the Euphrates by two-thirds, reducing it to a salty, inconsequential stream. "There is no longer a river," he said recently. "The Euphrates is dead. The Turks are telling people who live along this river to emigrate or die."

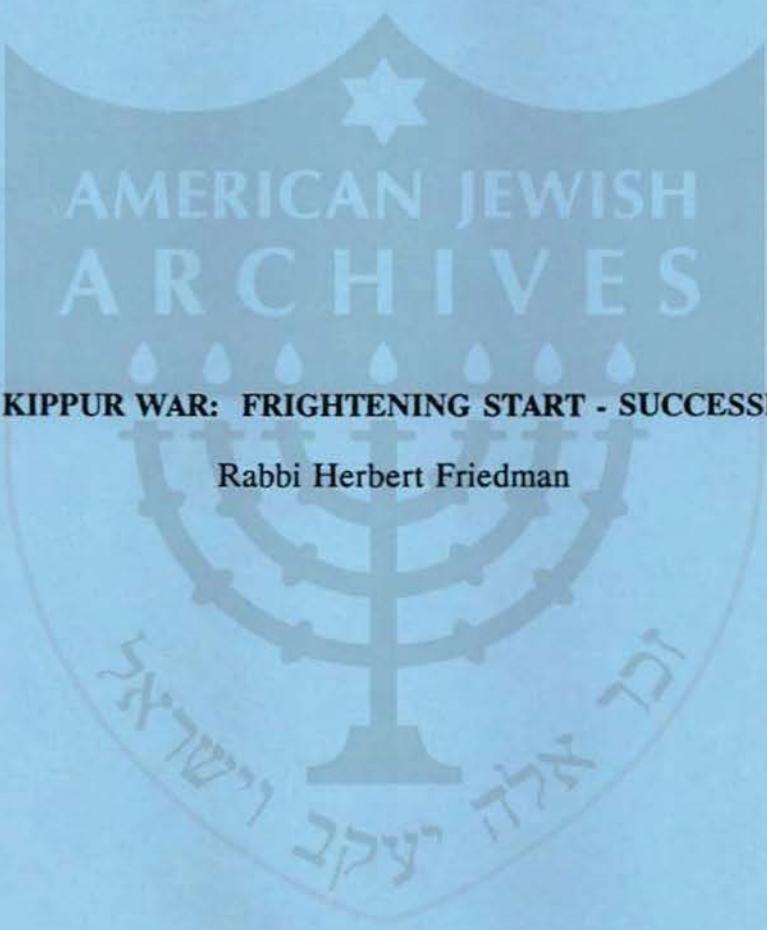
**S**IMILAR ANXIETIES about future water shortages have been seen in Cairo, where a recent symposium discussed the shortage of Nile water and the desperate measures that will have to be taken in the coming decade to avoid a full-blown crisis.

The main reason for Cairo's current headache is the projection that Egypt's population, which depends almost exclusively on the Nile, will increase from 54 million to 70 million within 10 years.

For the moment, however, Egypt's concern is focused on the activities of Israeli technicians. They are reported to be investigating the possibility of constructing three dams on the Blue Nile, which rises in Ethiopia, to provide irrigation for an ambitious Ethiopian agricultural development program. Such a project, Egypt fears, could seriously interrupt the flow of Blue Nile water into the delta and reduce supplies by up to 20 percent. Cairo has reportedly dispatched a blunt warning to Addis Ababa that it will not tolerate any attempt to interfere with the flow of the Nile.

"Egypt," said one Western official, echoing dire warnings from Washington, "will go to war to protect its Nile waters."

WORKSHOP C  
# 4  
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24  
8:45 - 10:15 AM



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

THE YOM KIPPUR WAR: FRIGHTENING START - SUCCESSFUL FINISH

Rabbi Herbert Friedman

WARS OF MODERN ISRAEL

## WORKSHOPS C

1. 1948: THE TERRIBLE PRICE OF INDEPENDENCE -- Dr. Ehud Sprinzak

Israel's War of Independence was the most important of all modern Jewish wars. But it was also the longest, and most costly in human life. About 1% of all the Jews living in Israel were killed, and many more were wounded. The purpose of the workshop is to examine the political and human aspects of the war of 1948. Among the issues to be discussed are: the generation of 1948, which gave so much of its life; the great political and military decisions of the war, and the individuals who made them; the mistakes of the Arabs; the international arena; the creation of the Palestinian refugee problem.

2. KADESH: IS OFFENSE THE BEST DEFENSE? -- Dr. Hava Rothschild

On October 29, 1956, Israel launched a preemptive strike against Egypt in cooperation with Britain and France. Although the Sinai Campaign proved Isarel's ability to defend itself against Egyptian threats, it also showed the limits of military action in politics. The workshop explores the circumstances which led to the attack on Egypt, the emergence of Israel as an international military force, the role of religious memory in justifying military actions, and the importance of diplomacy in the global balance of power.

3. THE SIX DAY WAR -- AND WHAT HAPPENED ON DAY ZERO AND ON DAY SEVEN -- Dr. Haim Shaked

This classical contemporary war was not fought in a vacuum. It was preceded by unusual historical circumstances, and prompted an unforseen set of consequences. The war, its causes and its aftermath will be explored in this workshop.

4. THE YOM KIPPUR WAR: FRIGHTENING START -- SUCCESSFUL FINISH -- Rabbi Herbert Friedman

This war caught the Israelis by surprise, yet it was their own fault, in a way, for not reading the signs properly, and being blinded by a "concept". They blunted the onslaught, rallied, and launched a brilliant counter-attack. The war finished with the Israelis 100 kilometers from Cairo and 25 kilometers from Damascus. Many errors were committed at the highest military and political levels. As a result, Prime Minister Golda Meir and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan were forced to resign a few months after the war ended.

5. WAR BY CHOICE: ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON, 1982 -- Dr.  
Martin Kramer

More than any of Israel's wars, the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was deliberately initiated by Israel. It represented a determined attempt to resolve a political problem by military means, and evolved into Israel's most controversial and unpopular war. In this workshop, we will consider the strategic and political rationale for the war, the crisis of confidence it engendered, the role of public opinion, and the final Israeli retreat. We will also examine the specific problems for Israel posed by the siege of Beirut; Sabra and Shatila; and the uprising of the Shiite south.

6. RESPONSA FROM THE FRONT: QUESTIONS ISRAELI SOLDIERS ASK --  
Rabbi Jonathan Porath

A textual study of modern responsa to questions asked by soldiers in the Israeli Army (Tzahal). Topics to be discussed include the observance of Shabbat on the front lines, wartime instructions to religious kibbutz members, secret responsa from Israel's 1948 War of Independence, and the problem of armed Cohanim. We will sense agony experienced by Jewish boys who feel they have to choose between two vital mitzvot: keeping the Torah or defending the Land of Israel.

### Dennis Prager

In the words of the Los Angeles Times, "Dennis Prager is an amazingly gifted man and charismatic moralist whose mission in life already has been crystallized 'to get people obsessed with what's right and wrong.'" Boston Herald syndicated columnist, Don Feder recently wrote: "Dennis Prager is probably the most perceptive Jewish thinker in America today. He is also one of the most courageous" (Boston Herald, July 26, 1990).

#### LECTURES

Called by B'nai Brith "perhaps the most eloquent speaker of his generation. He has lectured in 44 states, in each Canadian province, in Israel, Central America, Australia, England, Korea and Russia and at virtually every major American university. In April, 1990 he delivered a series of lectures in Russian in Moscow. Nearly 100 of his lectures are on tape and thousands of them have been purchased by individuals and institutions.

#### RADIO

Mr. Prager is one of the most respected commentators and talk show hosts in Los Angeles. And his seven hours per week on KABC Radio are the most listened to at their times throughout Southern California.

#### ULTIMATE ISSUES

Since 1985, Dennis Prager has been writing and publishing Ultimate Issues, his own journal about life's great issues, with over 7,000 subscribers. In the words of Philip Siegelman, Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University, "there is no other publication in its class. It stands alone." Its articles have been reprinted throughout the world in place as diverse as the Naval War College, professional psychology journals, the French edition of Penthouse, and most Jewish journals in the English speaking world. One Ultimate Issues subscriber, Professor Jacob Neusner of Princeton's Institute for Advanced Studies, recently wrote in the New York Jewish Week that "Dennis Prager is one of the three most interesting minds in organized Jewish life today.

#### BOOKS

He has written, with Rabbi Joseph Telushkin, two major books. The first, The Nine Questions People Ask about Judaism, was called by Herman Wouk, "The intelligent skeptics guide to Judaism." It has become the most widely used introduction to Judaism in the world, and is translated into Russian, Spanish, Persian and Japanese. The Russian edition is now being broadcast three times a week by the Voice of America in the Soviet Union. His second book, Why the Jews? The Reason for Antisemitism, is considered by many to be the most persuasive explanation of

antisemitism written. Rabbi Harold Kushner, author of When Bad Things Happen to Good People, calls Why The Jews?, "The wisest, most original and provocative book on the subject I have ever read." The book has been translated into Russian. He is now writing his third book, Happiness Is A Serious Problem, to be published in 1991 by Random House.

#### **NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES**

Dennis Prager is a former columnist of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner. His many articles and essays have appeared in Commentary, Redbook, Reader's Digest, Moment, as well as in hundreds of newspapers including the Los Angeles Times and the Miami Herald.

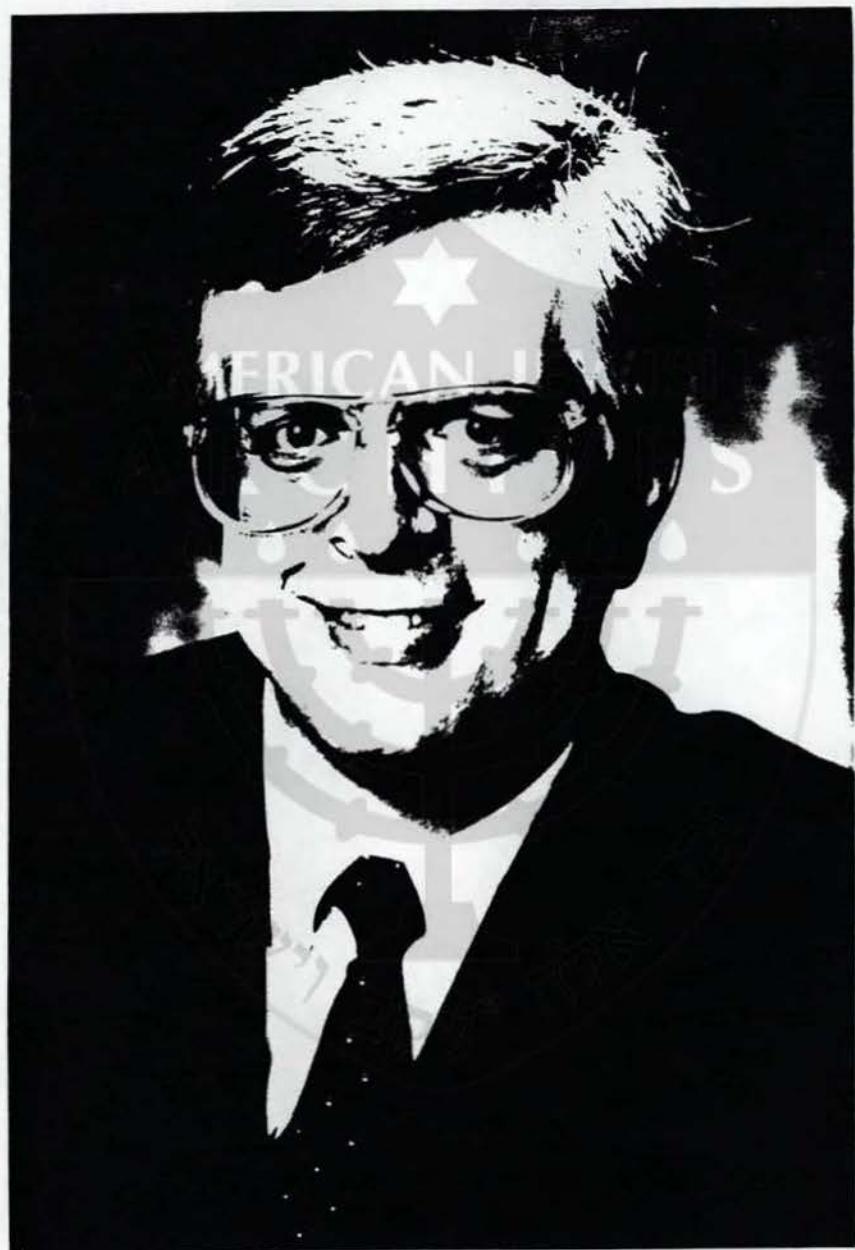
#### **HUMAN RIGHTS**

In 1969, at the age of 21, Dennis Prager and a handful of others alerted the West to the plight of Soviet Jewry. He was national spokesman of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry and a delegate of the United States to the first Brussels World Conference on Soviet Jewry. Mr. Prager serves on the board of directors of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, on the board of the International Medical Corps and as a member of the executive committee of the Community Relations Council of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation. In recognition of his work on behalf of human rights, Dennis Prager was appointed by President Reagan to the United States delegation to the Vienna Review Conference on the Helsinki Accords to negotiate human rights with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. In April 1990, the State Department invited him to conduct the Passover Seder at the United States embassy in Moscow.

#### **INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS**

Dennis Prager was invited by the Vatican to speak on Vatican Radio at which time he was greeted by Pope John Paul II: he moderates KABC Radio's Religion On The Line - guests are ministers, priests, rabbis - one of the most widely listened to shows on religion in America; spoke on antisemitism on the Christian Broadcasting Network 700 Club; and was the first Jew to speak at the Islamic Center of Southern California.

In developing his ideas, Dennis Prager has travelled through 65 countries where he has used his knowledge of Russian, French and Hebrew. A specialist in Communism, he has travelled through nine Communist countries, including six of the Soviet republics, China and throughout Eastern Europe. Born August 2, 1948, Mr. Prager did his graduate work as a Fellow of the School of International Affairs and the Russian and Middle East Institutes of Columbia University. He was a Lecturer in Jewish History and Religion at Brooklyn College. And from 1976 to 1983, he was director of the Brandeis-Bardin Institute.



### **David Saperstein**

Rabbi David Saperstein is Co-Director and Counsel of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. The Center represents the Reform Jewish movement to the Congress and Federal administration, provides extensive legislative and programmatic materials to synagogues nationwide and coordinates social action education programs that train nearly 2,000 Jewish adults, youth, rabbinic and lay leaders each year.

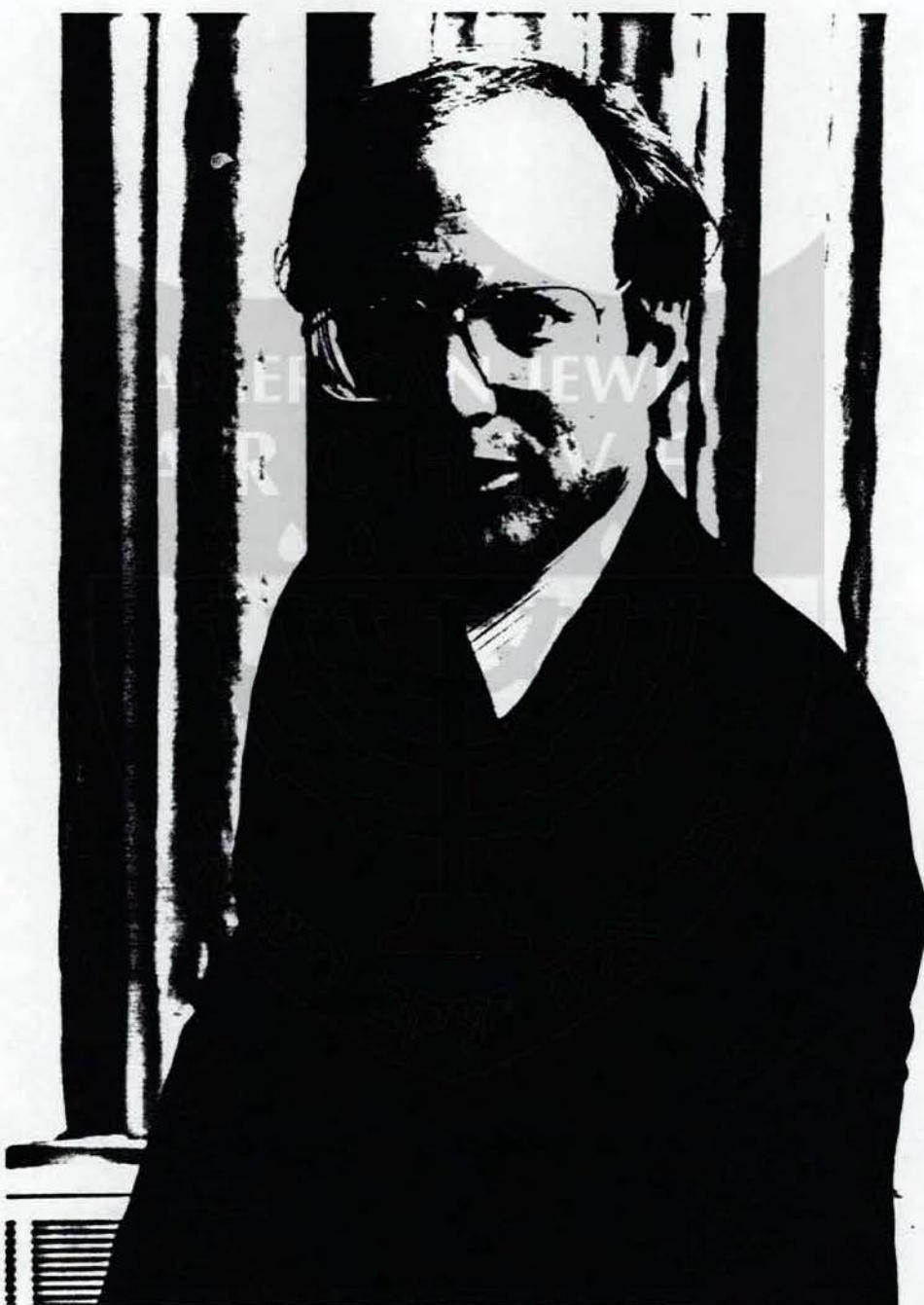
Rabbi Saperstein is also an attorney and an adjunct professor in comparative Jewish and American Law at Georgetown University Law School.

Since coming to Washington, he has held leadership positions in national coalitions dealing with issues as diverse as Israel, civil rights, energy and the environment, abortion rights, and nuclear disarmament. He has served as the Chair of four national interreligious coalitions and currently serves on the boards and executive committees of over thirty national organizations. These organizations include the NAACP, People for the American Way, and Common Cause.

The his 1987 book Thunder in America, CBS correspondent Bob Faw wrote of Rabbi Saperstein: " Saperstein learned from political masters...Saperstein's energy was almost legendary - no one around him worked longer hours, no one darted in and out of more meetings... Once he'd taken on an assignment he'd always guide it safely home to completion."

A prolific writer and speaker, Rabbi Saperstein has appeared on a number of network television news and talk shows. His articles on political and social justice issues have appeared in the Washington Post, The New York Times, and many major general and Jewish periodicals. He has authored and edited five books on social justice themes.

Rabbi Saperstein is married to Ellen Weiss, the executive producer of the National Public Radio's "All Things Considered."





The Wexner Heritage Foundation

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AMERICAN JEWISH  
A R T I S T S

# WAR

## IN THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE

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FEBRUARY  
22    *through*    24  
1 · 9 · 9 · 1  
EVERGREEN  
Stone Mountain, GA

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## PROGRAM

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1991**

**Meeting Room**

12:00 - 2:00 pm	Registration	Lobby
2:00 - 3:15 pm	Plenary Welcome and Introduction <i>Rabbi Nathan Laufer Vice President</i>	
	<b>THE JEWISH TRADITION OF WAR</b> Speaker: <i>Mr. Dennis Prager Writer, Lecturer, Radio Talk Show Host</i>	Ballroom
3:30 - 5:00 pm	Workshop A <b>THE WARS OF ANCIENT ISRAEL</b> 1. The Moral Aesthetics of Conquest: The Wars of Joshua <i>Rabbi Daniel Landes</i>	Wintergreen
	2. Deborah's War <i>Rabbi David Silber</i>	Juniper
	3. Gideon and the Midianites: An IDF Source of Inspiration <i>Dr. Haim Shaked</i>	Suite 320
	4. Women and the Warrior: Sex and Aggression in the Wars of Samson <i>Rabbi Tsvi Blanchard</i>	Balsam
	5. The Jewish Holy War: Saul's War Against Amalek <i>Dr. Michael Chernick</i>	Rhododendron A
	6. Why was Israel's First Civil War also a Family War? <i>Dr. Reuven Kimelman</i>	Holly
	7. Bloodshed, War and Internal Strife: The Legacy of King David <i>Rabbi Henoch Millen</i>	Magnolia
	8. The Maccabean Revolt: We have Met the Enemy and They are Us <i>Dr. Ronald Brauner</i>	Salon A
	9. The Great Revolt against Rome: Desperate Religious Foolhardiness or Calculated Political Audacity? <i>Dr. Steven Katz</i>	Suite 442

	10. The East in Flames: The Revolt of World Jewry against Rome (115-117) <i>Rabbi Jeffrey Woolf</i>	Barberry
	11. Jewish Resistance and the Bar Kochba Revolt <i>Dr. Bernard Steinberg</i>	Suite 420
	12. Machiavellians and Pacifists: Three Medieval Responses to the Conquest of Canaan <i>Dr. David Ruderman</i>	Suite 542
5:00 - 6:00 pm	Free Time to Prepare for Shabbat	
6:00 - 6:15 pm	Candle Lighting	Rotunda
6:20 - 7:15 pm	Services Orthodox Conservative Reform	Salon B Rhododendron Juniper
7:30 - 9:00 pm	Shabbat Dinner	Ballroom
9:00 - 10:00 pm	Evening Program <b>WAR AND PEACE</b> Speaker: <i>Rabbi Herbert Friedman</i> <i>President</i>	Ballroom
10:15 - 12:00 pm	Oneg Shabbat	Rotunda
<b>SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1991</b>		
7:30 - 9:30 am	Breakfast	Rotunda
8:00 - 8:30 am	Shiur Confronting Competing Values: The Mitzvah of Breaking the Shabbat vs. the Mitzvah of Saving A Life Part I <i>Rabbi Jonathan Porath</i>	Salon B
8:30 - 11:30 am	Orthodox Services	Salon B
	Conservative Services	Rhododendron

10:00 - 11:30 am	Reform Services	Juniper
11:30 - 11:45 am	Kiddush	Foyer
12:00 - 1:00 pm	Plenary <b>THE JEWISH RULES OF WAR</b> Speaker: <i>Rabbi David Saperstein</i> <i>Director, UAHC Religious Action Center</i>	Ballroom
1:15 - 2:30 pm	Lunch	Ballroom
2:45 - 4:15 pm	Workshop B <b>SCENARIO: WAR OVER WATER</b> 1. Dr. Tsvi Blanchard 2. Dr. Ronald Brauner 3. Dr. Michael Chernick 4. Dr. Steven Katz 5. Dr. Reuven Kimelman 6. Rabbi Daniel Landes 7. Rabbi Henoch Millen 8. Rabbi Jonathan Porath 9. Dr. Hava Tirosh Rothschild 10. Dr. David Ruderman 11. Rabbi David Saperstein 12. Dr. Bernard Steinberg 13. Ms. Dvora Weisberg 14. Rabbi Jeffrey Woolf	Wintergreen Juniper Barberry Balsam Rhododendron Salon E Salon G Holly Suite 542 Suite 520 Suite 320 Suite 420 Suite 442 Rotunda
4:15 - 7:15 pm	Free Time	
5:30 - 5:45 pm	Orthodox Mincha Services	Salon B
6:00 - 7:00 pm	Shiur <b>Purim Unmasked</b> <i>Rabbi David Silber</i>	Laurel
7:10 - 7:25 pm	Orthodox Ma'ariv Services	Salon B
7:30 - 7:45 pm	Havdalah	Ballroom
7:45 - 9:00 pm	Dinner	Ballroom
9:15 - 11:00 pm	Concert & Cocktails <b>Songs of War &amp; Peace... &amp; Purim</b> <i>Craig Taubman</i>	Rotunda

## SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1991

7:00 - 7:15 am	Shiur Confronting Competing Values: The Mitzvah of Breaking the Shabbat vs. the Mitzvah of Saving A Life Part II <i>Rabbi Jonathan Porath</i>	Salon B
7:15 - 8:00 am	Orthodox Services	Salon B
7:00 - 8:30 am	Breakfast	Rotunda
8:45 - 10:15 am	Workshop C <b>THE WARS OF MODERN ISRAEL</b> 1. 1948: The Terrible Price of Independence <i>Dr. Ehud Sprinzak</i> 2. Kadesh: Is Offense the Best Defense? <i>Dr. Hava Tirosh Rothschild</i> 3. The Six Day War — And What Happened on Day Zero and on Day Seven <i>Dr. Haim Shaked</i> 4. The Yom Kippur War: Frightening Start — Successful Finish <i>Rabbi Herbert Friedman</i> 5. War by Choice: Israel's Invasion of Lebanon, 1982 <i>Dr. Martin Kramer</i> 6. Responsa from the Front: Questions Israeli Soldiers Ask <i>Rabbi Jonathan Porath</i>	Salon C Balsam Salon E Rhododendron Salon G Salon A
10:30 - 11:45 am	Plenary <b>ISRAEL AND THE NEXT WAR</b> Speaker: <i>Dr. Edward Luttwak</i> <i>Burke Chair in Strategy, Center for Strategic and International Studies</i>	Ballroom
	Closing Remarks: <i>Rabbi Nathan Laufer</i> <i>Vice President</i>	
11:45 - 12:15 pm	Evaluations	Ballroom
12:30 - 1:30 pm	Lunch	Rotunda
	Departures	

The Wexner Heritage Foundation

551 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Huntington Center Suite 3710  
41 South High Street  
Columbus, Ohio 43215

212/355-6115 New York  
614/464-2772 Ohio

January 15, 1991

TO: FACULTY  
FROM: RABBI RAMIE ARIAN  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PROGRAMS  
RE: MID-WINTER RETREAT

It is a pleasure to send you the enclosed material, which contains background for our forthcoming Mid-Winter Retreat. In the enclosed binder, you will find the following items:

1. The most recent draft of the program.
2. Preparatory reading material for the second plenary session, entitled "The Jewish Rules for War". This article, by Reuven Kimelman, is being sent to all participants in the retreat as advance reading.
3. Preparatory reading material for each workshop that you are teaching. This is the material which you asked us to send to participants who registered for your workshop(s).
4. For those who are leading sections of Workshop II (scenario for a future war of Israel), you will find a packet of material relevant to that session.

If you have not already done so, please call Adelman Travel (1-800-231-3999) TODAY and speak with Vicki Hoffman to make your travel arrangements to Atlanta. You should arrive by Noon on Friday, February 22nd and can depart by 2:30 pm on Sunday, February 24th.

You will receive information regarding transfers from the airport to the conference center, plus any other last-minute logistical information, in the near future. We look forward to seeing you soon at the Retreat.