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THE ETHICS OF POWER AND THE POWER OF ETHICS

A Proposed Program for the
Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion
Cincinnati

This Proposal was Prepared by Harlan Cleveland
at the request of David Finn of Ruder Finn & Rotman
October, 1988

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The Ethics of Power and the Power of Ethics

INTRODUCTION

How does Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, in Cincinnati, Ohio, tackle the need to reconcile, worldwide, the reconciliation of ethical behavior and the exercise of power -- in such a way as to make a difference?

The answer could come in five parts:

1. Some background comments on the Conference of Science, Philosophy and Religion, 1940-62.

2. Some observations on the changing context for analyzing the ethics of power in our time.

3. Some observations on the need for rethinking the ethic of power and the power of ethics in our own time.

4. A suggested process for this rethinking and its public projection.

5. A rough estimate of what it would cost to do this in a responsible, credible, and influential way.

THE PROPOSAL

Such a process isn't a matter for one local institute (no one institute anywhere in the world has the in-house wisdom to tackle it seriously), or one international conference. It requires:

a. A continuing inquiry, a continuous effort to rethink the ethics of power for the time we live in and the futures that are inherent in the multiple revolutions we are living through.

b. A truly international effort, involving on a continuing basis weighty and independent "rethinkers" from the world's major cultural and political communities. (There is no reason why such an effort should not function without embarrassment from a headquarters in the United States, and a good many reasons why it should. It would also be a positive advantage for it to operate from a U.S. institution, or institutions, not in one of the customary coastal megalopolises on the East Coast or in California.)

c. We propose a major event, which might be repeated on an annual basis, that brings together outstanding thinkers from science, philosophy and religion with reflective world-minded practitioners of public policy from every continent. The purpose

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of such an event is both to review and expose to larger policy-making audiences the results of the continuing international "rethinking" efforts in (a) and (b).

The operating components of such an effort would be:

1. A core group of perhaps a dozen carefully selected men and women, from different parts of the world. Each of these would be able to interpret their own religious or philosophic traditions, scientific disciplines, political ideologies, or economic theories; but it will be important that each member of the core group be able and willing to serve for the purpose of this project as a "generalist" who joins in a collective effort to analyze and define norms required to channel power in the direction of peaceful change.

At this stage, it may not be useful to mention specific names, but I will name three individuals who would be ideal recruits for such a core group. One is Dr. Soedjatmoko (he has no first name), the Indonesian scholar and philosopher, and former ambassador to Washington, who recently retired as Rector of the United Nations University, based in Tokyo. Another is Dr. Carl-Goran Heden, a world-class Swedish microbiologist recently retired from the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm and currently serving as President of the World Academy of Art and Science. A third is Maurice Strong, Canadian entrepreneur and statesman who

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was the first head of the United Nations Environment Program and has also been chief executive of the conglomerate of Canadian crown (i.e. government-owned) companies. I will not now suggest a long list of possible names, but I would be prepared to do so on comparatively short notice, given an opportunity to consult by phone with friends and colleagues around the world. In addition, I believe a member of the faculty of Hebrew Union College, or the director of the Institute of Ethics, or a professor of ethics, or someone designated by HUC, should also be a participant in the core group.

Under present political conditions, I believe it would be possible to recruit for the core group someone from the People's Republic of China and probably also from the Soviet Union who would be "able and willing" to participate in the kind of project here suggested.

(I have mentioned here only people from the "secular" side of the projected dialogue: further consultation with the Hebrew Union College and others would be required before coming up with a list of persons from the great religious traditions who would be appropriate for the core group. The experience of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion suggests that while that will not be easy, it is certainly feasible. One American who comes to mind is Fr. Walter Ong, professor at St. Louis University in St.

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Louis, Missouri, one of the deepest and most reflective Catholic thinkers of my acquaintance.)

For the dozen or so members of the core group, it would be essential to preempt a substantial portion of their time and attention. The draft budget that follows reflects this assumption. We are talking here about a working team, expected both to do some writing themselves and critique the writings of others. A serious allocation of time and effort cannot be expected on a pro bono basis.

My proposal would be to decide ab initio to run this project for a three-year period, and be prepared to make commitments to members of the core group, and the project leadership, on that basis.

2. **An Annual Conference on The Ethics of Power** should be held on one or two major ethical issues in international governance. These issues should be worked out in consultation with the core group, with the first Conference focusing on one major issue, and subsequent conferences on other issues. Examples of subjects would be the usability of nuclear weapons; the much-abused principle of non-interference by one nation in another nation's "internal affairs;" the common concepts and international "enforcement" of individual human rights; the concept of a "global commons" (including outer space, the

atmosphere, ocean space, Antarctica; also genetic diversity and some aspects of the global information flow?); the ethical implications of biotechnology; the content of "basic human needs"; and the elements of an "ethic of ecology" perhaps taking the global-warming issue as a case that is current and choice.

The core group would engage in intensive advance preparation for each Conference. (Although this might not be possible to arrange in time for the first Conference, it would be enormously valuable for this and other purposes to link the core group together by computer teleconference.) Thought should be given to inviting former or present heads of state to participate in various sessions of the Conference (they could be from the U.S., United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan, and so on, depending on how expansive the core group wishes the Conference to be). The featured participants could also include heads of important international agencies, multinational chief executive officers, or other major actors on the international stage. A reasonable target might be ten of them at each Conference. Given their presence, the Conference and its outcomes would be very likely to attract the attention of the media.

3. The project leadership would require at least a quarter of the time of a person able to bring together and serve as chairman of the core group, and organize the Conference, and arrange for appropriate publications related to the project. The

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project leader would need adequate staff support, both from Hebrew Union College in organizing the Conference as such, and from some local source of administrative and office assistance.

4. I would also recommend, perhaps at some later date, the awarding each year of a prize to an organization -- not an individual -- which can serve as a role model for the reflective and responsible (which is to say, the ethical) use of its power. The cost of such an award program would be at least \$500,000 each time the award is conferred: the cost of establishing and maintaining a credible international selection panel, and of screening proposals once the Prize becomes well known, would require substantial staff work and travel expenses for meetings of the selection panel.

I have not included this Prize in the attached budget, as it would be premature to include it at this time.

BACKGROUND

For more than two decades, in the 1940's and 1950's, Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, convened a periodic Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion which represented, for its time, the world's ambitious gathering of scholars (and a few practitioners of public affairs) focusing their attention on the need to reconcile the exercise of power with the ethical behavior of individuals.

A particular concern during that period was the growth of very large aggregations of power -- governments, military forces, transnational corporations, scientific laboratories -- and the growing uncertainty whether the great traditional sources of ethical guidance, the religious and philosophical traditions, had something relevant and important to say, from their differing perspectives, about the ethics of unparalleled bigness and unprecedented power.

Speaking of the very first such gathering, Van Wyck Brooks wrote: "We see the passing of ancient sanctions and the collapse of traditional loyalties...We know that democracy exalts the individual, but that individualism as an end in itself means anarchy. We know that tradition can make slaves of men, but that the lack of historical perspective and rootage in the past makes their lives thin and unheroic."

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At a much later meeting, Adlai Stevenson put his hopes for the needed rethinking this way: "I am proud and grateful to be identified with such healing scholarship...I see a great opportunity here to further the search for those enduring values which transcend the divisive frictions among nations. While each country supports its national interests through an ethical rationalization, human progress can only be achieved if a way is found to identify the ethical ideas which are the basis for long range goals helpful to all men."

The culminating meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, two decades after it started, was entitled, "One World -- One Ethics?" and produced, in two volumes published in 1962, what is still an extraordinarily insightful collection of papers by some of the most potent thinkers of the immediate postwar era.*

The "itch to be scratched" was presented this way by the Conference leadership:

In one way or another, more and more people seem to be disturbed by a feeling that our twentieth century

*The Ethic of Power: The Interplay of Religion, Philosophy and Politics, edited by Harold D. Lasswell and Harlan Cleveland, New York, Harper & Row, 1962.

Ethics and Bigness: Scientific, Academic, Religious, Political, Military, edited by Harlan Cleveland and Harold D. Lasswell, New York, Harper & Row, 1962.

civilization lacks a commonly accepted moral philosophy. In times past, it is felt, societies developed and for practical purposes "adopted" systematic ways of thinking about the problems they collectively faced. In a more recent era the idea became current that societies could thrive in the presence of several such systems of thought, that the engine of civilization could run on a wide variety of doctrinal fuels. American democracy was, in fact, a political expression of the idea that market competition of philosophies was more likely than any one philosophy to produce practical answers to the questions thrown up by daily life and work. In ethics as in political loyalties, protected pluralism became the order of the day.

In the now global market place of ethics, a variety of traditional ways of thinking about the nature of man and man's relationship to society have competed for attention. Some of these are organized religions, rich inheritances from an ancient past -- Roman Catholicism and the various forms of Protestantism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Judaism, and more recently the effort to apply Hindu, Buddhist, Moslem, and Confucian ways of thought to modern problem solving. Other strands were the contribution of secular philosophies, from the ancient Greeks to those of 1960.

The world to which we are trying to adapt this rich philosophic and religious tradition is, however, not cooperating very well. The pace of events accelerates every year; scientific discovery and technological innovation are sudden and worldwide in their impact, while our capacity to exercise social forethought grows with more deliberate speed. And as men attempt to marry discovery to purpose, they often find in traditional ethics more of comfort than of stimulation. At other times they find more of gloomy prediction than of eager confidence for an unknown future. Discussions of "ethics" thus take on a lugubrious tone, as men more clearly see the trouble new forces may cause than the opportunities they present.

The challenge to traditional ethics is not so much whether any particular religious or philosophical inheritance is "right," as whether it is relevant...

As we feasted on, and tried to digest, the wealth of intellectual raw material presented to this extraordinary Conference, the editors of the two volumes moved away from the earlier yearning for an ethical code of global applicability, and placed their bets on the capacity of individuals exercising power (we called

them "public executives") to combine the insights of the great traditions with their own analysis of what to do right now.

Here, for example, are some propositions which Harold Lassell and I derived from the Conference thinking on "Ethics and Bigness":

- o The degree of moral complexity...is becoming greater all the time.

- o Public-interest decisions are always made by a complex process of multilateral brokerage...

- o The problem for the individual executive is almost never to decide what is "right," since the choices mostly present themselves as choices among goods or choices among evils -- or both at the same time.

- o Nor is the problem for the individual just to perceive, develop, or assert a "consensus" (arrived at by relevant elites or people in general) as a guide to action.

- o The problem is rather to decide what to do next in the presence of too much information about the past and only the most primitive tools for analyzing all the angles of the present or foretelling the future.

- o The ethical complexity of public-interest decisions is such that the public executive is forced back on his own moral resources. Before the public executive takes each "next step," there are no criteria for action more valid than those he has worked out for himself, through study and experience.

- o For a public executive who thinks he's acting in the public interest, the search for more power to go with his responsibilities is self-justifying.

- o But since no two public executives, or legislators, or external critics have precisely the same concept of the public interest, there should be enough competition in the marketplace for power to "keep them honest," or at least to avoid undue concentration of authority in any one pair of hands.

- o General prescriptions, whether in the form of do's or don'ts are bound to be...so general as to be useless or so specific as to be unworkable.

- o Reliance is rather to be placed on study and experience by the individuals involved...

If we thus, in mankind's most complex society to date, come back to the individual and his conscience, it seems that there is, after all, a place in modern political and administrative process for the religious traditions. But the Great Traditions must constantly re-earn this place, not just by being great (in the past) or traditional, but by addressing themselves relevantly to the kinds of contemporary issues actually faced by each individual carrying any form of public responsibility (which means, in some degree, all individuals). The key question is: To what extent can the organized religions, and will they, do so?

THE CHANGING CONTEXT

The questions posed and the analyses presented, almost thirty years ago, were so fundamental that it is not surprising to find in them all sorts of contemporary applications.

Ethics is still the art and science of facing fully the consequences of taking the next step. The problem for religious and philosophical traditions is still to help individuals -- and notably those exercising, or likely in future to exercise, great political, economic, and moral power -- to develop their own guidelines for their own responsible behavior in an environment of great moral complexity.

But during the intervening decades, the context has changed in ways that greatly increase the dangers we are heir to, yet also (depending on what individuals with power do) enhance the prospects for security, growth and fairness in a world that is militarily insecure, economically maladjusted, and in every domain unfair to most of its population. The changes in the context, in turn, greatly reinforce the need for (a) a continuous and systematic review and public exposure of ethical purposes and ethical constraints on the way leaders exercise power and (b) a continuing inquiry into the relevance (to the situation/power balance) of the Great Traditions.

In 1988 and beyond, we find ourselves in the presence of eight concurrent revolutions. Four of these are created directly by scientific discovery; they constitute an array of "technological pushes" for social change, some of them beneficent and some very dangerous:

1. New dimensions of **explosive power**: nuclear weapons (Hiroshima), nuclear power (Chernobyl), chemicals (Bhopal), rocketry (Challenger). But in developing the ultimate weapon we may also have invented the ultimately unusable weapon, which might place a lid on the scale of warfare for the first time in human history.

2. **Biotechnology**, including the "gene revolution." We are just around the corner from modifying human beings -- which may require us to decide who we really want to be. That's scary -- yet biotech has its "up" side too. It is inherently an "uncentralizing" technology (as contrasted with so many of the products of physics). Most of the world's rich supply of biomass, and most of the life-giving radiation from the sun, are in the so-called "poorer" parts of the world. These conditions (depending on who does what about them), could in time help narrow the global gap between rich and poor.

3. **Global environmental change.** There is a dawning intuition that sometime in recent years, as Thomas W. Wilson, Jr., put it, "the works of human beings began to outweigh the works of nature in the global scheme of things...and the human race began to consume its own environment." This year the potential of a major warming of the earth through the emission of carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases" has caught broad public attention, and stands as a metaphor in people's minds for a fundamentally new state of affairs: what the human species does to its environment is becoming more important than what "nature" does to, and for, the human species.

4. **The informatization of society,** greatly speeded in the 1980's by the marriage of speedy computers and more reliable telecommunications. this is the most pervasive sci/tech revolution of all. It requires us to rethink the very fundamentals of our philosophy, rethink an economics based on scarcity, rethink governance based on secrecy, rethink laws based on ownership, rethink management based on hierarchy.

The other four revolutions of our time are made possible by science and technology, but they are driven by the basic aspirations of the human spirit:

5. The worldwide push for fairness. Among countries and especially inside each society, rising expectations for a better life and a fairer shake are forcing political change -- or more repression to prevent change. The expectations are rising, of course, because spreading education and a global communications net now brings to nearly everyone some sense of how their most affluent world neighbors manage to live and work. But even in the politics of the mostly affluent societies, issues of discrimination (by reason of race, religion, sex, age) have moved to center stage. The institutions of the postwar world, invented more than forty years ago, were rooted in a Newtonian notion of "equilibrium"; but it turned out that most of the world's people were more interested in fairness. The static concepts and centralized bureaucratic workways of international organization are overdue for overhaul.

6. The pull of cultural identity. The need to "belong" is basic, and people feel empowered by banding together with those they know against those they do not know. The bonds may be geographic, ethnic, religious, economic interest, or professional solidarity. There is an urgent requirement for new, more widely shared ethical norms that make more inclusive institutions possible without threatening this "inward pull" of community.

7. The imperatives of pluralism and openness. The chain reaction of human rights and democratic values (variously defined, of course) is proving to be explosive. An ethic of wider political participation and more pluralistic economic management is in evidence all around the world, from the Chinese and Soviet efforts to reform socialism from within, to deregulation in the West, to political change (for example in South Korea, the Philippines, Burma, and much of South America) boiling up from popular movements that take to the streets. The vocabulary of Western democracy is not equal to the occasion, yet there are universal urges at work at the end of the 20th century for which a viable vocabulary is urgently required.

8. The emergence of an ethic of ecology. The ecologists, scientists of the mutual relations between organisms and their environment, taught us how important it is to assume that everything really is related to everything else. We "inter-depend" or perish. There is now developing a widely shared, if still inchoate, consensus that might be called an "ethic of ecology." It comprises limits to poverty, to affluence, to environmental damage, to human-made dangers, to the using up of nonrenewable resources, to practices that destroy the renewability of renewable resources -- and to the nature and scale of conflict about fairness, resources, ideas, and identity. A more explicit formulation of such an ethic, using the best from the great traditions of the past, is also more than timely.

RETHINKING ETHICAL NORMS

We are long since past the idea that any one race or class or group should, or even could, manage the world. So...in the presence of this complex compound of hazards and hopes, the glue that will be available to hold our world together, to reflect a common motivation for peaceful change, is likely to be the glue of shared (not imposed) ideas. In a "nobody-in-charge" world, ideas (widely shared norms) are likely to be in charge.

Such ideas cannot and will not be developed in government or in intergovernmental organizations. The reactive mode of modern government creates a vacuum which has to be filled with ideas that originate outside government. An interesting division of labor results between nongovernmental experts, thinkers, and advocates on the one hand and government officials and legislators on the other. Because they are not "responsible," nongovernmental people are better able than government people

- o to work, ahead of time, on problems that are important but not yet urgent enough to command political attention;

- o to shake loose from conceptual confines and mix up disciplinary methodologies;

- o to think hard, write adventurously, and speak freely about alternative futures and what they imply for public policy today;

- o to generate discussion among people in contending groups, different professional fields and separate sectors of society who might not otherwise be talking with each other;

- o to organize "dialogue" across national frontiers on issues not yet ripe for more official "negotiation."

We do not start from scratch. In a recent pamphlet on "Rethinking International Governance," M.I.T. Professor Lincoln Bloomfield and I took inventory of the state of international norms in these terms:

Human behavior is governed, however unconsciously, by deeply believed principles. When it comes to norms of behavior in foreign policy, one of the counts against the present international system is the persistent flouting of the norm of the founders deemed most important of all, that which proscribes armed aggression.

Yet a surprising fact is worth noting: even during the recent time of trouble for international law and morality, several other significant norms of international behavior have become widely

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accepted; that is, they pass the test that an obvious violation, however unpunished, brings near-universal opprobrium. The following norms appear to be taken seriously:

Territorial integrity. Since 1945 few countries have had their territory forcibly annexed by another country, as was customary for millennia past. 1 (But the system does not yet inhibit or condemn more subtle forms of take-over.)

The inviolability of diplomatic missions. This traditional principle has been codified and strengthened, in an effort to keep pace with the enormous growth in the size and range of diplomatic functions. The violations are dramatic because they are rare.

The non-use and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The disproportionate destructive power of nuclear weapons has made them unusable even as a last resort in 43 years of turbulent international politics featuring many bloody wars. And by the late 1980's, 121 non-nuclear countries, signers of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (and four additional signers) undertook to forego nuclear weapons altogether. The bad news is that the most conflict-prone nuclear-capable countries, such as India, Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa remain out of that system. The only moderately good news is that none has yet availed itself of the capability.

Immunity of civilian aircraft and ships. Brutal attacks on both have served to strengthen norms against hijacking and firing on innocent craft. Attitudes toward terrorism -- the forcible use of innocent by-standers as levers of persuasion in dealing with constituted authorities -- have been hardening throughout the world in recent years.

International responsibility for helping refugees. The modest work of the League of Nations is dwarfed by comparison with the large-scale efforts, first of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) immediately after the second World War, and then the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, through which millions have been helped.

Decolonization. Non-subjugation of other people, along with the unacceptability of over, officially sanctioned racial discrimination, are norms now widely and fiercely asserted. As is usual in moral posturing, however, the outrage is selective. Overseas rule is universally condemned; colonial rule within the world's one remaining empire, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, induces a much smaller production of international adrenalin.

Some other norms have gained partial acceptance, producing much rhetoric and much less politics: promotion of human rights, arms control and disarmament, development as a collective responsibility, the unacceptability of the threat of use of force, and the "common heritage" doctrine for environments such as outer space, celestial bodies, and what is left of the deep ocean and its sea-bed.

A somewhat different category of norms could, we believe, be derived from what most people might agree on, even if we are very far from knowing how to make such norms operational:

A third world war is wholly impermissible and nuclear weapons should be made irrelevant to political conflict;

Local conflicts should be purposefully insulated from outside involvement to prevent their escalation;

The quality of human life must be protected from catastrophic degradation of the atmosphere and the biosphere;

No child in the world should go to bed hungry.

There is a well-nigh universal moral basis for such norms. The ideas that people should refrain from murdering each other and that each person should help the community's less fortunate --

the Golden Rule in varying formulations -- can be found in all the world's cultures and religions.

The formulation and projection of norms for our time -- norms that guide and constrain the use of power by individuals and the group they lead, norms that draw from and appeal to all the great traditions of the human spirit -- is thus priority business for our time, and the central business of a new institute of ethics.

BIOGRAPHY

Harlan Cleveland, political scientist and public executive, is Professor Emeritus of Public Affairs and Planning and former Dean (1980-87) of the University of Minnesota's Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.

A Princeton University graduate, he was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University in the late 1930's; an economic warfare specialist in Washington, D.C. and United Nations relief administrator for Italy and China in the 1940's; a foreign aid manager with the Marshall Plan, magazine editor and publisher of The Reporter, and graduate school dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University in the 1950's. He was also a New York delegate to the 1960 Democratic National Convention.

During the 1960's Mr. Cleveland served as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs in the administration of President John F. Kennedy, and as U.S. Ambassador to N.A.T.O. under President Lyndon Johnson. From 1969 to 1974 he was president of the University of Hawaii, and from 1974 to 1980, director of the program in International Affairs at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, headquartered in Princeton, New Jersey. He is still a special advisor to the Aspen Institute.

During 1977-78 Cleveland was also chairman of the U.S. Weather Modification advisory board, and in 1979 he was appointed for one semester as the Distinguished Visiting Tom Slick professor of World Peace at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin. In 1980 he was appointed the lead the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute during the initial stage of its development.

Mr. Cleveland is a past president of the American Society for Public Administration, and a long-time member of the American Political Science Association. Among numerous board memberships, he serves as chairman of The American Forum: Education for a Global Age; trustee of the International Council for Educational Development; director of Minnesota Wellspring; and director of the Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation.

He is the recipient of nineteen honorary degrees; Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson award; the U.S. Medal of Freedom; and the Peace Corps' Leader for Peace award. In 1981 he was the co-winner of the Prix de Talloires, a Swiss-based international award for "accomplished generalists." He is a Fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science, the National Academy of Public Administration, and the American Academy of Diplomacy.

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Mr. Cleveland's many writings include: The Overseas Americans (1960), The Obligations of Power (1966), NATO: The Transatlantic Bargain (1970), The Future Executive (1972), China Diary (1976), The Third Try at World Order (1977), and Humangrowth: An Essay on Growth, Values and the Quality of Life (1978). As part of the leadership in the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, he edited two books with Harold D. Lasswell, The Ethic Power and Ethics and Bigness. Four recently published books he has edited are Bioresources for Development (1980), Energy Futures of Developing Countries (1980), The Management of Sustainable Growth (1981), and The Global Commons (1988). A major new trade book, The Knowledge Executive: Leadership in an Information Society, was published by E.P. Dutton in August of 1985 and will be reissued in a paperback edition in January 1989. He started in 1987 as a columnist on public and international affairs for the tar Tribune, newspaper of the Twin Cities.

ESTIMATED BUDGET

Cost estimate for first conference on The Ethics of Power and the Power of Ethics (for a 6 month period ending June 30):

I. CORE GROUP

Honoraria: 12 members at \$5,000 each	\$ 60,000
Expense allowance: 12 members at \$500 each	\$ 6,000
Meeting: 12 members at \$150/day for five days	\$ 9,000
Travel: 12 members at \$1500 each	\$ 18,000
Computer teleconference charges (fully funded after the Conference)	\$ 10,000
TOTAL	\$ 103,000

II. CONFERENCE

Ten Distinguished Participants:

Honoraria: 10 participants at \$3,000 each	\$ 30,000
Travel (First Class): 10 participants at \$2,000 (average cost) each	\$ 20,000
Food/Lodging: 10 participants at \$250 each for 3 days	\$ 7,500

Twenty Other Participants:

Travel (Economy): 20 participants at \$1,000 each	\$ 20,000
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Food/Lodging: 20 participants \$150 each for 3 days	\$ 9,000
<u>Conference promotions, publicity, etc.</u>	\$ 20,000
<u>Conference arrangements and entertainment</u>	\$ 15,000
TOTAL	\$ 121,500
III. PROJECT LEADERSHIP AND SERVICES	
<u>Project Director</u> (1/3 time for 6 months)	\$ 20,000
<u>Travel</u> (organizing and consulting)	\$ 3,000
<u>Executive Secretary</u> (1/2 time)	\$ 7,500
<u>Phone, telex, computer, xerox</u>	\$ 9,500
TOTAL	\$ 39,500
IV. FINANCIAL/ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES	
(Assuming an outside institution handles funds and administrative support for project leadership and core group - 20% overhead charge)	\$ 29,400
GRAND TOTAL	\$ 293,400

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A detailed budget has also been worked out for a three year expanded program involving a conference each year.

The total for the three year budget could range from \$1,500,000 to \$1,750,000.



NOV 15 1988

RUDER FINN & ROTMAN

November 9, 1988

Mr. Seymour Fox
32 Ha'rag-Berlin
Jerusalem
Israel

Dear Seymour:

Enclosed is a copy of Harlan Cleveland's proposal for a conference (and long-range program) on "The Ethics of Power and The Power of Ethics." I have no idea whether Hebrew Union College will find the money to carry it out, but it is an example of a plan that has a fair amount of creative and intellectually impressive thoughts behind it.

It seems to me that you have reached the stage in your ambitious program where materials of this sort need to be developed. Mort Mandel and you have done a fantastic job in gaining the active support of the top people in the Jewish world for a purpose that has been clearly articulated. You have also developed a method of involving them in a unique way so that the program which emerges will genuinely be the result of a collective effort. But now you need depth, breadth, and profound thoughts eloquently presented to establish the foundation for what you will be doing in the future.

Just think -- where would the United States be without the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution? You have all the singers in place and the goals clearly stated; now you have to spell out the philosophy in a masterful document or series of documents.

Perhaps what should be developed is something like a "Great Ideas in Jewish Education" program, with papers by the most brilliant minds of our time and a preamble by Mort and an introduction by you. This could be one publication or a series of publications. These papers might be commissioned based on the preliminary ideas you have already developed. Properly printed and distributed, they could begin to have an influence now rather than years from now when the program gets into full swing.

Mr. Seymour Fox
November 9, 1988

I know it is wise to take one step at a time, and a long-range plan is a sound way to build something of lasting value. But I find myself impressed, at the ripe age of 67, with what we have been witnessing in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Gorbachev. In an incredible short time he has created what is perhaps the most significant revolution we have seen in a generation or more. It teaches us what an astonishing achievement the creation of the State of Israel and the founding of other countries were, and how quickly they were brought about by decisive leaders who seized a great opportunity at a rare moment in history. Perhaps you are at such a moment in Jewish education, and if you now move swiftly you can create the basis for an entirely new thrust.

How you develop a "Great Ideas" program is, of course, a major challenge. How did the Hutchins do it for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions? How did Walter Paepcke do it for the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies? How did Louis Finkelstein do it for the Conference of Science, Philosophy and Religion? You need to find your way to get it moving forward.

In thinking about my own Jewish "education" (and I purposely put the word in quotes because, like so many others, it was pathetically inadequate) the experience that made the deepest impression on me was being in the presence of great minds at the Seminary (and more recently at HUC). This helped me to realize that the smattering of knowledge which I had gained in formal training was nothing compared to the extraordinary range of knowledge, sensitivity and understanding found among great scholars. There was no way I could have acquired that perspective through existing schooling. Admittedly, this was an adult experience for me but I wonder if the challenge to Jewish education really is to give young people the same type of inspiration. That is what I think could flow from a "Great Ideas" program. It could be one that starts on top, as was the case with John Dewey and Martin Buber, but spread, as their ideas did, throughout the whole educational community by the power of the ideas themselves.

I don't know if any of this will make sense to you or Mort. In any case, you know you can count on me to be of help to your enterprise in any way that you feel can be useful.

All the best,

David Finn

DF/rl
Enclosure
cc: Arthur Naparstek

cy: HLZ
VFL
RLG

TO: Morton L. Mandel FROM: Arthur J. Naparstek DATE: 11/16/88
NAME NAME
DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION

REPLYING TO
YOUR MEMO OF: _____

SUBJECT: Information from David Finn

As I mentioned in the car coming back from the City Club, attached are
Finn's ideas.

attachments

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U.F.S. for file

TO: Morton L. Mandel
NAME
DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION

FROM: Henry L. Zucker
NAME
DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION

DATE: 10/17/89
REPLYING TO
YOUR MEMO OF: _____

HLZ

SUBJECT:

It is not too late to discuss David Finn's letter of February 17, 1987. If you believe that there is a chance that we should invest a substantial sum of money in a public relations program, then I think we should consider Finn's letter next in the senior policy advisors group.

There is no doubt that a sound public relations program would be useful in reaching out to the public with the Commission's message.

We have already discussed the possibility of issuing with our report, an executive summary which will be readable and inspirational and not too long to be read by the public. Maybe Ruder and Finn should do this job for us. Maybe Ruder and Finn should undertake a more comprehensive program to reach out to the general public with our message.

The cost effectiveness of what they suggest or something less than the full job is something we should talk out.

IN-TER-OFF-ICE-CORRESPONDENCE



RUDER FINN & ROTMAN

February 17, 1987

Mr. Morton L. Mandel
Premier Industrial Corporation
4415 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103
and

Dr. Seymour Fox
32 Ha'rag-Berlin
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mort & Seymour:

It looks as if my idea of having Mort Yarmon help prepare what in effect would be a well written position paper for your Education Project -- and ultimately an impressive printed piece -- is not going to work out. It's a much more challenging assignment than he and I originally thought, and I don't believe he feels the commitment that I do to figure out how to do it.

At the same time, I am more convinced than ever that it is essential to produce such a document -- and that without it, an effective communications effort will be impossible. It is also true, I believe, that effective communications to the Jewish Community around the world is going to be vital to the success of the project. Because of my own conviction about the importance of what you are doing, I have tried to think of how I can help accomplish this. I'd like to offer a suggestion which I think could work.

Let me begin by confessing to a dilemma that has faced me time and again in my professional life. Whenever I am involved in a project which holds great interest to me personally, I try my best to make a contribution as a concerned layman. Since I am not in a position to contribute financially to worthy projects, I have always considered that contributing professionally was my way of being of service to the world. That is what I have done for many cultural and educational institutions over the years -- where I have been a trustee or an advisor or just a friend. Indeed that has been my policy with all the artbooks I have done; I never charge for my time as a photographer or take a royalty -- my reward is in seeing beautiful books published.

Mr. Morton L. Mandel
Dr. Seymour Fox
February 17, 1987
Page 2

There are times, however, when that doesn't work. And when that happens, I discover that trying to save my friends money for professional work that needs to be done jeopardizes the success of the project, which, of course, is foolish. So, when I sense that that is the case, I take a deep breath and tell my friends that I think the time has come for them to spend some money to get the job done right. I am now taking a deep breath...

The transcripts of the conversations we had in our office about the mission and message of your project do not tell us nearly enough to even get started. It's hard for the two of you to realize it since you are so deeply involved in what you are doing, but it is extremely difficult to establish an overall perspective on the whole undertaking since it is so vast, so challenging, so ambitious.

How long has it been that Jews around the world have been wringing their hands about the problems of Jewish education? Certainly it was true 25 years ago when our children were young. How about forty or fifty years ago when we were of school age? That's a long time -- and it affected Jews of all persuasions, in virtually all countries around the world and in many stages of the education process from pre-school to adulthood. And how many times have we heard that some group has made a study of the problem and come up with a new program to solve it? Haven't each of the denominations in this country and abroad periodically told their constituencies that they have found the answer? Haven't the many communal organizations which operate in the Jewish world suggested that they can provide the solution? There must be an immense bibliography on the subject and countless speeches and sermons and reports of which no record survives.

What topic has had a higher priority in the minds of Jews during the past half-century or more? You want to get a rise out of Jewish leaders -- lay leaders, scholars, professionals -- call a meeting on "The Crisis in Jewish Education." The same is true of any group of unaffiliated Jews. (Remember, Seymour, our little rather pathetic group in New Rochelle who were struggling to find a "new way?" There must have been -- and must be today -- thousands of such groups all over the country if not all over the world.) True, as you, Mort, have pointed out, this concern has not been matched by financial contributions or allocations, and seeing to it that that happens is one of your major goals -- but how, why, where, for what -- are questions that have to be dealt with in a way that has not been done before.

Mr. Morton L. Mandel
Dr. Seymour Fox
February 17, 1987
Page 3

And what is the relationship of this "crisis" to other crises in education? How many foundation and governmental reports have been issued in the last ten years on this subject? We have been involved in a few of them since The College Board has been a client of ours for several years, and we have organized conferences and press conferences galore. I'm on the board of an organization called Global Perspectives in Education which was started by Clark Kerr, former Chancellor of the University of California and now chaired by Harlan Cleveland, who heads the Humphrey Institute and was formerly the president of the University of Hawaii, both distinguished educators; and you should hear all the discussion by that group of the crisis in American education which is perpetuating a dangerous provincial outlook in a new generation that will have to find its way in a global society.

Seymour, you know I feel you are one of the most inspiring figures I have ever met in the educational world -- or any world for that matter. You have a compelling vision of what Judaism can mean to any of us, and how the lives of young people can be enriched by discovering the profound truths embodied in their religious tradition. You can be and are charismatic for both scholars and laymen. And Mort, you have an equally charismatic gift which enables you to gather the forces of the Jewish community -- laymen and professionals -- and inspire the confidence in your leadership to finally make happen what they and so many others have tried and failed to achieve over these many decades.

You are a great combination, and you have the potential of making it all work. What you need now is the communications mechanism which will both contain the quality of your inspiring leadership and spell out in a comprehensible and convincing way how that leadership is, in fact, going to make a breakthrough.

If the two of you were to come to me professionally and ask me how to accomplish this, here's what I would suggest:

1. Develop a brief but responsible overview of the problem, why it exists, what its historic roots are, what kind of efforts have been made to solve it, what is being done today. Some of this has undoubtedly been written elsewhere and we don't want to produce something which simply repeats the same old story. So there must be a freshness about it from the very first word.
2. Follow this with a cogent description of your project, when it started, how it relates to other projects in the field, what its short-term and long-term goals are.

Mr. Morton L. Mandel
Dr. Seymour Fox
February 17, 1987
Page 4

3. Make sure that you have developed a clearcut identity for your project, one that can be easily grasped by large numbers of people and is memorable. So long as you are amorphous, your impact will be limited. Are you (or are you going to become) a Center, an Institute, a Council, a Committee, some new kind of entity which requires a new kind of name? Coming up with the answer requires some imagination as well as understanding. In one of your conversations I referred to you as Catalyst, Inc. to suggest that your mission is to make everybody else in the field do their job more effectively. But that is just a shot in the dark. You really need to find an answer, one that will really stick, and one that will stay with you as you expand the range of your activities in the years ahead.

You may not think you are ready for this kind of thinking. But if you have been to our conference room recently, you will know that one of my favorite quotations is "You cannot put off living until you are ready." I think coming to grips with these central questions is essential to your very existence as a program that will accomplish great things in your lifetime.

4. Then literature has to be designed, produced and distributed to convey all this information and your basic message. But literature received in the mail or distributed at meetings can only be the start. The Declaration of Independence accomplished its purpose for the signers and their followers, but it has been quoted and reprinted and interpreted endlessly ever since. What kind of continuing communications program will be needed to follow up your initial statement. This needs a plan of what to do and how to do it.

All this is a tall order, and it seems to me to be a mistake to try to accomplish it on a catch-as-catch-can basis. If you were to tell me to get it done in the next six months, I would assign a couple of people from our organization to work with me on it, we would make sure to spend time with the two of you as well as members of your coordinating committee (the heads of the four academic institutions who have been involved, perhaps some educators). We'd take a good hard look at the relevant literature. And we'd start putting all this together.

Highlights of Meeting with David Finn

David Finn indicated that what is missing from the Commission is a process that would lead to great ideas. He feels that there are several models that we might look toward. For example, the Conference on Scientific, Academic, Religious, Political, and Military proceedings, the HUC Model on Ethics, and the Bill Moyers model. He also felt that we need an overall communication strategy that deals with the scholarly community as well as the lay and the professional community. It is only through an overall and comprehensive communications strategy that we will create a climate that will make all the over program intervention strategies possible. He recommended the following:

1. Make a decision that a communications plan needs to be part of the process.
2. Put together a group in terms of developing the plan. Development of a plan is the first step. The timing of this is very important and he offered his firm as a consultant. He said he would put his thoughts in writing.



RUDER • FINN

file
THy Thurs Feb 5
3:30 pm

January 25, 1990

Mr. Henry L. Zucker
Director
The Commission on Jewish Education in North America
Mandel Associated Foundations
1750 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Dear Mr. Zucker,

Following our conversations with Seymour Fox and Annette Hochstein, we are writing this letter to outline the approach we would like to take in preparing the final report for the Commission tentatively entitled, "A Decade of Renewal."

To begin with, I want to assure you as I have assured Seymour and Annette, that I will assume personal responsibility for producing the report. This is a project which I have known about for some time, and I feel totally committed to its goals. Moreover, I fully believe that producing the right kind of document at this time can make a significant contribution to the success of the entire effort, and you can be sure that we will utilize all our resources to achieve the best possible result. I have a top notch team of writers and designers working closely with me to accomplish this purpose.

Our first step will be to gather all relevant materials which will provide the basis for the report. These should include all the background research that has been done as well as information on the proceedings of the various meetings of the Commission. We expect to receive all of these materials during meetings which we have already scheduled with Seymour and Annette in New York for the week of February 12.

We are thinking generally of a report that will be in the neighborhood of 100 pages, will be written in a style that will be appropriate for both the educational and lay communities, will be well-designed, highly readable and, hopefully, illustrated with charts and possibly photographs. We have several models in mind,

including foundation reports, studies which we have produced at Ruder Finn and publications like Daedalus (the publication of the American Academy of Arts & Letters which is designed by Ruder Finn).

1. Clarify the most important audiences for the report so that it can be written for the people who you want to inform and influence.
2. Review all available materials and be sure that the thrust of the report is clearly spelled out to our collective satisfaction.
3. Work out an outline of the subjects to be covered in the report.
4. Decide on the layout and format, use of photographs, graphics, etc., with consideration of cost constraints, esthetics and the effectiveness of presenting the basic message.
5. Make a decision about the writing style - making sure that it is appropriate for both journalistic and academic purposes.
6. Consider options for printing the report.
7. Decide about quantity for distribution and methods of distribution.

We estimate that it will take approximately three months to prepare a draft of the report. This draft will include both the text and suggested layout. These can be reviewed by you, Seymour and Annette, and any other appropriate readers, who will then have an opportunity to suggest editorial and design changes or additions. We will then plan to prepare final mechanicals, including all graphics, in about 30 days from the date of the final approved draft. Decisions about the actual printing - which might be done in the U.S. or Israel - can be made at that time.

FINN

COMMISSION
ON JEWISH EDUCATION
IN NORTH AMERICA

4500 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103
216/391-8300

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Jonathan Woocher
Henry L. Zucker

Director

Henry L. Zucker

Staff

Mark Gurvis
Virginia F. Levi
Joseph Reimer

MEMO TO: David Finn

FROM: Mark Gurvis *MG*

DATE: March 2, 1990

SUBJECT: Community Planning in Jewish Education

I am enclosing two papers which should help clarify for you the environment within local communities in which the Commission on Jewish Education in North America is and will be operating. First is Henry L. Zucker's paper on Community Organization for Jewish Education, which looks at leadership, financing, and structural issues. Second is Joel Fox's paper on Community Planning in Jewish Education. Joel is the planning director of the Cleveland Federation. Also, I am enclosing the local commission report from Cleveland, which will give you an example of what got produced as a planning document within one of the stronger North American Jewish communities.

As you will see from Joel's paper, there are numerous models that communities have recently used to engage in more intensified planning efforts in Jewish education. Some have established local commissions on Jewish education, identity, or continuity; others have ongoing Jewish education committees within the federation structure that have been reenergized around particular initiatives or studies. Following is a breakdown of these categories.

Local commissions--The following communities now have a commission on Jewish education or continuity: Boston, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Los Angeles, Syracuse. They are all at different stages of development. Boston had its first meeting in late January. Cleveland, which started in 1985 is now in the process of implementing a four-year, \$4.3 million program. Syracuse has created a standing Jewish Education Committee which is implementing its commission's recommendations. As a result of the work of the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, a number of communities have expressed interest in becoming community action sites and in starting this kind of intensive, comprehensive community planning process, including: MetroWest New Jersey, New York, San Francisco, and Toronto.

Communities with other approaches--A number of other communities have ongoing Jewish education committees which have recently undertaken significant planning studies, including: Buffalo, Dallas, Miami, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Richmond, and West Palm Beach.

There have always been some communities which looked at Jewish education issues from time to time. However, the Commission arose at a time when several local community efforts were coinciding, and its work has intensified the interest and activity in this area.

I hope this will be helpful in clarifying the activity at the local level. Please let me know if there is other information I can provide.

cc: Seymour Fox



PREMIER INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION

REQUEST FOR TELEX/MAILGRAM/FAX

72343 (REV. 2/88) PRINTED IN U.S.A.

SPECIFY HOW TO SEND MESSAGE

DATE REQUESTED

3/7/90

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☒ FAX NO. 212 715 1662

NO. OF PGS. 7
(INCL. COVER SHEET)

☒ URGENT - Time sensitive - must go at once

☐ REGULAR - Send at time rates are most economical

TYPE (USING DOUBLE SPACES) OR PRINT CLEARLY

TO:

NAME

DAVID FINN

COMPANY

RUDER FINN

STREET ADDRESS

CITY, STATE, ZIP

NEW YORK

PHONE NUMBER

FROM:

NAME

SEYMOUR FOX

COMPANY

DEPARTMENT

COST CENTER

090

TELEX NO.: 6873015 PREMI UW

FAX NO.: 2163918327

TIME SENT:

MESSAGE:

Sent 3/7
4:44 p.m.



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3/8/90

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☐ MAILGRAM

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TYPE (USING DOUBLE SPACES) OR PRINT CLEARLY

TO:

NAME ANNETTE HOCHSTEIN

COMPANY NATIV

STREET ADDRESS

CITY, STATE, ZIP JERUSALEM

PHONE NUMBER

FROM:

NAME GINNY LEVI

COMPANY PREMIER

DEPARTMENT

COST CENTER 090

2163619962

TELEX NO.: 6873015 PREMI UW

FAX NO.: 2163619962

TIME SENT:

MESSAGE:

sent
9:25
3/8

MEMO TO: David Finn
FROM: Seymour Fox
DATE: March 7, 1990

I am continuing with the questions that I did not answer before I left Israel. I am beginning with question No. 11. When we speak about encouraging local committees to involve top community leadership, we mean some of the following. The fact that the Cleveland Commission on Jewish Continuity (a commission that was established and completed its work before our North American Commission got started) accomplished what it did, which is to build a comprehensive plan that I think is going to make a big difference and to get it funded is because the first meeting was convened by Mort Mandel and he managed to get outstanding leaders to join the Commission and undertake responsibility for the Commission.

I think that this is something that, if replicated throughout North America, would make all the difference in the world. In other words, if Charles Bronfman took leadership in Montreal and Lester Crown in Chicago, this would change the status of Jewish education, the way funds were allocated for Jewish education, and this in turn would make a big difference as far as personnel is concerned. That is, when young people recognize that the top leadership cares about Jewish education and is making this a serious issue, then I think that we will be able to attract a different kind of person into the field of Jewish education.

Also, the North American Commission demonstrated how well scholars, community leaders, educators and rabbis can work together. And this is what is needed on the local scene and in as many communities as is possible in North America. When we're speaking of the organized Jewish community now, we're not only speaking about the conventional participants, that is outstanding lay leaders and rabbis and educators, but also artists, academics and intellectuals. They are waiting to be invited in and by and large the organized Jewish community has invited them in only for fundraising. Obviously, they don't feel comfortable in this role, not only because they are not able to make significant contributions, but because they are interested much more in the content issues. Jewish education offers an ideal platform for them to join and they could play an important role in helping to define the content of Jewish education dealing with questions of the effectiveness of Jewish education, etc.

Now the Commission has established relationships with the present thirteen or more local commissions on Jewish education. You can see this in the paper written by Joel Fox and by Henry L. Zucker. If you do not have those papers, then Mark Gurvis or Ginny Levi at the Cleveland office will be happy to see that you get them.

3/8/90

Dear Annette,

Following is a list information items and assignments that resulted from the meetings of the past several days.

1. I am arranging to pay Nussbacher by 4/1.
2. We scheduled a teleconference for you and SF with MG and me on Thurs., March 22, at 8:30 a.m. our time, to discuss the CAJE paper.
3. SF promised that the Fox/Scheffler paper will be ready for distribution to policy advisors by April 5.
4. A teleconference has been scheduled for Thurs., April 12, 7:30 a.m. our time, for you and SF on your end, with MLM, HLZ, SHH (Hoffman), MG and me. The purpose is to discuss the IJE.
5. SF volunteered you (with him) to prepare an interview schedule or talk piece for policy advisors to use in following up on the commission meeting. He said you'd also suggest a list of commissioners to be contacted. These should be ready for review on April 12.
6. The senior policy advisors meeting scheduled for April 22 is being arranged as a teleconference. It's not yet clear that we have enough of an agenda, so your thoughts on the purpose of that meeting would be helpful. I think we need to discuss follow up with commissioners, the status of plans for the IJE, and - if anything is ready - a draft of the final report.
7. Please remind SF that he owes us bills for Ackerman and Scheffler.

I think that's everything. Enjoy the calm of the next week or two.

Ginny



In these commissions such as Los Angeles, top lay leaders are already involved and Mort Mandel, for example, is going out to Los Angeles to speak to that commission in April as he spoke to the New York Federation the other day.

Question No. 12: The four bullets on page 11 may appear in every report on education in North America. The difference is that we intend to respond to the problem of personnel in a comprehensive way. That is, I know of no attack where the issue was approached in terms of recruitment, training, profession-building and retention at the same time. The various reports have often dealt with these problems separately. And one of the reasons why this cannot happen in general education is because each of these areas belong to a different group or vested interest group in the United States. For example, training belongs to the university; recruitment belongs to the local boards of education; the salaries of profession-building belong either to the teachers or to the boards of education.

Here in Jewish education, because of the work of this Commission and because of the fact that you are asking the community to take leadership, you can mount an attack on the local scene and that's what we will be doing in these lead communities where all of these matters would be attacked simultaneously. And thus we could learn in practice to what extent is salary and fringe benefits very important. How is status given to people. To what extent would great figures in the training institutions make a difference, both in terms of encouraging people to go into the field, and also seeing to it that they were properly inspired. In other words, the comprehensive approach is what we are talking about here.

Now I have not responded here to the question of improving the content of education. That I think we picked up someplace else in the earlier material I've written to you. If you need more of that I'd be happy to. However, it is important that you understand that what we are up to here is a comprehensive approach in attacking the problem of personnel involving all of the four elements that I mentioned.

Question No. 13: There is nothing similar to a profession of Jewish education and that's why we've emphasized it here. There is a profession in general education. There is a profession of the rabbinate. There is a profession of social workers in Jewish education. There is a profession of people working in the federation movement, but not for Jewish education. That in itself may not be exciting but it's important in terms of dealing with the problem.

One of the suggestions we are making, and I know it appears in the report several times, is that one of the ways needed to build this profession is by virtue of creating many jobs that do not exist presently in Jewish education such as people who are experts in the media, in the Israel experience, in early childhood education, in teacher education and

curriculum development, and above all the building of the professors of education. Thus, we are talking not only of a linear approach to the profession which is disastrous. That is, a linear approach to advancement which is teacher, assistant principal, principal where many people are not appropriate to move up that way but, if there were an expert in the teaching of the Bible, that person could be a teacher who, instead of being forced to move up into an administrative role could be a person who would have an impact on a school or many schools by virtue of being an expert in the teaching of Bible history, Hebrew, Jewish values, etc.

Question No. 14: I am beginning by following the bullet points on page 12. The material which indicates that there are no more than 15 or something like that professors of Jewish education today and that you can't undertake the assignment with that number of people.

We expect to attack this problem in a very practical and organized manner. For example, we would like to serve as shadchan between the foundations and the institutions of higher Jewish learning. For example, could we get the Riklis Foundation to invest in Yeshiva University for a program in early childhood education. Could we locate the proper people who might serve as faculty for Yeshiva University in this program. Thus, for example, a Jerusalem Fellow like Cindy Levine who comes from Seattle, Washington, was trained at the Jerusalem Fellows for the past three years, could come back to Yeshiva University and serve as a member of the faculty of its early childhood education specialty which would be financed by the Riklis Foundation.

Similar examples could take place at the seminary, Hebrew Union College, Brandeis, etc. There are almost no specialists in the various fields that are needed to build these faculties. For example, specialists in early childhood education and informal education, etc. But we would identify people in general education who might be willing to make a contribution first on a part-time basis and later by taking leaves of absence and finally some of them by finding that this is the way they would like to spend their lives. For example, we are currently negotiating with the head of the Department of Education at the University of Wisconsin, Professor Daniel Pekarsky, to take a three-year leave of absence to go into Cleveland and serve as kind of intellectual leader of Cleveland as a lead community.

The idea here again is to use the vast brain power of Jewish intellectuals and academics for Jewish education. They, as we all know, are the leaders in the social sciences, education and the humanities and it is these fields that are necessary to help build the training institutions. Also, the thought would be to take outstanding practitioners and move them up into the training institutions, the combination of scholars of Judaica that currently exist in these training institutions, Jewish academics who are working at the Stanfords, Harvards, etc. And practitioners would be the way that we would attack the problem of developing the faculty for Jewish education programs and creating the specialized tracks.

As far as improving the quality of training opportunities by creating partnerships between training institutions in North America and Israel, for example in a lead community, the Hebrew University and the Jewish Theological Seminary might take the responsibility for the lead community in Detroit. Tel Aviv University and Yeshiva University might take the responsibility for the lead community in Cincinnati. These are just very gross examples, but they indicate the kind of partnerships that could take place.

Since so much talent exists in Israel today for Jewish education in the diaspora, both as a way to launch the activity in the United States and since Israel, to the minds of many American Jews and particularly members of the Commission, is important for Jewish education, this is the way that we could build partnerships, research networks in consortia. By the way, the consortia in the United States for research could involve a secular university like Stanford, the University of Judaism, Hebrew Union College on the west coast, and the Hebrew University. All those possibilities exist and they are quite realistic.

If you look at the next point, the training programs exist. There is one in Cleveland but none in the Florida area which represents the third largest concentration of Jews in North America. So there has got to be a reconsideration of the geographic distribution and the needs that this brings to bear. It could either mean creating such institutions or building branches of the seminary, etc.

As far as developing and supporting training, it's interesting that the Wexner Foundation is giving money for elites and we were under the impression that there was enough money available for people that wanted to go into the field of Jewish education. But we learned that students who want to go into the field are often left with enormous debts when they finish their education of \$30-50,000 in a profession that doesn't pay too much. Therefore a large amount of money has got to be invested in Fellowships for people who want to train, to go into the field. That is, for tuition and for living expenses while they are students.

The last point: Stanford University just received a grant from the Wexner Foundation to build a speciality in Jewish education. I know they've approached Harvard. York University has a program. George Washington University has a program.

On page 13, as far as inservice training programs are concerned. Several of the commissioners like Twersky think that inservice education is really the way to go. That is, that there are many more teachers in the field right now who should be upgraded than there are people who would ever get into training programs. As far as inservice training programs are concerned, the use of the summers to build seminars such as those that exist in general education, Yale University has a wonderful seminar for the teachers of literature and Stanford has one for the teachers of mathematics. Supposing we had programs at general universities where they

have great Judaica programs such as Harvard running a program for the teaching of Jewish thought and NYU running one on the teaching of Jewish history, and the Jewish Theological Seminary running one on the teaching of Jewish values, and Hebrew Union College running one on the teaching of the Holocaust. These are all example of the way the summer could be used for large numbers of teachers coming to study. Other vacation periods could be used as well and, of course, Israel has hundreds of teachers that are now coming. This should be changed into thousands of teachers. The same holds true for the administrators, the principals of schools and above all the informal educators who work at the Jewish Community Centers.

As far as the recruitment plan is concerned, it is my understanding that we may even be able to announce that the Wexner Foundation has undertaken the entire program. That could be an important announcement of the work of the Commission giving appropriate credit to the Wexner Foundation. Furthermore, other foundations such as Bronfman will probably be ready to announce their programs and show the relationship to the work of the Commission so when the Commission announces its report, it might be able to say in addition to the work of the Commission, the following foundations have undertaken a, b, and c which have emanated from the work of the Commission or are related to the work of the Commission.

Question No. 15: The Carnegie report did a very interesting analysis of teacher salaries as compared to other professions and I think that ought to be looked at. I don't remember what pages it was on but it's there. As a result of their work, they came up with the notion of paying lead teachers somewhere around \$70,000 a year. A lead teacher is not a regular teacher. It is a teacher who plays a leadership role by virtue of guiding younger teachers, doing curriculum work, participating in the administration of the school, etc.

However, the city of Rochester, I think, is already paying \$70,000 a year this year to teachers and many university professors in the area went into teaching, not only because of the salary but they were then able to do what they wanted to do originally because the salaries were now the kind that they could live on.

So the question really for the Commission to figure out, or rather the successor of the Commission the IJE to figure out, is what are the kinds of salaries that will be competitive and who should receive them. I don't think every teacher should receive outstanding salaries. We ought to build a ladder of salaries built on training and the kind of role that a teacher would play. But the important point is that you're going to have to dramatically change the salaries, fringe benefits, etc. of teachers.

One of the things we found out, for example, is that less teachers have been to Israel than community leaders and the reason is essentially financial. They don't have the money for the trip and they can't take the time off because during the summers when they might go, they use this time to make extra money by going to camps, etc. So the question of what are the salaries that teachers should receive is wide open but there's no

doubt that a very significant change will have to characterize the salaries of teachers.

I'm not going to edit this, David. I'm going to send it as it is because I don't have that much time in Cleveland. I will be in touch with you next week and I will be available to continue the conversation, either on the phone or in person.

Best regards.