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Box 39, Folder 1, Moral Majority, 1981.

Rev Joseph O'Hare, Editor AMERICA Magazine

Comments on the Moral Majority prepared for a panel discussion sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, March 23, 1981, St Peter's Lutheran Church, New York City

The first observation I would make about the Moral Majority would be cautionary. I think the significance of the "new religious right" and particularly the danger they presumably pose for American political process has been considerably overdrawn. I am thinking of the attacks of the American Civil Liberties Union, in particular. It is premature, I believe, to credit the Moral Majority and other similar groups with the decisive political victory conservatism won last November. I recognize that the victory of Ronald Reagan is less impressive in assessing the political strength of the new religious right than the defeat of a number of senior liberal Democratic Senators. I would still maintain that last November's vote represented above all a desire for change, an expression of protest. It could become a victory for conservative ideas and values in religion and politics, but this will depend on how the nation fares in the coming years.

At the same time, I think some of the outrage coming from liberal circles and directed at the Moral Majority fails to recognize the grievances that fuel the anger behind this movement. I believe this anger in many instances is misdirected, but I also believe it has very legitimate sources, and the development of the abortion industry in this country is a conspicuous example

My fear, though, is that legitimate moral indignation turns too easily in the new religious right into a politics of resentment that can be a negative and destructive force in a pluralistic society

If the dangers of the Moral Majority have been exaggerated, the phenomenon of the new religious right is nonetheless important. If not a threat, it certainly represents a challenge and an interesting one because it forces us to review again the proper relationships between religion and politics in a pluralistic society like the United States

I assume that we recognize as legitimate and even necessary that religious beliefs inform our consciences in the political realm as in any other. But there are aspects of the relation between religion and politics as embodied in the Moral Majority that trouble me, because I believe they make for bad religion as well as bad politics

The first of these is the practice of clustering a series of disparate issues into one political agenda and calling it the "moral" or even "Christian" agenda. The MX missile, permissive abortion, recognition of Taiwan, prayer in public schools, gay rights--these are all questions that should be argued on their individual merits. There is no necessary logical connection among many of them, much less is there any one authoritative

Christian judgment that binds them all together I may be vigorously opposed both to permissive abortion and greater defense spending, for example

A second problem follows from this On many issues informed citizens who share deep religious convictions may disagree on particular political programs and positions In the Catholic community, for example, Robert Drinan and William F Buckley-- to name two of my more prominent coreligionists--will rarely agree on any political question Such disagreement does not mean that either one of them is not a sincere Catholic The tendency to label those who disagree with us on specific political issues "immoral" or even "Unchristian" suggests to me a kind of moral fascism

Both of these problems converge on what I think is the most fundamental danger of the Moral Majority and similar groups their failure to recognize the important conditions for conducting the necessary public debate on public morality in a pluralistic society Pluralism does not mean a bland, least common denominator approach to issues of public morality It does mean an acceptance of the distinction between morality and legality, not everything that I judge immoral need or should be declared illegal Pluralism also means that the virtue of civility--presuming the good conscience of an adversary is one important expression of the virtue--in no way contradicts a passionate commitment

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to my own particular religious tradition Balancing religious
commitment and civil tolerance may sometimes be a tricky act,
but it is an important skill in the art of citizenship

Joseph A O'Hare, S J



Speech delivered at St. Peter's Lutheran Church
by the Rt Rev Paul Moore, Jr, Bishop
Episcopal Diocese of New York
Monday, March 23, 1981

THE MORAL MAJORITY

It is a great honor to be asked by the sponsoring groups to be on the panel this evening, particularly with the Rev Richard Neuhaus and Father Joseph O'Hare. That's a rather fast intellectual track for such as I! It's good also to be with Rabbi Tannenbaum, with whom I have worked for many years

We address this evening the most important issue that lies before our religious groups, and before the nation itself. Far beyond the particularities of foreign policy that even in its early stages seems to be threatening the peace of the world, far beyond the particularities of the cutback of social programs, which seems to threaten the survival of the poor and of our cities, lies an even deeper threat to the very spirit of our nation. The so-called Moral Majority is the mouthpiece of that new spirit and is giving the new Right a cloak of religious respectability and is encouraging a combination of religious fundamentalism and national chauvinism which we have seen through history to be the most dangerous combination one can find.

Those of us who do not identify with the new Right are in some disarray. The old coalitions formed during the New Deal and continuing strong through the Civil Rights era have dissolved and the new coalitions are just forming. We find new friends and new adversaries, and, as in all coalition-forming, we have not yet learned to work with our new friends or even, perhaps, to trust them. During this time of hiatus, therefore, it is most important to be clear about the issues that face us, to allow ourselves

to courteously "agree to disagree" on some of these issues so that we may coalesce with power on others, For instance, I find myself in disagreement with my own Catholic brothers and sisters on issues like birth control and free choice in abortion, and yet I find myself in strong agreement with the Catholic bishops of this country in their courageous stand against the foreign policy in El Salvador

Tonight let us seek to clarify the dangers of the Moral Majority and the new Right Let us neither overestimate their power nor underestimate it And by the same token let us not underestimate our own power, but learn to use it more effectively. At stake is the survival of millions of poor people in this land, the survival of the cities of America--especially the old cities of the Northeast and Midwest--the survival of our nation and perhaps even the world, and the health and spirit of America

Tonight is not the first time that I have found myself in alliance with Jewish and Roman Catholic colleagues over and against Protestants. In the fifties I often found the only white people in the Civil Rights marches besides myself to be Jewish In Jersey City the only Roman Catholic priest who would work with us was a Jesuit I feel right at home with Fr O'Hare and Rabbi Tannenbaum and, of course, with Richard Neuhaus with whom I have worked on the problems of the city of New York

Together I hope we can sift out the principles of the Moral Majority tonight and see where they differ from the central traditions of the Christian and Jewish faiths

The theology of the Moral Majority seems to be based on a selective Bible-quoting fundamentalism and a flag-waving patriotism They believe that sin and its symptoms are dangerously real in this country and that the reason America is in the difficulty we find ourselves in is because of this moral decadence For them, morality is

centered in and around personal morality--issues like abortion, homosexuality, pornography and feminism--and not around issues of social responsibility. They blame "secular humanism," as they call it, for this condition. They believe that the prosperity of America historically has resulted from its being a Christian nation, a direct reward from God for our Christian faith. They believe we are losing our position of dominance in the world, which God had given us to carry out. A Christian Voice letter puts it this way: "America, as a nation and a people, has stood in her brief history as the mightiest (and perhaps the last) great home of the Faith."

The Moral Majority sees the world divided into two warring camps-- on the one hand the United States and its allies and on the other hand the Communist bloc. It is our God-given task, so they think, to build a strong military defense to preserve our God-given role of world leadership. They also distrust government, feeling that individuals should solve their own problems alone or in groups separate from government, rather than relying on government to help them. In the last few years they have become politically active, feeling that God has given them a mission to carry out these beliefs politically.

From my point of view the Bible would teach the opposite on almost every one of these points. I believe we cannot use isolated texts, but have to look at the whole message of the Bible with its emphasis on justice and peace. I do not believe that any nation is rewarded in this world with material possessions because of its national faith. I do not see the world divided into two warring camps--the so-called free nations versus world communism. I see the world as a much more complicated place where probably the major division is between the North and the South, the nations which are the haves and the nations which are the have-nots. I believe

our basic approach to foreign policy should not be through armament and shipment of arms to those nations who are our allies, whatever their internal oppressive regimes may be, but rather our seeking to help the nations of the Third World to gain autonomy and dignity and thereby weaving a network of solidarity with them, on which our national security would rest more permanently

I am sure the other speakers in our discussion time will give us an opportunity to explore more in detail what the posture of the Moral Majority is, but now I would like to speak to our tradition, which I believe is a far truer conservatism than the so-called conservatism of the new Right

Granted, we have problems Our economy is in crisis, destruction of our environment increases, the international situation is in grave danger, and we are without good national leadership Furthermore the only loud religious voice in the nation right now is from the so-called Moral Majority How should we respond to these strange Christians? Should our churches be political? Is this conservative trend evident in every field and across the world to be welcomed as of the Holy Spirit? Is this trend truly conservative or does it hide demonic influence in the trappings of familiar sacred words?

Lest in criticizing the political activism of the Moral Majority we undercut our own ability to act, let me say that I believe our churches and synagogues must speak and act on issues of social justice, even when this entails sacrifice The Old Testament prophets and Jesus' concern for the poor and suffering command us so to do However I feel that the Church in its official capacity should never come out for or against a particular candidate or party except in extraordinary circumstances, such as the rise of Hitler. The reason the Church should not officially embrace a particular candidate or party is that these instruments

of political life are flawed. Sincere Christians and Jews may believe in different individuals or parties as a means of effecting a better society. Therefore I think we should stick to issues rather than parties or individuals.

Many say that the so-called conservatism abroad in the world is a healthy swing of the pendulum--but let us look at this word, "conservative." Historically the Catholic churches, most of the Protestant denominations, and the mainstream of Judaism in the United States has been involved in social and political life. However, by and large the so-called conservative Evangelical churches have been more concerned with the salvation of souls from the world than with the redemption of the world. (The dominance of political life by the Southern Baptists in the South is an exception to this.) Today, however, this new phenomenon appears: Sudden intense political action of the television churches (the so-called Electronic Church) in conservative partisan politics. No structured democratic policy exists in their bodies, rather, political decisions are made by their leaders who then indoctrinate their faithful disciples. For instance, several thousand Evangelical ministers recently gathered at a workshop in Dallas to train in political action. These people mean business and have millions of dollars at their command. Their influence on the recent election was quite clear, particularly in the Senate. Although the Reverend Jerry Falwell is quoted as saying he is neither a Republican nor a Democrat, the present political involvement of the Moral Majority is strongly partisan. Some see it as frightening, for history bears witness to the demonic power of the "politics of religion"--the Inquisition, the abuses of Cromwell, the Salem witch trials. Others see it as an heroic, Spirit-guided crusade. These churches are called conservative, but I question the use of this label when applied to a Christian group which holds their views

As Christian and Jewish citizens of the United States, I believe we are the ones who are called to a true conservatism. A true biblical conservatism throws us into the arms of the prophets, who consistently spoke the will of God in terms of justice, freedom and peace. True political conservatism in this country throws ^{us} into the arms of our founding fathers. Our national scripture is the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution. We declare our national creed in the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag--"liberty and justice for all." We preserve the sparse liturgy of our national life in the inauguration of a president, the national holidays of Thanksgiving, Memorial Day and Independence Day. Throughout all these celebrations run the themes of a democratic polity from a nation founded upon the concept of freedom and justice. Over all these things waves the flag, symbolizing the red of courage, the white of purity, and the blue of loyalty. I'm a deeply patriotic person. I will never forget the sight of our flag waving over Henderson Field in the Solomon Islands when I went to the front lines in the Marine Corps. At the sight of the flag courage rose in my heart. Ever since that day the flag has had a special meaning for me.

These symbols, these words, these frail bits of cloth concern our faith in the principles upon which our nation was founded. Individual worth, freedom, political and economic justice, peace. True conservatism and the preservation of such principles and such structures has allowed the pluralistic life of our nation and of our Church to flow free and unhindered to the glory of God and love for all his people, for the building of his kingdom and for the bringing of peace to the world.

This is not the kind of conservatism in which the new Right believes. To the forces of the right, conservative now means increased military spending, and increased support in arms shipment to other nations who happen to be on our side at the moment. The bankruptcy of such a foreign policy

as seen in Vietnam and Iran does not make them hesitate To the forces of the Right, conservative now means cutting government spending for social programs, housing, welfare health care and education It means support of the free-enterprise system and a disregard for the poor and the minorities, a disregard for the dislocated economy of our cities, a disregard for social justice and a disregard for small business The belief in the free enterprise system is selective, for they would push protective tariffs and the bailout of corporations by government

The President in his acceptance speech spoke movingly about the reindustrialization of the American cities, and yet the few funds which are used for that have already come under the chopping block. This conservatism means racism The constituencies of the Moral Majority include few minorities This nation cannot be governed unless each component, each minority is fully represented in the government and has equal access to the resources of our land These conservatives claim to be pro-family. However this is a catch-word which means lack of compassion for broken families and all other hapless people who do not have the blessing of a nuclear family, usually through no fault of their own Pro-family means anti-women's liberation, and anti-gay rights

What I have said is probably obvious to all of you, but I think it is important to continue to clarify the differences between our position and the Moral Majority, not to allow them to pre-empt words like "conservatism," and "patriotism," or indeed the American flag itself

The city of New York, probably more than any other place, symbolizes historically concern for the poor, pluralism, the ideals of America at its best We pride ourselves on the Statue of Liberty and the ringing words beneath it Let us take courage in our own principles and let us band together in true patriotism, and let us fight for the poor of our land and for the peace of the world, for this is God's will for his people

The Moral Majority -- Threat or Challenge?

by Rev Richard John Neuhaus

Moral Majority is both threat and challenge. The less intelligently we respond to the challenge, the greater is the threat.

We are speaking of a cluster of organizations and movements representing an alliance between religion and the New Right in American politics. Moral Majority and its leader Jerry Falwell are simply the most visible part of the phenomenon.

My belief is that the Religious New Right represents a deep and long-term change in American religion, culture and politics. Moral Majority and other organization may not be around five years from now, but the change they represent will be with us for a long time.

To date the reaction to Moral Majority has been disappointing and probably self-defeating. There has been a great deal of mutual name calling. They scream "secular humanist" and the other side screams back "bigoted reactionaries." They call their opponents "communists" and the opposition returns the compliment with "fascist." If they are reactionaries, liberals who disagree are simply reacting to their reaction, which makes the liberals reactionaries squared.

The leaders of the Religious New Right have been called Yahoos, Rednecks, Ku Kluxers and neo-Nazis. From months of researching this phenomenon, from conversations with Jerry Falwell and others, I am persuaded that we have been blinded by the caricatures we used to try and discredit these people. I am convinced that the leadership of the Religious New Right is, for the most part, sincere, shrewd, and utterly convinced of the need and possibility to correct what they view as the moral rot of American society.

They are capitalizing on a deep resentment. They and their followers believe that in the past they have been excluded from and despised by the leadership elites in American life. They feel this way because in fact they have been excluded and despised. It is necessary to understand the way in which fundamentalist religion was excluded from respectable circles and made an object of ridicule in the 1920s. Developments within the evangelical-fundamentalist world, combined with the growth of the "electronic church", has met with a new conservative coalition in politics to produce this moment which they believe is their time of opportunity.

Moral Majority defines its platform as pro-life, pro-family, pro-morality, and pro-America. Who would want to be against any of these? But each general category is loaded with specifics -- dealing with everything from gun control and prayer in the schools to abortion and the defense budget.

Jerry Falwell believes that on a majority of their issues a majority of the American people agrees with them. He is probably right. In the past two decades liberals have made the enormous mistake of letting the so-called social issues and the juices of patriotism gravitate to the reactionary Right.

The conflict is not between the moral majority and the immoral minority. We are witnessing, rather, a conflict of moralities. In terms of the minority of people who think through these questions in a coherent way, we are witnessing a conflict of moral minorities.

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The Moral Majority and its allies are threatening in several ways:

- 1) It is superficial in its analysis of what is wrong with society. The symptoms of moral degeneracy are condemned, but its causes in a materialist and individualistic society are not traced.
- 2) It fails to understand how problems must be solved in a pluralistic society. It is uncommitted of compromise and indifferent to the need for public argument that does not depend upon everybody subscribing to a particular reading of the Christian ethic.
- 3) It lacks prophetic backbone. Its issues are safe middle class issues that do not threaten the pocket book or life styles of the people to whom it appeals.
- 4) It violates a fundamental part of the Judeo-Christian ethic by showing no believable concern for the poor and socially marginal.
- 5) It promotes a narrow nationalism that comes very close to identifying America with the purposes of God in the world.

The movement is also challenging and encouraging in several ways:

- 1) It represents a recovery of social responsibility among fundamentalist Christians. For years liberals have blasted them for lacking that responsibility. Liberals should now welcome this change, instead of engaging in fatuous talk about the violation of the separation of church and state.
- 2) It represents a Christian confidence that God is indeed at work in the world and that the church must combat social sins as well as personal sins.
- 3) It recognizes that Western culture is indeed in a state of moral decline.
- 4) It emphasizes that the Jewish people and the State of Israel have a particular and powerful claim upon the Christian conscience.
- 5) It alerts us to the fact that this nation and all nations are accountable to God.

A big proposition. We are witnessing the collapse of the nearly 200 year hegemony of the secular enlightenment in Western culture. Jerry Falwell has -- inadvertently and somewhat clumsily -- kicked the trip wire and set off an alarm alerting us to this massive change.

The secular enlightenment assumed, indeed it was a dogma, that as people became more "enlightened" religion would either wither away or could be safely confined to the private sphere of life. Now, for better and for worse, religion is breaking out all over. In the physical and social sciences, in law, in art, and in politics.

For decades public policy aimed at producing the naked public square. That is, public space -- physical and political -- was to be stripped of every symbol of religion. Now Christian and Jewish thinkers, and many who identify with no religion, are recognizing that was a mistake. Without any symbols of the transcendent, a society has no absolute sanction against evil, nor imperative to pursue the good. It is adrift.

As odd as it may seem, Jerry Falwell and Martin Luther King Jr are alike in one important respect. ~~Both dared to~~ Their ideas of what is wrong with America and what needs to be done about it are very, very different. But both dared to enter the public square and call society to account by use of religiously based moral beliefs.

Neuhaus -- three

What is happening does not fit into the thought-slots of liberal, conservative, Left or Right. It is something quite new, both puzzling and promising, and it is fast transforming the cultural and political alignments of the past.

What then is to be done? 1) We should recognize the long-term significance of what is underway. 2) We should sympathetically try to understand the views and motivations of those who seem to threaten our values. 3) We should candidly disagree with them when necessary, but within the context of a dialogue that avoids polarization and preserves the pluralism we cherish. 4) ~~We should~~ Those of us who claim the ~~liberal~~ tradition of liberal democracy need to examine ourselves, asking why the symbols of morality and patriotism (pro life, pro family, pro morality, pro America) have been permitted to gravitate toward the right.

Martin Luther King was fond of saying, "Whom you would change you must first love." Millions of Americans believe that liberals are basically contemptuous of them and their values. They are ~~not close~~ *not close to the truth*. We will again have a chance to lead in changing America when we convince the American people that we love them and share their noblest aspirations. Rather than surrendering to the radical Right, we, like Dr. King, must dream a more persuasive dream for America. When that happens, the present squatters in the public square will be forced to let us back in to the game of defining America's future.

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**THE MORAL
MAJORITY...**

**THREAT
OR CHALLENGE?**

A PUBLIC AFFAIRS FORUM

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- THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE — NEW YORK CHAPTER
- SAINT PETER S CHURCH — A CONGREGATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA

MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1981

7 30 p m at

**SAINT PETER S CHURCH
619 Lexington Avenue (54th Street)
New York City**

THE MORAL MAJORITY...

THREAT OR CHALLENGE?

PURPOSE

The emergence of the New Right Evangelicals — personified dramatically by the Moral Majority — has been met with deeply ambivalent reactions in the Jewish and Christian communities, as well as in the general society

Is this new coalition of Evangelical preachers and ultra conservative political organizers a real threat to American democracy and religious pluralism? Does its ideological claims of seeking to establish a Christian Republic in America nurture anti-Semitism and other religious bigotries? Or has its influence and political power been over dramatized in the mass media?

To deepen our knowledge of this widely publicized development the New York Chapter American Jewish Committee, in cooperation with the Ecumenical Commission of the Archdiocese of New York, the Council of Churches of the City of New York and Saint Peter's Church a congregation of the Lutheran Church in America have joined in sponsoring this Forum which is open to the general public

PROGRAM

PANELISTS

THE RT REV PAUL MOORE, JR
Episcopal Bishop of New York

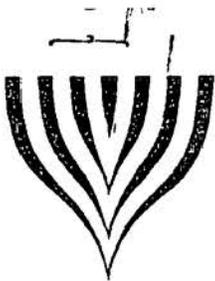
THE REV RICHARD NEUHAUS
Lutheran Pastor
Author and Editor *Lutheran Forum*

THE REV JOSEPH O HARE
Editor of the Jesuit magazine, *America*

MODERATOR

RABBI MARC H TANENBAUM
National Interreligious Affairs Director
American Jewish Committee

The panel will entertain questions from the audience



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For Immediate Release

JERRY FALWELL FRIEND OR FOE?

By Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

[Editor's Note In this article, Rabbi Schindler, who has been attacked for criticizing the Moral Majority, answers his critics]

Is Jerry Falwell good for the Jews? Is the Moral Majority a political force with which Israel and her American supporters should make alliance?

At first blush the answer to these questions is a clear yes. After all, Falwell ranks among Israel's staunchest supporters. Israel has too few friends as it is. Moreover, the Moral Majority is an emerging political force of some consequence. Why not cooperate with them?

A more careful consideration of the ends and means of America's new right prompts an entirely different response. Alliances should not be made with only short-term gain in mind, the long-range consequences must also be seen. And once these are weighed, the Moral Majority and those other religious and political organizations with which they are in coalition, reveal themselves to be a threat to American democracy, to America's Jews, and therefore also to Israel.

Let me say at once that I do not speak of all evangelical fundamentalists. They do not constitute a monistic group. They may be bound by a common theology, but they are not of one mind politically. Indeed, many fundamentalists have serious reservations about the policies and programs of Falwell and his followers. It is only of the latter that I speak, those fundamentalists who join forces with America's radical right to form what has become known as the Christian right.

This new political force - which gained considerable strength in the campaign just past - seeks nothing less than to Christianize America, to make it a republic ruled by Christ. Falwell has called for the adoption of a "Christian Bill of Rights" and

his coalition associate Potter spells out precisely what this means "when the Christian majority takes over this country, there will be no more satanic churches Pluralism will be seen as immoral and evil, and the state will not permit anybody to practise that evil"

The means of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling They disdain the democratic process Tests of politico-religious purity have been established Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan " Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favorite weapon for such assassinations, terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied, in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the radical right to destroy Senator Frank Church

It is for these reasons that I labelled the Christian right a threat to Jews I never called the Rev Mr Falwell an anti-Semite What I did say - and repeat - is that in his exclusivist emphasis on a Christian America and the tools he chooses to build it, he and his associates are creating a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance Such a climate, in my judgment, is bad for civil liberties, human rights, social justice, interfaith understanding, and mutual respect among Americans Therefore, it is bad for Jews

It is scarcely prudent to make alliance with those who are sworn to destroy Israel's true and tested friends The Moral Majority boasts of its recent victory over seven Senators, among them Israel's most devoted and skillful supporters including Frank Church One result of the success of the Christian right is the replacement of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Charles Percy, who told the Kremlin last month how important it was for Yasser Arafat to have a state to rule over before he died Is that good for Israel?

If we do, we are not only foolish but lacking in all honor
(From the Jerusalem Post)

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The delegation criticized the U.S. Senate's apparent rejection of the SALT II treaty which President Carter and Mr. Brezhnev signed in 1979.

"If we agree on anything, it is strange from our point of view to take an agreement and throw it out," Mr. Fyodorov said. Angered that Mr. Carter declined to submit the treaty to almost certain rejection by the Senate, the Soviet leader added in a note of sarcasm, "next time please send senators" to negotiate an arms limitation treaty.

He dismissed President-elect Reagan's plan to seek military superiority for the United States in another round of negotiations and told his audience to "remember always that our soldiers and our armaments will never be weaker than yours."

Mr. Melvil warned that "the second edition of the Cold War in the '80's will be much more dangerous than the first edition of the 1950's because both sides possess much greater nuclear weapons than before."

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SOUTHERN BAPTIST REJECTS
GOP FOOD AND STICK IDEAS

By Religious News Service (1-13-81)

NASHVILLE, TENN. (RNS) -- A policy making food a diplomatic weapon, proposed by Agriculture Secretary-designate John R. Block, has been denounced as "both impractical and morally abhorrent" by a Southern Baptist leader.

W. David Sapp, director of organization for the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, told Mr. Block in an open letter that he objected to "your belief that we should lure other nations into depending on us for food so that we can exercise some degree of control over them by threatening to cut off their food supply."

Mr. Sapp noted that "the OPEC nations have sought to manipulate us by similar means, and we have denounced their tactics as unfair, selfish and morally reprehensible. We must not sink to their level."

Although the Southern Baptist leader acknowledged that under certain circumstances withholding food may be "the least evil available," he added that "when it is necessary, this sad strategy should be employed sparingly with tears in our eyes and repentance in our hearts."

Mr. Sapp told the Agriculture Secretary-designate that he was praying that "you will abandon this position concerning food as a weapon which is so foreign to the ideals of both the Bible and the American nation."

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In the editorial, Mr. Salvatierra wrote that Maryknoll "historically has been active in leftist causes...in El Salvador, Colombia and Bolivia" and cited the August issue of Maryknoll, the order's magazine, which, he said, "carried a laudatory article on Cuba under Communist rule. It reflected the views of several Maryknoll priests who had visited Cuba."

Mr. Salvatierra says the basic question is that "religious people who involve themselves in politics are susceptible to the sort of treatment non-religious people get.

"Being very activist is a very dangerous thing to do. You must be aware of the possible consequences."

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BLACK LEADER EXPRESSES DOUBTS
THAT REAGAN METHODS WILL HELP

By Religious News Service (1-13-81)

NEW-YORK (RNS) -- The executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) says his members think President-elect Reagan sincerely wants to improve the economic lot of black people, but they don't like his methods.

NAACP Director Benjamin Hooks made the statement at the group's national board meeting, which drew up a comprehensive list of proposals for the new administration.

Two Reagan proposals he said the NAACP disagrees with are the president-elect's suggested lower minimum wage for young people to reduce youth unemployment, and his opposition to a federal takeover of welfare costs now borne by the states.

Mr. Hooks, a Baptist minister, said he felt the "climate of fear" in the black community that arose after the election of Mr. Reagan was "out of proportion to reality."

"I think Mr. Reagan's methods will prove fruitless," he said. "But we will wait and see. He has promised to continue a dialogue with us and we hope to persuade him our methods are good. If he's got a better one, we'll listen."

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January 5, 1981

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Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Dear Jordan

I am delighted that you have accepted the role of Chair of the important session on "The Involvement in the Political Process of Evangelical and Other Religious Groups A Threat to our Pluralistic Democracy?" on Sunday, January 11 at 8 30 p m in the Ballroom of the Hotel Del Coronado in San Diego

The three presenters at the session will be Dr. Franklin Littell, Professor of Religion, Temple University, Dr William Sanford LaSor, Professor Emeritus of Old Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, and Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, Director, Department of Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee

At the Wednesday morning Joint Program Planning session on Individual Freedom and Jewish Security, we will be debating a position paper on the subject of religious involvement in the political process I am enclosing a copy for you, which will assist you in focusing the Sunday night meeting I am also sharing this paper with the three participants in the hopes that their remarks will relate in large measure to the paper, thus enhancing our debate on Wednesday

In order to discuss the session in greater detail and to offer some modest hospitality, we have arranged for an informal dinner in Bennett Yanowitz's suite at the hotel on Sunday evening at 6 00 p m

I look forward to seeing you, and the other participants in the session, at that dinner meeting

Sincerely,

Joel Ollander
Assistant Director

JO rb
enc

cc Dr Franklin Littell
Dr William Sanford LaSor
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum ✓

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William A Gralnick
Southeast Regional Director

1/5/81

Mr H Brandt Ayers
Editor and Publisher
The Anniston Star
P O Box 189
Anniston, AL 36202

Dear Brandy

Attached is one mechanics response to the problem discovered in the oratory system. This issue has begun to remind me, in its responses, of the old Jewish joke about the individual sitting next to a person who takes ill in a movie theater. As the newspaper reported it, "Mrs Schwartz, upon seeing the gentleman fall out of his seat obviously ill, yelled to all within earshot is there a doctor in the house?" The first individual to reach the victim was Dr Rabinowitz a Ph D in Economics, followed by Dr Abramowitz a Ph D in Mechanical Engineering. " Obviously I'm not a theologian but since you asked me for my opinion I have given it

"As for your being paid" for your speech at our Institute Dinner- it was obviously worth far more than the complimentary ticket' However, you have touched upon a subject that in all candor I was going to speak to you about. I was wondering whether the Star has a charitable budget (I suppose that actually should lead to a budget for charity") If so I would like to discuss with you the possibility of the Star becoming a regular contributor on an annual basis to the Institute of Human Relations. We have several projects and on-going programs that I feel would genuinely fall within the scope of the interests and ideals your publishing company and newspaper propound

Please send me a clip of these pieces when you run them and do drop me a note about the contribution issue

Warmest regards to you and Josie for a healthy and Happy New Year

Cordially yours,


William A. Gralnick
Southeast Regional Director

WAG/dc

Does God Hear the Prayers of the Jews-
A response to Jim Bolick

It is difficult to respond to commentaries such as that penned by Jim Bolick. They raise a variety of emotions that impinge on one's desire to be objective. None-the-less, I appreciate the "Star's" desire to share both sides of the issue with its readers and thus I will respond.

Recognizing the strong strain of independence in Protestantism, especially fundamentalist Protestantism, I must still challenge Mr. Bolick's assertion that "to the Christian the Bible is the final authority." The first, the "Handbook of Denominations in the United States" (Abingdon/Nashville/1975) lists 99 Christian church/denominations with many more sub-divisions running the number well up past the 200. Not all would come close to accepting the above quoted phrase on behalf of Christianity. Nor would they support the assumption that the belief in a religion other than Christianity equates to doing "evil" against God and that the "entire" Bible supports the same. To say the least, Mr. Bolick is a bit presumptuous.

Mr. Bolick doesn't state his credentials for teaching and interpreting Christian Scripture. I thought a partial listing of those with recognized credentials who responded to Pastor Smith's remarks might be enlightening.

State by the Faculty of Southeastern Seminary

"The God of the Judaeo/Christian Faith hears the prayers of all persons who call on him"

"Bigotry and narrow religious dogmatism spawn anti-Semitism"

The Faculty of Meredith College (North Carolina Baptist Girls School)

"We do not affirm this as our view"

25 to 30 Union Seminary (N Y) faculty members

We believe that the God of Justice and Love responds to the prayers of people of diverse religious traditions

We, who often use the prayer of the Jewish Jesus of Nazareth, believe that God hears and values the prayers of Jews as truly as those of Christians "

Reverend Glenn Hinson, Southeastern Seminary (Kentucky)

"You may have disfranchised Jesus' prayer when you said "My friend, God Almighty Does Not Hear the Prayers of a Jew"

Reverend Elmo Scoggin (Wake Forest, North Carolina)

"Was Jesus misguided and foolish to pray? How about his prayer for his disciples in John 17? Did he waste his time praying. In Matthew 26:39? How about the prayer of the Cross. Luke 23:46. How about Hebrew's 5:7. Jesus was a Jew. Did God hear him?"

The South Carolina Baptist Convention

"It is one thing to bear reverent witness to our faith. It is another thing to raise questions about God's prerogative in relating to someone else."

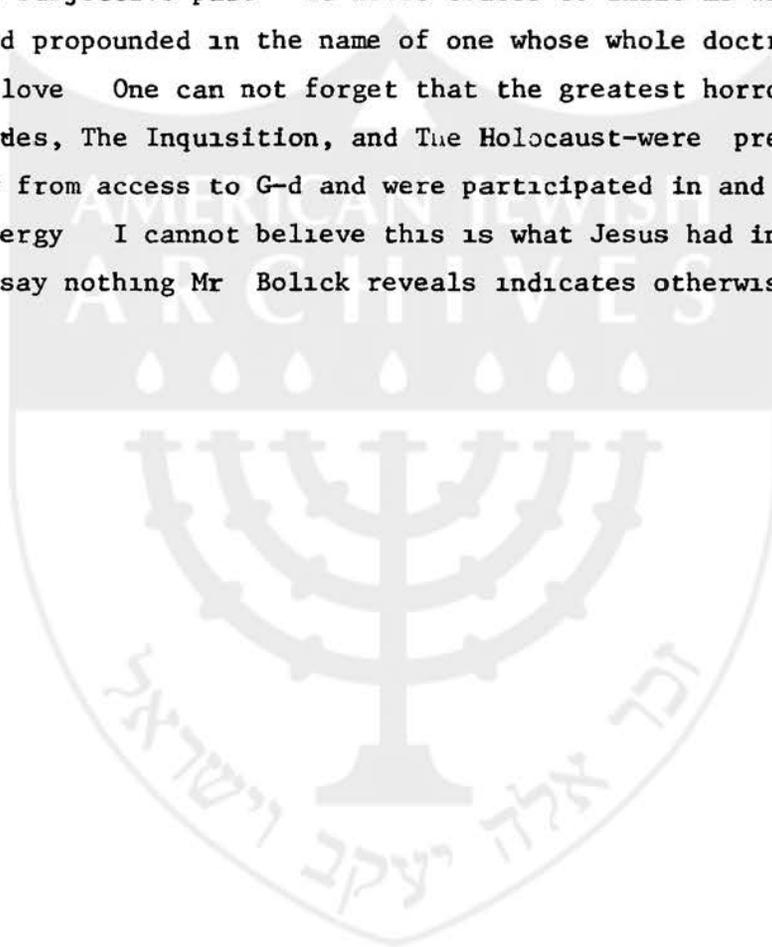
Reverend Gene Owens (Charlotte, North Carolina)

"That (the Smith Statement) is a classic example of the ignorance and prejudice that are one of the darkest features of Christianity-anti-Semitism "

Reverend Jerry Falwell (President, Moral Majority)

"God hears everybody "

Now comes the subjective part It never ceases to amaze me what insensitivity can be produced and propounded in the name of one whose whole doctrine can be distilled into a message of love One can not forget that the greatest horrors wrought upon the Jews-The Crusades, The Inquisition, and The Holocaust-were preceded by campaigns to isolate the Jew from access to G-d and were participated in and in some cases designed by the clergy I cannot believe this is what Jesus had in mind for his legacy and I dare say nothing Mr Bolick reveals indicates otherwise



The Anniston Star

Alabama's Largest Home Owned Newspaper

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Office of the Editor and Publisher

Dec 18, 1980

Mr William A Gralnick
American Jewish Committee
1649 Tullie Circle, NE, Suite 109
Atlanta, GA 30329

Dear Bill

Enclosed is the expert commentary on the auditory system of God. I'd like to have your reply so we can run the two letters together. Obviously, I hope you can fill your reply with quotations from evangelical, ENT specialists, like Dr Graham.

It was a nice occasion in Birmingham and established a new milestone in my speech-making career, I have been so starved for attention in the past that I have agreed to make speeches for nothing, but the Heflin banquet is the only one in which I have paid \$300 to make a speech. I hope they thought it was worth it.

Cordially,

H Brandt Ayers

HBA bjh
Enclosure

DOES GOD HEAR THE PRAYER OF THE LOST?

Recently the newly elected president of the Southern Baptist Association made the statement that God does not hear the prayer of the Jew. Now the Southern Baptists are attempting to ^{UA-EN} ~~harass~~ him for making that statement. Was that statement true or false? The answer to that question is imperatively dependant upon the answer to two other questions. Number 1, Does God hear the prayer of a lost person? Number 2, Are the Jews lost? The answer to these questions will vary from person to person. However, to the Christ the Bible is the final authority and his only concern is what saith the Lord?

Question #1, Does God hear the prayer of the lost? (1) "If regard iniquity in my heart the Lord will not hear me." Psalm 6 (2) "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee (God which frameth mischief by a law." Psalm 94:20. (3) "And then when I (Christ) profess unto them, I never knew you because ye work iniquity." Matt 7:23 (4) "For the eyes of the Lord are over righteous and his ears are open to their prayers but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil." I Peter 1:12 There are several other scriptures that say the same and the entire Bible supports same.

Question #2, Are the Jews lost? Two thousand years ago the apostle John, under the inspiration of God penned the Gospel of John for the primary purpose of correcting gross error on the part of the Jews concerning the identity of Jesus. Near the end of John's Gospel he wrote the following. "But these things are written, that ye believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believe might have life through his name." John 20:31. The self rejection of Israel had recently rejected Jesus as the Christ because they saw no need for a savior who would save them from their sin. Matt. 1:21. The sum of John's statement is that there can be al

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up stones to murder him, saying in John 10:33, we are going to stone you because "thou, being a man makest thyself God" The Jews violently disbelieved that Jesus was the Christ, that he was deity, or that he was God in the flesh. The Jews unbelief was a sin (John 16:9) and sin is iniquity. The Bible emphatically states that God does not hear the prayer of workers of iniquity.

Two thousand years ago the apostle Paul also wrote "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ I Timothy 2:5. The sum of Paul's statement is that Jesus Christ is the only means of reconciliation between sinful man and righteous and holy God, be the man Jew or Gentile. If Jew or Gentile is to be reconciled to God and escape the wrath of God he must approach God through a mediator or conciliator. "God is of purer eyes than to behold sin" (Habakkuk 1:12) or to deal directly with sinful man. Man has sinned against a holy and righteous God and it was God's sovereign right to ordain the means of reconciliation if reconciliation was to be made II Cor 5:18. That one and only means of reconciliation is faith in Jesus Christ and in no other Acts 4:12. Jew and Gentile alike must make use of God's ordained means or else be damned Mark 16:16.

The ancient Jews as a nation totally rejected God's ordained means of reconciliation, saying of Christ "we will not have this man (Jesus) reign over us" Luke 19:4.

Does God hear the prayer of the Jew? Yes God hears the prayer of the Jew that has been saved by grace through faith in Jesus Christ Eph 2:8. In so far as prayer and salvation are concerned there is no difference between Jew and Greek (Gentile). Romans 10:12

Does God hear the prayer of the Jew that holds the Jewish religion of Judaism? No, for Judaism still denies that Jesus was The Christ, that Jesus was deity and that the New Testament is scripture inspired by God. Incidentally, there are a few religions in Christendom that also deny the deity, or full deity of Jesus, in which case Gentile is as lost as Jew and visa versa. To deny Jesus as The Christ is to sin against the remedy.

Time Believer
2689 Green St.
Newark, NJ
56461

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

Harry E Moore Jr Ph D
Tennessee Regional Director

(901) 327-0010

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February 9, 1981

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Mr. Milton Ellerin / Ms. Alisa H. Kesten
Discrimination Division, Domestic Affairs Dept.
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Ellerin / Ms. Kesten:

Thank you for the excellent Trend Analysis Report: "The New Right - An Emerging Force on the Political Scene." I consider myself informed on this subject, and I still found your report stimulating and informative.

I have but a single point of disagreement. When you began in this report to estimate the possible threat of the new right to Jewish concerns, I was surprised by the obvious attempt to soft-peddle it. Tactically, you may be right at this point. That, however, is only part of the matter.

Bailey Smith's remarks had an anti-Semitic impact in spite of the fact that he, in his pristine innocence and goodwill, did not intend any. For your information, Jerry Falwell has made similar remarks. I am acutely aware that Christian Fundamentalists are among Israel's most ardent supporters, and Israel needs the support of as many U. S. citizens as possible. Maintaining this support is important, I grant that. At the same time, the same innocence and naivete that permitted Bailey Smith to say what he said about Jews can erupt at any time in "Christian" new right circles on a variety of subjects, all because it is written in the Book (New Testament). For example, the same man who believes that God does not hear the prayers of Jews also believes that the Jews killed Jesus (deicide) [see for example, Matt. 27:25; the phrase "the Jews" throughout the Gospel of John, and the passion narratives in all Four Gospels], Jews are "incomplete" in their faith (Rom. 10:1ff.; Gal 3:10 ff.), the establishment of Israel is but a prelude to the final conversion of all Jews (Rev. 7, 21-22), and Jews are wealthy and greedy (Matt. 23:16-23; 21:12-13). This is not necessarily to say that the

-More-

New Testament is literally and intentionally anti-Semitic. I am familiar with scholarly attempts to prove that it is not — the quarrels between Jesus/ Pharisees and evangelists/"Jews" are but inter-family squabbles between the synagogue and the emerging church, diatribes against Pharisees (E.g., Matt. 23) were rhetorical, thus not to be taken literally, and Jesus used hyperbole as a means of getting and holding attention. If we could prove that what Fundamentalists and other innocents read in the N.T. is not really there, but is at least tempered by other considerations, we would still have a serious problem.

There are texts and passages in the N.T. which taken at face value are anti-Semitic. Fundamentalists believe every word in the N.T. although right at this moment they may not choose to emphasize these texts. In other words, "Christians" of the new right are carrying around in their belief system ideas based on the N.T. that are latently anti-Semitic. What these "Christians" are always, is overtly triumphalistic in their beliefs. They believe that Jesus is coming again, that good will ultimately prevail under his banner, and that all will be reconciled unto him as God's special emissary. They believe that all Jews will eventually be converted. They support Israel because it is a sign of the nearness of the end time and the return of Jesus.

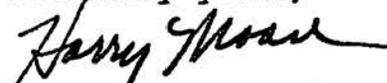
Hence, Jews are in place (in Israel) as a part of the dramatic scene which is the final triumph. Is not this view that the Jews in Israel are there, unwittingly, of course, awaiting the second coming, awaiting the time of their conversion, a testimony to the ultimate in anti-Semitism on the part of the Fundamentalists? Is this situation really any different to the Church offering its hand to Jews during the dark ages. "Convert or perish!"? To say the least, the new right's support of Israel has its dangers.

For one thing, liberals wonder at the uneasy alliance. For another, something can happen to cause the Fundamentalists to change directions quickly. Put bluntly, the alliance for the long haul is exceptionally problematic and for the short haul can be trying. What happens, for example, if the Fundamentalists decide that the pace towards the final triumph in Israel is moving too slowly and decide to take steps to speed it up?

I have written in part because I, as an ordained Southern Baptist minister, know firsthand that Fundamentalists may be your friends today and your enemies tomorrow. And they may be this way, overnight, because they do not like the way you think.

BE/GO WELL!

Sincerely yours,


Harry E. Moore, Jr.

HADASSAH

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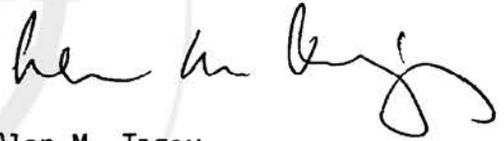
Rabbi Marc H Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E 56th Street
New York, N Y

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum

I thought the enclosed articles might be of some interest to you
Incidentally, the companion piece to your article on the Moral
Majority is being written by Arthur Hertzberg

I look forward to reading your article

Sincerely,



Alan M Tigay
Executive Editor

enc1s

cc: Harold Applebaum
Sam Rabinove
Susie Schub
✓ Marc Tannenbaum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date DAD-TA
February 13, 1981
to Seymour Samet
from Alisa Kesten *Alisa*
subject

In reply to Milton's memo to all area directors (12/18/80) and to the DAD staff (12/17/80) requesting names of any known organizations, established or ad hoc, national or local, who are or will be engaged in counteractive programs to combat the New Right, I report the following.

National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC), a liberal group that has targeted 5 conservatives for defeat in 1982

National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), St. Louis chapter

Moral Minority, a loosely organized Denver movement whose platform calls for separation of church and state and includes the creed "I am a member of the Moral Minority. I will respect all human rights and stand for freedom, just and integrity. That's the American way "

Americans for Common Sense, a group organized by George McGovern

People for the American Way, organized by Norman Lear

Houston Area Women's Center

Houston Gay Rights

Houston Council on Human Relations

Houston Panel on American Women

PASO, Houston group

IMPACT, Houston group

Moral Alternatives, a Detroit group billed as the religious community's response to the Moral Majority, which includes Communist and Communist Labor Party involvement

Committee Opposed to Violence and Extremism (COVE), an ad hoc committee in Baltimore

continuation

Johnson County Connection, organized by the Mental Health Association of Johnson County (Kansas City) and includes local organizations, agencies and churches who plan to work together to bring about social change needed legislation. According to Ellen Laner, the founder, the secret agenda is to counteract some of the legislative programs of the extreme right

Moral Alternatives in Politics (MAP), a national task force of the Center for the Study of Religion based in Milwaukee whose purposes include encouraging colleagues to speak from pulpits and public places on the issues and identifying the dangers inherent in the manipulation of religion and fear in order to achieve political ends. Board members represent diverse religious backgrounds and come from all over the country

AK.mp





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL COUNCIL • 1809 Tower Building • Dallas Texas 75201 • (214) 747 3531

February 27, 1981

DATE February 27, 1981 cc Jim Rudin
TO Marc Tannenbaum Judy Banki
FROM Milton Tobian Inge Gibel
Harold Applebaum
Milton Ellerin

Just today I have received the attached press release announcing the conference to be held on March 23-25 in Dallas, Texas and sponsored by the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. It seems to be an in-house variation of the same theme which our conference intends to pursue a month later.

Please note the presence of Andrew Young on the program as well as Gary Jarmin, Executive Director of Christian Voice, and old friend, Bill Hendricks as keynoter.

I intend to audit the majority of the proceedings. Will keep you posted.

MT lrg

encl

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of the Southern Baptist Convention
460 James Robertson Parkway Nashville Tennessee 37219
Tim Fields Director of Communications
Phone (615) 244 2495

#12-2-24-81

February 24, 1981

CONFRONTATION SET FOR
CHRISTIAN LIFE SEMINAR

DALLAS, Texas--A free-wheeling confrontation between a former congressman and the director of a new religious right organization which worked for his defeat will highlight a Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission seminar on the use and abuse of power March 23-25 in Dallas, Texas

Former eight-term Republican congressman and Southern Baptist minister John Buchanan will square off against Gary Jarmin, executive director of Christian Voice, in a discussion of appropriate citizenship for Christians

Foy Valentine, executive director of the Christian Life Commission, said the confrontation between Buchanan and Jarmin is expected to focus on the basic differences between Christians who have long been involved in serving God through the political process and Christians who have recently come to prominence supporting a narrow range of political, economic, and ideological special interests

Other speakers will address power as it relates to race relations, women, individual human rights, war and peace, civil religion, the Bible and the pulpit

Minette Drumwright, author and wife of the executive director for Arkansas Baptists will speak on Christian women and former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young will speak on race relations

John Henry Faulk, McCarthy era "blacklist" victim and a regular on the syndicated television program Hee-Haw, will speak on power and the First Amendment

- More -

Add'l-Confrotation

Robert Bellah, recognized as the foremost authority on civil religion will explore power and civil religion from a sociologist's perspective Robert G Bratcher, translator for the American Bible Society's Good News for Modern Man, will speak on biblical authority for the church's prophetic role

Each session will begin with a sermon by L D Johnson, chaplain at Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina

William L Hendricks, professor of theology at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary will deliver the keynote address

Other speakers and their topics include James M Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, on church-state separation, Richard Barnett, churchman and director of the Institute for Policy Studies, discussing peace, Ernest Campbell, author and preacher from New York, on the Christian pulpit and secular power and Daniel Vestal, Jr, pastor of First Baptist Church of Midland, Texas, on power in church and community

Roger Lovette, pastor of First Baptist Church of Clemson, South Carolina, will deliver the concluding sermon

Persons wishing to register for the three-day national conference may write to the Christian Life Commission, 460 James Robertson Parkway, Nashville, Tennessee, 37219 Registration is \$30 per person and \$15 for spouses and students

American Jewish Committee
Public Affairs Forum

"The Moral Majority
Threat or Challenge?"

Welcoming Remarks delivered by
Robert S Jacobs

Saint Peter's Church
New York City

March 23, 1981

Or behalf of the American Jewish Committee, I want to welcome you to this forum

We are a sponsor of this meeting on the threat of the extreme right to the social and political fabric of our society because we - as Jews and as Americans - are deeply concerned

We see our nation in doubt, facing the future not with confidence and optimism, but with anxiety and confusion. All around us, we hear of crumbling values, of loss of faith in the role of major societal institutions - the family, our schools, even our religious communities. We see a people turning their backs on their brethren and looking inward. In short, we see the opposite of the American dream.

But the American dream is more than a goal, more than an end result. The real greatness of this country has always been our deep belief in the democratic process, in a pluralistic society where the precise location of truth - whether political or religious - is not self-evident.

Today, we see a threat to these values, the values of process, from the extreme politico-religious right wing, which is so certain it does know the truth, and where those who disagree are not only wrong - they are judged to be evil persons. We Jews know from our own history just what can happen when powerful forces in a society categorize other people as "evil", as "satanic", as "demonic". And I suspect there is not a single person here tonight whose own religious community has not been so characterized at one place or another, at one time or another.

The American Jewish Committee recognizes that there is real doubt, concern, worry, confusion, in the Jewish community about the New Right. Some of us hear statements such as, "God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew", and tend to place the entire Evangelical movement under that self-righteous cloak, forgetting - or never knowing in the first place - that the Evangelical movement is a rich mosaic, as varied as can be, full of vigor and different attitudes - in short, that the far right cannot by any stretch of the imagination be equated with mainstream Evangelicals. Others of us hear a leader of the Moral Majority say that "God has given Jews talents he has not given others, such as a supernatural ability to make money", and tend to use the indignation we feel from this outrageous falsehood as an excuse for ignoring the very real problems of society which the Moral Majority addresses

As an organization with a concern for the common welfare of this country, we are firmly committed to a program of education and information among Jews, and all Americans, to understand the New Right - what it is, what it isn't, what its goals are, what its methods are. Our national Board of Governors met here in New York today, and the major part of the agenda was devoted to the New Right. Among the points made by our leadership was that we cannot let the New Right, which offers something for everyone, preempt the field of concern over the real issues facing our country

But an even more important result of that meeting today was a reaffirmation of our commitment to working with you - mainstream members of the Christian community - Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical - to maintain the traditional American values of political democracy, of religious and cultural pluralism, of our fervent belief in a society in which there is a decent respect for the opinions of others, in which each person, each group can develop on his own, with his own agenda and priorities

Our security and our dignity demand no less of us, all of us.

It is in that spirit that I welcome you

Glencoe personality

Jacobs to be given Human Rights Award

By ELLEN SHUBART

In 1959 when Bob Jacobs was a young single lawyer living in Chicago he joined a discussion group He wanted to meet other young people from the near Northside and also engage in serious conversation about politics, sociology religion and current affairs in general

In the 22 years since then, Bob Jacobs has aged visibly only a bit, has married, is the father of two, and has become a senior partner in the Chicago law firm of Friedman and Koven He also moved to the suburbs Through it all, though, Glencoe resident Jacobs has kept his ties with the discussion group and its parent organization the American Jewish Committee (AJC)

In fact from the once-a month Sunday get together, Jacobs has worked his way up to become a member of AJC's national board of governors and board of trustees, national chairman of the inter religious affairs commission and chairman of the midwest regional advisory council He devotes the lion's share of his personal time, at his own expense as goodwill traveler on AJC's behalf

To honor his commitment and long service AJC will award Jacobs its Human Rights Medallion at a testimonial dinner Wednesday at the Palmer House The dinner is one of a series commemorating the 75th anniversary of AJC's founding

"I HAVE stayed a member of AJC because I respect the people I knew from the beginning and those I know now" Jacobs said in an interview last week AJC is intellectually oriented not given to hasty ill reasoned actions It has kept to my goals and standards

Jacobs explained that AJC was formed in 1906 by wealthy German American Jews in response to 1903 Russian pogroms Its purpose was to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews in the U.S. and abroad As the years have progressed this goal has expanded to the protection of all groups regardless of religion although membership is limited to Jews or anyone married to a Jew

In the course of his work for AJC, Jacobs has traveled the U.S. extensively speaking out on issues which affect the Jewish community including anti-Semitism, Arab influence in the U.S. and the impact of the rise of the "New Right" As chairman of interreligious affairs one of four AJC national chairmen he has most recently been working closely with Christian Evangelical groups

This has been worthwhile for both sides Jacobs said, because we learn to hear one another's points of view

often for the first time" After initial meetings where too often we talk past each other we can begin to have hard discussions, allowing for disagreements

AT THE end of a three-day workshop which he coordinated in Deerfield last fall, for example Jacobs said the Jewish participants became aware of the diversity in Evangelical theology, and the Christians learned that "Jews are more than a chapter in Christian theology and have a right to exist as separate entities"

The New Right should not be equated with Evangelicalism, Jacobs stressed Evangelicalism encompasses a broad spectrum of Christian theology while New Right practitioners occupy the far right of Evangelicalism

"I object to the New Right which equates flag and Christianity, Jacobs said, If you disagree with them you are not considered wrong but evil And if you are evil you are cut out from the political process"

The Moral Majority is a prime example, Jacobs said Members are now attempting to gain acceptance and membership in non fundamentalist communities, but Jacobs calls their attitude "undemocratic They do not believe in the right to disagree, a right inherent in democracy"

JACOBS REJECTS the oft stated credo of far right church members that a person can be condemned to Hell or raised to Heaven on the basis of his opinion on the Panama Canal treaty They see world problems with a view of a horizontal relationship with God, rather than with a horizontal relationship among men, he said

Jacobs noted the Bible spends as much time on social justice issues as individual freedom issues, yet the religious right emphasizes issues of personal morality "This limited concept of morality means you can condemn the teaching of evolution but not worry about the slums"

The serious question before the nation now, Jacobs suggests is "how long the fabric of the country can withstand this strident, Apocalyptic vision and survive?"

While Jacobs expresses strong reservations about the New Right, he is more optimistic about the existence of anti-Semitism in the U.S. "I don't see any form of official or government sanctioned anti-Semitism," he said

ALTHOUGH THERE have been reports of an increase in anti-Semitic incidents Jacobs thinks the increase may only be "possible" He calls reporting methods "still not scientific" and said some so-called incidents may in reality be juvenile attacks aimed at dif-



Bob Jacobs

ferent targets

"All the polls seem to show that anti-Semitic attitudes in the U.S. are not increasing," he said Americans are basically decent people"

Jacobs is not so sanguine, however, about anti-Semitism abroad He traveled to Germany last year to see the Oberammergau Passion Play, which he found not only anti-Semitic but even more so than previous productions Jacobs is contemplating another trip to Germany in the fall on AJC's behalf, this time to "make the Germans aware of the substantial Jewish community outside of Israel, in the Diaspora"

On the issue of Arab influence in the U.S., Jacobs said Arab efforts to foist their prejudices on U.S. companies would force U.S. businessmen to make decisions not based on principles of free enterprise To Jacobs' relief, however, "in most cases the American business community has played fair and fortunately told the Arabs to 'go to the devil'"

Intermountain
Jewish News

MIRIAM HARRIS GOLDBERG
Editor and Publisher

1275 Sherman Street Denver Colorado 80203
303/861 2234—861 8333

February 27, 1981

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Interreligious Affairs Director
American-Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St
New York, N Y 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thank you for the interesting interview
you gave Doris Sky and for being a part
of our 1981 Bridal and Travel issue

I regret not seeing you in person during
your Denver visit I was participating
in a newspaper trip, studying the statues
of the Jews in Hungary

Under separate cover we mailed additional
copies of the story appearing in the cur-
rent issue of the Intermountain Jewish
News Enclosed is an extra copy, in case
the mails are slow Please see page 36

Kind regards to yourself and our mutual
friends

Cordially,


Mrs Max Goldberg
Publisher

Enclosures

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New Arms Race

man tanks or planes without re-
ceiving in return a 10 year oil con-
tract)

Maximally Reagan should tell
Saudi Arabia that the US cannot
break a solemn agreement made
in 1978 when the original fighter
sale went through, namely that
the planes were to be equipped for
defensive use only He should fur-
ther tell Saudi Arabia that the US
is willing to guarantee Saudi
Arabia's security directly, but not
by providing it with additional
weapons

The fact that Saudi Arabia has
already broken its contractual
obligations with the US by
providing US weapons to Iraq in
the present Iraq Iran conflict is
sufficient evidence of its un-
willingness to live up to agree-
ments

Its intentions are not peaceful

Its orchestration of a new arms
race should not elicit the United
States cooperation Nor should
NATO permit — with the US
taking the lead — Germany to
arm a non NATO power Has this
century not yet learned what the
results of German military expan-
sion can lead to? With the dubious
distinction of having started two
catastrophic international con-
flicts Germany is the last country
to be selling arms to a belligerent
nation, anywhere In military
matters, do not trust Germany!
Even a transformed Germany
That should be too obvious to need
to be said

Rabbi Manuel Greenstein

Gentleness compassion love of
Judaism and respect Those were
the cornerstones upon which
Rabbi Manuel Greenstein built his
life

All who knew him felt the
warmth of his friendship His soft
spoken quiet manner conveyed to

What Brought About The Rise Of 'Moral Majority' In Today's Politics?

By DORIS SKY

IIN Managing Editor

Scarcely 20 months ago
only a handful of people
knew that Jerry Falwell
even existed The words
Moral Majority had
barely been formed much
less become a household
word

The Moral Majority is per-
haps the most significant de-
velopment to have taken
place in America since
WWII And make no mis-
take it may have an effect
upon American society for
decades to come

What brought about the
rise of such a phenomenon?
What changed the image of
the South? What is the
magnitude and impact of
this transformation?

These were a few of the
questions Rabbi Marc
Tanenbaum the eloquent
internationally recognized
spokesman of the American
Jewish community attempt-
ed to answer Rabbi Tanen-
baum was the keynote
speaker at the 75th anniver-
sary observance of the
American Jewish Commit-
tee by the Colorado Chapter

The election of Jimmy
Carter in 1976 was seen by
millions as the well spring
from which came the emer-
gence of the South as a politi-
cal factor in America

In reality Rabbi Tanen-
baum told his audience
exactly the reverse was true
Carter's election was not the
start but the culmination of a
transformation

It was as a result of the de-
mands of the US in the WWII
war effort that the South be-
gan to undergo an extraordi-
nary transformation They
began to develop technolo-
gies nuclear exploration
rapid industrialization and a
resurgence of academic
growth Southern cities be-
gan to grow at an unprece-
dented rate This economic
development naturally led to
a sociological change
Predictably growth in one
area would subsequently
lead to growth in other
areas certainly in politics
and religion

The growth of technology
and industrialization
brought with it wealth here-
tofore not available Many of
the churches suddenly had
access to millions of dollars
There was a white upper
middle class group with ac-
cess to money institutional
structures and knowledge

Thus it was that there was
unexpected power and
money behind the Carter

hold high positions on key
committees

That is why Rabbi Tanen-
baum stressed it is absolute-
ly essential to examine this
culture its world view its
positive features as well as
its problematic side

There are 40 50 million
evangelical Christians and it
is through them that the
Moral Majority has
emerged led by Jerry
Falwell and his alliance with
the ultra conservative
politicians in America

1980 isn't the first time
America has seen the emer-
gence of such beliefs how-
ever In the 1920s they were
the ones who attempted to
bring full prohibition to
America by imposing their
personal morality on an en-
tire society

That victory was short-
lived when it led to a re-
sponse of speakeasies which
in turn gave birth to a whole
pattern of gangsterism The
collapse of prohibition led to
a vast demoralization
among the fundamentalists
Liberal Protestants then
emerged in a violent
polemic debate with the
fundamentalists They
claimed the latter had de-
graded Christianity degraded
us and have no right to
represent American Chris-
tiansity at the highest level of
political power

Subsequently there was a
withdrawal of fundamen-
tal churches from the
American scene It is only
now that they have joined
hands and become a domi-
nant force

In an exclusive interview
following his presentation
the IIN asked if the various
campus crusades for Christ
held eight or nine years ago
were being felt now

Indeed they are he
answered Those young men
and women now are out of
college and engaged in busi-
ness and professions They
are the young politicians the
young community leaders

Please see Page 3



Rabbi Tanenbaum

campaign Rabbi Tanen-
baum the Interreligious Di-
rector of the AIC cautioned
his listeners the defeat of
Carter is not the end of the
line but the beginning of a
movement of political candi-
dates who are born again
evangelical Christians mov-
ing into the center of
American life

Americans must be aware
that one of the prime areas
in which these men and
women are making them-
selves felt is through our
political system A number
of them have been elected to
office ranging from local
city positions to seats in the
Senate and House of Repre-
sentatives Several of them

Losing Your **BUTTONS?**



SILVER STATE
replaces
missing shirt
buttons **FREE!**

We perform
miracles in re-
finishing garments
putting in hems
mending snags and
tears — all on our
own premises to insure
prompt service

EXPERIENCE THE SATISFACTION
of good grooming with shirts
expertly finished by SILVER

MAR 18 1981

March 12, 1981
Abe Karlikow
M. Bernard Resnikoff

Having checked that the article has not yet appeared in the Washington Post, or at least not as of this date, I enclose an article that appeared on page one of the March 6th issue of the International Herald Tribune.

The article, by Clayborne on evangelicals and their support of Israel, in which he mentions the AJC, is on the whole good, and I checked with some of his sources to learn that he, and his staff, correctly reported the substance of what they had learned. I would appreciate hearing from you and Marc as to your reactions to this story.

Best regards.

MBR/sw
Encl.

cc: ✓ Marc Tanenbaum

America's Evangelicals: More Zionist Than Zionists

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Estimated at 40 million members and embracing Abraham's Covenant as fervently as the most impassioned Zionists, the burgeoning Evangelical Christian movement in the United States is fast becoming one of Israel's most potent allies in its conflict with the Arab world.

They range in ideology from political moderates who simply view Israel as an underdog in a lopsided struggle for survival, to infatuated rightists who are convinced that the Jewish state will play the central role in that final, apocalyptic chapter of history that climaxes with the Second Coming of Christ.

Some of them make pilgrimages to the Holy Land and pay homage to the leaders of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government as adoringly as they visit the shrines along the Via Dolorosa, where Jesus is believed to have walked to his crucifixion. They issue warnings with beatific certainty that a great conflagration with the Soviet Union in the Middle East is a biblical prophecy but promise that the United States will come to Israel's rescue.

But most of them stay at home, offering in increasing dimensions moral and financial support to their recently found cause. Curiously, their numbers include some acknowledged anti-Semites but those that are somehow see that prejudice as being unconnected to the defense of Israel against the more insidious threat of godless Communism.

Christian Kibbutzim

In a dramatic expression of the growing Christian Zionist phenomenon, the most dedicated of the believers move here with their families establishing small Christian kibbutzim where they live and wait for the Messiah. Others spend summers here and then travel and lecture abroad in support of Israel.

But the ones who are Israel's most valuable asset

are those who have organized pro-Israel movements outside their formal churches and denominations. Obviously well funded they are producing slick brochures and expertly scripted documentary films on Israel's behalf. Their proselytism goes over the airwaves of 1,500 Evangelical radio stations and Christian Broadcasting Network television, as well as by way of such growing organizations as the Campus Crusade for Christ.

For these people the Bible is a political guide to

*'For these people the Bible is a political guide...
the land of Israel was promised by God to Abraham'*

their activities. They understand that the land of Israel was promised by God to Abraham. They have no problem with the [occupied] West Bank. There's no question in their minds that the Bible is accurate in its geographical and historical description of the Jews' right to the Land of Israel, said Zeev Chafetz, director of Israel's Government Press Office. "Not only do they support Israel but they particularly support Begin and the Likud government. How could we be displeased with that kind of friendship?" he added.

Israeli officials are keenly aware of the growing Evangelical movement in the United States which according to public opinion analyst George Gallup includes one in three Americans who acknowledge having been reborn again and 38 percent of the nation that believes the Bible is the actual word of God and should be taken literally.

An aide to Mr. Begin said that the Evangelicals are a pillar that Israel has in the United States. They number 10 times the Jews in America and they are outspoken. Naturally we look kindly on what they are doing.

Foreign Ministry officials involved in Israel's *hasbara* or foreign information effort, pointed out that while there is some liaison between pro-Israeli Evangelical activists and such groups as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the American Jewish Committee, the Israeli lobby in the United States tends to leave the Christian groups to promote their cause without Israeli help.

For years the movement has embraced domestic issues such as legislation against pornography, op-

and said that millions of Evangelicals in the United States were committed to Israel's position against a Palestinian state in the West Bank.

Some Evangelical leaders deny that the movement is particularly disposed to the Likud government's rightist policies, although Dr. Larry Samuels, an American medical professor at Hadassah Hospital here said that he once told Mr. Begin, "You know—I think you have more supporters among Evangelical Christians in North America than you have Jews supporting Israel."

Dr. George Giacomakis, director of the American Institute of Holy Land Studies here, said in an interview "Overall, we're sympathetic with the existence of Israel and would consider ourselves as an institution a friend of Israel, but we are not identified with the Likud, specifically or the Labor Party.

Run for Their Money

Personally I interpret the scriptures as teaching that there is a covenant between God and the people [of Israel] in relation to this land. Most evangelicals would accept that," he said.

Dr. Giacomakis added "As the Palestinians have become more noticeable in the United States, and the public relations machines for the Palestinian cause have increased over the years with Arab money that has brought some divisions in the church to the point where they are giving Israel a run for their money."

Dr. Giacomakis is board chairman of a new organization here called The International Christian Embassy which was formed to show concern for the Jewish people and particularly for the reborn state of Israel.

Israeli officials say that they welcome Christian support regardless of its results but that the principal question is how it will be translated into practical terms — lobbying and other forms of pressure — and what effects it will have on the policies of the Reagan administration.

position to the Equal Rights Amendment, anti-abortion laws, U.S. aid to parochial schools, prayers in classrooms and anti-gay rights. It is only relatively recently that Fundamentalist Christians in the United States have collectively directed their attention abroad and the only major nondomestic issue that appears to have taken hold is the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Committed to Israel

The alliance is all the more surprising because, traditionally Israel — indeed the Zionist movement — had strong ties with the labor movement and the northern liberal establishment, which includes many Jews. The Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority, saved his most stinging criticism during a recent visit to Israel for liberal Christians, particularly those leading the National Council of Churches.

Mr. Falwell to whom Mr. Begin last year presented a presunious award commemorating the Revisionist Zionist Zeev Jabotinsky, condemned the the council for criticizing Israel's settlement policy.



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations 165 East 56 Street, New York, N Y 10022 212/751-4000 Cable Wishcom, N Y

Rebbitz Tannenbaum

March 16, 1981

TO Members of the Board of Governors
FROM Howard I Friedman, Chairman

REMINDER Next Meeting--Monday, March 23, 1981
2 00 P M - 6 00 P M
Institute of Human Relations

At our meeting next Monday we will discuss the New Right and the Moral Majority and consider the various options open to us as we confront these developments. A background memorandum on the subject is enclosed. Please read it in advance of our meeting.

There are also enclosed a comprehensive financial report for 1980, which will be of interest to you, as well as the minutes of our recent Board Institute at La Costa.

I look forward to seeing you on the 23rd.

HIF/bf
Encs

81-100-43

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THE NEW RIGHT A BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM

No political phenomenon of the past two decades, with the possible exception of the "Wallace" movement, has attracted as much media attention as that now being bestowed on the so-called New Right.

The New Right has little relationship, if any, with the old, or Radical, Right of the late 1950s and early 1960s, which was obsessed with the existence of a vast Communist conspiracy seeking to take over America. The New Right, more pragmatic and realistic, and far more astute in working within the system, sees the "secular humanists" of the "Eastern Establishment" as the enemy.

As a movement, the New Right has managed to achieve an unusual blend of zealotry and pragmatism. Simply put, its strategy is aimed at capitalizing on people's discontent. It disdains party labels, insisting that they are no longer relevant, and is dedicated to limited government, free enterprise, and a strong national defense. It has crafted a populism for the 1980s by "organizing the discontented, mobilizing the disinherited, dislocated and disgruntled against the upper classes."

The basic strategies of the New Right evolved from the premise that the existing two-party system is not effective, that the Federal government is too remote from the people and unresponsive to public opinion, and a new conservative coalition joining Democrats, Republicans, and Independents is needed to restore fiscal responsibility, military preparedness and a more family-church-neighborhood oriented culture. To achieve its political objectives it has made common cause with the plethora of "single issue" groups -- tax reform, anti-abortion, anti-gun control and the like.

While the New Right is far more politically sophisticated than was the Old Right, some New Rightists are not above distorting an opponent's point of view, or engaging in what some have charged as character assassination. Campaign material is frequently designed to frighten recipients, and Congressmen are attacked by labeling them "left wing extremists."

While their zeal and sense of mission have led New Right groups to adopt extremist tactics in political campaigns, the movement itself is not "anti-democratic." In fact, they are ardent advocates of what some feel is direct democracy -- voter initiative and referendum. There is, as yet, no recognized leader with the capacity to rally the masses blindly for whatever purposes he sees fit.

Closely allied with the secular New Right is the so-called "Christian New Right." A dozen or more Protestant ministers, who through the medium of television evangelism have become national religious figures, have recently turned to political activism. The bond tying together the political New Rightists and the politically conservative Evangelicals is the deep involvement of both with the so-called "family issues." Both groups ardently favor mandatory prayer in the public schools and a strong national defense.

The major aim of the political evangelicals is to influence Congressional elections. Toward this end they analyze the voting record of all members of Congress and publish a "Morality Index" rating the officeholders' performances against "Bible standards."

Jewish Concerns

Except for the drive to reinstitute prayer in the public schools, there are no current secular New Right issues which affect Jews as Jews. To be sure, most Jews are opposed to censorship of school textbooks, which is favored by the New Right, and tend to support liberal abortion and immigration laws, the ERA, gun control and other legislation opposed by the New Right. These concerns, however, stem from political ideology rather than religious concerns.

No known anti-Semites are identified with the New Right, and the principal groups have made no public overtures to Klan and Nazi groups who endorse New Right positions on various issues.

The secular New Right generally has ignored Middle East issues. Nothing on their agenda directly concerns Israel although some leaders have urged military and economic assistance. At the present time, domestic concerns rather than foreign affairs dominate the New Right agenda.

In contrast, the religious New Right is strongly pro-Israel. The state of Israel has received support on the air, from the pulpit and in the newspapers from fundamentalist ministers. Many have visited Israel and met with Israeli leaders. As a group with an estimated 50 million followers, the religious New Right is potentially a strong American ally of the Jewish state.

On the other hand, the religious New Right seeks out born-again Christians or Christ-centered politicians to support and run for public office, and would, given their way, have Americans governed according to their interpretation of Christian morality.

More importantly, perhaps, they would contravene the American tradition of religious pluralism by their advocacy of an American "Christian Republic."

Although a number of New Right leaders have expressed interest in bridge-building with the Jewish community, several specific comments attributed to New Right activists have generated concern. At a rally sponsored by the New Jersey chapter of Moral Majority, State Senator Garret W. Hagedorn claimed that only those who "confess the Lord Jesus Christ as their Saviour" can rescue the nation from its moral drift and loss of stature. In an attempt to disprove allegations that Moral Majority fosters anti-Semitism, the Rev. Dan C. Fore, head of the New York chapter of Moral Majority said, "I love the Jewish people deeply. God has given them talents. He has not given others. They are his chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money. They control the media, they control this city."

Electoral and Legislative Issues

The New Right is well financed, highly organized, and skilled in organizational tactics. Its leaders are of high caliber, aggressive, and hardworking. They are contemptuous of establishment Republican leaders who, they charge, backed off from opposition to Carter on the Panama Canal, ERA, the Washington D.C. enfranchising amendment. The New Right is wooing those blue collar and ethnic groups the Old Right shunned. It is, according to National Review's William Rusher, "the first

conservative group that has gotten down to the electoral and legislative nitty gritty

New Right leaders were quick to claim victory after the votes were tabulated on November 4, 1980. While it is virtually impossible to gauge their impact on the elections, there were some campaigns in which New Right tactics and ideology played a key role.

New Right secular and evangelical groups supported at least 17 Senatorial candidates and 16 Congressional candidates, incumbents and challengers, to varying degrees. Of these, 14 candidates won Senate seats and 11 won House seats. In many cases, other factors besides New Right support were significant, yet, there is little doubt that on a grassroots level it was effective in registering new voters, distributing campaign literature and utilizing the media. Despite mixed views about their effectiveness, New Rightists are determined to continue to be politically active.

One New Right group, credited with insuring the defeat of several liberal Senators, has announced a tentative target list for 1982 which includes the names of 20 Senators. Director-mail fundraiser Richard Vigurie plans to double the size of his mailing list by 1983, buoyed by the belief that "in the last 5 or 6 years it has all come together -- the technology, the leaders. We now have the structure and the organization. We have leaders, not just spokesmen." Moral Majority, in an attempt to broaden its organizational base and foster an interfaith understanding of its goals, is attempting outreach efforts to Black, Catholic and Jewish leaders across the country.

The New Right has extensive legislative interests. It has mobilized strong national support for the passage of a Human Life Amendment banning abortions, and is forming coalitions to support the Laxalt Family Protection Act, which would deny Federal funds to states that prohibit prayer in the schools, legalize employment discrimination against homosexuals, and require institutions receiving Federal aid to inform parents if their children seek contraceptives or abortions.

On a state level, New Right groups are lobbying for a variety of issues, including tuition tax credits for private schools, voluntary prayer in public schools and the teaching of scientific creationism in public schools.

The Coalition for Better TV, claiming to represent an estimated 100 religious and regional organizations, plans to organize "millions of volunteers" to monitor television programs to record offensive sex, violence and profanity. Another coalition effort has announced plans to spend \$3 million on a media campaign attacking homosexuals. Other New Right activists plan to inspect textbooks and libraries in public schools and to attempt to remove books they consider unfit for young readers.

Again, the success of these efforts cannot be predicted. It is certain, however, that leaders of the New Right feel they have a mandate from the people, and that, encouraged by successes, New Right groups will step up their actions in the year ahead, on the state and local level as well as in Washington.

Counteractive Movements

Since the Presidential election, several national groups have been organized for the express purpose of countering the New Right. Television producer Norman Lear has formed "People for the American Way", former U S Senator George McGovern is organizing "Americans for Common Sense", the American Civil Liberties Union has announced that countering the New Right will be its highest priority, Woody Allen is in the process of organizing prominent theatrical personalities, and the Milwaukee-based National Task Force for the Center for the Study of Religion is seeking to mobilize clergymen. In addition scores of local groups have also been formed to counter the New Right. It is not yet clear which group will do what, but in a broad sense these groups will be engaged in lobbying, education, litigation and political action.

AJC Options

The American Jewish Committee will have to consider various strategic options for dealing with the New Right. These include

1 Direct political action, distribution of materials, public relations campaigns, etc, to counteract and minimize the influence of the New Right, 2. differentiating among the New Right's policy positions and tactics, and opposing those which we find abhorrent, 3 distinguishing among the various political and religious leaders often categorized as the New Right, and seeking to work constructively with those who appear most moderate, responsible and educable, 4 monitoring and/or reporting on the activities of the New Right, 5 creating or joining in coalitions to take such steps, 6 or all of the above which are not absolutely mutually exclusive

To date, AJC staff has had a productive meeting with one prominent leader of the religious New Right. At the same time, several Orthodox Rabbis have been sympathetic to the religious right, and at least one prominent Reform Rabbi has linked the recent rash of anti-Semitic incidents to the rise in right-wing Christian Fundamentalism and attacked Jewish groups who are "eager to make accommodation to the Christian Right."

Future meetings with New Right leaders will undoubtedly provoke criticism of AJC from hitherto friendly sources. Should we actively seek out such meetings for the purpose of making them more aware of Jewish concerns and sensibilities? Or, conversely, should we, as a matter of policy, refuse to meet with such individuals? If not, what criteria should determine if in fact we should meet?

Among the possible responses AJC might consider in relation to the religious New Right are the following

1 Attempting to counter the religious and ideological excesses of Fundamentalist preachers and ideologues through "dialogues" with their leaders, 2 cooperating with mainstream Evangelical Christians who support religious pluralism and demonstrate positive attitudes toward Jews, Judaism and the State of Israel, 3 Working with liberal Protestants, where possible, to reaffirm the centrality of religious pluralism and the democratic process in the American system, 4 relating to such interreligious media groups as "People for the American Way" as an interim response to the assault on the media by extreme rightists who advocate censorship and boycott.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
COMPARISON OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the 12 Months Ended December 31, 1980 and 1979

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980 Over/(Under) 1979</u>
<u>Income</u>			
Campaign	9,962,222	9,152,971	809,251
Membership Dues	834,789	808,177	26,612
Investment & Other Income	56,399	35,093	21,306
Investment Inc - 75th Anniver- sary End Fund	<u>55,804</u>	<u>14,998</u>	<u>40,806</u>
Total	<u>10,909,214</u>	<u>10,011,239</u>	<u>897,975</u>
<u>Operating Income</u>			
Commentary	1,160,648	1,144,381	16,267
Other Publications Income	219,092	172,677	46,415
Other Operating Income	<u>70,495</u>	<u>60,866</u>	<u>9,629</u>
Total Operating Income	<u>1,450,235</u>	<u>1,377,924</u>	<u>72,311</u>
Total Income	<u>12,359,449</u>	<u>11,389,163</u>	<u>970,286</u>
<u>Expenses</u>			
Salaries & Fringe Benefits	8,142,650	7,531,259	611,391
Non-Salary Expenses	<u>4,264,746</u>	<u>3,890,743</u>	<u>374,003</u>
Total Expenses	<u>12,407,396</u>	<u>11,422,002</u>	<u>985,394</u>
Net Income (Deficit)	<u>(47,947)</u>	<u>(32,839)</u>	<u>(15,108)</u>

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
COMPARISON OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES
FOR THE 12 MONTHS ENDED December 31, 1980 and 1979

	<u>Salaries & Fringe</u>		<u>Non-Salary Expenses</u>		<u>Total Expenses</u>		1980 Over/(Under) 1979	Pro Rated Budget 1/1-12/31/80	1980 Total Exp Over/ (Under)Budget
	1980	1979	1980	1979	1980	1979			
Domestic Affairs	440,395	466,919	91,718	84,358	532,113	551,277	(19,164)	571,500	(39,387)
New York Chapter	550,984	529,796	128,119	168,379	679,103	698,175	(19,072)	710,700	(31,597)
Insts on Pluralism & Group Ident	221,600	199,127	111,203	102,475	332,803	301,602	31,201	332,600	203
Washington Office	121,139	111,361	35,408	27,787	156,547	139,148	17,399	152,900	3,647
Interreligious Affairs	281,770	247,778	124,386	83,277	406,156	331,055	75,101	386,100	20,056
Community Services & Membership	1,900,323	1,733,097	809,441	708,962	2,709,764	2,442,059	267,705	2,613,800	95,964
Foreign Affairs	570,625	528,029	357,144	324,542	927,769	852,571	75,198	855,000	72,769
Present Tense	77,540	69,220	97,592	109,824	175,132	179,044	(3,912)	188,500	(13,368)
Jewish Communal Affairs	151,340	130,805	199,590	139,641	350,930	270,446	80,484	232,000	118,930
Commentary	426,887	385,610	863,942	841,831	1,290,829	1,227,441	63,388	1,342,600	(51,771)
Public Education & Interpretation	519,348	494,366	148,517	134,207	667,865	628,573	39,292	651,500	16,365
Information & Research Services	354,270	328,933	138,966	129,983	493,236	458,916	34,320	506,600	(13,364)
General Administration	582,000	528,260	191,980	164,005	773,980	692,265	81,715	746,400	27,580
Campaign	959,661	867,579	424,258	390,221	1,383,919	1,257,800	126,119	1,309,600	74,319
Office of Comptroller	624,115	568,067	344,511	282,072	968,626	850,139	118,487	916,500	52,126
Personnel & Management Services	360,548	327,739	197,971	199,179	558,519	526,918	31,601	552,900	5,619
Fringe Benefits (not distributed)	105	14,573	-	-	105	14,573	(14,468)	30,000	(29,895)
Gross Direct Expenses	8,142,650	7,531,259	4,264,746	3,890,743	12,407,396	11,422,002	985,394	12,099,200	308,196
Less Restricted Project & Other Operating Income	769,362	734,901	1,903,065	1,861,920	2,672,427	2,596,821	75,606	2,539,000	133,427
Net Direct Expenses	<u>7,373,288</u>	<u>6,796,358</u>	<u>2,361,681</u>	<u>2,028,823</u>	<u>9,734,969</u>	<u>8,825,181</u>	<u>909,788</u>	<u>9,560,200</u>	<u>174,769</u>

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE
February 5-8, 1981
La Costa, Carlsbad, California

BOARD MEMBERS PRESENT

Stanford M Adelstein	Jonathan Marshall
Norman E Alexander	Melvin L Merians
Robert Alpern	Herbert T Mines
Emily K Alschuler	Stuart G Moldaw
Jordan C Band	Alfred H Moses
Hannah H Baumann	Leo Nevas
Meta S Berger	David Peirez
Walter Brecher	Charles I Petschek
Matthew Brown	Elaine Petschek
Herbert B Cohen	Norman S Rabb
Robert T Cutler	Idelle Rabin
Emanuel Dannett	Bruce Ramer
Ruth Kay Debs	ראיסע ריפקין
Kalman B Druck	Robert S ריפקין
Theodore Ellenoff	Edward A Ring
Annette Eskind	Simon M Roberts
Natalie Fielding	Gordon S Rosenblum
Richard J Fox	Ruth Septee
Howard I Friedman	Walter Shapero
Arnold B Gardner	Daniel S Shapiro
Howard A Gilbert	Robert I Shapiro
Ruth R Goddard	Morton Siegler
Bertram H Gold	Alvin Silverman
E Robert Goodkind	John H Steinhart
Lois Gould	Emily W Sunstein
Arthur N Greenberg	George M Szabad
Robert D Gries	Shirley M Szabad
George J Grumbach	Bernard S Wallerstein
Rita E Hauser	Jane Wallerstein
Robert T Hexter	Elise D Waterman
David Hirschhorn	Richard L Weiss
Alvin S Hochberg	Elmer L Winter
Philip E Hoffman	Maynard I Wishner
Robert S Jacobs	Gordon Zacks
Daniel Jacobson	Sidney Zilber
Miles Jaffe	
Ann P Kaufman	
Manette D Kaufmann	
Carl G Koch	
Benedict M Kohl	
John D Levy	
Benjamin S Loewenstein	
Richard Maass	

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE

February 5-8, 1981

LaCosta California

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THURSDAY EVENING, FEB 5

Howard FRIEDMAN opened the meeting, welcoming all participants. He then expressed great sadness at the loss of

one of our most beloved national leaders, Gerard Weinstock. Asking the Board to rise for a moment of silence in memory of Mr. Weinstock, he then read the attached statement to be recorded in the Board minutes and transmitted to Mrs. Weinstock.

The opening session of the Board Institute was to have been addressed by Rabbi Harold Schulweiss, who had been hospitalized 48 hours earlier. Dr. Max Vorspan was secured as a substitute for him. Dr. Vorspan delivered an extensive and highly informative lecture on the development of the Jewish community from 1945, into the present. He delineated the characteristics of the Jewish community in the following three periods, 1945-60, 1960-75 and 1975 to the current moment. In the earliest period he pointed out the community was concerned with problems of Jews overseas, at home there was widespread fundraising and extensive building of synagogues and Jewish centers across the country. Highly organized structures were formed to accomplish this and, in the aftermath of the Holocaust, a great many Jews were active and involved in these enterprises. There was also the beginnings of a concern with Jewish education and, at the same time, with the processes of integration. The formation of the State of Israel was a highly important development in the minds of most Jews but the emotional commitment to it was not of the same dimension as it was to become beginning with 1967 and the Six-Day War.

The second period, namely 1960-75, Dr. VORSPAN pointed out, was characterized by a growing interest in American Jewish identity in contrast with the prior concern for Jewish life overseas. Among the younger people there was a demand that Jewish life and tradition be made "relevant" to current experience. They sought "commitment" and concern for other ethnic groups and also the elimination of the impersonal aspects of Jewish life. It was the beginning of the organization of Havurot reflecting a desire for community among the young people, as manifest also in the development of communes and communal life. Israel, particularly following the Six-Day War, was a profoundly unifying experience for the Jewish people.

In 1975 to the present the concerns of the Jewish community turned to the family. There was increasing interest, also, in the problem of intermarriage and in conversion and it has been during this current period, Dr. VORSPAN pointed out, that numbers of conversions have been dramatically increased. There is also a preoccupation with the Holocaust, both the teaching of it and the impact of it via the media and in the school systems. The Jewish community during this period is also concerned with the issue of Jewish power and is quite ambivalent about that, recognizing the need for it, but yet being somewhat embarrassed by it. And, of course, the intensified support for Israel that followed the Yom Kippur War is being maintained at an extremely high level. In commenting on

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On the Holocaust, Dr VORSPAN remarked that he was greatly concerned about the potential negative fallout because of the way in which Holocaust teachings have proceeded in many places. In some instances he felt that it could lead young people to distrust those around them and yield an unproductive turning inward. He thought that the lessons of the Holocaust need the most thoughtful and careful interpretation, and should be viewed in a universalist rather than particularist context.

At the close of Dr Vorspan's remarks, the Board was informed that they would reconvene in the morning for a brief general session and then be divided into small groups for the purposes of discussing some of the points raised by Dr Vorspan, but focusing primarily on problems relating to the Jewish family today and what role the American Jewish Committee might take with respect to those issues.

FRIDAY MORNING, FEB 6

Howard FRIEDMAN called upon Emanuel Dannett who has been representing the American Jewish Committee in the current negotiations with the Union and Staff Organization. Mr DANNETT gave an off-the-record report of the status of those negotiations as of this time. Bernard WALLERSTEIN, Chairman of the Budget Committee, followed Mr Dannett's report with a brief report on the monetary implications of the negotiations now proceeding. He reported that as of this time the figures for 1980 showed a \$50,000 deficit. For 1981, assuming a 9% increase in wages, and assuming that we do as we did in December of 1980, when the Board authorized a continuance of all non-salary items on an inflation-adjusted basis, and assuming the impact of a 9% increase in salaries on fringe benefits, the total additional cost to AJC on a hold-the-line budget would be \$805,000. This was an informational report and no action by the Board was required.

George SZABAD moved that any subsequent problems with respect to negotiations be referred by the agency's negotiators to the Executive Committee for resolution.

Mr FRIEDMAN then called on E. Robert Goodkind, Chairman of the Jewish Communal Affairs Commission, to put into focus AJC's ideas and concerns regarding the Jewish family as a backdrop for the ensuing small group discussions.

Mr GOODKIND noted at the outset that a basic tenet of AJC is to help assure the continuity, survival and quality of life of the Jewish community. His thesis was that, through AJC's recently established National Jewish Family Center (NJFC), AJC would further these ends and even provide a model to the non-Jewish community to help it enhance the quality of its life. He discussed the centrality of the family throughout Jewish history and the assault upon the traditional family in the last fifteen years. He pointed out that AJC has been specifically involved in programs relating to the family for the last decade and that the NJFC was authorized to be established at the National Executive Council Meeting in the Fall of 1979.

Mr GOODKIND stated that the NJFC was organized upon three premises and had three objectives and three areas of focus - a "trinity of trinitities". The three premises were described as the following: 1) that crucial to the survival and well-being of the Jewish family is the capacity of Jewish communal organizations to respond to its changing needs, 2) that the most important family problems cut across localities and functional specialties of Jewish communal organizations and each such organization can learn from the responses of the other, and 3) that the creative Jewish communal response to contemporary needs can be instructive and helpful to society as a whole. Mr GOODKIND stated that the three objectives of the NJFC are 1) to consistently deal with problems in an integrated, non-sporadic way, 2) to be a clearing house of information and 3) to do original research and issue publications. The NJFC's three areas of focus were set forth as follows: 1) to deal with the practical support needs of families, particularly the child-care needs of single-parent and two working parent families and the development of a more supportive relationship between family and workplace, 2) to endeavor to mitigate the social and psychological isolation that so many families feel, and, within this focus, to concentrate on the need for the Jewish community to reach out to young parents and young children as they attempt to cope with intensive work and family pressures for the first time, and to reach out to the converted and marginally affiliated, and, 3) to assist in values clarification--i.e., the need for family members to make sense of the role and place of family in the constellation of total values and priorities and to establish a better balance between family and work.

In closing Mr GOODKIND expressed his appreciation to Howard Friedman who was instrumental in obtaining a significant grant for the NJFC from the Fred H Bixby Foundation and to the Hirschhorn, Blaustein and Roswell families for their generous support. He also expressed the hope that the discussion groups would explore in greater detail the potential programs of the NJFC.

The following individuals were asked to serve as chairpersons for the discussion groups: Annette Eskin, Richard Fox, Arnold Gardner, Ann Kaufman, Bruce Ramer, Simon Roberts.

The following individuals served as resource people: Howard Gilbert, E Robert Goodkind, Robert Jacobs, Elaine Petschek, Robert Rifkind and Ruth Septe.

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SUMMARY OF SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Following is a general summary of the thinking and recommendations of the six small discussion groups that met Friday morning,

February 6th, to pursue some of the issues raised by Dr Max Vorspan the previous evening, but mainly to focus on the Jewish family in general and AJC's National Jewish Family Center in particular

Initially, some of the groups raised the perennial issue of universalist versus particularist concerns, but the question was quickly resolved by acknowledging that the two are not in conflict. Rather, they interrelate and complement each other. It was recognized that AJC has a long-standing commitment to play a vital role in maintaining Jewish identity and enhancing the quality of Jewish life. It was also recognized that the family in America is undergoing major changes which might threaten the social fabric and culture of our society. Because of its role in maintaining and perpetuating Jewish life, the Jewish family is of particular concern and AJC should play a role in supporting and strengthening it. There was also the belief that intermarriage, especially when there is conversion to Judaism, can be turned from a liability into an asset, and the need to educate the Jewish community about the positive effects of conversion, to make converts welcome and to increase the outreach program to them was underscored.

With respect to the National Jewish Family Center, some participants expressed concern about its financial burden on AJC and questioned whether it would duplicate the activities of local or national functional agencies. It was made clear, however, that the National Jewish Family Center's budgetary requirements are within the general confines of the AJC budget, augmented by outside grants and contributions, and that the Center does not compete with or overlap existing agencies. Rather, its work consists mainly of research, publications, consultations and conferences, and its purpose is to serve as a resource for the functional agencies.

The discussion groups suggested a number of areas of program for consideration by the NJFC

- 1 Clarify issues related to the family
- 2 Gather facts and data and use an objective approach
- 3 Present data and their implications to communities for their use and action
- 4 Build bridges within the Jewish community, an inter-agency approach
- 5 Clarify priorities and options
- 6 Focus on singles, single parents and children
- 7 Build bridges with non-Jewish groups around family issues
- 8 Relate family concerns to governmental policies and programs such as urban affairs, taxation, social programs and discern the Jewish stake in them
- 9 Avoid duplication of activities

In addition to the above, some of the groups also touched upon other issues raised by Dr. Vorspan as follows

1 Anti-Semitism - We should not exaggerate the danger of anti-Semitism but present a balanced picture of positives and negatives Concentration should be on the fight against terrorism of any kind, domestic and international

2 Jewish Power - Some felt we should use it but not advertise it Others felt we should use it consciously and openly for leverage and clout

3 Holocaust - Some thought too much is being done in this area Others felt that it was too little All agreed that the Holocaust should not be exploited for organizational or personal interests The question was raised "Could the Holocaust and Israel suffice for maintaining a Jewish identity in America?"

FRIDAY P M , FEB 6

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Alfred MOSES, who had served from mid-April as Special Adviser, and later as Special Counsel, to President Carter, summarized his impressions gained during this service as they pertain to the Jewish community, its advocacy role, the Presidential elections, the power of the presidency, and related matters

As a preface to his remarks, Mr MOSES explained that he had not sought the White House position, but had been sought out because of some of the work he had done on such issues as Arab boycott legislation, Jewish Romanian emigration, and various Israel-related matters -- which had led to important and confidential dealings with top White House people and Cabinet departments Much of this was done in collaboration with AJC and he therefore feels indebted to AJC for the opportunity given him

While he had not sought the position, Mr MOSES commented, he looks back on his White House experience as highly worthwhile and personally satisfying It gave him the opportunity to work with the President and other principal government officials on issues of great importance to the Jewish community and, on occasion, to the nation as a whole

This last year, of course, was an election year Normally, at such a time there are few White House directed foreign policy initiatives other than those calculated to advance the political image of the incumbent The Moscow summitry in 1972 was cited as an example of this image-building But in 1980 there was no such respite Iranian hostages, stepped-up UN attacks on Israel, visits of Begin and Sadat, Helsinki and Copenhagen challenges, PLO activities, May 26 autonomy deadline, downturn in Soviet emigration, safety of Iranian Jews -- all required a high degree of Administration action and initiative Mr Moses' job on these and other issues was both to help shape policy and to explain it to the community

The Carter Administration was from the outset aware of the need to have Jewish understanding and support -- but finding the right formula was elusive It was no longer possible, as it was in 1906 when Theodore Roosevelt appointed

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Oscar Straus Secretary of Commerce, to influence Jewish voters through a single significant Presidential appointment. Mr. Moses stated that in his opinion President Carter did much to earn Jewish support -- appointment of Jews to Cabinet level and other important Government posts, scores of White House briefings involving thousands of Jews, many face-to-face meetings with Jewish representatives. But despite these efforts and the remarkable achievement at Camp David followed by unprecedented economic and military aid to Israel, President Carter had difficulty persuading the Jewish community that he fully understood Jewish concerns on such sensitive matters as affirmative action, the Andy Young affair and UN votes. In the campaign, an explicit effort was made to regain the traditional Jewish support for the Democratic presidential candidate. In 1976, Carter received 64% of the Jewish vote. In 1980, it was reduced significantly to 46%, but it is well to remember that if the country as a whole had voted the way the Jews did, Carter would have been re-elected. In the end, however, the drop in the Jewish vote for Carter was largely attributable to factors other than Israel. The economy marked by high inflation and increasing unemployment raised questions about Carter's leadership and caused the public to question the liberal spending and other policies traditionally associated with the Democratic Party. Jews were not different from other groups. Some two to three weeks before the election, when Carter was one percent ahead of Reagan in the polls, he was favored by 57 percent of the Jewish voters. After making allowance for the Anderson vote, Carter stood as high or higher than he did in 1976 in comparison to his Republican opponent. On election day, Carter had plummeted 11 points in the national standing. The drop in percentage points among Jewish voters was almost identical. (As a percentage of the Jewish vote, the drop was less than the national average.) There were no Israel-related issues in the last two to three weeks of the campaign that would account for the drop in the Jewish vote. This decrease was not unique among Jewish voters. In 1976, 75 percent of Hispanic Americans voted for Carter. In 1980, the percentage had dropped to 54 percent, roughly the same as the Jewish drop-off.

Mr. MOSES then discussed at some length the effectiveness and tactics of the Jewish community in its advocacy role. In the past, Jewish efforts have been directed primarily to the Congress, not the Executive Branch which historically has been less accessible to the Jewish community. The Congressional commitment to Israel, which resulted from these efforts, has been effective in ensuring a high level of aid to Israel and, through hearings and other legislative processes, protecting Israel from the consequences of Administration initiatives seen by Israel's friends in the Congress as being harmful to Israel's interests, primarily as they relate to security matters. But there are limitations, as seen in the decision to sell F-15's to Saudi Arabia, tanks to Jordan and, most recently, additional equipment for the Saudi F-15's.

When the Carter Administration, or any administration, looks out at the Jewish community, what does it see? There is no single person who speaks for the Jews. There is no Louis Marshall who in the second decade of this century could speak for much of the Jewish community.

Today, political power in the Jewish community is more diffused, but its influence is far greater than it was in the first part of this century. Mr MOSES would not want to see the Jewish community return to such a monolithic structure. The large number of Jewish organizations permits many more Jews to assume leadership roles than would otherwise be possible and these numbers add to the political strength of the Jewish community.

On Israel-related matters, individual Jews from time to time express to the Administration their disagreement with Israeli policies, but Jewish organizations invariably support the Israeli government's position in communications with our Government. As a result, statements by Jewish organizations are somewhat discounted. Criticism by Jewish organizations has come to be expected whenever the Administration takes a position different from that of the Government of Israel on matters of high concern to the Jewish community.

From an organizational standpoint, the Administration does not distinguish among Jewish organizations other than to recognize the chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations for certain ceremonial and other functions and to be generally aware of the significance of certain large membership organizations such as B'nai B'rith and Hadassah. That is not to say that all Jewish organizations are looked upon in exactly the same way, but personal and political relationships among leaders in the Jewish community and Government officials frequently count for more than organizational titles. In stating this, Mr MOSES sought to make clear that these remarks were not intended as a form of criticism of any one organization, but rather to point out the difficulty that any administration has in distinguishing among the large number of Jewish organizations.

On balance, as Mr MOSES sees it, the Jewish community today is highly successful in its Governmental dealings. In comparison with the post-World War II efforts of the Jewish community on behalf of Israel, no other ethnic group, in his view, has for such a sustained period been as committed and effective politically. In large part, this effectiveness is attributable to the high level of Jewish involvement in a whole array of political and community activities. For example, grass roots political support within the Jewish community for congressmen and senators is what makes Israel-related lobbying efforts in Washington successful. Also, the fact that Jews are active in their communities on behalf of non-Jewish causes in such fields as education, the arts, civic improvement and the like, makes other groups in our society more accepting of our commitment to Israel. A few weeks after the election, President Carter expressed to Mr Moses his admiration for the generosity of the Jewish community and its commitment to political and other good causes. He had been calling his supporters throughout the country to thank them for their help and had been struck by how many of these persons were Jewish.

In his own work at the White House, Mr. MOSES stressed the advantages which accrue from having direct access to the President. This enabled him to work directly with the President on such matters as the various UN votes in the Security Council, in devising ways to defeat PLO-inspired efforts to expel Israel from UN agencies and to obtain observer status for the PLO in such fora as the World Bank and the IMF, to work out the details on the oil agreement between the U S and Israel, and to advance the strategic dialogue between our country and Israel. There were many difficult issues during this period, including the proposal for the sale of additional equipment for the Saudi F-15's

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on which, despite the urging of some, President Carter withheld approval, and efforts to allow Iranian Jews to enter the United States after the general ban on Iranian immigration was imposed by our Government in April 1980. Here, Mr. Moses' efforts were successful in coordinating a joint Justice and State Department program which worked well.

Mr. MOSES cautioned that we are in a period of transition, but this is always true. Adam is reported to have said this to Eve as they left the Garden of Eden. The secret is to look forward, not back. For some reason, we continually discuss yesterday's events -- but yesterday is past. The issue is not Munich, Dunkirk or Viet Nam, but the security of Israel and the state of Jewish health in the United States. These are synergistic, but the generative powers within the Jewish community cannot be fueled solely by Israel-oriented concerns. It is important, as Mr. Moses sees it, that Judaism stand for something unique in democratic America. We stress the importance of the Jewish family as a transmitter of values. But what are those values? We stress Jewish identity. But what are we identifying? Surely it is not enough for Jews in the United States today to be guided by their economic self-interest. Never more than now, he feels, is it important that AJC look ahead but, in doing so, not abandon the concepts of social justice and righteousness without which Jews will become like the other nations of the earth and surely disappear.

Following Mr. Moses' remarks, there were a large number of questions. Howard FRIEDMAN asked whether a liaison function was inconsistent with providing maximum access to the Administration by Jewish leaders. Mr. MOSES responded that in his liaison role he sought to bring Jewish leaders into the White House in large numbers. He contrasted this with Max Fisher's role as gatekeeper during the Nixon and Ford administrations. Rita HAUSER stated that she generally agreed with Mr. Moses' assessment of why Jews voted as they did in the 1980 campaign and added that in her assessment the uniformly critical attitude on the part of Jewish organizations toward Administration initiatives in the Middle East was not helpful in the long run to either the Jewish community or Israel. Hyman BOOKBINDER, although agreeing with much of what Mr. Moses said, took issue with his analysis of the manner in which certain Jewish organizations operated politically in Washington, including the American Jewish Committee. He felt that his own work in Washington was clearly identified with AJC and that the distinctive contribution of AJC's lay leadership and national staff was recognized as a result of these efforts.

At this session, at which Theodore ELLENOFF presided, Maynard WISHNER announced that he had appointed Alfred Moses to serve as Chairman of the Executive Committee, that the appointment had in fact been made last spring but Mr. Moses' assignment at the White House had precluded his accepting it until now.

SATURDAY A M , FEB 7

The session featured Gordon ZACKS, Rita HAUSER and Miles JAFFE as panelists followed by Richard FOX and Stuart MOLDAW. Gordon ZACKS led

off the discussion by pointing out that unlike the Carter administration which had been described on the previous evening by Alfred Moses, there were very few Jews, if any, in the Reagan White House at the senior staff level. There is not one Jew in the Cabinet, and while key positions in the White House which have yet to be filled may include some Jews, in terms of the total picture there would be nowhere near as many as there had been with the Democratic Administration. He also pointed out that the people in the transition team of the Reagan Administration, as well as the top staff now installed in the White House, have had limited contact with Jews, which makes them neither particularly hostile nor particularly friendly. Probably the best way to explain their attitude would be to describe them as "neutral" toward Jews.

Mr ZACKS went on to point out that the traditional role of Jewish advocacy in Washington had been such as to rely heavily on Congress to block initiatives coming from the White House which were unacceptable to the Jewish community. The problem now is that we've lost many good friends in Congress, such as Senators Stone, Javits, Church, among others, and these people are not easily replaced in terms of individuals having comparable influence and power within the Congress. Moreover, he pointed out, the committees in both the House and the Senate are much more conservative than they had been in the previous Administration and therefore we must realize that it will be much more difficult than heretofore to block any unfriendly initiatives that may emanate from the White House.

Mr ZACKS stated that in view of these circumstances we need to modify our tactics if we are to be effective. He pointed out that it is the perception of the White House and the many new members in Congress that Jews are generally "liberal" and more often Democrats, and tend to be obstructionist in areas of national defense, energy independence, etc. Since the agenda of the new Administration is to get the economy on a non-inflationary track -- which is their primary and major priority -- this calls for dramatic cuts in spending and will, inevitably, touch every special interest group in the country, including Jews. While in the last Administration we had enormous access but, in Mr ZACKS's view, minimal influence, we now have limited access and we must do everything possible to maximize our influence. Therefore, he proposed that we take the Administration's agenda, review it carefully, study its diverse aspects and elements and make it known to those in the White House and Congressional leaders as well, that we are and can be, indeed, a great political force that can be utilized to help them achieve their objectives. It is important to indicate those areas and those issues where we can be helpful and to make pragmatic suggestions as to ways and means of mobilizing support for those of their issues which are also of concern to us.

Rita HAUSER then picked up on Mr ZACKS's comments, while disagreeing slightly with some of them. In her view and her experience, she said, there are those in the Administration who now believe, as a result of the election just passed,

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that Jews are not necessarily "liberal" Democrats, that except with regard to Israel they have diverse opinions on a great many issues, domestic and international. However, she foresaw a number of problems for the Jewish community and for the AJC in particular. She pointed out that in the context of anticipated across-the-board cuts and in view of the Administration's determination not to succumb to any pressure groups in this effort, and given the prevailing view that there would be no sacred cows in the cutting process, she believed that the cost of Israel to this country would come under close scrutiny, and that the amounts of aid that had gone to Israel in the past would very likely be substantially reduced. At the same time, she pointed out Israel's needs and demands would certainly escalate geometrically in the period ahead as her economic problems multiply and she confronts the dramatic rise in the cost of oil that she must import.

Over and above the impact of these potential cuts in foreign aid to Israel, Mrs. HAUSER pointed to the problems we must anticipate in this country as sharp cuts are made in social programs. If such cuts are made across the board every special interest group and, certainly, the recipients of these social programs will be wanting to get whatever they can for themselves and our various alliances that have been formed in the years gone by may suddenly be dissolved as each group seeks to preserve as much as possible for itself. In closing, Mrs. HAUSER again repeated her concern with respect to Israel's future, pointing out that she is a client state, that her dependence for grants on U.S. taxpayers is great, and that we are but two percent of the total population. Therefore, she concluded, we must review our strategies and our commitments in this upcoming age of scarcity that we are about to experience.

Miles JAFFE continued the discussion, pointing out that in the past the problems of allocating resources which were in short supply had been met in part by creating additional funds by the simple act of printing more money. But this is not likely to happen under this Administration, and therefore, single-issue politics, he thought, could not be effective in the coming period. Consequently he believed that AJC had to review its stance in a number of areas and perhaps alter traditional positions, or withdraw from some of them. To illustrate his point he stated his belief that the cost of public education in terms of its benefits and consequences could simply not be justified. In his own city of Detroit it was evident that there was a non-performing public education system. He raised the question as to whether the minimum wage is a good and useful tool, whether Jewish organizations should not consider such issues and attempt to exert their influence in ways that would not only improve the lot of Jews, but the lot of the community in general.

Stuart MOLDAW then was called on for his comments, he being the sole Democrat in the panel, and he stated his concerns stemming from the fact that the Democratic party in general had been more receptive traditionally to Israel and to Jewish problems than the Republican party. He had considerable question as to the depth of this Administration's commitment to Israel, despite its public pronouncements. Because of the backing this Administration has from large corporations and major oil interests, he was somewhat distrustful of the positions taken during and since the campaign. He was also concerned about the lessening of influence of Jews and friendly Congressmen and Senators which had been pointed out by Gordon Zacks.

Richard FOX, who had been Chairman of the Reagan Campaign Committee for Pennsylvania, commented that he saw the Committee and the Jewish community facing a whole new set of concerns. The Civil Rights movement, he observed, had occurred in a period of great economic growth. In the '60s and '70s there had been a major push for re-distribution of wealth and a tax system to accomplish that. There had also been increasing government controls. But now we are entering a period of scarcity and there are severe limitations on the potentials and possibilities in this regard. Inflation, he pointed out, is radicalizing many people and tearing at the heart of our system. Government programs, welfare, minimum wage, etc., are going to have to be reduced, the shrinking pie will inevitably set up great tensions within the country and all of this the Administration is well aware of. Nevertheless, it does view its mission as having to turn the economy around, to reduce the taxload, and restore incentives to work and to produce. If this Administration fails then, in Mr. Fox's view, we will see a return to collectivism and a society in decline as government control is increased. If our agenda is not altered to suit the realities of the times, and we continue to call for greater and more social programs and re-distribution of resources, we will become part of the problem rather than part of the solution. The world view of the Administration is that we have one adversary, namely the USSR, and that adversary is piling up war materials while our relative strength is diminishing. The situation with regard to strategic weaponry is totally out of balance. He also reminded the group that a relatively weaker America is certain to make the country unwilling to take whatever action may be necessary in defense of Israel.

Following the panelists' presentations the floor was open to discussion and the following points were made in the course of that discussion:

Jordan BAND pointed out that while we intellectually understand the need to support and become concerned with issues other than Israel, such as energy, concerns for the poor, etc., we have never really been turned on as Jews to respond in these other areas. He suggested that what is needed is to "pump passion" into such problems as black unemployment, societal injustice, energy shortages, etc. Dan SHAPIRO made the point that the Jewish community must be deeply concerned with the proposed cuts in the area of social programs, and especially health and welfare. He pointed out that the New York Federation raises only 32 out of the 900 million dollars it spends in terms of medical and social welfare services to the poor, to the elderly, to the young. The difference is provided by grants from the government. Therefore the impact of such cuts for the Jewish community is not theoretical but quite practical and immediate. We must look at them not in terms of programs that may affect other groups primarily but rather as programs that would have a dire effect on our own community and the allocation of our philanthropic dollars.

Emily SUNSTEIN inquired as to how the AJC is structured to make decisions relating to the issues that have been raised. It seemed to her that what was involved here is the need to develop new strategies for dealing with existing problems and involving the whole area of domestic diplomacy. She asked what group in AJC is empowered to make such decisions and how ought we to proceed to see that they are made.

Miles JAFFE said that in his view this was an area that required decisions by the lay leadership and he believed considerably more thought and study was required in order to make such decisions.

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Matthew BROWN proposed that the attitudes which we bring to these problems are of critical importance, that if we are prepared to join with the Administration and help in finding constructive solutions that would get this country back on a sounder track, we might make greater progress than if we approached these problems in the context of critical opposition

Phil HOFFMAN inquired as to what the panelists viewed to be the role of the Committee in light of the points made by Rita Hauser concerning the fact that Israel's future aid was in severe jeopardy. In response to this, several of the panelists pointed out that the Administration views Israel as part of the overall national security package, that her strength is seen as intimately related to the United States' strength in the Middle East, so that it is likely that this will have a salutary effect on the consideration to be given to requests for aid to Israel

In response to an earlier question as to what structures were in place for policy formulation within the AJC, Bert GOLD described those that are presently operative, including the procedures for reviewing all of our existing programs, which is done annually by the staff and by each of the commissions and committees. He pointed out that it is, of course, important to consider what new policies or strategies ought to be adopted but in the first instance we must review those already underway, i.e. our existing positions and programs. The latter is being done all the time, not only by the respective committees and commissions but also in conjunction with the annual budgetary review. Referring back to Mr. Shapiro's remarks, Mr. GOLD reminded the group that there would be heavy competition for the philanthropic dollar in the Jewish community and certainly much stronger pressures from Federation, should government cuts of social programs be as drastic as they have been described. In terms of the processes of planning and policy-formulation, Mr. GOLD also reminded the group that we have established half a dozen Task Forces on specific domestic issues that we will be confronting in the '80s and that many members of the Board of Governors are serving on these task forces. Their recommendations will be brought into the Annual Meeting for discussion and action at that time. In addition, the Executive Committee, which meets in between meetings of the Board of Governors, has been reviewing the departmental priorities but it may need to be convened again in view of some of the new conditions and challenges that we are now facing. Mr. GOLD concluded by stating that there is an ongoing process of review of all the programs of the agency by both staff and lay groups, that those programs that seem to be obsolete, or no longer necessary, are promptly dropped upon recommendation of the responsible commission or committee. He gave as illustration the program of job-linked housing, the Shaping Safer Cities program, the fact that last year heavier resources of the agency were put behind our energy program but this year the effort has been reduced somewhat as the necessity for it became less. There is also, Mr. GOLD pointed out, in addition to the Budget Committee, a Management Council which is being revitalized under the leadership of Ed Ring and is scrutinizing the various management aspects of the organization. Maynard WISHNER, adding to Mr. Gold's comments, suggested that while there does seem to be a program planning and priority system in place, it no doubt can be improved and the possibility of greater participation on the part of the Board of Governors should be examined. Kal DRUCK then suggested that in these days of dramatic change and technological developments in so many areas, many institutions, be they public service or industrial, are finding that their existing structures and approaches are quite inadequate. He suggested that an effort be made to bring together experts in strategic planning to acquaint us with some of the new ideas and methodologies of information-gathering, communications systems and the like, and to discuss how we might go about developing the skills and the capacities to utilize these new developments in our own operations.

Steve KAUFMAN suggested that often existing staff structures are "committed to inertia," while the lay leadership tends to be less so. Therefore, it behooves lay leaders to assume greater responsibility in the strategic planning process and in the task of evaluating and developing priorities. Howard FRIEDMAN remarked that there appears to be a need for dramatic reformulation of what our primary needs are now in view of the fact that this Administration does tend to embrace the private sector. He inquired as to what mechanisms are available to us to do that, what structures would work best, to what extent does the Administration see the Jewish community being helpful in this regard.

Gordon ZACKS responded by stating that he does not believe the Reagan Administration wants to have or plans to appoint a "Jewish desk" as such. He said there are ongoing debates now within the Administration as to what type of liaison they should create that would interface with the various people in the White House, help open more doors to the Administration for the Jewish community and affect more contacts for the Administration with the Jewish community. Rita HAUSER remarked that she thought that a somewhat different approach is needed to this Administration than had been utilized in the past. She thought that the tendency of the Jewish community to mobilize thousands of phone calls, telegrams, etc. on an issue that they felt keenly about might well be counter-productive. She thought that our strategies as well as our programs need a fundamental re-evaluation to determine which might be too costly, which might be on the wrong track, which might be on the right track, etc. She seconded the recommendation for a strategic management analysis. Miles JAFFE took exception to Rita Hauser's and Kal Druck's suggestion, pointing out that this is not a business organization but, rather, a political organization and management teams cannot help us. A change in consensus will change the organization. Jewish organizations must have resources to exert pressure on various issues of importance to them and they must use those resources effectively. Diversity in Jewish life he felt was a good thing. He also pointed to the fact that essentially the basic underlying problems facing the community have not changed. We need to be sure that the tools we are using to meet the problems are adequate. In the first instance we have to learn to ask the right questions.

Richard FOX said he thought strategic planners might help to set a planning process in motion and that we ought to take a look at the possibilities inherent in such a proposal. He added that even though Jews are not in the normal mainstream of Republican politics, he was optimistic that many do have personal access to the members of the White House staff and to the President himself, and that access can be enlarged. Unlike Mrs. Hauser, he felt that all the pressure that can be brought to bear should be brought to bear and it is advisable to do so. He recognized that there have been many significant shifts in the situation, that many things that were taken as "givens" by the Jewish community are no longer givens and, therefore, we must begin to question all the programs and positions that we have taken in the past. Stuart MOLDAW echoed Mr. Fox's view that it is important for Jewish communities to maintain and even intensify pressure upon our political institutions when and as needed. Walter BRECHER said that we need to demolish the myth that the Jewish community is concerned only with Israel. He also expressed concern that in this discussion the role of chapters was being overlooked. He pointed out that chapters have annual retreats or seminars each year to consider and define their priorities both in the domestic and international arena and that these extend far beyond our concerns with Israel. Bern WALLERSTEIN, picking up on the proposal of a need for strategic planning, pointed out that there has been some confusion as to the role of the Budget Committee and the extent to which it

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can or should be concerned with determining agency priorities as it engages in the allocation process

Stan ADELSTEIN expressed some concern over the earlier recommendation that the Executive Committee, perhaps, be convened to discuss and consider program priorities. Mr. Wishner indicated there was no intention to circumvent the Board of Governors in that process but rather pointed to the need for a smaller group to process the information and materials available and develop a series of recommendations for final action by the Board.

George SZABAD mentioned that Mr. Brecher's concern about the role of the chapters in this planning process was unfounded because the chapter programs are flourishing and they are deeply involved in the planning process year after year. He doubted, however, that a group of strategic planners could be helpful in the task that had been outlined in the course of this discussion. He did not believe that people unfamiliar with the Jewish community and/or AJC could be helpful at this point in this process.

The chairman then asked Hy Bookbinder to comment on the discussion. Mr. BOOKBINDER indicated that the Committee does already have access to the new Administration, that it has not been difficult to get that process started inasmuch as the Administration needs access to the Jewish community. He pointed out that in our chapters all across the country there are individuals within AJC who are close to members of the new Administration and to some of the new members of Congress as well. He stated that access has to be seen as a more comprehensive problem, involving people all over the country rather than simply as a matter of who can or cannot see or make contact with the President. He offered his view that aid to Israel was not at this moment in jeopardy as Mrs. Hauser had suggested, precisely because it was tied to aid to Egypt and this, in turn, was tied in with a total new American foreign policy which viewed as a priority, the need to strengthen American security by strengthening America's position in the Middle East. In conclusion, Mr. BOOKBINDER remarked that he thought AJC must be able to make policy decisions far more rapidly than it has been doing in the past, that he anticipated many new issues which would be coming forth that would require quick decisions and he did not think we had in place a mechanism to accomplish that.

In closing the session, Mr. GOLD stated that he saw as a mandate from this Board the necessity to take a sharp look at our existing structure and that would, indeed, be done, including an evaluation of current and ongoing programs and policies. The process, in fact, is already underway at the staff level. However, he urged that the Board distinguish between the process of prioritizing programs and the process of strategic planning. He said that there is in place a well-defined process for determining program priorities but not in the area of strategic planning. He said that we do not work automatically on an incremental basis, there were cutbacks from '73 to '76, '76 to '79 we were at a standstill in terms of program increases, that in '79 our budget was increased by a bare 1% for program. He also pointed out that the AJC is not a business organization and cannot be viewed as such. Rather, we are something of a cross between a think-tank and a collegium and we have a diversity of interests which is in effect one of the strengths of the American Jewish Committee. We must always move, therefore, by consensus and a consensus is often difficult to arrive at since among our constituents are passionate supporters for a variety of different programs. Thus there are some who are far more interested in our Jewish communal affairs than they are in our domestic affairs, some

in interreligious affairs as against foreign affairs, etc In any event there will be, he said, a continuing and intensive review as recommended by this Board and at a future meeting the results of that review will be brought before this Board

The chairman then closed with an announcement that a memorial **service** for Gerry Weinstock is planned for Sunday, March 1st to be held at the Harvard Club in New York and notice of the time will be sent to the Board The meeting was adjourned at Noon



SUNDAY A M , FEB 8

Howard FRIEDMAN presided at the closing session and reported that because of the pressures of time, a written report on the study groups

on the Jewish Family Centre will be prepared and submitted to the Jewish Communal Affairs Commission for its further consideration

John STEINHART presented the report and recommendations of the Board of Trustees' Long Range Planning Committee on the subject of meetings of the Board of Governors and national commissions. He stated that the Committee felt that the traditional four-hour Board of Governors meetings were inadequate since more time is needed for discussion of the policy matters brought before the Board, that because of increased costs of transportation, commission and committee meetings should be held the day prior to Board meetings--the former on Mondays and the latter on Tuesdays, that to increase attendance at Board meetings, at least two should be held at the same time and place as the Annual and NEC meetings--either the day before, during, or the day after, that the facilities of the Institute building are inadequate to handle Board meetings and therefore, where feasible, other locations should be used

On the basis of these conclusions, the Long Range Planning Committee recommended

- (1) that the meetings of the Board of Governors be extended to full-day meetings, perhaps from 10 A M to 5 P M ,
- (2) that commission and committee meetings be held the day prior to Board meetings,
- (3) that at least two Board meetings be held in conjunction with the Annual and NEC meetings,
- (4) that where possible, other facilities be obtained to hold the Board of Governors meetings

During the discussion, Jonathan MARSHALL recommended that at least one Board meeting be held West of the Mississippi each year. Sidney ZILBER suggested meetings on Sunday and Monday rather than on Monday and Tuesday and Bruce RAMER urged that Board meetings continue to be held on Mondays

Mr FRIEDMAN questioned the advisability of eliminating two Board meetings each year, which was the practical consequence of the recommendation under discussion, since the corporate body meets at the Annual Meeting and NEC meetings. In response, Bertram GOLD pointed out that the Bylaws call for a minimum of six Board meetings a year and theoretically the proposed new schedule would meet that requirement with three full-day meetings, one weekend institute and meetings at the time of the Annual and NEC meetings. The reality, however, is that there probably would not be time for more than a two or three hour meeting during the Annual and NEC meetings since it would not be practical to ask people to come in on the day before or remain through the Monday following them. In practical terms, however, Mr GOLD also pointed out that the Annual and NEC meetings are meetings of the corporate body and policy-making could be built into them. He also pointed out that

staff training sessions are scheduled immediately after the Annual Meeting. Therefore, if it were decided to hold Board meetings on that Monday, there would be the additional expense of keeping the staff in New York another day.

Robert HEXTER supported Mr. Zilber's recommendation that consideration be given to scheduling commission meetings on Sunday, rather than on Tuesday, not only to save time from the business week but also to qualify for discount fares. Robert CUTLER also favored commission meetings on the day prior to Board meetings so that any recommendations requiring Board action could be submitted the following day.

The question was then called and the motion, duly seconded, was voted on seriatim, with the understanding that changes in the schedule would not take effect until the fall.

- (1) that Board meetings be held from 10-5--was unanimously carried
- (2) that commission and committee meetings be held either the day before or the day after each Board meeting--was also unanimously carried
- (3) that two of the required six meetings be held on either the day before or the day after the Annual and NEC meetings--was carried by majority vote
- (4) that the four regular Board meetings be changed from Mondays to Tuesdays was defeated by majority vote
- (5) that at least one Board meeting each year be held West of the Mississippi in years in which the Board Institute and NEC meetings are held in the East was carried by majority vote

The recommendation that Board meetings be held outside the Institute of Human Relations was the subject of some further discussion. Melvin MERIANS spoke against the proposal on the grounds of the additional expense and difficulties involved in running meetings outside the office, but most importantly he argued against Board members absenting themselves from the office, the staff and the spirit that pervades the Institute. Robert CUTLER moved that decision on this be postponed for one year. The motion to table was seconded and unanimously carried.

REPORT ON SUMMER SEMINARS
ON THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA

The next item on the agenda was a report by Elaine PETSCHER on the summer seminars sponsored by the Academy for Jewish Studies Without

Walls. Mrs. PETSCHER indicated that there will be a special series of seminars this year highlighting The Jewish Experience in America as part of AJC's 75th Anniversary celebration. They will be conducted by Dr. Henry Feingold, Professor of History at CUNY and Baruch College, and will focus on the major aspects of American Jewish history, including the Sephardic, German and East European Jewish migrations to America, the Roosevelt era, World War II, an analysis of the political and organizational culture of American Jewry today and a prognosis for its future. Since it was not too early to make summer

plans, Mrs PETSCHKEK called attention to their times and places as follows

University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, March 18-22

University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, June 28-July 3

Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, July 12-17

Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, July 26-31

Iliff School of Theology, Aspen, Colorado, August 10-14

Lastly, Mrs PETSCHKEK described what may be the Academy's most exciting offering, a Summer Seminar at Oxford University in England, July 9-17, co-sponsored with the Oxford Center for Post Graduate Hebrew Studies. The first two days will be spent in London where there will be opportunity to meet with leaders of the British Jewish community and explore the local sights. The seminar itself--on the subject of The Development of Hebrew Literature in Translation from the French Revolution to the Present--will be held at the Oxford Centre and will be conducted by David Patterson, President of the Centre. Mrs PETSCHKEK indicated that this exceptional travel and study program came about as a result of a visit to the Oxford Centre by an AJC delegation which visited with British Jewish leadership. As one of the participants of that mission, she was especially pleased to announce this addition to the summer seminars.

AJC/CHICANO RETREAT

Howard FRIEDMAN pointed out that AJC has begun a series of consultations between Chicano and Jewish leaders. He called on

Jonathan Marshall for a report on the recent Chicano/AJC Retreat in Scottsdale

Mr MARSHALL reported that the retreat was organized primarily by our Denver Chapter and was attended by 12 Chicano and 12 AJC leaders from throughout the Southwest, plus staff. Everyone agreed it was a very valuable meeting. At the outset the groups did not know or understand each other but by the end of the weekend they had been able to break down many stereotypes. The most important message of the conference, he felt, was that Mexican Americans are a very strong emerging political force in this country. They have a very active political agenda, feel they have been in the background too long and believe it is time for them to make themselves felt. The Chicanos felt AJC leaders could be helpful to them through their organizational experience, in working with government agencies and in the public relations field. All agreed that it would be valuable to have follow-up conferences throughout the Southwest.

Mr MARSHALL suggested that AJC give serious consideration to having a staff person devote all or most of his/her time to Chicano causes and to trying to develop coalitions with them. He pointed out that they are increasing in numbers faster than any other group. Within the next ten to twenty years they will be one of the major population groups in this country, and he hoped to start building lines of communication with them as soon as possible.

Howard FRIEDMAN added some of his own impressions of the retreat. At the outset he indicated that his perceptions may be skewed because he was not present throughout the weekend. But he believed it important to understand

who these people were. Almost without exception they were office holders--state senators, a lieutenant governor, the director of MALDEF, a deputy mayor, an assemblyman, etc., and they were all very articulate, militant leaders of the Chicano community. He sensed a general hostility on their part toward the American environment, a feeling that the dominant culture is hostile and alien to them, that they are in conflict with it and see it as something to assault and to extract benefits from. This view was not shared by all, he made clear, but some went to far as to say that they are a conquered people in this country. Mr. FRIEDMAN also believed that they look at the Southwest potentially as a region that will have a dominant Hispanic culture. It was his view that the leadership at the retreat was not really in tune with their constituents. While he believed the meeting was very valuable, he was disturbed by some of the things he heard.

Bruce RAMER, another participant in the retreat, believed both reports were accurate, although he thought Mr. Friedman may have over-reacted since some statements were made for their shock value. He reported that since the Conference, the head of the Southwest Voter Registration Drive for the Hispanics contacted our West Coast Regional office for assistance in organizing the Chicano community. Jonathan MARSHALL added that there has been a considerable amount of interchange in his area following the retreat. Emily SUNSTEIN pointed up the need for strategic thinking in this area. All Chicanos are not alike and do not share the same views. It was her opinion that AJC must begin to develop techniques to enable us to distinguish among the Chicanos and know who we should be working with. Robert GRIES suggested that the Board be given much more information on this in preparation for the Institute in Mexico next year.

GOOD AND WELFARE

The chair then opened the floor for good and welfare discussion. Elmer WINTER spoke briefly about relationships between American

Jews and Israel. He pointed out that several executives of the Jewish Agency expressed serious concern about the decrease in Federation allocations to Israel. It was their view that Federations are providing primarily for local needs and Israel is getting what is left over. Harry Rosen, the Secretary of the Jewish Agency, asked AJC to make a study of this situation. Mr. WINTER took note of other developments, e.g., new studies of Israeli-Diaspora relations going forward in Israel, a self-examination on the part of the Jewish Agency, etc.--where he believed AJC could make major contributions and he expressed the hope that we would be asked for our help in sorting out the many conflicting interests that seem to be evolving between Israel and American Jewry.

Robert HEXTER expressed disappointment in the Board Institute. He pointed out that we are working through the Community Services Committee to have chapters operate on a management by objective basis but are not doing the same in the Board of Governors. He had hoped, for example, that this weekend would have provided the opportunity to review and evaluate what we have been doing and examine where we ought to be going in the future. His overall feeling was that it was a nice weekend, but did not accomplish very much.

Sidney ZILBER suggested that one way to deal with the time urgency that emerged from Saturday morning's discussion would be to have staff crystallize the issues, with input from the commissions, and have that report available at the Annual Meeting so that we can present a frame of reference that chapters can use in terms of programming and helping to come up with answers on these issues. Bert GOLD suggested instead that we schedule that kind of process to end at

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the NEC meeting, explaining that materials can be sent to the chapters in the spring and summer and then brought into the NEC meeting so that the final formulation is a result of chapter deliberations

Idelle RABIN expressed disappointment over the fact that the Jewish Family Center was given such a prominent place on the agenda and yet no critique or comment or evaluation was brought back to the Board on it

Robert ALPERN felt the Institute could have been a more effective planning session. What he thought was missing is an accountability to the Board by staff and national commissions. He felt it would be appropriate at this time when we are reviewing program concerns in light of changing national priorities to have an accounting by staff and commissions of what ongoing programs and concerns they are dealing with and what they are planning to do in the future.

Bert GOLD responded by pointing out that until now the institutes were not seen as an instrumentality for the development, review and evaluation of program and they were not structured for that. The institutes were started to provide opportunity to look at problems of governance, lay-staff relations, how to make the Board function more effectively, etc. After several years, there was a decision to look at program issues. The first such issue-oriented institute several years ago focused on the theme "What if Peace Comes to the Middle East?" This most recent institute dealt with the themes of the Jewish Family and the New Administration and Its Implications. He suggested that at some point a decision would have to be made as to which direction we want to move in the use of these institutes. He thought the growth in the size of the institutes also had an effect on its quality. He suggested that the character of future institutes should be reconsidered, perhaps including the setting in which they are held and he recommended that at some point a small committee might be appointed to examine these things.

E Robert GOODKIND, Chairman of the Jewish Communal Affairs Commission, felt it important for the Board to understand what was intended by devoting a portion of the institute to Jewish Communal Affairs concerns and to recognize that the loss of our keynote speaker virtually on the eve of the meeting left an imbalance in the programming. Secondly, it was felt that the Board needed to have its consciousness raised as to the issues and concerns of the Communal Affairs Commission. Thirdly, to those concerned about the communal agenda and its budgetary implications, Mr. GOODKIND explained that the Family Center is not unusual to AJC programming and methodology. The Center is not being created out of concrete and mortar. It is, rather, the utilization of such AJC techniques as brainstorming, research and building bridges within the Jewish community to try to stimulate new ideas and new programs so as to better assure the survival of the American Jewish community and the health and quality of its life.

Stanford ADELSTEIN felt that much time and talent was wasted during the Institute. He asked that in the future a detailed agenda be distributed in advance, that full days be utilized for working sessions and that opportunity be provided for Board members to think and work together.

Bert GOLD, explaining that the first few institutes were full-day meetings until the Board asked for the afternoons off, asked for instruction from the Board on this for future meetings. Jonathan MARSHALL indicated that the main feedback he got was that most Board members felt the lack of direction during the weekend. On the subject of free time, he thought there should be some,

but not the whole afternoon Emily SUNSTEIN urged that we not take a vote on this question and not tie ourselves down to any one way of proceeding, but, rather, that future agendas be responsive to the needs at the times of our meeting

Robert RIFKIND felt the institute could be more productive if in advance of the sessions the Board received an analysis of the subjects under discussion so they might give them some thought and come prepared to share their various points of view

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Maynard WISHNER opened his report with the announcement of the appointment of a Community Services Committee on Leadership Develop-

ment which is addressing itself to the whole array of questions with respect to leadership on both national and local levels The Committee, under the chairmanship of Shirley Szabad, has already begun its deliberations and as part of its effort, is planning a Chapter Presidents' workshop to be held in New York in March

Secondly, he called attention to the latest issue of Present Tense, a special edition commemorating AJC's 75th Anniversary, which is being sent to our entire membership A special feature of this issue is an insert of our house organ, News and Views

Thirdly, he announced the inauguration by our Metropolitan New Jersey Chapter of the first annual Philip E Hoffman Award, to be given to the high school senior who submits the best essay on the subject of "How Can We Recognize and Use to Better Advantage the Ethnic, Racial and Religious Differences Among the American People " Mr WISHNER commented that the award was most fitting in that it was named for an outstanding leader in the field of human relations and human rights and in the American Jewish Committee

Next he briefly described plans for the Board Institute in Mexico, February 11-19, 1982 The Institute will begin with approximately three days in Cuernavaca, where the Board will meet with leaders of the Central American Jewish communities Then the Board will move on to Mexico City, where there will be meetings with the President of Mexico, as well as with leaders of the Jewish community and Jewish and general institutions in Mexico Mr WISHNER asked for a show of hands as to how many Board members are planning to participate in the 1982 Institute and a majority of the Board responded in the affirmative

Lastly, Mr WISHNER pointed out that we are in a period in which there seems to be a resurgence of anti-Semitic incidents What is most interesting about the current phenomenon is that the proliferation of these incidents is taking place against a background that shows no increase in general anti-Semitic attitudes Some explain the recent acts of vandalism as part of the national climate in which there has been a general increase in violence and vandalism None of the serious studies we have conducted indicates a deterioration in attitudes toward Jews On the other hand, historically, polls continue to show a hard core of anti-Semitism that seldom falls below 25% and that 25% remains in the bloodstream of this society and represents a potential enemy for us all AJC's job is to do whatever we can to understand and eliminate this Clearly, this remains a major agenda item for us all

In closing, Mr WISHNER sought to reassure the Board that the whole variety of concerns they expressed earlier would be given a great deal of thought and attention by the officers He thanked everyone for coming and brought the Institute to a close

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORIAL STATEMENT

GERARD WEINSTOCK

The Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee records with profound sorrow the passing of our dear friend and colleague, Gerard Weinstock

We shall miss his keen mind and kind heart. We shall miss his wise counsel, his personal grace, his warmth and his wit. Gerry was a thoughtful and creative leader with genuine compassion for people and their human needs and he was beloved by all who had the good fortune to know him.

Gerry was deeply committed to the cause of human rights for all people and to the security of the State of Israel and Jews everywhere. His dedication to those principles he held dear was a source of inspiration to all of us.

His ability and integrity propelled him to many leadership posts over the years. Gerry served the Committee not only as a member of this Board but also as Chairman of our Board of Trustees, Chairman of our Task Forces on the 1980s, National Treasurer, Co-chairman of our Committee on the Middle East and President of our Westchester Chapter.

We grieve with Mags and his children, Douglas, William and Katherine, and extend to them our heartfelt sympathy. His death is a great and irreparable loss to the American Jewish Committee and to each of us. We shall not soon forget him.

Adopted by the Board of Governors
February 5, 1981