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"Major Goals for the Century Ahead." 1992.

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YOUNG LEADERSHIP CABINETS ALUMNI REUNION

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UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

Young Leadership Cabinets Alumni Conference

March 13-15, 1992 / Washington, D.C.

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Director of Services
to Communities
SIMON S. KAMINETSKY

Rabbi Herbert Friedman
Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Ave., 9th Flr
New York, NY 10022

Dear Herb:

How do we begin to express our gratitude, and that of the Cabinet Chevra, for the invaluable role you played in the success of the recent Young Leadership Cabinets Alumni Reunion? Please accept this formal note as one expression of our sincere gratitude and esteem. You have been a mentor for us and for all Cabinet members at whatever time they served. Thank you for making the reunion a priority in your hectic schedule. Your presence, and the inspirational presentation you delivered, was certainly the highlight of the weekend.

Herb, your presentation on Sunday morning, "Major Goals For the Century Ahead," serves to identify many of the challenges before the generation of Cabinet alumni and, we suggest, may well serve to determine the agenda for our alumni program. We are encouraged by the participation at the reunion and look forward to your input in future activities of the alumni.

Thank you also for sharing the written text of your presentation with us. We are arranging to send it to the alumni present at the reunion, as well as to the entire population of alumni. It is an important document that should be shared with others.

It was a great joy to spend time with you. The opportunity brought back cherished memories that have molded our present involvement.

May you go "from strength to strength" in your life's work.

Sincerely,

Anita Gray

Michael A. Pelavin

YLC Alumni Reunion Co-Chairs

*Shub. Thank you -
you continue to inspire
and inspire all whose lives you touch!
AG/MAP/bh

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YOUNG LEADERSHIP CABINETS ALUMNI REUNION PROGRAMMAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13

2:00 - 5:00 P.M.
(STATE ROOM)

REGISTRATION

2:30 - 4:30 P.M.

OPTIONAL PROGRAM/TOUR WITH THE
UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL MUSEUM7:00 P.M.
(EAST ROOM)

COCKTAILS/SHABBAT DINNER

GREETINGS: TONE-SETTING --
MARVIN LENDER, UJA NATIONAL
CHAIRMANA CONVERSATION WITH DEBORAH
LIPSTADT AND LEONARD FEIN:
"DOING JEWISH IN THE 90'S"DR. LIPSTADT IS DIRECTOR OF
RESEARCH OF THE SKIRBALL
INSTITUTE ON AMERICAN VALUES OF
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.
MR. FEIN IS A WRITER, TEACHER
AND FOUNDER OF MOMENT MAGAZINE

- ONEG SHABBAT

SATURDAY, MARCH 14

- BREAKFAST ON OWN
- 7:45 A.M. - SHABBAT PROGRAM/STUDY SESSION
(CHINESE ROOM) WITH RABBI DONIEL Z. KRAMER, DIRECTOR,
UJA RABBINIC CABINET
- 11:00 A.M. - DIALOGUE WITH RABBI BRIAN L. LURIE,
(STATE ROOM) UJA EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
- 12:30 P.M. - LUNCH PROGRAM WITH ALLEN
(CHINESE ROOM) POLLACK, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, TEL AVIV
UNIVERSITY
- TOPIC: "BEYOND THE HEADLINES: A SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ISRAEL IN
THE 21ST CENTURY"
- 3:00 P.M. - PRESENTATION BY ISRAELI FORUM
(STATE ROOM) MEMBERS
- FOLLOWED BY DIALOGUE WITH ISRAEL FORUM
MEMBERS
- 4:30 P.M. - LEISURE TIME
- 7:00 P.M. - COCKTAIL RECEPTION AND HAVDALAH
(CHINESE ROOM)
- MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO FORMER CABINET
CHAIRMEN HERB GARON AND DON GOULD
- 8:00 P.M. - DINNER PROGRAM WITH GUEST
(EAST ROOM) SPEAKER, LENA KUNA, FORMER SOVIET
REFUSENIK
- VIDEO PRESENTATION: "ANNA AND LENA"
- 11:30 P.M. - HOSPITALITY SUITE

SUNDAY, MARCH 15

- 9:00 A.M. - BREAKFAST/BRUNCH BUFFET
(EAST ROOM)
- 9:30 A.M. - PROGRAM
- GUEST SPEAKERS:
DR. JONATHAN WOCHER, EXECUTIVE VICE
PRESIDENT, JEWISH EDUCATION SERVICE
OF NORTH AMERICA, INC. (JESNA),
TITLED: "THE THIRD GENERATION:
LOOKING TO THE FUTURE"
- RABBI HERBERT FRIEDMAN, PRESIDENT,
WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION, TITLED:
"THE CHALLENGE OF THE 21ST CENTURY"
- "CHARGE" TO THE ALUMNI -- JOEL D.
TAUBER, UJA NATIONAL CHAIRMAN-
DESIGNATE
- 1:00 P.M. - CLOSING SESSION IN ATTENDANCE AT THE
(WASHINGTON HILTON) YLC WASHINGTON CONFERENCE OPENING
PLENARY.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC.

99 PARK AVENUE • SUITE 300 • NEW YORK, NY 10016 • (212) 818-9100

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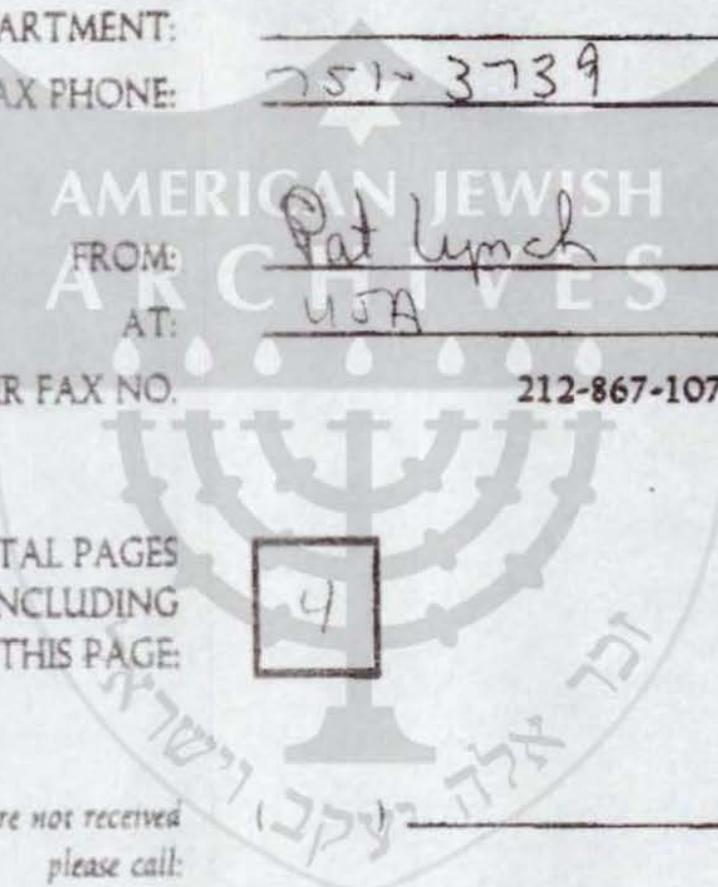
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AT:

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AMERICAN JEWISH
FROM: Pat Lynch
AT: UJA


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POTASH KNOW-HOW GOES EAST

Neal Sandler

Dead Sea Works and Eisenberg plan a venture in China

China's remote Chin-hua province, located some 3,000 kilometers west of Beijing, will soon become the site of a large Israeli investment in China. Israel's Dead Sea Works and the Eisenberg Group are expected to sign a final agreement soon to build a \$300-million potash plant at a salt lake with saline conditions surprisingly similar to those at the Dead Sea. The new plant will supplement the small local potash facility now in use at the lake site.

The secret talks leading to the Dead Sea deal were launched four years ago by Tel Aviv-based international businessman Shoul Eisenberg, who has extensive dealings in China, ranging from chemical and agricultural projects to power plants and, according to foreign sources, arms as well. Negotiations got a serious boost in January, when Israel and China established diplomatic relations. More important, says Dead Sea Works managing director Uri Ben-Noon, was China's decision four months ago to sharply increase the use of potash as a fertilizer.

China already imports 2 million tons of potash annually, primarily from Canada, making it the world's largest buyer. Nevertheless, levels of use are still low compared to Western countries and Dead Sea officials predict that Chinese potash demand will reach 3 million tons before long.

The Chin-hua plant is expected to produce an annual 800,000 tons using the energy-efficient "cold crystallization" potash-extraction process, developed by Dead Sea Works in the late 70s. Initially, the Chinese wanted to purchase the know-how, but Ben-Noon was adamantly opposed to selling it. "We're the only ones with the technology and we have to protect it," he explains. Company officials say that Jordan's Arab Potash Company, which also produces potash from the Dead Sea, attempted to copy the Israeli process but failed. Other major world producers, like Canada and Russia, mine their potash, whereas at the Dead Sea the mineral is recovered through evaporation.

About half of Dead Sea's annual 2-3 million tons are produced by the crystallization process, which has helped make Dead Sea one of Israel's most profitable companies. In the first nine months of 1991 it netted \$29 million on sales of \$189 million.

"When we refused to sell the technology it became clear to both sides that the only way to strike a deal was for Dead Sea Works to become a partner," says Ben-Noon. The plant will be DSW's first production facility outside Israel. The proposal calls for Dead Sea and the Eisenberg group to share equally a 25 percent stake, amounting to an initial Israeli investment of least \$25 million. The Chinese government will hold the remaining 75 percent. Dead Sea personnel will be on-site to train and supervise their Chinese colleagues.

Ben-Noon plans to go to China next month, in the wake of a high-level Chinese delegation visit to Israel in late January, headed by Ban Lian Sheng, the vice minister for chemical industries. Dead Sea officials expect the agreement to be finalized within the next few months. The plant itself will take three years to build.

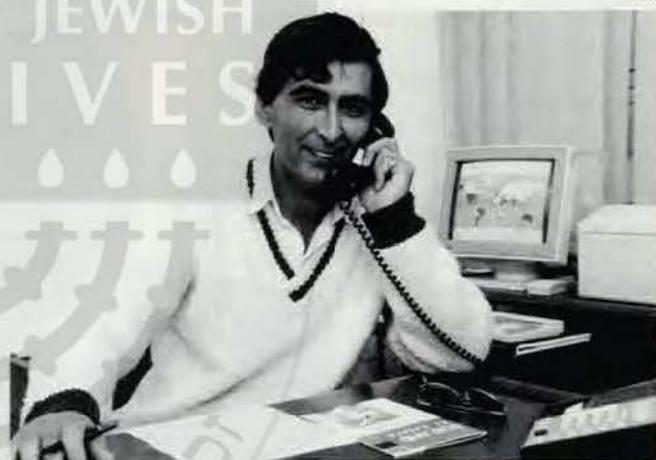
In the meantime, DSW hopes to supply more of China's increasing potash needs. Up to now the company has been only a marginal supplier, selling insignificant quantities of the mineral, but this is expected to change in 1992. Ben-Noon hopes the deal with China will give Dead Sea an important entry into the market. "Once farmers start using potash they get hooked on it because of its dramatic effect on crop yields," he says. Experts believe that if China had the foreign currency, its potash purchases would skyrocket.

Dead Sea also has plans to train Chinese farmers in the use of potash and intends to send dozens of Israeli agricultural experts to China later this year. Company officials predict that China could be the company's largest customer by the mid-1990s. □

INSTANT INFORMATION

Efi Landau

An Israeli engineer bills his business data base as revolutionary



Think fast: Rahimi's data base could yield a \$1.62-million profit

In the business world, where information is precious and time is money, quick access to data is indispensable. A new data base about to go on the market from Israel's Direct Contact firm aims to capitalize on this need.

The innovative new data base, developed by 35-year-old engineer Goell Rahimi, from Rishon Letzion, will be updated every four hours. It will use fax machines to dish out up-to-the-minute business information to subscribers around the world.

Rahimi's plan is not yet operational. But, he reports, it's far ahead of parallel efforts under way in other countries, and it has already generated enthusiasm for its prospects.

In a pre-investment survey done for the Ministry of Industry and Trade, the Industry Development Bank said that if the firm worked at full capacity during its first year, its profits could be expected to reach \$975,000. According to the survey, Direct Contact had a 50 percent chance of making as much as \$1.62-million profit.

Rahimi's revolutionary system has the capacity to gather business data and make it available on an almost real-time basis to clients around the world. It will relay offers to buy and sell merchandise, commodities, properties and assets, as well as services available on world markets — to points around the globe within hours, at low cost.

Today, the cost of searching static data bases for business in-

Since the collapse of Luz, the world-renowned solar-energy company he founded and headed, Arnold Goldman has been studying beginners Hebrew.

But not merely to make life easier for himself at the grocery. Goldman believes that, as scientists increasingly understand the world as one integrated, or holistic system, they might discover in Hebrew — with its interconnected words based on roots — the natural language of relationship.

And so, at age 49, he is spending four hours a day in ulpan classes, and then hours more on homework — to prepare for the distant time when he will be fluent enough to help make Hebrew a creative language for science.

No one has ever accused Arnold Goldman of thinking small.

Over the past 20 years, Goldman has had a critical role in creating two major technologies: computers and solar energy. In 1969, at age 26, he founded Lexitron, the Los Angeles company that helped invent the word processor and was the first to introduce it into the office. Then in 1977 Lexitron was sold for some \$15 million and Goldman moved to Israel — to help create what he believed would be an emerging world scientific culture, based on holistic principles and centered in Jerusalem.

Goldman had spent 18 years writing a book about holism (he started the book at age 16) which included a conception of a holistically planned city in harmony with its environment.

And he intended to found that city in Israel. The city of the future, he reasoned, would be powered by solar energy. And so as a first step, in 1980, he created Luz.

Goldman hoped a community would form around Luz and become the nucleus of his city.

That didn't happen, but the

Jerusalem-based Luz did become the world's most successful solar-energy company, and one of Israel's high-tech showcases. By 1990, its nine giant fields of rotating mirrors, tracking the sun across the sky, were providing 2 percent of Southern California Edison's power — and 90 percent of the world's

thought there would be a real demand for clean energy and I was wrong."

Despite Luz's failure, Goldman hasn't lost his nerve; he still wants to help transform the world. He has ideas for massive projects in education, housing, even a theater for the study of history whose "actors" would be computer images interacting with the audience.

What unites Goldman's varied ideas is his passion for transforming holistic theory into concrete projects. For Goldman, a religious Jew, monotheism is not merely a theological but a scientific principle, an exact description of the "oneness" of the universe. "The old Jewish wisdom knew that 'Adonai ehad,' God is one, and that His creation is one interrelated system," Goldman says. "We've forgotten how to integrate knowledge."

It is not easy to follow Goldman's ideas; at times he seems to use a private language. His lips barely move when he speaks, as if conceding the futility of trying to make himself understood. In the middle of a conversation, he will suddenly shut his eyes tightly in almost pained concentration, or turn away and look off into the distance, seeing something that doesn't yet exist.

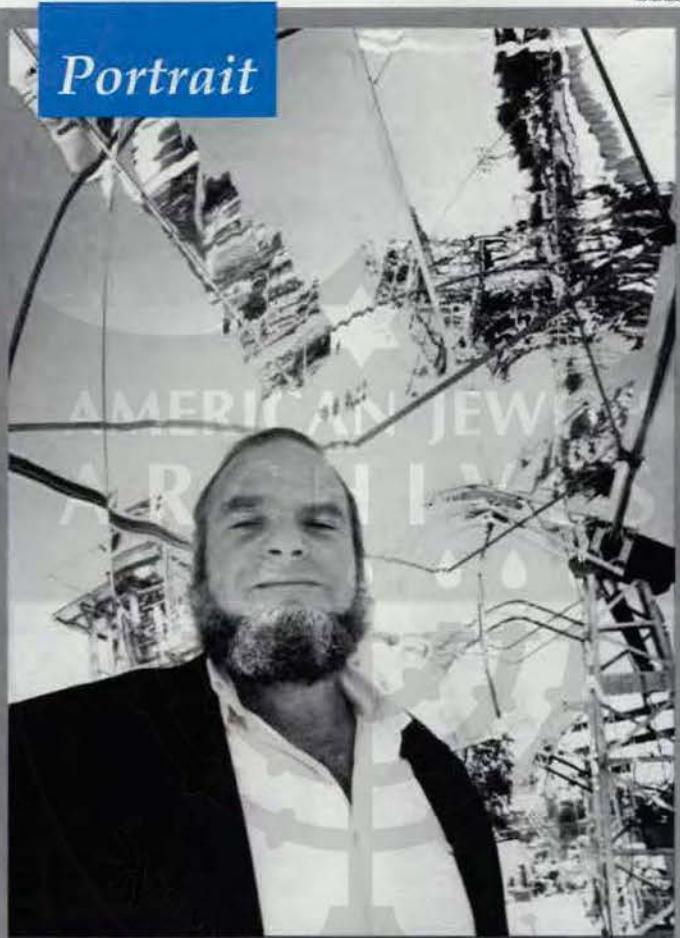
Needless to say, Goldman is planning a comeback. He will say only that his next business venture will be in the health-care field, and that he intends to "create a model of man as an integrated system." At the same time, another Goldman project, a new battery technol-

ogy for an electric car, continues to develop in a Luz subsidiary company that intends to produce a working model by the end of the year. Luz's nine solar fields in southern California are likewise still operative, though not under the bankrupt company's ownership.

"Israel has a world role to play," says Goldman.

That, after all, was one of the motivating factors behind his creation of Luz. And not even failure can dissuade him from the next vision. □

Portrait



Return of the Sun King

Yossi Klein Halevi meets former Luz boss Arnold Goldman, an entrepreneur preparing for a comeback

solar-powered electricity.

Luz's innovative technology managed to make solar energy competitive with conventional energy — or almost did. Drastically falling prices for Luz's largest competitor, natural gas, undercut the appeal of solar energy just when Luz was having trouble raising capital for new projects, in part because of the U.S. recession.

Says Goldman, a father of five, who lives in Jerusalem's French Hill neighborhood: "I overestimated the impact of the ecology movement. I

formation is expensive and time-consuming. Rahimi says his system is different. For example, a businessman who wants to sell 100 tons of sugar will fax his offer into the nearest Direct Contact office, and it will be relayed to the central computer in Jerusalem. His cost will be \$25. Notice will go by fax to Direct Contact clients who have, in advance, expressed interest in this kind of offer — at a charge of 10 cents per fax. For another \$10, the prospective buyer can get additional information on the offer. Information passes through the central data base, and to clients worldwide, every four hours.

Rahimi's system is based on the EDI standard of international electronic data exchange, which operates via a network of IBM 386 computers (and compatibles), each equipped with a 1,500-megabyte disk, linked to the fax machines of subscribers.

Rahimi formed Direct Contact with Belgian diamond merchant Ya'acov Kahan, who put in \$60,000 for a 12-percent share. They intend to establish branches in major commercial centers all over the world, by selling franchises for the system. Negotiations have been under way with Interpegro, a Polish holding company (30 firms in Poland, 16 others worldwide, including Israel, and an annual turnover of \$1 billion). Rahimi says that agreement in principle has been reached with Interpegro head Zbigniew Hryniwicz, who visited Israel in late January, to open 15 overseas Direct Contact outlets.

The data-base idea stemmed from another enterprise developed by Rahimi, who got his start in the IDF communications corps. A few years ago Gesher (Bridge), a firm he established to market high-tech products, began selling a monthly European catalogue of commercial offerings. Says Rahimi: "I saw that was no way to close deals. The information was superficial and out of date." He spent three years developing the new system.

Now it is about to become a reality. The central computer in Jerusalem was due to be operational in early February, and Direct Contract is set to open up a couple of company-owned offices in the spring. From there, Rahimi hopes, there's no way to go but up. □

ECONOMIC BRIEFING

LIEN ON ME — A bill to allow prospective homeowners to use the new property as collateral for a mortgage has been introduced by Labor MK Shimon Shetreet. The law as it now stands requires mortgage-seekers to provide the bank with five guarantors (three for new immigrants), who have to pay the bank if the borrower defaults, a situation that occurs with alarming frequency. (Estimates are that between 1 and 5 percent of borrowers default on their mortgages.) Often the bank will put a lien on the salary of the guarantor, who then becomes responsible for disposing of the property and often will have to sue the original borrower to recover the sum they have laid out. "Israel is the only place in the world where this happens," Shetreet claims, pointing out that some 1.5 million people have signed guarantees. Shetreet blames



Shetreet blames the banks

the banks: "It is much more convenient for them to have five people to exploit than one." But the banks blame the law and confusion in land registration. "We agree with Prof. Shetreet 100 percent on the need for change," said Menachem Naveh, Bank Tefahot deputy general manager. "In principle, we would be happy with mortgaging the property. But only 20 percent of the homes are registered properly according to prevailing land legislation, which would make it very difficult to collect the debt by selling the property. Besides, Israeli courts avoid issuing eviction orders."

BIG BLUE (AND WHITE)

— Internationally, IBM is showing signs of weakness — 1991 sales of \$64.8 billion were down by 6.1 percent compared with 1990; but sales by IBM's Israel subsidiary, which employs 750, rose by 20 percent last year. (No dollar figures were available.) The multinational giant includes Israel in its "SEMEA" unit, comprised of Southern Europe, the Mid East and Africa. "This unit, especially its Israeli and Portuguese subsidiaries, has had much more success than IBM-U.S. or Canada," says an Israeli company official, explaining that "the SEMEA countries are in a state of growth, unlike the North American markets, which are characterized by stagnation."



IBM, Tel Aviv: Sales are up

Star products in Israel in 1991 were intermediate mini-computers (systems generally used by businesses) like the AS 400 system, whose sales rose by 30 percent over 1990, and another product called RS/6000, a work-station with a very fast (35 million instructions per second) processor, sales of which tripled in 1991.

JORDAN CROSSING — Taking a lead from the peace process, the International Hotels Association has chosen Jordan and Israel to jointly host its annual meeting later this month. About 200 representatives of 90 national hotel associations from all over the world will start their tour on February 28, arriving in Amman via Royal Jordanian Airlines. According to the plan arranged together at a meeting last summer between Fakri Twal, general manager of the Jordan Hotel Association, and by Moshe Amir, his Israeli counterpart, the delegation will spend three days in Amman, Petra and Jerash; on March 2, they will cross the Allenby Bridge into the West Bank, and spend three days touring in Israel. (The Jordanian delegates, although invited, are not intending to participate in the Israeli part of the program.) "We expect to start dealing with the possibility of tour packages that will include Egypt, Jordan and Israel, representing them as the 'cradle of civilization,'" says Amir.

Einat Erez

JEWISH WORLD

'My grandmother, Alte Katz, photographed me the day the Nazis invaded'

KATZ



'Every child had a lock in his winter shoes for cross country skis' (top); 'My uncle, Avigdor, with his hobby horse' (above)

'THERE ARE NO

There were 3,500 Jews in Ejszyszki, a *shtetl* south of Vilnius, when the Nazis stormed in on June 23, 1941. At the end of the war, only 29 had survived.

One of them was Yaffa Sonenson Eliach. She was four when the Nazis arrived in the village, which at the time was in Polish territory. A Polish friend hid her family in a cave under a pigsty.

Today Ejszyszki (pronounced Ay-shishok) is in Lithuania, and not a Jew remains among its 12,000 inhabitants.

Eliach is now a professor of Holocaust studies at Brooklyn College. In 1979, as a member of President Carter's Holocaust Commission, she vowed to write a book that would capture her birthplace's vitality and serve as a tribute to the 6,000 eradicated *shtetls* of Eastern Europe. Since then, she has gathered 8,000 photographs of the village and documented its history back to the 11th century.

The publication of her book by Little Brown, tentatively titled "The Shtetl of Ejszyszki," is due to coincide with the 1993 opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., where 1,500 photographs from her collection will be on permanent exhibition.

"The photos, together with the book, represent a slice of Jewish life where Marc Chagall and Sholem Aleichem left off," Eliach said. She was in Jerusalem to attend a gathering of the Amit Women's organization, which had helped her after the war.

"The *shtetl* entered the 20th century, and the horse and buggy gave way to cars. The *shtetl* teemed with political life — including active Zionist clubs — as well as commerce and the study of Hebrew. There were no more goats on the rooftops."

Sara M. Averick



Prof. Yaffa Sonenson Eliach today

BILU sent 20
settlers in 1882

Pop. at that time was
25K - living on Chalukkah in
4 cities - Jer., Tiberias, Sifed, Hebron

By 1897 (Herzl-first Congress)
BILU had ~~sent~~ 20-30 K, planted
them in 15 agr. settlements.



BEHIND THE HEADLINES:**JEWS STAYING BEHIND IN FORMER USSR
WANT HELP IN REBUILDING JEWISH LIFE**

By Larry Yudelson

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 (JTA) -- American Jewry has been generous in assisting the emigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union, but it should do more to support those who wish to stay, Jewish activists there believe.

"The 10 percent who make aliyah get half a billion dollars, while the 90 percent who don't get nothing," Michael Chlenov complained in a recent interview.

Chlenov is co-president, with Yosef Zisels, of the Vaad, the Confederation of Jewish Organizations and Communities of the former Soviet Union.

While thousands of Jews are streaming out of the newly independent republics each month, tens of thousands have postponed their departures and many others have no plans to leave.

Those who have decided to stay are apparently convinced that the threat of anti-Semitism is either not imminent or manageable. One member of the Vaad recently compared that threat to the intifada in Israel.

"It's like an allergy you can live with for a long, long time," Evgeny Satanovsky said in a separate interview.

In fact, the problem of anti-Semitism is only in third place on the Vaad's list of priorities.

Like Chlenov, Satanovsky feels that aliyah is not the only alternative for Jews in the Soviet successor states. Both believe it is possible to resuscitate Jewish life after 70 years of Communist suppression.

While many American Jewish organizations have set up operations in the former Soviet republics to promote Jewish culture, activists like Chlenov and Satanovsky feel American Jews should support existing indigenous groups.

Population Estimates Keep Growing

Satanovsky, a longtime Jewish cultural activist and a successful Moscow businessman, wears several organizational hats.

Among them, he directs the Ariel Jewish Information Center. Founded as a samizdat, or underground, publishing house, Ariel last year printed 200,000 copies of 10 different titles on such subjects as Jewish ethnology, history, cooking and folk tales. It is a money-losing venture, Satanovsky said.

"If you bring to the Soviet Union now science fiction, there is a profit. You bring Jewish stories -- all right," he said with a shrug.

The finely printed folk tales are jarring to an American eye, featuring illustrations of hook-nosed, bearded Jews that echo of anti-Semitism.

But Satanovsky cautioned that imported Jewish material, written in the West and translated into Russian, is similarly inappropriate in the East.

The Jews of the former Soviet Union, he said, "are really Jews of one country, and very seriously changed from the Jews of other countries in their mentalities and their life situations."

Just how many Jews of the former Soviet Union are taking part in the now above-ground Jewish culture is uncertain -- as is, for that matter, the number of Jews there altogether.

Even after 700,000 Jews have left the country, most in the past four years, population

estimates continue to rise. Jews are coming out of the woodwork, say leaders of the Vaad.

"According to the Jewish Agency, 200 percent of the Jews in Baku have applied to leave. That means the official number of Jews is not correct," said Chlenov, an ethnographer.

He estimates the number of Jews involved in Jewish life is in the hundreds of thousands.

"The democratic movements that are taking place now are bringing to active Jewish life more and more participants," he said.

A Shift To The Communities

Satanovsky explained that with the demise of central government, services such as education and security are being taken over by communities.

"You must be a member of a community for a normal life, for the life of your children," he said. "You must have help from somebody for your life. For Jews, this makes them build communities."

Chlenov said about 80 percent of Jewish organizations in the states of the former Soviet Union are under the Vaad's umbrella. The exceptions are the Union of Synagogues and extremist groups such as the Communist Party-sponsored All Union Organization of Jewish Soviet Culture, on one end of the spectrum, and the pro-aliyah Irgun Zion, on the other.

The Chabad movement of Lubavitcher Hasidim, which maintained an underground network during the decades of Soviet oppression and has since stepped up its activities, takes a mixed view toward the Vaad: Some Lubavitch groups and rabbis affiliate, while others do not. One Lubavitch rabbi sits on the Vaad's internal court.

The biggest controversy over Vaad membership comes from the non-Russian republics, where there is fear that affiliation with an organization whose reach corresponds to that of the hated Soviet empire will offend local sensitivities.

One response has been the formation of Jewish communal structures on the republic level in the Ukraine and the Baltic states. This intermediate layer, Chlenov hopes, will insulate the Vaad from nationalist criticism.

There has been concern that nationalist sentiment will strengthen as food shortages worsen, and that the resulting demonstrations will turn ugly, with anti-Jewish overtones.

Concern About A Mob Uprising

But Chlenov said he was not worried about this. "The whole of last year we also had shortages, and I wouldn't say anti-Semitism has grown immensely over the past year," he said.

More worrisome for him are right-wing political forces, but he sees the main danger as "simply a blind uprising of the mob." And even that, he said, is "a possibility, not a probability."

He also dismisses, at least for now, the danger of a radical Islamic takeover in the Central Asian republics.

"The governments, at least on the level of formal declarations, have been quite friendly to Jews," he said, "though we've been told in Uzbekistan that our relations are so good because we're leaving."

So far, Azerbaijan, which has joined the worldwide Islamic Conference, has not yet changed its attitude toward the Jewish community and Israel. "But we can expect it," said Chlenov.

Zisels said that in his native Ukraine, both the government and the democratic opposition have good relations with the Jewish community.

MENGELE FILE IN ARGENTINA SHOWS AUTHORITIES KNEW HIS WHEREABOUTS

By Tom Tugend

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 10 (JTA) -- The trail of German war criminal Josef Mengele, the sadistic Auschwitz death camp doctor, was familiar to government officials and police in South America and former West Germany during the decades after World War II, when his whereabouts seemed a dark mystery and many doubted he was alive.

That is clear from documents Argentina has handed over to the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center for study and analysis.

They are part of Argentina's war-criminal files personally unsealed by President Carlos Menem at a ceremony in Buenos Aires on Feb. 3.

Mengele entered Argentina as an "Italian" on a Red Cross passport in 1949 and apparently felt secure enough in 1956 to go to the German Embassy in Buenos Aires and identify himself by his correct name.

At this point, both the German and Argentine authorities knew beyond doubt where Mengele lived and could be found.

His sense of security lasted until 1959 when Mengele left his second wife, Martha, in Buenos Aires and made tracks for Paraguay.

On Nov. 18, 1959, the Argentine police asked their Paraguayan counterparts for the identification number issued to Mengele. The Paraguayan police furnished the information.

It appears that by Nov. 18, if not before, Mengele changed his residence from Argentina to Paraguay, said Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean of the Wiesenthal Center, who is studying the files of suspected Nazi war criminals released by Menem.

The date, which precedes the first publication of Mengele's whereabouts by only a few days, is of some importance in the acrimonious debate between former Mossad chief Isser Harel and Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal.

Harel, who led the 10-member Israeli team that captured Adolf Eichmann in Buenos Aires in May 1960, angrily contested Wiesenthal's long-standing claim that he had furnished the leads that led to the success of Harel's mission.

Was Mengele Tipped Off?

Not only was Wiesenthal's information worthless, Harel insisted, but the Vienna-based Nazi hunter had in effect signaled Mengele that his whereabouts were known.

As a result, Mengele left Argentina for Paraguay two weeks before the capture of Eichmann and thereby eluded the Israeli team, Harel wrote last year in a 278-page private manuscript obtained by the Jerusalem Post.

But if the information in the Argentine documents is correct, Mengele apparently fled to Paraguay at least six months before the Israelis went into action in Buenos Aires.

Who tipped him off? There is no certain answer, but Hier speculates that clues can be found in two books on Mengele: "The Last Nazi" by Gerald Astor and "Mengele: the Complete Story" by Gerald Posner and John Ware.

In the 1950s, Mengele divorced his first wife, Irene. She returned to Germany where she stated, in a deposition, that her ex-husband's domicile was in Argentina.

The information was obtained by Hermann Langbein either independently or with Wiesenthal's help. Langbein was an Auschwitz inmate, originally from Vienna, who worked as a clerk in

Mengele's office and compiled a dossier on his boss' activities.

Langbein spent months pressing German authorities to indict Mengele. On June 7, 1959, the Lower Court of Freiburg issued an order for his arrest and the information was sent on to the Germany Embassy in Argentina.

Hier guess is that someone at the German Embassy tipped Mengele off.

An international team of forensic experts found in 1985 that the body of a man drowned in a swimming accident in 1979 was Mengele's.

ARAFAT TO ADDRESS U.N. PANEL, DESPITE DISMAY OF U.S., ISRAEL

By Tamar Levy

GENEVA, Feb. 10 (JTA) -- The U.N. Human Rights Commission announced Monday that Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasir Arafat would address its annual session now in progress here.

It will be the first time since the Persian Gulf War, when Arafat sided with Iraq, that the PLO chief will address the 53-member commission from the podium, an honor reserved for heads of state. His last appearance here was in 1988.

The announcement followed an address to the commission by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, who delivered a sharp attack on the commission's admission of countries that "are themselves gross violators of human rights."

He singled out Iraq, Iran and Cuba.

American diplomats are clearly unhappy over the invitation to Arafat, although Quayle himself offered no criticism. "We will be interested to hear what he has to say on terrorism and we hope he will reject it," the vice president told a news conference.

In the course of his speech, Quayle observed that "a month after the U.N. General Assembly redeemed its credibility by repealing overwhelmingly the so-called 'Zionism-is-racism' resolution, we can speak of moral suasion and the growing weight of world opinion."

The Iraqi and Cuban delegates walked out of the hall before Quayle spoke, apparently aware their countries would be attacked. But Iran, one of the countries assailed as the antithesis of human rights practices, remained seated. Its chief delegate, Cyrus Nasser, was just elected chairman of the commission.

Daniel Lack, representative of the World Jewish Congress, which has non-governmental-organization status on the commission, addressed the world body last Friday.

He warned of nationalist extremism, religious prejudice and growing intolerance in Europe and other parts of the world subject to political, economic or social upheavals.

Lack was particularly disturbed by emergent anti-Semitism in the republics of the former Soviet Union. One especially alarming phenomenon is the spread of anti-Semitic hatred by extremist, nationalist and xenophobic groups of which more than 100 have sprung up in Russia alone, he said.

Lack also spoke of the plight of the Syrian Jewish community in Damascus, Aleppo and Kamishli, confirming to the commission that Jews are not permitted to emigrate from Syria and are allowed to travel abroad for only short periods.

The practice is a blatant violation of Syria's obligations under Article 12 of the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which grants everyone the right to emigrate, Lack said.

Use Hirsh
Goldman's article
on "BE HAPPY"

start ~~(against)~~ with it.

for Y.L. speech in
March

"PROGRESS, PROBLEMS and POWER"

(you have the power to keep
working at the dream)

Someone said: "I'm fed up.
If there were another
Jewish country, I'd move there
immediately."

Be happy

Hirsh Goodman

"Why be happy? Worry!" says a best-selling Israeli T-shirt.

The slogan could be our national anthem. No matter how good things are we only tend to see the bad side of things — the glass half-empty.

After years of drought and the Kinneret fast reaching the danger level, we are blessed with the heaviest rains in over 40 years. Not good enough, head of the country's water service complains to a drenched nation over the radio. Unemployment is down for the first time in months, but don't rejoice, the labor minister warns us, the improvement is only seasonal and we can expect disaster down the road. The cost-of-living index rises by only 0.1 per cent, the lowest monthly increase in 20 years, but inflation is around the corner, economists warn us. There are 16,000 unsold homes in Israel, but we are told by the experts that we have a housing crisis, and the traffic jams that have started plaguing this country are because of bad infrastructure, not the fact that never before have there been so many cars on our roads, due to unprecedented prosperity.

We hear nothing but complaints and portents of disaster from all and sundry. There is rarely a good word for anyone or anything. Newscasters are permanently dour. Talk-show hosts make a point of finding a cloud in every silver lining and our politicians constantly harp on what is wrong, never what is right; instead of showing leadership and radiating optimism, they come across like prophets of doom with fingers of blame pointed in every direction except their own.

No one ever stands up with some good news, some sense of pride in the fact that Israel, as we have noted before, has won. The aliyah we dreamed about is coming in. The Arabs we have always wanted to talk directly with are at the negotiating table on our terms. Interest rates have been brought down, there has been almost zero inflation for two months. We have the highest per capita college-educated work force in the world. The Labor Party is due to hold primaries and support for change in the electoral system is growing, even if the old guard manages to derail it when it comes before the Knesset for a vote in the coming weeks. Soviet aliyah has reduced the influence of the ultra-Orthodox non-Zionist element in Israeli politics as well as the importance of the Arab vote — in fact almost negated it: New Soviet immigrants account for 8 per cent of the vote, Israeli Arabs nine. Whereas only 6 per cent of the world's remaining 11 million Jews lived here on May 15, 1948, today almost

one out of three Jews in the world live in Israel. If aliyah projections are right, it will be one out of two by the middle of this decade.

At the geostrategic level as well, things have never been better. Iraq, though alive, is hardly kicking. Saddam Hussein is intent on personal survival, not regional mischief. His ability to go to war at present is zero. The Jordanians would sign

a peace agreement at the drop of a hat. One out of three Jordanians is living below the poverty line. They need water and open bridges. They need to employ the 350,000 Palestinians who have been forced to flee the Gulf and they need to find a foreign currency alternative to replace the remittances no longer coming in. The key to all this is regional peace that includes the Palestinians, coupled with economic development in the territories that will keep the 1.8 million Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip there and out of Jordan.

We could go through Syria, Egypt, the Palestinians and explain in detail why, from Israel's point of view, there is reason for optimism and for a real settlement. Talks are under way and so far so good. It is perfectly natural for any embryonic process to have its hitches, and better the basic principles of negotiation be clarified before issues of principle are at stake. More bilateral talks are planned. Regional issues are up for discussion. These are good times punctuated by moments of concern, not bad times worthy of nothing but constant national self-flagellation. Even fundamentalist Shi'ites suffice with giving themselves one good beating a year.

True, we could bemoan the actions of those trying to derail this process and wallow in self-pity that our prime and foreign ministers do not speak, that our housing and finance ministers are at odds, that the education and labor ministers are at each other's throats. And true, we could point to the horrible ineptitude of our bureaucracy, the uncompetitiveness of our banking system, the dangers of the new health plan and gross mismanagement of the wave of aliyah.

True, all true. As my friend Ya'acov Kirschen likes to say: If there was another Jewish country, I'd probably move there tomorrow. In the meantime, this is all we've got. It is far from perfect, but relative to what is going on in other parts of this world, we have a lot to be thankful for. Being Jewish, I can't tell you not to worry. But for God's sake, be just a little bit happy as well. □

The last word



Why be happy?



Worry!

FOCUS



PHOTOGRAPH BY SPUN

Soviet Jews arriving in Israel present a challenge on many levels. Here, a terminal at Ben-Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv is choked with baggage brought in during a few hours.

Between a vision and a nightmare

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

TEL AVIV—Unlike their predecessors who shaped the country's map 40 years ago, Israeli planners trying to determine today how to accommodate a million immigrants in five years will not get to point at an arid plain or rocky hill and claim, "Here shall rise a city."

The problems confronting planner Rafi Lerman in his Tel Aviv office as his team works on Israel's most comprehensive national plan since 1951 are of the same heroic proportions as those dealt with by Israel's first regional planners. However, those men had a territorial tabula rasa and a compliant Eastern immigrant population with which to sketch their vision of an ideally planned country with a carefully structured hierarchy of rural and urban settlements.

"Our nightmare," says Lerman, "is that the Russians may not want to stay in Beersheva and other places on the periphery where houses are being built for them and flood the center of the country, where there would not be housing available." The ultimate nightmare is that the jobs necessary to support this immigrant population economically and psychologically will not be forthcoming.

Lerman's firm, guided by an interministerial steering committee, is preparing for the National Planning Council an ambitious outline plan for the absorption of the current mass immigration in five years. The planners see the country's current population of 4.8 million growing in this period by 1.6 million, of whom 1.2 million would be immigrants and the rest natural growth.

Unlike previous plans for population dispersal, the new plan deals not only with where the population would be housed but with the nitty-gritty of job creation as well. It also outlines a far-reaching renewal of the nation's badly lagging infrastructure, particularly transportation.

"Israel is expecting a population increase of more than 30 percent in five years," says Lerman. "This isn't ordinary growth, an expansion of what has gone before. This is skipping a class."

Given the educational qualifications of the new immigrants and the reshaping of the Israeli economy along more technological and competitive lines, this sudden population spurt can spin Israel into a new economic orbit if things work out. If they don't—and this is partly dependent on international economic and political factors—the return to earth will be sharp and painful.

The impact of immigration on the job market is even greater than its impact on overall population figures, notes Lerman. Because of the relatively small number of children among the Russian immigrants, the proportion of those seeking jobs is very high, close to 50 percent. In Israel today, there are some 1.5 million jobs and an unemployment rate of about 10 per-

cent. In five years, there will be an additional 600,000-750,000 job-seekers on the market, half as many again as there are today. A challenge of these proportions would be stupendous even for a major economic power.

Compounding the problem, notes Lerman, is the fact that the immigration tide caught the country as it was floundering through a restructuring of its economy. Instead of the takeoff those changes had been expected to engender, there was stagnation.

Under the plan presently being drafted—its conceptual stage was approved recently by the National Planning Council—there would be a three-phase approach to the problem. Ini-

This sudden population spurt can spin Israel into a new economic orbit if all works out.

tially, jobs for the immigrants will have to be generated in the center of the country on the basis of existing capital; plants would lay on extra shifts.

In two or three years, this capital would be augmented by production of new lines, development of new markets, addition of new wings.

The planners are extremely uneasy about this reliance on the existing employment base in the crowded center of the country and put their emphasis on the third phase, which envisions the large-scale development of employment in the Negev and Galilee. "This will take five or six years, but investments must begin now," says Lerman.

Population dispersal away from the coastal plain has always been the major flag flown by national planners in Israel. Today's planners want it, too, but for different reasons. "In the past, the idea was that settlement would determine the borders of the country," says Lerman.

"The problem today isn't geo-political. We're not in danger of losing the Negev. The problem is that the center of the country is becoming packed. It is no pleasure, believe me, planning another Hong Kong." If present trends continue, it would take commuters from Kfar Sava—a town adjoining Ra'anana—more than three hours to drive to downtown Tel Aviv during rush hour by 1995, according to one projection.

The government will have to make massive efforts if it wishes to offset the natural magnetism of the center by making the periphery attractive enough to hold an ambitious, upwardly mobile population. Particularly problematic is the Negev, which has seen an unnerving outflow of population during the past decade. "A feeling developed there that only the unsuccessful remained behind," says Lerman. Galilee, be-

cause of its innate attractiveness and proximity to Haifa, is less of a problem.

It will be imperative for the government to initially curb housing outlays by building smaller apartments, says Lerman, in order to direct sufficient funds into a new national infrastructure to include roads, communications, sewage plants. "The average size of apartments being built in the country before the aliyah was 450 square feet."

Eventually relatively cheap and ample housing on the periphery will be one of its major attractions.

At the end of the five-year plan, the population of Galilee and the Negev will have increased by 3 percent vis-a-vis the center, according to Dina Rashevsky of the Interior Ministry, who heads the steering committee overseeing Lerman's team. This is a substantial increase, given the powerful attraction of the coastal plain.

Beersheva is a major focus of the new plan. Its population of 120,000 would more than double, and a passenger rail line to Tel Aviv, expected to begin operations within two years, will open the possibility of a 50-minute commute until new employment opportunities become available in the Beersheva district itself.

Government incentives, a new infrastructure and a skilled population will hopefully draw firms to the area. It is the planners' hope that government and corporate branch offices will also be opened in the city to lend weight to its role as capital of the Negev. "Beersheva will be the fourth metropolitan area in the country," says Lerman.

Unlike the 1950s, when a score of development towns and hundreds of agricultural settlements were established in the country, the new plan envisions few new communities. The major one will be the city of Modi'in, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, which will accommodate close to 250,000 residents. In Central Galilee, a town is planned at Zippori, and one is being eyed for Western Galilee near Nahariya. The planners are also incorporating onto their map—"without any great enthusiasm," says Lerman—Housing Minister Ariel Sharon's plan for a string of settlements along the former Green Line in the center of the country, east of Tel Aviv.

The planners intend to encourage agricultural activity, particularly in the center of the country, as a means of preserving open space. Toward the same end they will discourage further suburban sprawl in the center in favor of more compact urban growth that would lean on public transport rather than the car. "We don't want Los Angelization of the coastal strip," explains Lerman.

Steering a tenuous course between Los Angeles and Hong Kong, between the desert and the sea, between vision and nightmare, the planners seem to think there is a reasonable chance that they will actually make it.

The Jerusalem Post Service



Use

IS 1 : 11-17

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

IS 58 : ~~scribble about~~
(read on 4. L.)

6-7, 9a, 10

PREFERRED
HOTELS & RESORTS
WORLDWIDE

Isaiah 1: 11-17 "Great Assignment"
by prophet against evil conduct and hypocrisy

11 To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices
unto me?

Said the Lord;

I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams,
And the fat of fel beasts;
And I delight not in the blood
of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.

12 When ye come to appear before me
Who hath required this at your hand,
To trample my courts?

13 Bring no more vain oblations
It is an offering of abomination unto me;
New moon and Sabbath, the holding of convocations -
I cannot endure iniquity, along with ^{such} ~~the~~ solemn assembly

14 Your new moons and your appointed seasons
My soul hateth;
They are a burden unto me
I am weary to bear them.

15 And when ye spread forth your hands in prayer
I will hide mine eyes from you;
Yea, when ye make many prayers,
I will not hear;
Your hands are full of blood

16

Wash you, make you clean
Put away the evil of your tongue
From before Mine eyes,
Cease to do evil;

17

Learn to do ^{right} well;
Seek justice, relieve the oppressed,
~~Give the orphan his rights,~~
~~Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.~~

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Isaiah 58: 3-11

3 Why do we fast, if thou loest not see it?
Why mortify ourselves, if thou payest no heed?
Since you ^{only} serve your own interest on your fast-day
And make all men work the harder,

4 Since your fasting leads only to wrangling and strife
And dealing vicious blows with the fist,
On such a day you are keeping no fast
That will carry you cry to heaven.

5 Is it a fast like this that I require,
A day of mortification such as this,
That a man should bow his head like a bulrush
And make his bed on sackcloth and ashes?
Is this what you call a fast, a day acceptable to the Lord?

6. Is not this what I require of you as a fast,
To loose the fetters of injustice
And set free those who have been crushed?

7. Is it not sharing your food with the hungry,
Taking the homeless poor into your house,
Clothing the naked when you meet them
And never evading a duty to your neighbor?

8. Then shall your light break forth like the dawn
And soon you will grow healthy like a wound ready healed;
Your own righteousness shall be your vanguard
And the glory of the Lord your reward.

9 Then, if you call, the Lord will answer;
If you cry to him, he will say, 'Here I am'
If you cease to persecute justice,
To faint the accusing finger and lay false charges,

10 If you feed the hungry from your own plenty
And satisfy the needs of the wretched.
Then your light will rise like dawn out of darkness
And your dusk be like noonday.

11 The Lord will be your guide continually
And will satisfy your needs in the shimmering heat
that you think so righteous.

SCHINDLER
6400 N. Elmtree Road
Milwaukee, WI 53217

March 22, 1992

Rabbi Herbert Friedman
President
Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022

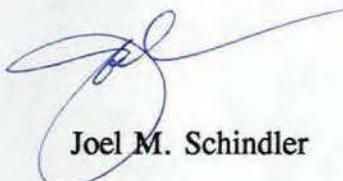
Dear Herb:

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of my presentation that opened the UJA Young Leadership Washington Conference last week. Suffice it to say that what I learned in the Wexner program had an enormous impact on the content of my talk. After hearing me practice it for the first time, Gayle's only comment was "Les certainly got his money's worth out of you." I hope that's the case.

The Conference was a tremendous success — you would have been proud of the Cabinet. I understand that you spoke to the alumnae at their retreat. Both Gayle and I were sorry that we didn't get a chance to see you in Washington, but everyone was quite busy.

We are expecting our first child just before Rosh Hashanah — we're very excited about the idea of a little person around the house. Hope you are well. When I'm in New York next on business, I'll drop by the office to say hello.

Best Wishes,



Joel M. Schindler

Our World at a Turning Point

Over the past 24 months, since the last Washington Conference, we have witnessed unprecedented examples of our world at a turning point. If I had stood before you at Washington 7 and suggested that over the next 2 years

- the Soviet Union would self-destruct
- fledgling democracies would emerge throughout Eastern Europe
- and that the Berlin wall would crumble and a unified Germany would rise from the rubble

If I had said that

- more than 400,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union would emigrate to Israel
- the people of Israel would reach out to rescue an ancient remnant of our people isolated in a far-off land

If I had suggested to this group that

- the United States would go to war against a madman in the Persian Gulf and both win and lose that war
- that during that war the State of Israel would demonstrate unprecedented restraint as its population centers were bombarded by Iraqi Scuds
- and that after that war, Israel would participate in Middle East Peace talks with representatives of Palestinian Arabs and Arab governments

If I had warned that

- a neo-Nazi would make a serious run for the Statehouse of a southern state
- a sitting U.S. President would question the right of American Jews to express their constitutionally guaranteed freedoms

If I had declared that

- a renaissance in Jewish life would lead to an unprecedented increase in Jewish day school enrollment, and
- our community, the American Jewish community, would be headed on a course of self-destruction through assimilation and intermarriage

If I had said all of these things to you two years ago, each of you would have believed that I should be straight-jacketed and carted off to the nearest asylum

Yet this list of events, which is by no means exhaustive, is not mere delusion or fantasy, but historical fact. It demonstrates both the magnitude and the pace at which our world is changing. And we, the young leadership of the American Jewish community, must recognize that historical events of such proportion will have, already have had, enormous ramifications for the Jewish world.

All peoples have their own unique history. The Italians, the French, the Poles, the Greeks - all look back on their history with appropriate pride and satisfaction. But we Jews are different. For us, history carries special meaning - we view history through different

colored spectacles. When we Jews look at history, we see our future. Our look back at yesterday is our window to tomorrow. Perhaps more than any other people, we learn profound lessons from our past that help us shape the vision of our future.

What, then, does the history of these last 2 amazing years teach us about where we as Jews will go as we move forward into the next millennia? We do not have the luxury of time to offer us perspective - if we do not confront the events of our time, we will be overtaken by them. As we review the past 24 months, what do we see for tomorrow? I would like to share with you some examples of how we as Jews, in reading about our yesterdays, can learn to face the challenges of our world at a turning point.

On Wednesday evening of this week, we celebrate the festival of Purim. It is a joyous event - a celebration of good over evil, life over death. It is a diaspora holiday - a tale based not in the land of Israel, but in the Galut. As I look out over all of you, I am quite certain that in the glory days of your Hebrew school educations, many of you were dressed in Purim costumes of Queen Esther, or Mordechai, or King Achasverous. The story of that event, the Purim Megillah, is part of the canon of our Jewish law. Our rabbis believed that the story told in this Megillah was important - its message timeless. They were right. The Haman of ancient Persia has reappeared time and again throughout history to threaten us. As we today face the challenges of our world at a turning point, the lessons of Purim still ring true. Whether Haman is called Saddam Hussein, or David Duke, or Patrick Buchanan, we must

learn from our own historical experience what to expect, what to understand, and how to respond. By learning from our history, we can influence our future.

For the Jews of ancient Israel, the year 70 AD certainly signified the world at a turning point. The destruction of the second Temple and the dispersion of the Jews from their ancestral homeland could have meant an end to G-d's chosen people. Yet we survived. Through the brilliant vision of Yochanan ben Zacchai and his followers, Rabbinic Judaism sustained the Hebrew nation.

After the destruction of the Temple, the home became the center of Jewish life. The family dinner replaced the priestly sacrifice; the dinner table became the holy alter. Individual prayer took the place of priestly ritual as a means of communicating with G-d.

As we struggle to define and redefine our own Jewish identity, both as individuals and as a community, the outcome could be no less dramatic. The threat of assimilation is today as great a threat to the future of the American Jewish community as Imperial Rome was to the future of the ancient Hebrews over 1900 years ago. Our response can be no less revolutionary.

The answers must be new, creative approaches to how we practice Judaism, how we interact among ourselves, and how we interact with our neighbors. We must again learn

from our own historical experience what to expect, what to understand, and how to respond.

By learning from our history, we can influence our future.

Finally, let me touch upon the event that is central to who we are as a nation - the Exodus from Egypt. It is the orienting event of who we are as a people - it signifies our birth as a nation. And like all birth, there is pain. The birth of a nation is a dramatic and dynamic process, no less organic than the birth of a child. And a nation, like a child, must develop and mature.

When the Hebrew nation emerged from slavery to freedom, it felt that pain. As the republics of the former Soviet Union or the countries of Eastern Europe emerge from their own slavery, they too will feel pain. They will need time to develop and mature. They will falter and stumble. Some will pick themselves up and proceed, others may not.

As we in the Jewish world participate in our second Exodus, an Exodus of equally biblical proportion, we must not forget that following the original Exodus, the Hebrew nation wandered for 40 years trying to find its way. The transformation from slavery to freedom could not happen overnight then, and it will not happen overnight now.

And our brothers and sisters in Israel can not do it alone. A nation just 43 years young is but an adolescent among nations, and we all know how painful and confusing adolescence

can be. The lessons of our first Exodus remain the same. The wanderings of the Hebrew nation in the wilderness for 40 years was no less painful than the present Exodus in which we all participate. Nation building is a difficult and painful process. Today, we must again learn from our own historical experience what to expect, what to understand, and how to respond. By learning from our history, we can influence our future.

As I look out over all of you, I see the young leadership of the American Jewish community, the first post-holocaust generation to not know the world without a State of Israel, confused about who we are. We are more open publicly about our Jewishness but less knowledgeable privately about our texts, our rituals, and our traditions. A Washington Conference could not have happened 50 years ago, but no Jewish child went without some substantive Jewish education. Yet I am convinced that sitting among us is the Queen Esther, the Mordechai, the Yochanan ben Zacchai, perhaps even the Moses, of our generation. Who among us will step forward and confront the challenges that face us with our world at a turning point? Each of us must learn from our historical experience. By learning from our history, we, each and every one of us, can influence, must influence our future to ensure the survival of the Jewish people.

United Jewish Appeal
Eighth National
Young Leadership Conference

Our World
at a Turning Point:
A Call to Action

Washington, D.C.—March 15-17, 1992

PROGRAM

*Marvin Lender, National Chairman
Joel Tauber, National Chairman-Designate
Morton A. Kornreich, Chairman, Board of Trustees
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Brian Abrahams, Director, Young Leadership Cabinets
Stephanie A. Ackerman, Asst. Director, Young Leadership Cabinets
Marla Egers, Assistant Director, Young Leadership Cabinets*

SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1992

8:30 pm DANCE PARTY
(Exhibit Hall Disco)

9:30 pm THE CAPITOL STEPS
(Musical Political Satire)
(Crystal Ballroom)

SUNDAY, MARCH 15, 1992

8:00 am U. S. HOLOCAUST MUSEUM TOUR BRIEFING
(pre-registration required)
(Georgetown)

9:30 am - 10:30 am YOUNG LEADERSHIP CABINETS
MEETING
(Jefferson East)

10:30 am - 11:30 am SPECIAL ORIENTATION FOR
INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES
(Farragut)

New participants please attend one:

11:00 am - 1:00 pm SMALL COMMUNITIES OPEN HOUSE
(Monroe West)
(participants from small communities will have
the opportunity to meet members of the
Young Leadership Cabinets)

11:15 am - 12:15 pm UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS
ORIENTATION
(Hemisphere)

11:30 am - 12:30 pm MODERATORS TRAINING
(Military)

11:30 am - 12:15 pm NEW PARTICIPANTS ORIENTATION A
(Lincoln)

12:30 pm - 1:15 pm NEW PARTICIPANTS ORIENTATION B
(Lincoln)

1:30 pm - 3:15 pm OPENING PLENARY
(International Ballroom)

Our World at a Turning Point:
A Call to Action

Presiding: Stuart T. Rossman
 Chair, Young Leadership Cabinet
 Susan K. Stern
 Chair, Women's Young Leadership Cabinet
 Dr. Joel Schindler
 Conference Co-Chair
 Elizabeth Schrayer
 Conference Co-Chair

Welcome: Joel Tauber,
National Chairman-Designate,
United Jewish Appeal

Keynote Address: Shoshana Cardin, Chairman
Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations
Nachshon Awards

3:30 - 5:00 pm **CONCURRENT FORUMS**

1. INSIDE THE KNESSET: MEMBERS SPEAK OUT
(Jefferson East)

Elections are scheduled for June in Israel, and it is possible that the political makeup of the Knesset will change. Meanwhile, Israel faces serious political, social, economic, domestic and foreign policy challenges. Leading members of the Knesset speak out on these issues, and on the topic of electoral reform.

Panelists: M.K. Avrum Burg, *Labor party*
M.K. Chaim Ramon, *Labor party*
M.K. Reuven Rivlin, *Likud party*

Moderator: (COPY TO COME)

2. THE ISRAELI ECONOMY:
THE CHALLENGE FOR CHANGE
(Cabinet)

The Israeli economy will determine whether or not Israel successfully absorbs hundreds of thousands of olim. Though in transition now, the economy stands poised for possible enormous growth based on a sophisticated and highly trained labor force. What background has shaped the economy, what is its outlook for the future, and what changes must be made to allow for its success?

Panelists: Howard Cohen,
Executive Director, Operation Independence
Amnon Neubach,
Minister for Economic Affairs, State of Israel
Meir Dayan,
Israeli businessman, Israeli Forum

Moderator: Roger Hoffman,
Bergen County, New Jersey
Young Leadership Cabinet

3. THE CHALLENGE OF INTERMARRIAGE
(Thoroughbred)

Today more than 50% of Jews in America are marrying non-Jews, and the trend appears to be on the increase. What is the meaning of this dynamic for the future of the Jewish community, and what should the communal response be?

Panelists: Rabbi Stephen Foster,
Senior Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel, Denver
Professor Egon Mayer,
Sociologist and Demographer,
Brooklyn College
Rabbi Jacob Rubenstein, *Chairman-Designate, Rabbinic Cabinet, United Jewish Appeal*

Moderator: Lauren Friedman, Houston, Texas
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

**4. THE HOLOCAUST:
THE MANDATE TO REMEMBER
(Monroe East)**

Our generation is the last to live among the witnesses of the Holocaust and the first who are compelled to transmit their memory. What lessons does the Holocaust provide in this era of empowerment for the Jewish people? Also, why are attempts to delegitimize the Holocaust on the rise?

Panelists: Dr. Michael Berenbaum,
Executive Director, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Professor Deborah Lipstadt, *Director of Research of the Skirball Institute on American Values, American Jewish Congress.*
Ernest Michel,
Executive Vice President Emeritus, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York

Moderator: Ralph Grunewald, Washington, D.C.
Young Leadership Cabinet

**5. JEWISH CAMPUS ACTIVISM:
THE BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR FUTURE
(Monroe West)**

Holocaust revisionism and anti-Israel propaganda on campus and in the media. How have Jewish organizations responded, and has the response been enough?

Panelists: Stephen Trachtenberg, *President, George Washington University*
Yosef Abramowitz,
Campus activist, journalist
Uri Dromi, *World Zionist Organization, North American Director for Information*
Rachel Weinberg, *AIPAC Campus Director*

Moderator: Matthew Grossman, *University Programs Student, George Washington University*

**6. RAISING JEWISH CHILDREN IN AN ASSIMILATIONIST PARADISE
(Jefferson West)**

Raising children to be Jewish in our society can be a daunting prospect. However, there are many approaches for successfully teaching our heritage to our children. Promoting a strong Jewish identity need not mean alienating ourselves from the rest of the community.

Panelists: Shulamith Elster, *Chief Education Officer, Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education*
Jonathan Woocher, *Executive Director, Jewish Education Service of North America*

Moderator: Freda Pollack, *Monmouth County, New Jersey, Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

**7. JEWISH GRASS ROOTS ACTIVISM:
MAKING A DIFFERENCE LOCALLY AND STATE-WIDE
(Military)**

It is critical that our generation involve itself in local, state, and national politics. How can we be heard and see that our nation adopts policies which safeguard our community in the U.S. and in Israel? A guide to action and involvement.

Panelists: Matthew Brooks, Executive Director,
National Jewish Coalition
Rep. Martin Frost (D), Texas
Steve Gutow, Executive Director, National
Jewish Democratic Council

Moderator: Joel Beren, Toledo, Ohio
Young Leadership Cabinet

8. PROMISE OF A NEW SPRING: THE JEWS
OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE
(Hemisphere)

Over the past two years historic and unprecedeted changes have swept over central and eastern Europe. Old rivalries and ethnic tensions have reappeared in the face of new challenges and opportunities. What is the future of Jewish life in these countries, and what can be done to renew it?

Panelists: Her excellency Rita Klimova,
*Czechoslovakian Ambassador to the
United States*
Edward Serotta, photojournalist, "Out of the
Shadows"
Gregory Krupni Kov, Co-President, Latvian
Jewish community

Moderator: Jodi Schwartz, New York, New York
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

9. COUNTERING THE PRO-ARAB LOBBY:
RESPONSES AND LESSONS
(Lincoln West)

The anti-Israel/pro-Arab lobby is an interconnected web of Arab governments, paid lobbyists, Arab-Americans, and corporations. The lobby's public relations and propoganda are becoming more and more sophisticated. What are the common tactics and messages of this lobby and how can we effectively counter the propaganda?

Panelists: David Oleskar, Director, Institute for
Countering Anti-Israel Propaganda
Steve Rosen, Director of Foreign
Policy Issues, American Israel
Public Affairs Committee
Rep. Lawrence Smith (D), Florida

Moderator: Robert Fisher, Cincinnati, Ohio
Young Leadership Cabinet

10. I'M OKAY, YOUD BETTER BE PERFECT
(Georgetown)

Are Jewish men and women seeing each other only as outdated stereotypes? And why is it so hard for single people to meet each other in a dignified way? William Novak, the well-known author and humorist, takes a candid (and often funny) look at the most common complaints of single men and women, and outlines several solutions to a problem with serious implications for the future of Jewish life.

Panelist: Bill Novak, author, humorist

Moderator: Bonnie Barest, New York City
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

3:30 pm - 5:30 pm INTENSIVE WORKSHOPS

(Note: These intensive programs are longer than the other forums and are geared towards participants who have attended prior Washington Conferences.)

**1. REAL POLITICAL ACTIVISM:
LEARNING THE ROPES
(Lincoln East)**

Increase your knowledge about the political process, how it works and the role of American Citizens.

Panelists: Rep. Benjamin Cardin (D), Maryland
Thomas Dine, Executive Director, American Israel Public Affairs Committee
Renee Rothstein, National Field Director, American Israel Public Affairs Committee

Moderator: Peter Silverman, Toledo, Ohio
Young Leadership Cabinet

**2. I WANT TO RAISE MONEY, BUT IT'S HARD TO ASK
(Map)**

Three experienced solicitors and solicitation trainers will provide methods and tips for asking other people for a contribution. Videotaping will provide instant feedback on your own style, and ideas on how to improve it. See how UJA's best do it! Participation limited and best suited for those who already have some solicitation experience.

Panelists: Heidi Damsky,
*National Training Center, Past Chair,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*
Dr. Robert Meth, *National Training Center,
Young Leadership Cabinet*
Skip Schrayer, *National Training Center,
Young Leadership Cabinet*

**6:00 pm - 6:30 pm MINCHA/MAARIV
(Bancroft-Traditional)
(Chevy Chase-Egalitarian)**

**6:00 pm - 7:00 pm REGIONAL COCKTAIL RECEPTIONS
(special congressional guests will be attending)**

RECEPTION 1: Hosts: Lewis Norry and Ellen Saft
(Georgetown)
Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont.

RECEPTION 2: Hosts: Andy Lappin and Jane Blumenthal
(Monroe)
Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

RECEPTION 3: Hosts: Andy Rinzler and Diane Prystowski
(Jefferson West)
Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.

RECEPTION 4: (Thoroughbred)	Hosts: Michael Novick and Fern Schlesinger Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington.
RECEPTION 5: (Lincoln East)	Hosts: Peter Sheft and Amy Bressman New York and New Jersey
RECEPTION 6: (Jefferson East)	Hosts: Howard Friedman and Fran Immerman Ohio, Maryland, Virginia West Virginia District of Columbia
RECEPTION 7: (Hemisphere)	Hosts: Robert Kaplan and Sarah Catz California
RECEPTION 8: (Military)	Host Joe Kaplan Texas

7:00 pm **DECISION '92**
DINNER PLENARY
 (International Ballroom)

Presiding Susan Lowenberg,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet
 Bruce Maier,
Young Leadership Cabinet
 Skip Schrayer,
Young Leadership Cabinet
 Emily Zimmern
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

Greetings: His Excellency Ambassador Zalman
Shoval Israel's Ambassador to the U.S.

Speakers: Senator Phil Gramm (R), Texas
 Senator Barbara Mikulski (D), Maryland
 Thomas Dine, Executive Director, American
Israel Public Affairs Committee

DANCE PARTY FOR SINGLES
 (Exhibit Hall Disco)

COFFEE HOUSE
 (Crystal Ballroom)
featuring Jewish jazz pianist, Jon Simon

MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992

6:45 am - 7:30 am **SHACHARIT**
 (Bancroft-Traditional)
 (Chevy Chase-Egalitarian)

7:30 am - 9:00 am **CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST PLENARY**
 (International Ballroom)

"LARRY KING LIVE AND IN PERSON"
 TOPIC: ISRAEL IN THE MEDIA —
 WHAT IS THE STORY?
 Larry King, CNN -- *Moderator*
 FEATURED GUESTS:
Charles Krauthammer, The New Republic
Eleanor Clift, Newsweek
General Nachman Shai, spokesman during Gulf War, Israel Defense Forces

9:15 am-10:45 am **CONCURRENT FORUMS**

**1. CAMPAIGN '92:
UNDERSTANDING THE STAKES
(Georgetown)**

For the pro-Israel and Jewish community, the upcoming Presidential and Congressional elections are of utmost importance. What are the overall trends and issues, and which Senate and House races are particularly important in 1992?

Panelists: Morris J. Amitay, *Founder and Treasurer, Washington Political Action Committee*
Ron Brown, *Chairman, Democratic National Committee*
Ed Rollins, *Partner and Strategist, Sawyer Miller Group*

Moderator: Dianne Zarum-Witman, *Providence, Rhode Island Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

**2. TZEDAKA IS NOT CHARITY; UNDERSTANDING A PRIMARY JEWISH VALUE
(Back Terrace)**

Tzedaka is not charity, but a Jewish way of life. What is the basis of tzedaka, what is the "right" amount to give, and how should it be given?

Panelists: Reuven Kimelman, *Professor, Brandeis University; Program Associate, Center for Leadership and Learning*
Danny Siegel, *Author and speaker*

Moderator: Suzi Alterman, *Detroit, Michigan Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

**3. WHAT SORT OF JEWISH COMMUNITY WILL YOUR CHILDREN LIVE IN?
(Lincoln East)**

The latest demographic data highlights some unexpected and unsettling trends among American Jews. What will the organized Jewish community look like in the coming decades? Will non-Orthodox Judaism stay the same, change shape, or disappear?

Panelists: Dr. Arthur Green, *President, Reconstructionist Rabbinical College*
Rabbi Larry Kushner, *Temple Beth El, Sudbury, Ma.*
Jacob Ukeles, *President, Ukeles Associates, Community Organization Consultant*

Moderator: Irit Waldbaum, *Denver, Colorado Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

**4. CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS:
CONNECTIONS WITH THE OTHER
97.5% OF AMERICA
(Thoroughbred)**

Jewish and non-Jewish relations are increasingly complex. While a number of mainstream Christian denominations are increasingly critical of Israel, others, particularly the more fundamentalist, are more assertive on behalf of Israel. In the face of a changing Supreme Court, growing economic and intergroup tensions, and a deteriorating commitment to foreign aid, stronger Jewish-Christian cooperation is vital. What is the status of Christian-Jewish cooperation and how can it be enhanced nationally and locally?

Panelists: Dale Bishop, *National Council of Churches, Middle East Affairs*
Rabbi David Saperstein, *Executive Director, Religious Action Center, Union of American Hebrew Congregations*
The Reverend Louis Sheldon, *Chairman, Traditional Values Coalition*

Moderator: Fred Siegman, Chicago, Illinois
Young Leadership Cabinet

5. RUNNING THE WELCOME WAGON:
SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL
ABSORPTION OF OLIM
(Monroe)

The influx of new Israeli citizens is the country's greatest blessing and biggest challenge. These immigrants have brought with them enormous human potential for the strengthening of Israel's culture and society. Despite its limited resources, Israel has implemented numerous absorption programs for the olim. What are they, and which of them are working?

Panelists: Avrum Infeld, *Director, Melitz Center, Jerusalem*
David Mittleberg, *Israeli Forum*
Yoav Navon, *Israeli Forum*

Moderator: Julie Shuer, Los Angeles, California
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

6. THE JEWISH RESPONSE TO CRITICAL
DOMESTIC ISSUES
(Jefferson West)

The Jewish community is not immune from the recession, which has struck hard at many sectors of our community such as the elderly, the homeless, the jobless, and the middle class. How are communal organizations seeking to alleviate these problems in the face of reduced federal and state funds, and what role can you play? And what should the Jewish communal response be to the domestic problems America in general faces?

Panelists: Leonard Fein, *author, founder of Mazon*
Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D), Ohio
Mark Talisman, *Director, Council of Jewish Federations-Washington Action Office*

Moderator: Susan Hyatt, Cleveland, Ohio
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

7. ETHIOPIAN JEWRY: AN ANCIENT
PEOPLE IN A MODERN LAND
(Hemisphere)

Though Jews have been living in Ethiopia since King Solomon's time, their Jewish brothers and sisters around the world knew little of their existence. At the same time, the Ethiopian Jewish community maintained a distinctive Jewish identity and culture, and a powerful love for Zion. Following the dramatic airlift of most of the community to Israel, what special challenges does the community face in being absorbed into Israeli society, and what is being done to facilitate this?

Panelists: Micha Feldman, *Head of Jewish Agency Operations in Ethiopia*
Yitzhak Shahar
Amir Shaviv, *Director of Special Operations American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*

Moderator: Karen Pack, Kansas City, Kansas
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

**8. THE BATTLE FOR AND AGAINST PEACE
WITHIN THE ARAB WORLD
(Jefferson East)**

Though most of the world focuses on the Middle East as an Arab-Israeli conflict, some of the hardest struggles are taking place within the Arab world, and between the Arab groups already at the peace table. What are the issues within the Palestinian movement, inside some of the Arab countries, and between the Arab participants in the peace process that may affect its success?

Panelists: Jonathan Livny, *Presiding Judge and former Attorney General, Judea and Samaria*
Dr. Stephen P. Cohen, *President, Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation*

Moderator: Robert Leventhal, Dayton, Ohio
Young Leadership Cabinet

**9. SIBLING RIVALRY, SIBLING LOVE:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL
AND THE DIASPORA
(Cabinet)**

Even before Israel was established there was a gulf between the Jews in the Diaspora and those in Zion, and recent decades have seen those tensions increase. Now events like the Gulf War and some internal issues in Israel have made the gap even greater. Is world Jewry destined to be two groups that cannot speak to each other, or is dialogue possible?

Panelists: Brigadier General Nehemia Dagan,
Director, Israel Education Fund
Reuven Kimelman, *Professor, Brandeis University and Senior Program Associate, Center for Leadership and Learning: North American Jewish Forum*
Professor Deborah Lipstadt, *Director of Research of the Skirball Institute on American Values, American Jewish Congress, North American Jewish Forum*
Yigal Simon, *Executive Director, Israeli Forum*

Moderator: David Sherman, Chicago, Illinois
Young Leadership Cabinet

9:15 am-12:15 pm INTENSIVE WORKSHOPS

(Note: These programs are the length of two forums and are geared for participants who have attended prior Washington Conferences)

**1. WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW TO DO
BUSINESS AND INVEST IN ISRAEL
(Military)**

Participants will discuss joint ventures, the Israeli stock market, opportunities in venture capital and real estate. Meet with the experts who do these types of transactions, and learn how business and investing is done.

Panelists: Stanley Blau, *Executive Vice-President, Executone*
David Blumberg, *Venture Capitalist*
Tony Kristal, *Israeli Businessman, Israeli Forum*
Gary Heiman, *Chief Executive Officer, Standard Textiles*
Carl Kaplan, *Claridge Israel, Inc.*
Janine Strauss, *Real Estate Investor, Israeli Forum*

Moderator: David Lippy, Columbus, Ohio
Young Leadership Cabinet

2. MAKING THE CASE FOR ISRAEL
(Lincoln West)

Panelist: David Oleskar, Director,
*Institute for Countering
Anti-Israel Propaganda*
Jonathan Kessler, Executive Director, *Center
for Middle East Peace and Economic
Cooperation*

Learn from an expert about the subtle powers of persuasion: how to make the case for Israel from the podium, how to debate an anti-Israel speaker, how to influence an audience from the floor. Identify techniques commonly used to attack Israel and the means to respond most effectively. Sharpen your debating, questioning and speaking styles.

Moderator: Josh Katzen, Boston, Massachusetts
Young Leadership Cabinet

11:00 am -12:30 pm **CONCURRENT FORUMS**

1. KEY PLAYERS IN A MODERN MIRACLE
(Map)

Quietly, yet with great effectiveness, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency for Israel have performed a modern miracle as they save Jewish lives around the world and bring to Israel hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. Can world Jewry continue to meet the tremendous financial needs in order to maintain and strengthen this life-saving work?

Panelists: Herman Markowitz, Executive Vice President, *United Israel Appeal*
Michael Schneider, Executive Vice President, *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*
Alan Shulman, Chairman, *Jewish Agency for Israel Assets and Liabilities Committee*.

Moderator: Anne Licht, Long Beach, California
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

2. 25 GOING ON 3000;
UNDERSTANDING JERUSALEM
(Back Terrace)

For almost three millenia Jerusalem has been the spiritual and religious center of our people. In this year, the 25th Anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem and almost the 3000th year since King David established it, Jerusalem promises to be one of the toughest issues in the peace process. How has its past and present been shaped, and what is the future of this city?

Panelists: Gen. Uzi Narkiss, *IDF General in command of troops that liberated Eastern half of city in '67*
Avrum Infeld, *Melitz Center, Jerusalem*
M.K. Reuven Rivlin, *eighth generation Jerusalemite*

Moderator: Steve Morris, Denver Colorado
Young Leadership Cabinet

**3. JEWISH SPIRITUALITY:
THE PERSONAL CONNECTION
(Hemisphere)**

In our impersonal fax-machine world it is more important but harder than ever to make a connection to something greater than ourselves. Several approaches are available to a renewed personal Jewish awareness and spirituality, and an opening to a richer, fuller life.

Panelists: Rabbi Larry Kushner, *Author, Temple Beth El, Sudbury, MA*
Moshe Waldoks, *author and humorist*
Rabbi David Wolpe, *author and teacher, University of Judaism*

Moderator: Linda Beerman, Winston-Salem, North Carolina *Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

4. ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS: RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (Jefferson East)

One of the least publicized yet most important aspects to the peace process is the multilateral negotiations. This panel will explore the efforts to forge regional cooperation on such critical issues as the environment, water, scarcity, arms control and energy resources. Find out if sharing resources will help bring peace to the region.

Panelists: Aaron Miller, *Policy Planning Staff, U.S. State Department*
Joyce Starr, *Author and expert on water resources*

Moderator: Scott Redston, Los Angeles, California *Young Leadership Cabinet*

5. JEWISH FEMINISM: CAN JEWISH WOMEN FIND FULL EQUALITY? (Cabinet)

Jewish women in the late 20th century are becoming integrated into the religious and organizational structures of American Jewry. However, some feel there are still roadblocks to full equality. What are these problems, and how must organized Jewry change to accommodate the needs of women?

Panelists: Professor Ellen Cannon, *Author*
Rep. Nita Lowey (D), *New York*
Letty Cottin Pogrebin, *Author of Deborah, Golda, and Me*

Moderator: Beth Sheridan, Chicago, Illinois *Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

6. ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA: THE MONSTER REARS ITS HEAD AGAIN (Lincoln East)

Despite the Holocaust and decades of teaching and outreach, anti-Semitism is on the rise in America. David Duke and the Aryan Brotherhood are the extremists, but what about well-known figures like Pat Buchanan, and Holocaust revisionists in academia? What are some of the common denominators of anti-Semitism and how can they be combated?

Panelists: Abraham Foxman, Executive Director,
Anti-Defamation League
Scott Harshbarger, Attorney General,
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Daniel Levitas, Executive Director, *Center
for Democratic Renewal*

Moderator: Lee Fisher, Attorney General, Ohio
Young Leadership Cabinet

7. WHITE HOUSE DECISION-MAKING ABOUT
THE MIDDLE EAST
(Georgetown)

The Bush Administration is playing a very forceful role in implementing Middle East policies and shaping events there. The peace process is just one important manifestation of this activity. Who are the key administration players, what are their goals and how can the pro-Israel community be most effective in lobbying these decision makers?

Panelists: Stuart Eizenstat, *Washington attorney,
former Carter White House senior official*
Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director,
*Conference of Presidents of Major American
Jewish Organizations*
Bobbie Kilberg, *White House Director of
Public Liaison*

Moderator: Michael Rubenstein, Houston, Texas
Young Leadership Cabinet

8. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM:
SOURCES AND POLITICS
(Thoroughbred)

Islamic fundamentalism is a powerful force in shaping the Middle East, as recent events in Algeria confirm. What are Islamic fundamentalism's sources, its real strengths and weaknesses, and its future? And what does all this mean for Israel?

Panelists: Clinton Bailey, *Israeli expert on the Bedouin
and Islam*
Steve Emerson, CNN, *author and journalist*

Moderator: Paul Schlesinger, Portland, Oregon
Young Leadership Cabinet

9. THE ECONOMIC WAR AGAINST ISRAEL:
BREAKING THE TRADE BARRIERS
(Monroe)

The Arab boycott against Israel still exists and is widespread. Meanwhile, Japan continues to maintain only low level trade with Israel and most Japanese companies comply with the boycott. Which well known-corporate entities are boycotting Israel, and what is the future of Israel-Japan relations?

Panelists: Wil Maslow, *American Jewish Congress,
Editor, Boycott Report*
Senator Timothy Wirth (D), Colorado
Senator Don Nickles (R), Oklahoma

Moderator: Gary Walk, West Palm Beach, Florida
Young Leadership Cabinet

**10. SEEING ISN'T BELIEVING;
ISRAEL IN THE MEDIA
(Jefferson West)**

Media coverage of the Middle-East is one of the most frustrating and perplexing issues for pro-Israel Americans. How has the media's portrayal of Israel, the Palestinians and the Middle East affected the world's perspective of the situation? The experts offer advice on practical responses.

Panelists Andrea Levin, *Northeast Regional Director, CAMERA*
Ambassador Uri Savir, Consul General, State of Israel

Moderator: Michael Lebovitz, *Chattanooga, Tennessee Young Leadership Cabinet*

**12:45 pm - 3:15 pm LUNCHEON PLENARY
(International Ballroom)**

Presiding: Mark Mellman
Young Leadership Cabinet
Debra Pell
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet
Robert Glimcher
Young Leadership Cabinet

Speakers: His Excellency Moshe Arens
Minister of Defense, State of Israel

Chazak Mission Presentation

3:30 pm - 5:00 pm CONCURRENT FORUMS

**1. THE LAST EMPIRE: THE SOVIET DISUNION
AND ITS JEWISH COMMUNITY
(Jefferson West)**

The disintegration of the Soviet Union has meant uncertainty and chaos for all its citizens. And this instability is a special concern for the potentially vulnerable Jewish communities in the new Republics. What is the near and long-term future of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and of the Jews living there? And what should the U.S. be doing?

Panelists: Senator Joseph Lieberman (D),
Connecticut
Martin Wenick, *Executive Director, National Conference on Soviet Jewry*
Dmitri Simes, *Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Moderator: Stanford Solomon, *Tampa, Florida Young Leadership Cabinet*

**2. AN OWNER'S MANUAL TO LIVING
JEWISHLY IN AMERICA
(Lincoln West)**

While building and living a Jewish life may appear difficult, there are practical ways to experience Jewish ritual practices, synagogues, and other manifestations of communal involvement. A how-to guide in finding a synagogue, Rabbi, and community.

Panelists: Rabbi Irwin Kula, *Program Director, Center for Leadership and Learning*
Rabbi Sidney Schwarz, *President, Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership and Values*
Sharon Strassfeld, *editor, The Jewish Catalogues*

Moderator: Susan Katz, Dayton, Ohio
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

3. MIDDLE EAST PEACE: PIECE BY PIECE
(Georgetown)

With bumps and false starts the Middle East peace process is underway, and so far the results have been mixed. Given Israel's internal politics and the changes in world events over the past several months, following and predicting the negotiations is almost impossible. Three leading players will present their analyses of the situation and its outlook.

Panelists: Rep. Mel Levine (D), CA, House Foreign Affairs Committee
Dennis Ross, Director of Policy Planning, U.S. State Department
His Excellency Zalman Shoval, Israel's Ambassador to the U.S.

Moderator: Melissa Patack, Washington, D.C.
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

4. COALITIONS: UNITED WE STAND,
DIVIDED WE FALL?
(Lincoln East)

Ethnic coalitions are more crucial than ever in accomplishing political, social and economic goals. However, the coalitions of yesterday are changing and the coalitions of tomorrow are not yet formed. What can be accomplished with coalitions and what actions can you take at home to make them?

Panelists: Rep. John Lewis (D), Georgia
Rep. Robert Matsui (D), California
Rep. Bill Richardson (D), New Mexico

Moderator: Jonathan Hattenbach, Chicago, Illinois
Young Leadership Cabinet

5. LIKE FRANCE INTO THE US:
ABSORBING THE FLOOD
(Monroe)

One million olim may go to Israel in the next five years — the equivalent of the U.S. absorbing the entire population of France. Already almost 400,000 Soviet Jews have come to Israel and thousands more arrive each month. With elections in Israel just a few months away, what will be the political, demographic, and cultural impact of this aliyah?

Panelists: Dr. Edith Frankel, Executive Director, Mayrock Center, Hebrew University
Lilly Galili, Aliyah analyst, Ha'aretz newspaper
Naphtali Lavie, Director-General, United Jewish Appeal Israel Operations

Moderator: Betsy Jacobs, Boston, Massachusetts
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

6. DESERT STORMS:
SECURITY ISSUES FACING ISRAEL
(Jefferson East)

In the post-Gulf War Middle East, Israel still faces serious military and strategic issues. The proliferation of missile technology, and the prospect of an "Islamic Bomb" raises the specter of whole new security issues. What might be the Israeli defense strategies of this new era, and how can the U.S. play a role?

Panelists: Tom Neumann, Executive Director, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
Senator John McCain (R), Arizona, Armed Services Committee
Brigadier General Zvi Kanor, Military Attaché, Embassy of Israel

Moderator: Dr. Own Perlman, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Young Leadership Cabinet

**7. MAKING AN ECONOMIC CONNECTION WITH ISRAEL: HOW IS IT DONE?
(Military)**

Israeli organizations, local federations, foundations and commissions are developing and fostering strategic relationships, stimulating trade and investment opportunities, and promoting Israeli products and services between the United States business community and Israel. How can interested Americans get involved?

Panelists: Meir Buber, Executive Director
Israel Trade Center
Dana Edelman, Executive Director,
New England-Israel Chambers of Commerce
Shlomo Harel, Investment Head of
Economic Mission

Moderator: Bennett Greenspan, Houston, Texas
Young Leadership Cabinet

**8. THE SUPREME COURT AND THE JEWS:
IS THE BALANCE OF JUSTICE TIPPING?
(Thoroughbred)**

Is the role of the Supreme Court in our democracy changing, and what are the recent trends of the court's decisions? And in the wake of the Thomas hearings, what are the Senate's "advise and consent" responsibilities in the confirmation process? Also, how will the Court's decisions affect the American Jewish community on such issues as separation of Church and State?

Panelists: Senator Hank Brown (R), Colorado, Senate Judiciary Committee
Senator Howell Heflin (D), Alabama, Senate Judiciary Committee

Moderator: Joel Gold Schmidt, New York, New York
Young Leadership Cabinet

**9. ASK THE CEO:
"WHERE DOES MY MONEY GO?"
(Hemisphere)**

A donation to UJA/Federation touches hundreds of thousands of people in 34 different countries and your home town. What does your gift accomplish, what organizations does it go to, and who decides how it will be spent?

Panelists: Martin Kraar, Executive Director,
Council of Jewish Federations
Rabbi Brian L Lurie, Executive Vice President, *United Jewish Appeal*
Herman Markowitz, Executive Vice Chairman, *United Israel Appeal*
Michael Schneider, Executive Vice President, *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*

Moderator: Judy Harris, Minneapolis, Minnesota
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

**10. BEYOND GOLDA: UNDERSTANDING THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISRAEL
(Back Terrace)**

To many Jews in the Diaspora, women in Israel mean female soldiers in the IDF and Golda Meir. But the status of Israeli women is more complex than that. What special problems do women in Israel face, and how does the feminist movement in Israel compare with the feminist movement in the U.S.? Frank talk from three leading Israeli activists.

Panelists: M.K. Shulamit Aloni,
Citizens Rights Movement
Dana Avidar, *Israeli Forum*
Alice Shalvi,
Head of the Israel Women's Caucus

Moderator: Marci Robinson, Los Angeles, California
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

3:30 pm - 5:30 pm INTENSIVE WORKSHOP

(This workshop is geared for participants who have attended prior Washington Conferences or sit on their local allocations or budget committee)

**1. SPEAKING FOR THOSE WHO CAN'T:
OVERSEAS ALLOCATIONS ADVOCACY
(Cabinet)**

This intensive workshop will look at the national trends in allocations and will discuss the current financial climate and budgetary impacts with the Jewish Agency and American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Participants will learn how to negotiate for overseas needs and be an overseas advocate in their local community.

Panelists: Alan Kan, *UJA Southeast Region Financial Relations Chair*
Neale Katz, *United Israel Appeal-Director General, Jerusalem Office*
Amir Shaviv, *Director of Special Operations, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee*

Moderator: Lory Brenner, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

5:00 pm - 6:00 pm YOUNG LEADERSHIP DIVISION CHAIRS' RECEPTION

(Presidential Suite)
(This reception is for participants who are currently chairing their local Young Leadership Division)

5:00 pm - 6:00 pm POST-CONFERENCE PROGRAMMING MEETING
(Caucus)
(For Professionals, Post Conference and Recruitment chairs who will be implementing Post-Conference Programming)

5:30 pm - 7:15 pm A JEWISH ARTS FESTIVAL
(Exhibit Hall)

The Israel Trade and Jewish Cultural Fair in the Exhibit Hall will be enhanced with demonstrations and how-tos on Israeli folk dancing, Jewish arts and crafts, and such projects as how to write your own religious ceremonies or ketubah. In addition, some traditional Israeli foods will be served for a real taste of the Middle East.

6:00 pm - 6:30 pm MINCHA/MAARIV
(Bancroft-Traditional)
(Chevy Chase-Egalitarian)

**7:30 pm THE MIRACLE AND MEANING OF THE ALIYAH
DINNER PLENARY**
(International Ballroom)

Presiding: *Stuart T. Rossman, Chairman,
Young Leadership Cabinet
Susan K. Stern, Chair.
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet*

Speakers: *Marvin Lender, National Chairman,
United Jewish Appeal
Rabbi Brian L. Lurie, Executive Vice
President, United Jewish Appeal
Special performance by Ethiopian
and Soviet Olim*

10:00 pm Optional Community Meetings
(Note: The Trade and Cultural Fair will be open for
those not in receptions or meetings.)

10:45 pm ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCING
(International Ballroom)
Fabrangen Fiddlers

TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1992

7:00 am - 7:30 am SCHACHARIT
(Bancroft-Traditional)
(Chevy Chase-Egalitarian)

7:30 am - 8:30 am CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST
ESSENTIAL BRIEFING FOR HILL VISITS — BE
PREPARED — BE ON TIME

BREAKFAST 1 (International Ballroom Center)
Chair: Dianne Zarum-Witman,
Providence, Rhode Island,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

Speakers: *Mark Talisman, Director, Washington Action
Office, Council of Jewish Federations
Ester Kurz, Legislative Director, American Israel
Public Affairs Committee
Abba Cohen, Director, Washington Office,
Agudath Israel of America*

Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland,
Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode
Island, West Virginia, Vermont, and Virginia.

BREAKFAST 2 (International Ballroom East)
Chair: Fred Siegman, Chicago, Illinois
Young Leadership Cabinet

Speakers: *Rachel Mann Cohen, Director of Government
Affairs, Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago
David Saperstein, Director, Religious Action
Center, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Dan Cohen, Legislative Liaison, American Israel
Public Affairs Committee*

Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota,
Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota,
Wisconsin and Wyoming.

BREAKFAST 3 (Monroe & Lincoln East)
Chair: Michael Lebovitz, Chattanooga,
Tennessee, Young Leadership Cabinet

Speakers: Lisa Shugar, Associate Director, Washington Action Office, Council of Jewish Federations
Mark Pelavin, Washington Representative,
American Jewish Congress
Wendy Senor, Legislative Liaison, American Israel Public Affairs Committee

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.

BREAKFAST 4 (International Ballroom West)
Chair: Irit Waldbaum, Denver, Colorado
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

Speakers: Judy Golub, Legislative Director, *American Jewish Congress*
David Gillette, Legislative Liaison, *American Israel Public Affairs Committee*

Alaska, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington.

BREAKFAST 5 (Jefferson)

Speakers: Michael Lieberman, Associate Director/Counsel, *Anti-Defamation League*
Jeff Colman, Legislative Liaison of *American Israel Public Affairs Committee*

New York State

8:30 am BUSES DEPART PROMPTLY FOR CAPITOL HILL

9:00 am - 12:00 am Individual appointments with
A Members of Congress

12:15 pm - 1:00 pm **LUNCH**
(International Ballroom)

1:00 pm - 3:00 pm **CLOSING PLENARY**
"A Final Call to Action"
(International Ballroom)

Presiding: Jerry Benjamin, Chair Designate,
Young Leadership Cabinet
Michelle Rosen, Chair Designate,
Women's Young Leadership Cabinet

Speakers: M.K. Yitzhak Rabin,
Head of the Labor Party
The Honorable Jack Kemp,
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
Brian Abrahams, Director
Young Leadership Cabinets



Our annual United Jewish Appeal/Federation Campaign, comprised of 189 local and non-federated American Jewish communities which raise funds in partnership with the national United Jewish Appeal, is the primary fund-raising instrument for the support of humanitarian programs and social services for Jews in the United States, in Israel and in 58 other countries. Through our UJA/Federation Campaign, we strengthen our own community and work to establish a secure and vital future for Jewish life worldwide.

Young Leadership Cabinet Alumni

Mayflower Hotel

Washington, D.C.

Sunday, March 15, 1992

MAJOR GOALS FOR THE CENTURY AHEAD

by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

Mr. Chairman, dear friends,

This is an emotional moment for me. When you love someone, you give them everything you have, and you expect the same in return.

I have loved you collectively from the moment of your birth more than 30 years ago; have poured into you inspiration and education; have laid upon you many a challenge. Some of you responded more than others, but again, collectively, you have been a magnificent force on behalf of folk and faith, and every organization in the entire Jewish world has copied your name and model.

So - I come today, once again, to put before you what I conceive to be the major goals for the century ahead, knowing that you have the necessary time left in your lives to take giant steps toward the achievement of these goals. This is perhaps my

last call to arms, spoken in the firm belief that you will rise to battle as you always have.

Rabbi Irving Greenberg, in a recent speech at Brandeis University said: "There is now the serious possibility of a golden age for the American Jewish community... that possibility exists, at least, if Jewish leadership responds, and if both democracy and capitalism persevere. Under these circumstances, a new and great era of Jewish history could now unfold".

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

I agree with the optimism implicit in his formulation. I believe that both democracy and capitalism will persevere in the U.S. Therefore, the only uncertainty lies in the nature of Jewish leadership's response. Most of you are third generation born in this country, and many are even fourth generation. You have the advantage of a secure rootedness in your American identity, plus the invaluable strengthening of your Jewish identity through exposure to Israel and the Holocaust, the two defining influences of this century. Your grandparents struggled through their immigrant experience here, speaking and thinking with the accents of the shtetl, while modernizing their religious habits, and gradually lessening their fears of the Gentile. Your parents, breathing a bit easier, could look beyond their immediate personal needs, and build the institutions of a Jewish polity - the synagogues, centers, federations and all others, while pouring major support into the Zionist state, which was

their emotional response to the monstrous genocide in Europe.

Now your turn has come, and you are the first generation truly capable of peering into the century ahead, with no overburdening challenges from the past, no psychological insecurities, no fear of your minority status in this country, no crushing unfinished agenda. You are the sons and daughters of a proud heritage, with 3 1/2 centuries of unbroken existence on this continent and 3 1/2 millennia of continuity behind that. Your mission to improve the world for the benefit of all humanity must always include the improvement of your own people as well.

Accepting a burden begins with defining it - getting your arms around it - lifting its weight and size - gauging your strength against its resistance. Your generation has the freedom, the power and the affluence to assume any tasks, goals, challenges you visualize on the horizon - and to do so with the sure knowledge that if you raise your children properly they will complete anything you pass on to them unfinished. You are the bridge generation that will take the immigrants of the 19th century into a golden age of the 21st, if you assess the tasks correctly and mobilize your responses strongly enough.

Here are the major tasks of the century ahead, as I see them, gathered under three rubrics of peoplehood, nationhood and religion. These represent areas of work, themselves subdivided

into specific goals.

I. PEOPLEHOOD

A. Reverse the course of the headlong rush toward self-destruction among American Jewry, and to a lesser extent also, among other Jewries in the western world. The very permissiveness of the freedom we so cherish in the U.S., compounded by indifference toward Judaism and assimilation into the majority secular culture, both of which tendencies stem from almost total ignorance of the history, literature, language, philosophy and religion of the Jewish people, have resulted in a sky-rocketing rate of intermarriage that is moving with the speed of locusts sweeping across a field and destroying everything in their path.

Fear of this phenomenon has spread rapidly because the plethora of articles, speeches, conferences and media references to the subject has reached all ears. Most of you have already heard so much that the very word "intermarriage" has become dulled by repetition, and you tend to tune the subject out. But that does not result in its disappearance.

Have you heard any remedies? Parents submit, sometimes heavy-heartedly, but no longer sit shiva, as though their child had died. Other parents put pressure on the rabbi to perform the

marriage ceremony because they want at least that touch of Jewish authenticity, and most rabbis, even among the Reform don't want to do it. Still other parents demand that their rabbi co-officiate with a Christian clergyman. And all of this is accompanied by the plea that the Jewish partner be not further driven away as a result of rabbinical rejection. It is a terrifying dilemma for most rabbis.

The only remedial suggestion for adults who do intermarry is for the Jewish community to develop a clear policy regarding conversion. Mikvehs must be created by all 4 denominations since the Orthodox, who are usually in control of the only or most desirable mikveh in town, are increasingly refusing to make "their" mikveh available for non-Orthodox conversions. A vigorous outreach policy must be practiced in synagogues and all other communal institutions, welcoming the converts and their children. Synagogue membership must be graciously offered to converts, or even to non-converted spouses who themselves do not wish to offend their families by an act of conversion, but who are very willing to have their children brought up and educated as Jews. Converts should be counted as full members of a minyan, called to the Torah for aliyot, bless the candles from the pulpit on a Friday evening.

All this refers to adults who have taken the plunge. Preventive work must begin much earlier, when Jewish children are

in their teens, in high school and most particularly during the college years. Great skill and ingenuity must be invested in Bar and Bat mitzvah classes, confirmation classes, summer camps and youth groups to explain the value of preserving the Jewish heritage and not destroying it by reckless behavior. We inoculate our children with various serums to protect them against deadly diseases. A run-away epidemic of intermarriage is a deadly disease.

The college campus is a desert barren of widespread or significant Jewish influence. With the exception of the work being done by a small number of charismatic rabbis (and even these are seriously under-funded) there is almost no programming widely attracting the almost half million Jewish college youth presently enrolled on American campuses. How shocking! The B'nai B'rith Hillel system exists in name, but that's about all. The once-powerful organization has increased in age and decreased in virility. The UJA and the organized Jewish federations of America must nourish and fertilize the campuses of America. There is no domestic program more important. A radical approach is necessary.

Student activists themselves have been crying for attention for almost 25 years. As far back as 1969 at the General Assembly of the CJF in Boston, student leaders sought a hearing for their message that they were being neglected and warned that their

abandonment by the establishment would result in dire consequences. Their prophecy was correct, for one of the factors leading to the tidal wave of intermarriage today has been the lack of a large-scale effort to create a strong sense of Jewish identity and loyalty among that most impressionable age group.

In 1989, at the GA in Cincinnati, twenty years later, the student leaders were still demanding the right to address the plenary session. It was granted. Their spokesman pleaded eloquently for financial and moral support. His battle-cry was "Let our people go...to Israel on student programs", and he announced the formation of the Student Struggle for North American Jewry, to fight assimilation on the campus. Theirs was a take-off on the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, which was so effective.

What has been the result of all this knocking on the doors of the adult community? In the words of Josef Abramowitz, the now aging student leader, "We felt we had scored a major victory. Yet looking back on it, what did Jewish students really gain besides a platform for ten minutes? Communal leaders didn't change the order of allocations; they didn't invite us to sit on their boards."

The Baltimore Jewish Times, a fine weekly newspaper, reporting on the GA held in Baltimore a few months ago, ended its

article quoting Abramowitz: "The words are as applicable today as they were in Boston in 1969. The difference is that in Baltimore in 1991 there are fewer of us left to repeat them. And next year there will be even fewer."

And you, in this audience, exactly the parents most involved, both for the future of your children and the entire Jewish population, must interject your concern in a powerful manner to the federation hierarchy in your town.

Forget about the argument, sometimes offered, that even where there is a Hillel House, most kids don't go there. Creative programming will reach widely. Don't think conventionally. Invent new ways to get their attention. This college age population is close to marriage. This is exactly the right time to give deep thought and innovation to the whole question of investing serious money and organization in the struggle against assimilation among the college population. The abandonment of Jewish students must cease.

Working backward, from adults to young adult students, to teenagers, we come down to the elementary school and here there is no need to elaborate. All the research shows that a parochial school education provides the first and most effective foundation of a strong Jewish identity. In addition, a knowledge base is built into the child's memory which lasts well up into young

adulthood. There is simply no comparison between a Day School education and a 1, 2, or 3-day supplementary few hours, both as to content and mood.

There are two arguments often given by parents against sending their children to day school, even after admitting that a much stronger Jewish consciousness will be developed: one is the expense (several thousand dollars per year, per child - and what if you have three kids?) and the second is the mediocre quality of most Day Schools. It is exactly valid arguments such as these which must be countered by equally valid solutions. Firstly, Day School tuition must be completely free for those who cannot afford it, and minimal (a few hundred dollars per family) for everyone else. The community must fund its school system - and this takes serious attention to careful planning and new ideas. And secondly, the Jewish Day Schools in your towns must be as good as the best Country Day School, whether private or church-based. That should be your model - a lovely grassy campus, plenty of athletic fields, highest level of secular studies so the graduates can gain admission to the finest universities in the nation, and full integration of the Jewish and secular subjects (French at 8 a.m., Hebrew at 9, Math at 10, Bible at 11, etc.). This school must include pre-K to 12, carefully divided into lower, middle and upper divisions.

B. Provide an infrastructure for the Jews who will remain in the former Soviet Republics, whose sense of Jewish consciousness was awakened in 1967, whose activists started a flood of emigration, a half-million of whom have already left, mainly for Israel, and some to the U.S., with more than that number still to come, but whose residual population will be sizable and alert to their Jewish identity. Do we leave them alone, or do we help them develop organized communities with all the necessities? This million of Jews will either be drawn in - if there is an interesting, functioning group of cultural, social, religious and educational foci to attract them; or they will drift away after a time and lose their sense of uniqueness as quickly as they gained it. There is no doubt as to what our response must be. It may take a quarter century, but it is a miraculous opportunity to strengthen the global Jewish peoplehood. If 2000 communities were destroyed in the Shoah, perhaps we can build 200 new ones in the former Soviet Union which never existed before. It will be one of the glories of your generation, a piece of your golden age if you take this on and succeed.

C. Assist French Jewry, nearly three-quarters of a million, the fourth largest in the world, to turn itself into a modern, organized, Jewish community, pro-Israel and linked to the rest of the Jewish world. French Jewry is layered. Its cross section would show an ancient element, hundred of years in

residence, thoroughly cross-pollinated with Catholic spouses. By now this group is not large in number, but still very large in influence. Many of the older and most prestigious institutions, such as the Consistoire, are still dominated by this ancien regime. The second layer consists of East European Jews who migrated to France between the two world wars in this 20th century, bringing with them a strong tradition and a Zionist orientation. They are to be found today in the ranks of the Israel-oriented organizations. The third layer is Northern African, largely Moroccan and Algerian Jews, who arrived in France in the late 1950's and 60's. They are still adjusting, many still struggling toward financial security. Some of their leaders are working toward a relationship with the earlier layer of Ashkenazim, and a very few are even challenging the Rothschilds for top leadership positions.

I am not certain that the methods, protocols and forms of organization which the American Jewish community has developed in the past century are the very best that the human mind could create, but I am sure that the French community could advance in many areas through an exchange of information with us. American Jewish communal leadership knows almost nothing about French Jewry. Study missions do not often go there - the French do not come here to learn our experience. Aside from the JDC, which has worked productively in France for a half-century, some few American organizations maintain skeleton staffs which report back

to New York, but do not influence the character of or stimulate the growth of French communal life.

Without being officious or paternalistic we have much to offer and should take the initiative, in the most tactful way, of developing a master plan, together with their leaders, for defining the areas in which we can be helpful.

It is mandatory that French Jewry, in this coming century, move expeditiously toward a much higher level of activity regarding education for its children, social services for its adults, and fund-raising for Israel. All this represents a heightened sense of Jewish identity and pride. If we help them now, perhaps they will be able to avoid the frightening intermarriage rates that plague us.

II. NATIONHOOD

Support of Israel in every imaginable form, has been one of the laudable achievements of the American Jewish community, or at least that 25% who really care and work at it. The support has welled-up from a deeply-felt love of the land and has requested nothing in return. The basic fact is that Israel, through its extraordinary performance in providing homes for millions of immigrants, while defending itself in six wars, achieving self-sufficiency in food and starting an amazing high-tech

potentiality, has provided a huge measure of pride to every Jew in the world. There could be no greater return than this.

And so, as we anticipate the celebration of Israel's jubilee, just two years before this century ends - we look forward naturally to the 21st century and try to anticipate the major tasks on her behalf. Everyone of us, since our actions have proven us to be among the most caring of the new carers, could probably make up the same list. Since that is so, there is no need for detailed description - just a listing, not necessarily in order of importance.

1. Helping the present and future absorption of the Russians into Israel, which may well take a decade. This will depend on an Israeli Government decision as to priorities. Right now it appears that expanding the settlements in the West Bank is #1 and creating jobs for the Russians is #2. If the Israel government fails in the absorption task, thus deterring further immigration from the ex-Soviet Union, history will charge it with criminal liability.

2. Develop a free-market economy, through encouraging investments which will create jobs. This will cause a steady rise in the GNP and GDP, which in turn raises the standard of living.

3. Encourage the government to hasten privatization. Selling the huge assets it possesses will provide a large cash infusion, plus continuous, additional tax revenue. More importantly, such a move will swing the economy toward a capitalistic free market, which will unleash the forces needed for real growth.

4. Find ways to dissociate religion from politics; emphasize the necessity for religious pluralism, otherwise the heavy-handed monopoly of right-wing Orthodoxy will continue to alienate the majority of Israelis and Diaspora Jews alike; and most importantly, try to establish religion as an ethical force in society, just as the Biblical prophets pleaded millennia ago. Some will say that this whole subject is an internal Israeli matter, but as we saw in December 1988, when the "Who is a Jew" matter was coming to a critical point of decision, every plane to Israel was loaded with Jews from the Diaspora coming to explain that this was not an internal Israeli matter. A definition was being forced which was perceived as affecting millions of Jews outside. And the outcry was so severe that the Israeli prime minister backed off from written promises he had made to the super-Orthodox parties. We should work hard, for Israel's benefit, to defuse this whole issue. Judaism is the religion of the entire Jewish people, and we should work on the problem before other crises blow up, as they surely will.

5. Reform the Electoral System

You all have read and heard enough about this. The clear fact is that coalition bargaining in order to form a governmental majority places unfair power in the hands of small parties. Paralysis is the result. A new election is called. The result of the next election in about 90 days will possibly be very close to the last one - the two large parties winning somewhere between 35 -40 seats each, and the remaining 40 divided up among a dozen small parties. Then the ugly pursuit begins all over again - excessive demands of cabinet seats plus money for favorite programs being made by parties which have only 2 or 3 parliamentary seats. But the prime minister desperately needs every vote, so he pays an extraordinary price, which is immediately raised by the next fellow with a few seats to sell. And on it goes. The separation of religion from politics will never occur until the electoral process is altered.

There are many proposals for reform. Let me not go into them. The basic principle I wish to put before you is that this is a task in which we have an interest, and we should devise a process by which our input is made known.

6. Making the Country more Attractive

There are two separate constituencies with a stake in making the country more attractive, and two very different definitions of the word "attractive."

One definition refers to the physical environment, and the other refers to the social environment, which includes the political and economic systems.

One constituency is the Israeli people, going on 5 million now, and possibly reaching six million by the end of the first decade of the next century. Regarding the physical environment, more and more Israeli citizens can be heard talking about the dirt, debris, garbage which blows across empty lots, piles up against fences, clutters the side of roads and is found in courtyards and entrance ways of almost every bloc of buildings. The country simply is not clean.

The disregard of cleanliness is probably linked to the lack of politeness, which is probably a factor in the fantastic rate of driving accidents, etc., etc. The core of unconcern, the lack of reaction to what they see all around them, leads to a curt rejoinder - "It's not my problem" or "let the municipality fix it," or "if you're so concerned, why don't you clean it up." If wars recede, and if I were the Minister of Defense, I would turn the army into the major weapon through which to teach citizen responsibility. Three years in the life of an impressionable, young adult should be enough time to inculcate a sense of responsibility toward civic cleanliness, personal politeness and safe driving.

The other constituency is Diaspora Jewry - for they are the challenge of the 21st century. The emerging migrations are almost finished, barring some unexpected danger to Jews in some isolated zone, which would be handled quickly as Israel has always done. Now is the time to look ahead to the mass of Jews in the free west and they must be attracted to come. For them, a more orderly Israel would indeed be more conducive.

No one is dissatisfied with Israeli political democracy - it is marvelous in so many respects: free speech, assembly and press -even in time of frequent war; a functioning court system, with immediate access to the Supreme Court itself, without going through a labyrinth of lower courts; a social welfare system for the weak, handicapped, unemployed. Almost the entire second and third worlds don't come close even in their dreams to the freedom and security which every Israeli takes for granted.

But here, with this potential pool of olim, the second definition of "attractive" is more critical. The economy must be decentralized; free competition must provide annual growth sufficient to handle the increase of population; parliamentarians must be responsible to the district which elects them; the government must avoid any system which might lead to its paralysis; and there must be civil marriage and divorce.

The dissatisfactions of the potential western oleh are voiced in regard to the items named above. But these are so fundamental as to be actual deterrents. And when there are additional minor irritations, such as a surly bureaucracy, working in crowded rooms; plus the language problem; plus frustrations with minor household repairs; plus, plus, plus - then the average American Jew who really loves Israel, enjoys visiting there, may even have relatives there (and the numbers who qualify in this category are scores of thousands - so it is a worthwhile pool to pursue) doesn't consider Aliyah as an actual reasonable possibility - but says, somewhat dreamily, the he will consider it after the kids are out of college, married and he and his wife might then think of retiring there. Of course, he probably won't and they wind up in Florida, Arizona or California.

The ideals of the Zionism I learned in my early teens, 60 years ago, were constructed on one simple foundation - that the Jewish people must build a nation in a country where all would be equal and would equally enjoy the necessities and luxuries of life, and which would also be a model of a just society that all mankind could emulate. These were my expectations right up the moment the State of Israel was born. And at the beginning, with the absorption of the first millions of needy immigrants, it seemed these expectations were being sensitively achieved. Today, things are different. We are disappointed. Political

considerations prevail above all else: west bank settlement takes precedence over Russian immigrant absorption; coalition deal-making, especially with the right-wing religious parties, takes precedence over breaking the religion-state nexus; governmental indecisiveness thwarts economic growth.

To make Israel more attractive economically, politically and socially should be one of the major objectives of our American Jewish community in the next quarter century - and the fact is that Israel herself will probably do most of the hard work toward that objective. We might only have to help with the cosmetics.

III. RELIGION

As a result of the Enlightenment and Emancipation which began two centuries ago, the two millennial grip which Judaism held on the Jewish people was lessened. During the 19th century, rapid changes especially in the natural sciences, created intellectual turmoil, social confusion and an unaccustomed permissiveness, as Jews reached out to the cultures and opportunities now opening to them. New organizational forms of the ancient religion resulted. The modern denominations of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative, in that order, were born. Other turbulent forces included the new scientific research into Judaism, the new Zionist movement and the huge waves of migrations to America which depleted the Central and Eastern

European heartland. All these convulsive changes altered previous mind-sets and patterns of ritual practice and synagogue attendance. In the hectic pursuit of a new, free life, with its thrust toward material advancement old habits of religious observance suffered. Within two generations, the hold of the Jewish religion on a great portion of the Jewish people weakened.

Then came the 20th century with its two catastrophic World Wars and the utterly inconceivable Shoah. This shook the faith of many in a God who could allow the slaughter of even more millions of human beings than He drowned in the Biblical flood. The thought began to grow that if mankind was evil, so might God also be evil - or dead - or never existent in the first place - or not all-powerful. A limited God became the most credible theological possibility, if one wished to avoid the ultimate rejection of atheism.

Thus - with weakened observance and diminished belief in God's power and presence - modern Jews have diminished their relationship to their religion. Synagogue membership remains high, for a variety of reasons, but is largely a dues-paying membership not a vigorously active one. There is a danger here. For religion was always one of the defining factors of our existence as a people. And if religion disappears from the daily life of Jews, the continuity of the peoplehood may be jeopardized. Instead of being allowed to wither and fossilize,

religion must be revitalized, reinvigorated as a factor and force in our communal existence.

This represents a tremendous challenge. Your generation will have to do it. Take part in the governance of the rabbinical seminaries: influence the selection of candidates for the rabbinate; help shape the curriculum so that the rabbis will better understand the laymen and the total communal structure. Take a creative role in changing the synagogue, so that it becomes an educational center instead of merely a praying and preaching place. This goal is not easy to accomplish, but its difficulty should not deter you from accepting the challenge. If you do not take part in this metamorphosis, I do not know who will.

And so we come to the end of this huge agenda regarding peoplehood, nationhood and religion which I have placed before you. It is so seminal, so determinative of the future of our faith and fellowship, so absolutely crucial, that you have the right to cry out and ask why I place such a burden upon you. The answer is quite simple. You were, are and will always remain a specially chosen group of men and women who accepted the proud designation of leadership. Such a title connotes obligations. You were selected to assume the highest order of duty and service and performance on behalf of your people, nation and faith. You

started out as young leaders, are now older, and will never escape from that role of responsibility.

I understand well that there are peaks and troughs in your ability to serve, your enthusiasm, your understanding of the complex issues at stake. And I understand that as the years roll on, there is bound to be some flagging, some lessening of tension, some boredom in the ranks even of leaders. But when all the challenges coalesce into one defining moment of history which is a clear crossroads toward success or failure, then all excuses must be put aside, and once again the fire bell clangs and the firepersons must respond.

This is such a moment. The future shape of Israel hangs in the balance - she either becomes a model of the great and glorious society which the Biblical prophets envisioned, or she becomes just another small state offering no particular inspiration for its own citizens or mankind. The future of millions of Russian Jews is at stake - they either are redeemed and successfully absorbed into the body politic of the renewed Jewish people, which rescues them personally and strengthens our whole people immeasurably, or they will drift back into the anonymous mass of the ex-Soviet republics and may be lost forever. And the future of our religion is at stake - it either assumes its place once again as a source of inspiration toward the making of a better world, or it withers away into the discard

and we Jews are left without a vision to guide us and an engine to drive us.

Create new instruments to deal with these goals. You will need several task forces to study the basic problems and determine courses of action:

1. A task force to create a superior parochial high school in your town.
2. A task force to create creative teen-age and young adult programs in your town.
3. A task force to create an inspiring center for Jewish life on the college campus in your town. Bnai Brith Hillel is bankrupt and defunct. They can't do it. Build a structure based on your local strength.

These three youth-oriented programs are part of the bulwark against the rampant raging force of intermarriage, which is overwhelming us.

Also:

4. A task force to re-invigorate and re-orient the synagogue as a source of adult education, for Jews by

birth and Jews by conversion, in which area we must work much more vigorously.

5. A task force on creating a communal infrastructure for ex-Soviet Jews who will remain in the Commonwealth of Independent States.
6. A task force on strengthening French Jewry, which is terra incognita, since we know very little about it, and it is the fourth largest member of our family.
7. Lastly, and most precious of all, a task force on how to impact the future of Israel, that precious vessel.

You must respond to the fire bell. And I know you can, because you have before, at previous crucial moments of war and great migrations and vast dangers. You know how to lead, to inspire others, to work with ingenuity and sweat and tirelessness. Once again, assume the harness, place the yoke upon your shoulders, report for duty. Challenge your elders, make revolutions, take over the authority. So long as these goals I lay before you are the worthy causes to which you pledge your lives, your honor and your fortune, they transcend all bureaucratic obstacles, they validate your impatience, they justify any revolution you wish to make in order to advance toward their fulfillment.

I have always believed in your capability to make history, since the day I created this movement - a third of a century ago, and I continue to believe that you will always rise and respond when you feel the invisible tug of history pulling at your conscience. To arms - ladies and gentlemen - the future is in your hands. God bless you all forever and ever.



WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

NEW MEMBER INSTITUTE
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Leesburg, Virginia

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MAJOR GOALS FOR THE CENTURY AHEAD

by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

**AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES**

Dear friends, colleagues, guests,

I come to you today, with a call to arms, to put before you what I conceive to be the major goals for the century ahead, knowing that you have the necessary time left in your lives to take giant steps toward the achievement of these goals.

Most of you, the students in this program, are third generation born in this country, and many are even fourth generation. You have the double blessing and advantage of a secure rootedness in your American identity, plus the strength of your Jewish identity created through exposure to Israel, the Holocaust, your education in Judaism, and your work in the community. Your grandparents struggled through their immigrant experience here, speaking and thinking with the accents of Eastern Europe, while modernizing their religious habits, and

gradually lessening their fears of the Gentile. Your parents, breathing a bit easier, could look beyond their immediate personal needs, and build the institutions of a Jewish polity - the synagogues, centers, federations and all others, while pouring major support into the Zionist state, which was their emotional response to the monstrous genocide in Europe.

Now your turn has come, and you are the first generation truly capable of peering into the century ahead, with no overburdening challenges from the past, no psychological insecurities, no fear of your minority status in this country, no crushing unfinished agenda. You are the sons and daughters of a proud heritage, with 3 1/2 centuries of unbroken existence on this continent and 3 1/2 millennia of continuity before that. Your mission to improve the world for the benefit of all humanity must always include the improvement of your own people as well.

Here are the major tasks of the century ahead, as I see them, gathered under three rubrics of peoplehood, nationhood and religion.

I. PEOPLEHOOD

A. Reverse the course of the headlong rush toward self-destruction among American Jewry, and to a lesser extent also, among other Jewries in the western world. The very

permissiveness of the freedom we so cherish in the U.S., compounded by indifference toward Judaism and assimilation into the majority secular culture, both of which tendencies stem from almost total ignorance of the history, literature, language, philosophy and religion of the Jewish people, have resulted in a sky-rocketing rate of intermarriage that is moving with the speed of locusts sweeping across a field and destroying everything in their path.

Have you heard of any remedies? Parents submit, sometimes heavy-heartedly, but no longer sit shiva, as though their child had died. Other parents even go so far as to put pressure on the rabbi to perform the intermarriage ceremony because they want at least that touch of Jewish authenticity, and most rabbis, including Reform don't want to do it. Still other parents demand that their rabbi co-officiate with a Christian clergyman. And all of this is accompanied by the plea that the Jewish partner be not further driven away as a result of rabbinical rejection. It is a terrifying dilemma for most rabbis.

The only remedial suggestion for adults who do intermarry is for the Jewish community to develop a clear policy regarding conversion, including that of new-born children. A vigorous outreach policy must be practiced in synagogues and all other communal institutions, welcoming the converts and their children. Synagogue membership must be graciously offered to converts, or

even to non-converted spouses who themselves do not wish to offend their original families by an act of conversion, but who are perfectly willing to have their children brought up and educated as Jews. Converts should be counted as full members of a minyan, called to the Torah for aliyot, bless the candles from the pulpit on a Friday evening.

All the above refers to adults who have taken the plunge, and intermarried. Preventive work must begin much earlier, when Jewish children are in their teens, in high school and most particularly during the college years. Great skill and ingenuity must be invested in Bar and Bat mitzvah classes, confirmation classes, summer camps and youth groups to explain the value of preserving the Jewish heritage and not destroying it by reckless behavior. We inoculate our children with various serums to protect them against deadly diseases. A run-away epidemic of intermarriage is a deadly disease.

The college campus is a desert barren of widespread or significant Jewish influence. With the exception of the work being done by a small number of charismatic rabbis (and even these are seriously under-funded) there is almost no programming widely attracting the almost half million Jewish college youth presently enrolled on American campuses. How shocking! The B'nai B'rith Hillel system exists in name, but that's about all. The once-powerful organization has increased in age and decreased

in virility. A new Hillel organization is sprouting. It needs volunteer leaders. The UJA and the organized Jewish Federations of America must nourish and fertilize the campuses of America. The CJF is now planning to address the problem. There is no domestic program more important. A radical approach is necessary. All of you must get involved in it.

Student activists themselves have been crying for attention for almost 25 years. As far back as 1969 at the General Assembly of the CJF in Boston, student leaders sought a hearing for their message that they were being neglected and warned that their abandonment by the establishment would result in dire consequences. Their prophecy was correct, for one of the factors leading to the tidal wave of intermarriage today has been the lack of a large-scale effort to create a strong sense of Jewish identity and loyalty among that most impressionable age group revolving through the campuses of America.

In 1989, at the GA in Cincinnati, twenty years later, the student leaders were still demanding the right to address the plenary session. It was granted. Their spokesman pleaded eloquently for financial and moral support. His battle-cry was "Let our people go...to Israel on student programs", and he announced the formation of the Student Struggle for North American Jewry, to fight assimilation on the campus. Theirs was

a take-off on the Student struggle for soviet Jewry, which was so effective.

What has been the result of all this knocking on the doors of the adult community? In the words of Josef Abramowitz, the now aging student leader, "We felt we had scored a major victory. Yet looking back on it, what did Jewish students really gain besides a platform for ten minutes? communal leaders didn't change the order of allocations; they didn't invite us to sit on their boards."

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The Baltimore Jewish Times, a fine weekly newspaper, reporting on the GA held in Baltimore a few months ago, ended its article quoting Abramowitz: "The words are as applicable today as they were in Boston in 1969. The difference is that in Baltimore in 1991 there are fewer of us left to repeat them. And next year there will be even fewer."

And you, in this audience, exactly the parents most involved, both for the future of your children and the entire Jewish population, must interject your concern in a powerful manner to the federation hierarchy in your town.

Forget about the argument, sometimes offered, that even where there is a Hillel House, most kids don't go there. Creative programming will reach widely. Don't think

conventionally. Invent new ways to get their attention. This college age population is close to marriage. This is exactly the right time to give deep thought and innovation to the whole question of investing serious money and organization in the struggle against assimilation among the college population. The abandonment of Jewish students must cease.

Working backward, from adults to young adult college students, to teenagers, we come down to the elementary school and here there is no need to elaborate. All the research shows that a parochial school education provides the first and most effective foundation for a strong Jewish identity. In addition, a knowledge base is built into the child's memory which lasts well up into young adulthood. There is simply no comparison between a Day School education and a 1, 2, or 3-day supplementary few hours, both as to content and mood.

There are two arguments often given by parents against sending their children to day school, even after admitting that a much stronger Jewish consciousness will be developed: one is the expense (several thousand dollars per year, per child - and what if you have three kids?) and the second is the mediocre quality of many Day Schools. These arguments are valid and must be countered by equally valid solutions. Firstly, Day School tuition must be completely free for those who cannot afford it, and minimal (a few hundred dollars per family) for everyone else.

The community must fund its school system - and this takes serious attention to careful planning and new ideas. And secondly, the Jewish Day Schools in your towns must be as good as the best Country Day School, whether private or church-based. That should be your model - a lovely grassy campus, plenty of athletic fields, highest level of secular studies so the graduates can gain admission to the finest universities in the land, and full integration of the Jewish and secular subjects (French at 8 a.m., Hebrew at 9, Math at 10, Bible at 11, etc.). This school must include pre-K to 12, carefully divided into lower, middle and upper divisions.

All the above dealt with reversing the course of assimilation in the United States. Additional thoughts about peoplehood take us abroad.

B. Provide an infrastructure for the Jews who will remain in the former Soviet Republics, whose sense of Jewish consciousness was awakened in 1967, whose activists started a flood of emigration, a half-million of whom have already left, from 1971 till today, mainly for Israel, and some to the U.S., with more than that number still to come, but whose residual population in the ex-Soviet Union will be sizable. This population is now alert to its Jewish identity. Do we leave them alone, or do we help them develop organized communities with all the necessities? This multitude of Jews will either be drawn in

to a Jewish life - if there is an interesting, functioning group of cultural, social, religious and educational foci to attract them; or they will drift away after a time and lose their sense of uniqueness as quickly as they gained it. There is no doubt as to what our response must be. It may take a quarter century, but it is a miraculous opportunity to strengthen the global Jewish peoplehood. If 2000 communities were destroyed in the Shoah, perhaps we can build 200 new ones in the former Soviet Union which never existed before. It will be one of the glories of your generation, a piece of the American Golden Age if you take this on and succeed.

C. Assist French Jewry, nearly three-quarters of a million, the fourth largest in the world, to turn itself into a modern, organized, Jewish community, pro-Israel and linked to the rest of the Jewish world. French Jewry is layered. Its cross section would show an ancient element, hundred of years in residence, thoroughly cross-pollinated with Catholic spouses. By now this group is not large in number, but still very large in influence. Many of the older and most prestigious institutions, such as the Consistoire, are still dominated by this ancien regime. The second layer consists of East European Jews who migrated to France between the two world wars in this 20th century, bringing with them a strong tradition and a Zionist orientation. They are to be found today in the ranks of the Israel-oriented organizations. The third layer is Northern

African, largely Moroccan and Algerian Jews, who arrived in France in the late 1950's and 60's. They are still adjusting, many still struggling toward financial security. Some of their leaders are working toward a relationship with the earlier layer of Ashkenazim, and a very few are even challenging the Rothschilds for top leadership positions.

American Jewish communal leadership knows almost nothing about French Jewry. Study missions do not often go there - the French do not come here to learn our experience. Aside from the JDC, which has worked productively in France for a half-century, some few American organizations maintain skeleton staffs which report back to New York, but do not influence the character of or stimulate the growth of French communal life.

Without being officious or paternalistic the American Jewish polity has much to offer and should take the initiative, in the most tactful way, of developing a master plan, together with French leaders, for defining the areas in which we can be helpful.

II. NATIONHOOD

Support of Israel in every imaginable form, has been one of the laudable achievements of the American Jewish community, or at

least the 25% who really care and work at it. The support has welled-up from a deeply-felt love of the land and has requested nothing in return. The basic fact is that Israel, through its extraordinary performance in providing homes for millions of immigrants, while defending itself in six wars, achieving self-sufficiency in food and starting an amazing high-tech industrial potentiality, has provided a huge measure of pride to every Jew in the world. There could be no greater return than this.

Here are some things which the new government will address, in which we can assist:

1. Concentrate on the present and future absorption of the Russians into Israel, which may well take a decade. If the Israel government and we fail in the absorption task, thus deterring further immigration from the ex-Soviet Union, history will charge it and us with criminal liability.
2. Develop a free-market economy, through encouraging investments which will create jobs. This will cause a steady rise in the GNP and GDP, which in turn will raise the standard of living.
3. Encourage the government to hasten privatization. Selling the huge assets it possesses will provide a large cash infusion, plus continuous, additional tax revenue. More importantly, such

a move will swing the economy toward a capitalistic free market, which will unleash the forces needed for real growth.

4. Find ways to dissociate religion from politics; emphasize the necessity for religious pluralism, otherwise the heavy-handed monopoly of right-wing Orthodoxy will continue to alienate the majority of Israelis and Diaspora Jews alike; and most importantly, try to establish religion as an ethical force in society, just as the Biblical prophets pleaded millennia ago.

5. Reform the Electoral System

There are many proposals for reform. Let me not go into the details. The basic principle I wish to put before you is that making the government more responsive to the will of the people is a task in which we have an interest, and we should devise a process by which our input is made known.

6. Making the Country more Attractive

Diaspora Jewry - is the challenge of the 21st century. Now is the time to look ahead to the mass of Jews in the free west and they must be attracted to come. They will not be pushed to Israel by troubles in their home countries. They will be pulled to Israel if the conditions are right.

No one is dissatisfied with Israeli political democracy - it is marvelous in so many respects: free speech, assembly and press

-even in time of frequent war; a functioning court system, with immediate access to the Supreme Court itself, without going through a labyrinth of lower courts; a social welfare system for the weak, handicapped, unemployed. The countries of the second and third worlds don't come close even in their dreams to the freedom and social security which every Israeli takes for granted.

But for the potential pool of western olim, additional factors go into the definition of "attractive": the economy must be decentralized; free competition must provide annual growth sufficient to handle the increase of population; parliamentarians must be responsible to the district which elects them; the government must reform those systems which have led to its paralysis; and there must be civil marriage and divorce.

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III. RELIGION

As a result of the Enlightenment and Emancipation which

began two centuries ago, the two millennial grip which Judaism held on the Jewish people has lessened. During the 19th century, rapid changes especially in the natural sciences, created intellectual turmoil, social confusion and an unaccustomed permissiveness, as Jews reached out to the cultures and opportunities now opening to them. New organizational forms of the ancient religion resulted. The modern denominations of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative, in that order, were born. Other turbulent forces included the new scientific research into Judaism, the new Zionist movement and the huge waves of migrations to America which depleted the Central and Eastern European heartland. All these convulsive changes altered previous mind-sets and patterns of ritual practice and synagogue attendance. In the hectic pursuit of a new, free life, with its thrust toward material advancement old habits of religious observance suffered. Within two generations, the hold of the Jewish religion on a great portion of the Jewish people weakened.

Then came the 20th century with its two catastrophic World Wars and the utterly inconceivable Shoah. This shook the faith of many who felt that God today had permitted the slaughter of even more millions of human beings than that God had drowned in the Biblical flood. The thought began to grow that if mankind was evil, so might God also be evil - or dead - or never existent in the first place - or not all-powerful. A limited God became a most credible modern theological possibility, if one wished to

avoid the ultimate rejection called atheism.

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This represents a tremendous challenge. Your generation will have to do it. Take part in the governance of the rabbinical seminaries: influence the selection of candidates for the rabbinate as the Wexner Foundation is doing; help shape the curriculum so that the rabbis will better understand the laymen and the total communal structure. Take a creative role in changing the synagogue, so that it becomes an educational center instead of merely a praying and preaching place. This goal is not easy to accomplish, but its difficulty should not deter you from accepting the challenge. If you do not take part in this metamorphosis, I do not know who will.

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on C DRIVE

C: July 23

also on Speecher # 2

A: July 23

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gradually lessening their fears of the Gentile. Your parents, breathing a bit easier, could look beyond their immediate personal needs, and build the institutions of a Jewish polity - the synagogues, centers, federations and all others, while pouring major support into the Zionist state, which was their emotional response to the monstrous genocide in Europe.

Now your turn has come, and you are the first generation truly capable of peering into the century ahead, with no overburdening challenges from the past, no psychological insecurities, no fear of your minority status in this country, no crushing unfinished agenda. You are the sons and daughters of a proud heritage, with 3 1/2 centuries of unbroken existence on this continent and 3 1/2 millennia of continuity before that. Your mission to improve the world for the benefit of all humanity must always include the improvement of your own people as well.

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I. PEOPLEHOOD

A. Reverse the course of the headlong rush toward self-destruction among American Jewry, and to a lesser extent also, among other Jewries in the western world. The very

permissiveness of the freedom we so cherish in the U.S., compounded by indifference toward Judaism and assimilation into the majority secular culture, both of which tendencies stem from almost total ignorance of the history, literature, language, philosophy and religion of the Jewish people, have resulted in a sky-rocketing rate of intermarriage that is moving with the speed of locusts sweeping across a field and destroying everything in their path.

Have you heard of any remedies? Parents submit, sometimes heavy-heartedly, but no longer sit shiva, as though their child had died. Other parents even go so far as to put pressure on the rabbi to perform the intermarriage ceremony because they want at least that touch of Jewish authenticity, and most rabbis, including Reform don't want to do it. Still other parents demand that their rabbi co-officiate with a Christian clergyman. And all of this is accompanied by the plea that the Jewish partner be not further driven away as a result of rabbinical rejection. It is a terrifying dilemma for most rabbis.

The only remedial suggestion for adults who do intermarry is for the Jewish community to develop a clear policy regarding conversion, including that of new-born children. A vigorous outreach policy must be practiced in synagogues and all other communal institutions, welcoming the converts and their children. Synagogue membership must be graciously offered to converts, or

even to non-converted spouses who themselves do not wish to offend their original families by an act of conversion, but who are perfectly willing to have their children brought up and educated as Jews. Converts should be counted as full members of a minyan, called to the Torah for aliyot, bless the candles from the pulpit on a Friday evening.

All the above refers to adults who have taken the plunge, and intermarried. Preventive work must begin much earlier, when Jewish children are in their teens, in high school and most particularly during the college years. Great skill and ingenuity must be invested in Bar and Bat mitzvah classes, confirmation classes, summer camps and youth groups to explain the value of preserving the Jewish heritage and not destroying it by reckless behavior. We inoculate our children with various serums to protect them against deadly diseases. A run-away epidemic of intermarriage is a deadly disease.

The college campus is a desert barren of widespread or significant Jewish influence. With the exception of the work being done by a small number of charismatic rabbis (and even these are seriously under-funded) there is almost no programming widely attracting the almost half million Jewish college youth presently enrolled on American campuses. How shocking! The B'nai B'rith Hillel system exists in name, but that's about all. The once-powerful organization has increased in age and decreased

in virility. A new Hillel organization is sprouting. It needs volunteer leaders. The UJA and the organized Jewish Federations of America must nourish and fertilize the campuses of America. The CJF is now planning to address the problem. There is no domestic program more important. A radical approach is necessary. All of you must get involved in it.

Student activists themselves have been crying for attention for almost 25 years. As far back as 1969 at the General Assembly of the CJF in Boston, student leaders sought a hearing for their message that they were being neglected and warned that their abandonment by the establishment would result in dire consequences. Their prophecy was correct, for one of the factors leading to the tidal wave of intermarriage today has been the lack of a large-scale effort to create a strong sense of Jewish identity and loyalty among that most impressionable age group revolving through the campuses of America.

In 1989, at the GA in Cincinnati, twenty years later, the student leaders were still demanding the right to address the plenary session. It was granted. Their spokesman pleaded eloquently for financial and moral support. His battle-cry was "Let our people go...to Israel on student programs", and he announced the formation of the Student Struggle for North American Jewry, to fight assimilation on the campus. Theirs was

a take-off on the Student struggle for soviet Jewry, which was so effective.

What has been the result of all this knocking on the doors of the adult community? In the words of Josef Abramowitz, the now aging student leader, "We felt we had scored a major victory. Yet looking back on it, what did Jewish students really gain besides a platform for ten minutes? communal leaders didn't change the order of allocations; they didn't invite us to sit on their boards."

The Baltimore Jewish Times, a fine weekly newspaper, reporting on the GA held in Baltimore a few months ago, ended its article quoting Abramowitz: "The words are as applicable today as they were in Boston in 1969. The difference is that in Baltimore in 1991 there are fewer of us left to repeat them. And next year there will be even fewer."

And you, in this audience, exactly the parents most involved, both for the future of your children and the entire Jewish population, must interject your concern in a powerful manner to the federation hierarchy in your town.

Forget about the argument, sometimes offered, that even where there is a Hillel House, most kids don't go there. Creative programming will reach widely. Don't think

conventionally. Invent new ways to get their attention. This college age population is close to marriage. This is exactly the right time to give deep thought and innovation to the whole question of investing serious money and organization in the struggle against assimilation among the college population. The abandonment of Jewish students must cease.

Working backward, from adults to young adult college students, to teenagers, we come down to the elementary school and here there is no need to elaborate. All the research shows that a parochial school education provides the first and most effective foundation for a strong Jewish identity. In addition, a knowledge base is built into the child's memory which lasts well up into young adulthood. There is simply no comparison between a Day School education and a 1, 2, or 3-day supplementary few hours, both as to content and mood.

There are two arguments often given by parents against sending their children to day school, even after admitting that a much stronger Jewish consciousness will be developed: one is the expense (several thousand dollars per year, per child - and what if you have three kids?) and the second is the mediocre quality of many Day Schools. These arguments are valid and must be countered by equally valid solutions. Firstly, Day School tuition must be completely free for those who cannot afford it, and minimal (a few hundred dollars per family) for everyone else.

The community must fund its school system - and this takes serious attention to careful planning and new ideas. And secondly, the Jewish Day Schools in your towns must be as good as the best Country Day School, whether private or church-based. That should be your model - a lovely grassy campus, plenty of athletic fields, highest level of secular studies so the graduates can gain admission to the finest universities in the land, and full integration of the Jewish and secular subjects (French at 8 a.m., Hebrew at 9, Math at 10, Bible at 11, etc.). This school must include pre-K to 12, carefully divided into lower, middle and upper divisions.

All the above dealt with reversing the course of assimilation in the United States. Additional thoughts about peoplehood take us abroad.

B. Provide an infrastructure for the Jews who will remain in the former Soviet Republics, whose sense of Jewish consciousness was awakened in 1967, whose activists started a flood of emigration, a half-million of whom have already left, from 1971 till today, mainly for Israel, and some to the U.S., with more than that number still to come, but whose residual population in the ex-Soviet Union will be sizable. This population is now alert to its Jewish identity. Do we leave them alone, or do we help them develop organized communities with all the necessities? This multitude of Jews will either be drawn in

to a Jewish life - if there is an interesting, functioning group of cultural, social, religious and educational foci to attract them; or they will drift away after a time and lose their sense of uniqueness as quickly as they gained it. There is no doubt as to what our response must be. It may take a quarter century, but it is a miraculous opportunity to strengthen the global Jewish peoplehood. If 2000 communities were destroyed in the Shoah, perhaps we can build 200 new ones in the former Soviet Union which never existed before. It will be one of the glories of your generation, a piece of the American Golden Age if you take this on and succeed.

C. Assist French Jewry, nearly three-quarters of a million, the fourth largest in the world, to turn itself into a modern, organized, Jewish community, pro-Israel and linked to the rest of the Jewish world. French Jewry is layered. Its cross section would show an ancient element, hundred of years in residence, thoroughly cross-pollinated with Catholic spouses. By now this group is not large in number, but still very large in influence. Many of the older and most prestigious institutions, such as the Consistoire, are still dominated by this ancien regime. The second layer consists of East European Jews who migrated to France between the two world wars in this 20th century, bringing with them a strong tradition and a Zionist orientation. They are to be found today in the ranks of the Israel-oriented organizations. The third layer is Northern

African, largely Moroccan and Algerian Jews, who arrived in France in the late 1950's and 60's. They are still adjusting, many still struggling toward financial security. Some of their leaders are working toward a relationship with the earlier layer of Ashkenazim, and a very few are even challenging the Rothschilds for top leadership positions.

American Jewish communal leadership knows almost nothing about French Jewry. Study missions do not often go there - the French do not come here to learn our experience. Aside from the JDC, which has worked productively in France for a half-century, some few American organizations maintain skeleton staffs which report back to New York, but do not influence the character of or stimulate the growth of French communal life.

Without being officious or paternalistic the American Jewish polity has much to offer and should take the initiative, in the most tactful way, of developing a master plan, together with French leaders, for defining the areas in which we can be helpful.

II. NATIONHOOD

Support of Israel in every imaginable form, has been one of the laudable achievements of the American Jewish community, or at

least the 25% who really care and work at it. The support has welled-up from a deeply-felt love of the land and has requested nothing in return. The basic fact is that Israel, through its extraordinary performance in providing homes for millions of immigrants, while defending itself in six wars, achieving self-sufficiency in food and starting an amazing high-tech industrial potentiality, has provided a huge measure of pride to every Jew in the world. There could be no greater return than this.

Here are some things which the new government will address, in which we can assist:

1. Concentrate on the present and future absorption of the Russians into Israel, which may well take a decade. If the Israel government and we fail in the absorption task, thus deterring further immigration from the ex-Soviet Union, history will charge it and us with criminal liability.
2. Develop a free-market economy, through encouraging investments which will create jobs. This will cause a steady rise in the GNP and GDP, which in turn will raise the standard of living.
3. Encourage the government to hasten privatization. Selling the huge assets it possesses will provide a large cash infusion, plus continuous, additional tax revenue. More importantly, such

a move will swing the economy toward a capitalistic free market, which will unleash the forces needed for real growth.

4. Find ways to dissociate religion from politics; emphasize the necessity for religious pluralism, otherwise the heavy-handed monopoly of right-wing Orthodoxy will continue to alienate the majority of Israelis and Diaspora Jews alike; and most importantly, try to establish religion as an ethical force in society, just as the Biblical prophets pleaded millennia ago.

5. Reform the Electoral System

There are many proposals for reform. Let me not go into the details. The basic principle I wish to put before you is that making the government more responsive to the will of the people is a task in which we have an interest, and we should devise a process by which our input is made known.

6. Making the Country more Attractive

Diaspora Jewry - is the challenge of the 21st century. Now is the time to look ahead to the mass of Jews in the free west and they must be attracted to come. They will not be pushed to Israel by troubles in their home countries. They will be pulled to Israel if the conditions are right.

No one is dissatisfied with Israeli political democracy - it is marvelous in so many respects: free speech, assembly and press

-even in time of frequent war; a functioning court system, with immediate access to the Supreme Court itself, without going through a labyrinth of lower courts; a social welfare system for the weak, handicapped, unemployed. The countries of the second and third worlds don't come close even in their dreams to the freedom and social security which every Israeli takes for granted.

But for the potential pool of western olim, additional factors go into the definition of "attractive": the economy must be decentralized; free competition must provide annual growth sufficient to handle the increase of population; parliamentarians must be responsible to the district which elects them; the government must reform those systems which have led to its paralysis; and there must be civil marriage and divorce.

To make Israel more attractive economically, politically and socially should be one of the major objectives of our American Jewish community in the next quarter century - and the fact is that Israel herself will probably do most of the hard work toward that objective. We may only have to help with the cosmetics.

III. RELIGION

As a result of the Enlightenment and Emancipation which

began two centuries ago, the two millennial grip which Judaism held on the Jewish people has lessened. During the 19th century, rapid changes especially in the natural sciences, created intellectual turmoil, social confusion and an unaccustomed permissiveness, as Jews reached out to the cultures and opportunities now opening to them. New organizational forms of the ancient religion resulted. The modern denominations of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative, in that order, were born. Other turbulent forces included the new scientific research into Judaism, the new Zionist movement and the huge waves of migrations to America which depleted the Central and Eastern European heartland. All these convulsive changes altered previous mind-sets and patterns of ritual practice and synagogue attendance. In the hectic pursuit of a new, free life, with its thrust toward material advancement old habits of religious observance suffered. Within two generations, the hold of the Jewish religion on a great portion of the Jewish people weakened.

Then came the 20th century with its two catastrophic World Wars and the utterly inconceivable Shoah. This shook the faith of many who felt that God today had permitted the slaughter of even more millions of human beings than that God had drowned in the Biblical flood. The thought began to grow that if mankind was evil, so might God also be evil - or dead - or never existent in the first place - or not all-powerful. A limited God became a most credible modern theological possibility, if one wished to

avoid the ultimate rejection called atheism.

Thus - with weakened observance and diminished belief in God's power and presence - modern Jews have diminished their relationship to their religion. Synagogue membership remains high, for a variety of reasons, but is largely a dues-paying membership not a vigorously active one. There is a danger here. For religion was always one of the defining factors of our existence as a people. And if religion disappears from the daily life of Jews, the continuity of the peoplehood may be jeopardized. Instead of being allowed to wither and fossilize, religion must be revitalized, reinvigorated as a factor and force in our communal existence.

This represents a tremendous challenge. Your generation will have to do it. Take part in the governance of the rabbinical seminaries: influence the selection of candidates for the rabbinate as the Wexner Foundation is doing; help shape the curriculum so that the rabbis will better understand the laymen and the total communal structure. Take a creative role in changing the synagogue, so that it becomes an educational center instead of merely a praying and preaching place. This goal is not easy to accomplish, but its difficulty should not deter you from accepting the challenge. If you do not take part in this metamorphosis, I do not know who will.

And so we come to the end of this huge agenda regarding peoplehood, nationhood and religion which I have placed before you. It is so seminal, so determinative of the future of our faith and fellowship, so absolutely crucial, that you have the right to cry out and ask why I place such a burden upon you. The answer is quite simple. You were, are and will always remain a specially chosen group of men and women who accepted the proud designation of leadership. Such a title connotes obligations. You were selected to assume the highest order of duty and service and performance on behalf of your people, nation and faith.

I understand well that there are peaks and troughs in your ability to serve, your enthusiasm, your understanding of the complex issues at stake. And I understand that as the years roll on, there is bound to be some flagging, some lessening of tension, some boredom in the ranks even of leaders. But when all the challenges coalesce into one defining moment of history which is a clear crossroads toward success or failure, then all excuses must be put aside, and once again the fire bell clangs and you - the firepersons - must respond.

This is such a moment. The future shape of Israel hangs in the balance - she either becomes a model of the great and glorious society which the Biblical prophets envisioned, or she becomes just another small state offering no particular inspiration for its own citizens or mankind. The future of

millions of Russian Jews is at stake - they either are redeemed and successfully absorbed into the body politic of the renewed Jewish people, which rescues them personally and strengthens our whole people immeasurably, or they will drift back into the anonymous mass of the ex-Soviet republics and may be lost forever. And the future of our religion is at stake - it either assumes its place once again as a source of inspiration toward the making of a better world, or it withers away into the discard and we Jews will be left without a vision to guide us and an engine to drive us.

Create new instruments to deal with these goals. You will need to study the basic problems and determine courses of action:

1. A task force to create a superior parochial high school in your town.
2. A task force to create creative teen-age and young adult programs in your town.
3. A task force to create an inspiring center for Jewish life on the college campus in your town.

These three youth-oriented programs are part of the bulwark against the rampant raging force of intermarriage, which is overwhelming us.

Also:

4. A task force to re-invigorate and re-orient the synagogue as a source of adult education, for Jews by birth and Jews by conversion, in which area we must work much more vigorously.
5. A task force on creating a communal infrastructure for ex-Soviet Jews who will remain in the Commonwealth of Independent States.
6. A task force on strengthening French Jewry, which is terra incognita, since we know very little about it, and it is the fourth largest member of our family.
7. Lastly, and most precious of all, a task force on how to impact the future of Israel, that precious vessel. Challenge your elders, make revolutions, take over the authority. So long as these goals I lay before you are the worthy causes to which you pledge your lives, your honor and your fortune, they transcend all bureaucratic obstacles, they validate your impatience, they justify any revolution you wish to make in order to advance toward their fulfillment.