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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Executive Council Meeting

Atlanta



October 29 - November 1, 1987
The Waverly Hotel, Atlanta

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Atlanta

The American Jewish Committee
National Executive Council Meeting
The Waverly Hotel • Thursday, October 29-Sunday, November 1, 1987



As of October 23, 1987

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Miami
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NEWS FROM THE Committee



The American Jewish
Committee

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Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations

The AJC protects Jewish interests the world over; combats bigotry and promotes human rights for all; defends pluralism, enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people, and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

ANNUAL MEETING
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
OCTOBER 29 - NOVEMBER 1, 1987
WAVERLY HOTEL
2450 GALLERIA PARKWAY
ATLANTA, GA 30339
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FOR RELEASE AFTER 12 NOON
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1987

ATLANTA, Oct. 31 . . . Assessing the outlook for Soviet Jews, two noted experts agreed today that while the recent release of several Jewish refuseniks was welcome, there was a thick cloud of uncertainty about the fate of thousands of Jews left behind who seek to emigrate.

Speaking at a luncheon session of the American Jewish Committee's annual National Executive Council Meeting at the Waverly Hotel continuing here through tomorrow, Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and AJC Honorary President, and David A. Harris, the AJC's Washington Representative who is Summit Mobilization Task Force coordinator, warned that it could not be taken for granted that Soviet Jews would benefit from the current improved climate.

The session was chaired by David Hirschhorn, a member of the AJC's Board of Governors, as well as of the Advisory Board of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

Informing the Soviets that the West was interested in Soviet deeds, not words, Mr. Abram stated that "Glasnost has not yet made any fundamental difference in the Soviet policy toward Russian Jews nor the State of Israel."

Though for cosmetic reasons, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has released some celebrated Jewish refuseniks, Mr. Abram said, "the total emigration figures for this year will be only one-seventh of those under Brezhnev in 1979, and new Soviet decrees will further throttle emigration."

He added: "This month the Soviets voted to throw Israel -- the only democracy in the Middle East -- out of the United Nations."

A former President of the American Jewish Committee and of Brandeis University, Mr. Abram is a prominent trial and appellate attorney, and a partner in the firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison.

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Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees
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"The coming months," said Mr. Harris, "are filled with potentially significant opportunities to achieve progress, but, at the same time, there are serious dangers and high risk that the USSR will seek to limit severely the number of Soviet Jews even eligible for exit visas. The unfolding of this complex situation could determine Soviet Jewry's fate for years to come."

"The next several months will likely place demands on friends of Soviet Jewry as almost never before," added Mr. Harris. "In the balance lies the fate of many Jews. The time to act is now."

Prior to joining the AJC Washington Office, Mr. Harris served as the deputy director of the Committee's International Relations Department. Previously he was director of the Washington Office of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. He has also worked in Rome and Vienna, dealing with the migration of Soviet and East-European Jewish refugees.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.



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SOVIET JEWRY AT THE CROSSROADS

by
David A. Harris
Washington Representative
The American Jewish Committee

It was the best of times. It was the worst of times.

Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities

The Soviet Jewry issue is entering its most critical phase since the heated discussion in 1979 over the proper response to record emigration levels that year. Indeed, the coming months are filled with potentially significant opportunities to achieve progress. But, at the same time, there are serious dangers and high risk. The unfolding of this complex situation could determine Soviet Jewry's fate for years to come.

At first glance, the Soviet Jewry news is quite encouraging. The expected departure of former prisoners of conscience Iosef Begun and Viktor Brallovsky and some other high-profile cases is most welcome, though the length and harshness of their detention will not be easily forgotten. The only known remaining Jewish prisoner, Alexei Magarik, is expected to be released from labor camp this month. Moreover, after years of decline and stagnation in the emigration numbers, there has been a marked increase in recent months. A few visible gestures in the religious and cultural fields have been made; others have been promised. And Soviet officials certainly seem more approachable by Westerners to discuss the Soviet Jewry question than in the past.

Yet, at the same time and with much less attention, the exit numbers have stabilized at about 800 per month. Of the lucky ones, approximately 80 percent or more are refuseniks. Now only those with first-degree relatives abroad -- but a fraction of those who seek to leave -- are able even to submit new applications, much less be assured of success. The fear among Soviet Jewry observers is that the recent increase in the exit rate is not really a harbinger of better times, but rather a belated Kremlin effort to rid the country of the hard-core refuseniks, simultaneously removing a long-standing public relations stigma and stripping the national Jewish movement of its leadership. Once these refuseniks are out, the gates may slam shut to all but those with first-degree relatives abroad. The aim is to extinguish the hopes of those seeking to join

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more distant relatives in the West, or who assert their basic right to return to the historic homeland of the Jewish people, Israel. After all, if these Soviet Jews cannot even apply to leave, perhaps they will eventually opt to "re-integrate" (and assimilate) into Soviet society.

Many refuseniks, including such well-known figures as Ida Nudel, Alexander Lerner, Yuli Kosharovsky and Naum Meiman, continue to wait. At best, like Begun and Brailovsky, their release will be linked to creating a more favorable climate around high-level superpower talks. Countless others, less known but nonetheless victims of the same repressive and arbitrary system, continue to be faced with repeated denials of their visa applications.

Concern increases about the growing and whimsical use of secrecy as a justification for rejecting exit requests. And on another ominous note, the emergence in the USSR of unchecked chauvinistic, anti-Semitic Russian groups like "Pamyat" (Memory) arouses anxiety.

These seemingly contradictory events are taking place against a backdrop of rapidly evolving international developments which present both opportunities and challenges.

Gradually, with fits and starts, the three key factors that can, at least in theory, directly benefit Soviet Jewry are moving in the right direction. First, a strong ruler with consolidated power, unafraid of making bold decisions, has emerged in the Kremlin. Second, Soviet-American relations are warming and bilateral contact points in virtually every official and private field burgeoning. Third, Gorbachev, in acting decisively to re-establish Moscow as a key actor in the Middle East, has begun to reciprocate Israel's long-standing desire for improved ties, though the future of Soviet-Israeli ties remains particularly fraught with uncertainty. (A Peres-Sheverdnadze meeting is expected in connection with the U.N. General Assembly's opening later this month.)

The next several months of high-level superpower talks and summitry provide the U.S. with unprecedented opportunities to press yet again the importance of Soviet Jewry on the bilateral agenda. Notably, both President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz have been steadfast supporters of Soviet Jewry, and are anxious to record further progress on the issue in the Administration's remaining 16 months.

Now is the time for the Soviet Jewry movement and its many friends around the world to be heard from. Planned demonstrations, petitions, vigils and letter-writing campaigns require large-scale participation. The message should be clear. Of course, supporters of Soviet Jewry welcome those steps that reduce global tension and increase mutual understanding. At the same time, Soviet Jews

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in large numbers must be included among the beneficiaries of improving East-West relations. Moscow's recent steps, designed to defuse the Soviet Jewry issue and mute criticism of its practices in key Western sectors, remain inadequate, though it would be foolish to dismiss them entirely.

What is needed is a regularized procedure in the USSR leading to substantial and sustained emigration. In response to such a Soviet move, the mainstream Soviet Jewry movement has already made abundantly clear its readiness to advocate appropriate reciprocity.

But, regrettably, no one ought to take for granted that Soviet Jews will, willy-nilly, benefit in large numbers from the current improved climate or future superpower deals. Too, Gorbachev's shrewdness and ability to impact on Western public opinion cannot be overlooked. Consequently, the challenge becomes increasingly daunting: to interpret Soviet Jewry's' pressing needs to a West increasingly dazzled by the admittedly profound changes occurring in the USSR, and understandably anxious for improved superpower ties, and to pursue a political strategy which gives the Kremlin a genuine stake in improving its record on Soviet Jewry.

The next several months will likely place demands on friends of Soviet Jewry as almost never before. In the balance lies the fate of many Jews. The time to act is now.

September 8, 1987



**A Look at
American Jewry
and American Jewish-
Israeli Relations**



Alfred H. Moses



Alfred H. Moses is vice president of the American Jewish Committee and chairman of the AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations. A Washington, D.C., attorney, he served (1980-81) as special adviser and special counsel to the president of the United States.



SOME MONTHS HAVE PASSED since the headline events of the Pollard spy case and the revelations surrounding Israel's involvement in the Iran arms/Contra funds scandal. At the time, American Jewish spokesmen publicly termed Jonathan Pollard's stealing of U.S. government secrets for Israel a watershed in the relationship between American Jews and Israel. The gravamen of the charge was that Israel had betrayed not only its most important ally but, in using an American Jew to do its dirty work, had exposed American Jews to charges of dual loyalty. In the lexicon of tennis, Israel had committed a stupid double fault. The counterreaction by some on the Israeli side was equally strong. Shlomo Avineri, a prominent Israeli, looked on the anguish of American Jewish leaders as confirmation of the basic insecurity of American Jewry.

Israel's role in the Iran arms sale, whether seen as that of an instigator or a willing accomplice, produced less of a public outcry from American Jewish leadership but it also had its disquieting

effect on American Jewry. Charges that the Iran caper was an Israeli initiative in furtherance of Israel's financial and geopolitical interests caused American Jews to squirm. Both the arms sales themselves and the diversion of moneys to the Contras were attributed, however unfairly, to the Israeli side. To add coloration to the story, Colonel North testified that Manucher Ghorbanifar, whom the CIA believed to be an Israeli agent, took him into a hotel bathroom in Germany to propose the Contra money scheme to him. The theme of the clever Israelis (i.e., Jews) behind Ghorbanifar manipulating a small-town, trusting Marine (i.e., American hero) to do their dirty work was not lost on those disposed to think ill of Israel and the Jews.

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It is still too early to tell whether these events will turn out to be episodic or signal a basic change in the nature of the relationship between American Jews and Israel. Whatever the outcome, it is evident that the relationship is far too complex and, I believe, enduring to be balanced on a fulcrum so narrow as to be undone by the Pollard and Iran scandals alone. There are problems for sure, but they go well beyond the headline events of 1987.

EVEN WITHOUT THE POLLARD and Iran affairs, the nature of the relationship between American Jewry and Israel would be in need of examination. Neither community has fully lived up to the expectations of the other. The low level of American *aliyah* is for the Zionist a painful refutation of the doctrine of the negation of the Exile. Israel's dependence on American Jewry only adds salt to the wound. For its part, Israel, whenever it departs from the idealized concept of what a Jewish state should be, falls short of American Jewry's expectations. The U.S. Army slogan "Be all that you can be" is the measure by which much of

American Jewry judges Israel. This was particularly true in the halcyon days following the Six Day War and continues to play a part in the thinking of American Jews. The fact that neither side's expectations are fully capable of realization is the starting point for any serious consideration of the true nature of the relationship. *Neither community exists primarily for the other, but each reinforces the other in ways that are essential for the survival of both of them.*

In view of Israel's dependence on the United States for economic and military support, and given the nature of the American political process, a financially secure, politically powerful American Jewry committed to the support of Israel is needed for Israel's survival. American Jewry is also a key player on behalf of Soviet Jews and in other Jewish trouble spots around the world and has enriched Jewish life in other ways. On the other side, Israel has become, as the cliché goes, the secular religion for American Jews. The creation of modern Israel gave meaning to the term "the Jewish people" when some American Jewish leaders were still saying that religion was the only distinction between Jews and non-Jews. As a religious minority only, American Jews were caught up in the age-old struggle with Christendom, a struggle Jews have never won. For the religious, Israel combines land and Bible, the essence of Judaism. For all Jews, it is the Jewish Homeland.

But the interests of the two communities are not identical. Neither can be a clone of the other, and the development of a healthy relationship between them requires a recognition of this fact. To cite but one example, Israel is a sovereign nation with geopolitical interests of its own that may or may not coincide with what we as American Jews think best for Israel

or even for our own country. Recognizing that such differences exist and are legitimate is necessary for a mature relationship, grounded on reality rather than on some idealized notion of a Jewish Camelot. *In the process, neither community can expect the other to support it willy-nilly; at the same time neither is free to act with impunity in ways that jeopardize the relationship between them.*

IN MAY WE SHALL CELEBRATE Israel's 40th year of independence. More than a generation has passed since the shofar was sounded proclaiming Israel's independence. The historians and sociologists tell us a span of 40 years is long enough to measure permanent change and not so long for memories of witnesses to the period to have diminished.

Both communities have evolved in ways not foreseen when Israel proclaimed its independence 40 years ago. The offering of a homeland for the survivors of the Nazi death camps, followed in the first few years of Israel's existence by the ingathering of the exiles from Arab countries, was a spectacular event, as was Operation Moses in bringing Ethiopian Jews to Israel two years ago. But *aliyah* by American Jews has been the lowest of any Jewish society in the world. In the last 15 years more Soviet Jews, with all the obstacles they face, have made *aliyah* than American Jews, who can leave whenever they want. Worse still, the number of *yordim* in the United States exceeds many times the number of American *olim* in Israel. This has affected the relationship between the two communities in subtle ways and in ways not so subtle. Israelis think of American Jews as free with advice and generous with money, but not forthcoming in the area that counts the most -- moving to Israel or sending their sons and daughters to

live in Israel. A recent poll shows that most American Jews proclaim a deep sentimental attachment to Israel and a concern for its survival, and about one-half of American Jewry contributes to Jewish organizations that support Israel. But the two societies in many ways remain quite distant. Most members of the two communities still meet, if at all, only at the fingertips. In the course of a year only about 10 percent of American Jews will have any purposeful contact with an Israeli; only a slightly higher percentage have visited Israel more than once; and only 1 percent are fluent in Hebrew. From the Israeli side, with the exception of knowledge of English, the percentages are the same.

On the geopolitical side, Israel's isolation in the world has been a keen disappointment to a country founded on the bedrock of universal and, essentially, Western values. Israel's present economic and military dependence on the United States and its high profile as an American friend in the East-West struggle are a marked departure from where Israel stood 40 years ago.

Lastly, the absence of peace and the dim outlook for a near-term solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict places a premium on Israel's security and the responsibility of American Jewry to do all it can to ensure Israel's survival. Other considerations are of secondary importance compared to the simple fact of Israel's need to survive, something that is not an everyday concern for most nations of the world. No Chinaman, Indian, or Frenchman goes to bed at night worrying about whether tomorrow there will be a China, India, or France. Such forebodings are never far from the thoughts of an Israeli and, I hasten to add, from American Jews who care about Israel.

AMERICAN JEWRY FOR ITS PART has also evolved in ways that were not foreseen 40 years ago. Nothing as dramatic as the creation of the State of Israel has occurred, but changes in the American Jewish scene have had, and will continue to have, a major impact on American Jewish-Israeli relations. A look at where American Jewry is today and how it got there will tell us something about what we can expect for the future of the relationship.

At the time Israel declared her independence Jews in America were excluded from many resorts, better hotels and eating clubs, subject to admission quotas by colleges and universities, excluded from neighborhoods with "racial" covenants and, for the most part, excluded from the leading professional firms and much of American industry.

The last 40 years have brought about a change that even those of us who have lived through this period as adults are prone to forget. The changes have been nothing short of amazing.

- * There is an unfettered Jewish presence at all levels of higher education as evidenced by the fact that three of the eight prestigious Ivy League schools presently have Jewish presidents. Courses in Jewish studies are taught in more than 300 U.S. colleges and universities.
- * In much of the corporate world a similar breakthrough has occurred. There is a mixture here of equality in the form of increased acceptance of differences that formerly barred economic advancement and self-interest on the part of an economy that is increasingly confronted by worldwide competition, thereby placing a premium on merit. As a result, an increasing number of

Jews and others are enjoying the fruits of success in areas that were once closed to them.

- * On the political front, the Jewish presence in Congress is almost three times greater than the proportion of Jewish voters, with Jewish senators elected from states with minuscule Jewish populations such as New Hampshire, Nebraska, Nevada and Minnesota.
- * For a time Jewish writers such as Salinger, Mailer, Malamud, Bellow and Roth dominated American literature in a way unequaled since the era of Fitzgerald, Lewis, Hemingway, Faulkner and Steinbeck. In the process, Jewish idioms became part of the American vernacular. The significance of this is not the contribution to the language but the degree to which Jewish idioms have been accepted as American.
- * Political life in America demands participation by office-seekers in Jewish ritual events to the point where Lyndon Johnson, as president, boasted to his staff that he had worn "one of those little hats," referring to a *kepah*, far more often than his rival, Robert F. Kennedy.

True, hardly a day goes by without a reported anti-Semitic incident of some kind occurring in the United States. Most of these, however, are unrelated and do not form a pattern or indicate a trend toward increased anti-Semitism. The ADL reports a steady decrease in anti-Semitic incidents. (Interestingly enough, American Jews' belief regarding how non-Jews perceive them is harsher than the reality. In other words, non-Jews are far less concerned about

such matters as Jewish political and financial power than most Jews imagine. This has been shown in repeated polls.)

Jewish fears that the oil crisis of the 1970s and the more recent hardship endured by American farmers would be blamed on the Jews did not materialize. OPEC, with its mostly Arab membership, was properly blamed for the oil crisis and, although Jews were blamed along with bankers and easterners by some in the farm community for the decline in farm prices, anti-Semitism did not reach epidemic proportions and seems to have subsided with the modest improvement in farm prices. More recently, it was thought that the Jewish prominence among persons indicted in the wake of the insider-trading scandal on Wall Street would fuel an outcry against Jewish financiers. The names of Ivan Boesky and Dennis Levine were repeatedly in the news. Again, it looks as though the harbingers of doom and gloom will be proven wrong. Here, I must confess that I was relieved when some non-Jewish names finally appeared on the list of persons indicted.

Much has been written about the threat to American Jewry posed by Christian fundamentalism. This goes more to the value system which most American Jews hold than traditional notions of anti-Semitism. American Jews are pro-choice on the issue of abortion (as are most Israelis), and strongly support separation of church and state. They oppose prayer in public schools and censorship of public libraries and school curricula. These are issues on which Christian fundamentalists have opposing views. The differences go to the core of strongly held beliefs on both sides. The differences between American Jews and Christian fundamentalists are not all encompassing, one of the anomalies being the support for Israel among Christian fundamentalists who find support in Scripture

for the second coming of Jesus among the Jews. On the other hand, there have been blatant anti-Semitic statements by prominent Christian fundamentalist theologians. It is probably too early to tell whether Christian fundamentalism poses a real threat to American Jewish interests, but there are signs that this brand of fundamentalism may be on the wane in America. For one thing, the recent scandals involving Tammy and Jim Bakker and the unseemly grab for the PTL's spoils by other church leaders smack more of the old game of "one for the money, two for the show" than true ministering. The polls show increasing distrust of evangelists by the American public. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the next American president will be as supportive of the Christian right as Ronald Reagan.

So far, American Jewry has retained its distinctive Jewish character despite the opportunities for Jews to melt away through intermarriage, conversion, or the less dramatic but equally available opportunity to disassociate themselves from everything Jewish and adopt an American-only identification. Jewish communal organizations abound. Moreover, in America, there cannot be Jews without Judaism. The survival of the Jewish community in America is directly linked to the organized practice of the Jewish religion. Synagogues and temples are the foundation on which the entire Jewish structure in America is built. Adherence to religious tradition, although uneven, at least matches and in some respects exceeds that of earlier generations.

For the Orthodox, the gains have been even more impressive. The Orthodox today are more affluent and better educated than at any time in American history. As a boy I went every Saturday to Orthodox synagogue with my father. The synagogue was aptly named Shearith Israel,

as it represented the remnant of what had once been a large Orthodox community in Baltimore. I would not have bet my last *zuzin* on the survival of Orthodox Jewry 50 years later. But that is exactly what has happened. The explanations are many. For one thing, it is easier to be Orthodox today with the decrease in societal pressure to conform. *Kepah*-wearing has not become high fashion but it is not uncommon to see *kepah*-wearers of all ages on the streets of America and on university campuses. Orthodox Jewish students attend the best universities, and are employed on Wall Street and Madison Avenue alongside the rest of American's best and brightest. Orthodoxy also carries with it the stamp of genuine Jewishness, which is appealing for those who cry out for daily bread for their spirit.

In sum, by any standard American Jewry has fared well over the past 40 years. The question is whether the present levels of Jewish commitment and involvement are sustainable in the long run and, if not, what are the likely changes and how will they impact on American Jewish-Israeli relations.

IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL whether the celebration of Jewishness in America reflects a continuing commitment to normative Judaism that can be expected to be handed down to future generations or is the acting out Jewishly of the new-found freedom that ethnic groups in America now enjoy. We know Jews are not immune to social changes affecting other groups in our society. This can be seen from the sharp increase in divorce rates among Jews and the disturbing number of Jewish youths hooked on drugs or caught up in cult movements. Inter-marriage has risen sharply in the last two decades, presenting its own set of problems for American Jewry, not the least of which involves the highly emotional issue of who is a Jew.

Both the spouse who converts and the children of converting and nonconverting parents are affected by this issue. Just this month an advertisement appeared in *Commentary* for a new book entitled *Raising Your Jewish Christian Children* advising mixed-marriage families on the celebration of Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur and Christmas. If, as seems likely, such family structures proliferate, what does it mean for the future of American Jewry and its commitment to Israel?

There are indications that despite the impressive statistics for American Jewry, there is an underlying decrease in the quality of Jewish life (leaving aside the Orthodox) in areas of traditional importance to Jews -- family stability, intermarriage and religious observance. Large weddings, bar mitzvahs and celebrations of other rites of passage have replaced kiddush and kashrut in the home. The majority of non-Orthodox Jews who affiliate with a synagogue do so when their children are of school age and disaffiliate after their youngest child reaches age 13.

Even if, as some sociologists claim, Jewish continuity is tied primarily to patterns of residential clustering, strong concentrations in occupation and education, and the absence of internal conflicts rather than, as supposed, to shared values, communal consensus or the conscious desire of Jews to survive as a community, the outlook is not reassuring. Findings in the 1987 *American Jewish Year Book* published by the American Jewish Committee show that American Jews are on the move. Jews are more willing to migrate in search of economic opportunities than the general population. The Jewish occupational profile has changed over the last 15 years from light manufacturing and merchandising to "high-tech," financial management, the professions and

academia -- all settings in which Jews are thrown together with their peers from other ethnic groups. In the process, there is a growing geographic and occupational dispersal. The cohesiveness that has heretofore been built around patterns of residential and occupational clustering is breaking down. Except for the Orthodox, who live within walking distance of their synagogues, the rest of American Jewry is increasingly dispersed. Whether Jewish institutional life as we know it today can survive under such circumstances will depend significantly, I believe, on how non-Orthodox Jewry relates to Israel. An American Jewry strongly committed to Israel is more likely to retain its Jewish character and structure.

There has also been a rise in internal conflicts within the Jewish community. Such issues as patrilineal descent and an increasing refusal on the part of the Orthodox to work with other branches of Judaism on matters of common concern have produced a shrillness on all sides that threatens to make a mockery of *ahavat Yisrael*. At this moment the centrist Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations is threatening to withdraw from the Synagogue Council of America, the organization that functions as the umbrella organization for the four branches of Judaism.

Repeated attempts by the religious bloc in the Knesset to amend the Law of Return has produced a strongly emotional response on the part of American Jewry which, if not halted, will affect support for Israel. The irony of the Lubavitcher rebbe sitting in his office on Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn using the apparatus of the State of Israel to gain Orthodox control over religious conversion has its theatrical aspects, but the effect on American Jewry has been very real. This conflict is reflected in the recent election of U.S.

delegates to the upcoming World Zionist Congress. The numbers speak for themselves. The Reform ARZA and the Conservative Mercaz, together with their allies, will have 117 delegates in the 152-seat American delegation to the Congress in Jerusalem this December. If what we are seeing is a fractionalizing of Jewish support for Israel with the various elements of American Jewry identifying primarily with their religious or political counterparts in Israel rather than with the state as a whole, this will make it more difficult to produce unity on issues of common concern affecting Israel's security and general well-being. It also tears at the notion of the oneness of the Jewish people, the strongest link between Israel and American Jewry. The danger here is that Israel, instead of being a unifying force for American Jewry, will be seen as the theater for intra-Jewish conflict. There are those, such as Rabbi David Hartman, who say the answer is for American Jewry to choose sides and let the stronger view prevail. The problem is that in struggles of this kind there are no winners, only losers.

ADULT JEWS IN AMERICA TODAY are keenly conscious of both the Holocaust and the miracle of the creation of the State of Israel. Each in a different way has had a major impact on American Jewish thinking. A friend of mine counts his birthdays with Israel's. He is 38 and Israel 39. His nine-year-old son has a different reference, as will the Jewish youth of tomorrow who were not living at the time Israel was born. Where are the Labor Zionists in America today or, for that matter, Zionists of any description? My generation still remembers the Yiddish-speaking grandfather, the parent who read the *Forward* or had a picture of Theodor Herzl or Chaim Weizmann on the mantelpiece. Our children and grandchildren do not have such memories. The Holocaust and the birth

of the State of Israel will be historical events that they will learn about in school but will not experience emotionally. What will they share with tomorrow's Israeli youth and what will be the content of their Jewishness?

There is disturbing evidence that the bond between Israel and American Jewry that has worked well for both communities for over 40 years is already becoming frayed. The Institute's 1986 survey shows that generally younger adults show less attachment to Israel than their elders. That cannot be explained either by the respondents' lack of opportunity to visit Israel or their general lack of involvement in Jewish life. This decreased commitment is particularly marked among younger Reform Jews who do not share the Orthodox's strong religious ties to Israel. On every measure of involvement with Israel the Orthodox outscore the non-Orthodox. Meanwhile, financial support for Israel among American Jews generally as measured by UJA fund-raising has flattened out or actually decreased when inflation is taken into account.

For American Jews, the news from Israel beginning with the Lebanese war, and even before, has been a long string of negatives -- Lebanon, the killing or maiming of Arab mayors, religious extremism, political bickering, Pollard, the Iranian arms sales, efforts to amend the Law of Return, and you name it. Who needs it, they say, when we can live our lives as Jews in America without becoming embroiled in these matters.

The competitiveness that has crept into the dialogue between the two communities is another potentially disturbing development. Israel the Jewish homeland, America, a homeland of the Jews, are terms used in the debate surrounding Soviet Jewry. For a time last

spring the conflict over whether Soviet Jews should be transported directly to Israel or be free to choose their country of destination overshadowed what should have been the central concern -- getting as many Jews out of the Soviet Union as quickly as possible. Surely getting them out is more important than their choice of destination. Regardless which side one takes on the destination of Soviet Jewry, it is an issue that should be resolved privately among Jews. The spectacle of an Israeli prime minister going first to the press, second to the U.S. secretary of state and last to American Jewry to lobby on this issue was a sad one for the Jewish people. Similarly, earlier this year the *Washington Post* carried a feature article by Jacob Neusner, a Conservative rabbi who heads the Department of Judaic Studies at Brown University, in which he argued that "It's time to say that America is a better place to be a Jew than Jerusalem." World Jewry, he contended, "has voted with its feet" in choosing America over Israel as a place to live. This demonstration of puerile competitiveness has no place in American Jewish-Israeli relations, but I am afraid it is not going to disappear unless spokesmen for both communities put the oneness of the Jewish people ahead of trying to prove which community offers a fuller life for the Jewish people. The indisputable fact is that neither Israel nor American Jewry would have accomplished nearly as much in the past 40 years without the other. The same will be true, I believe, in the next 40 years as well.

BARRING SOME CATAclysmic event there will be no *push* from the American side for Jews to go to Israel. And, regrettably, there is little *pull* from the Israeli side. Increased *aliyah*, however desirable, cannot be the litmus test of the relationship. Obviously, other ways must be found to strengthen the ties between the two communities. I am not suggesting that

the call for *aliyah* be abandoned. On the contrary, I would like to see the Institute do more to increase American aliyah. A good starting point would be to work toward an overhaul of the present system of *shlichim* which rewards the politically faithful in Israel by giving them desirable jobs but has proven ineffective in producing *olim*.

I also urge that we stop trying to redefine Zionism. Classical Zionism is an historical fact. It is the inspirational force that led to the creation of the State of Israel. In my view it should not be tampered with in the interest of having it conform to the Jewish condition in America.

It is also time to drop the artificial distinction between Zionist and non-Zionist in the United States. Why, for example, should the Zionist Organization of America, whose elderly members have no intention of moving to Israel, have a claim on the word "Zionist"? This classification suggests a distinction among American Jewish organizations that disappeared long ago. *Its effect is to perpetuate a Jewish Agency whose controlling bodies are composed of members who are not truly representative of the broad base of support for Israel among American Jewry.*

Strengthening the relationship we have been talking about requires at a minimum creating more and better organic links between the two communities. Some of these will evolve in natural ways. If wedding invitations I recently received are an accurate barometer, inter-marriage between American Jews and Israelis is on the increase. One such wedding, between the daughter of a Moroccan-Israeli family and an American Jew, was as much an American-Israeli success story as one can imagine. The bride's mother and father are of humble origins as evidenced by their not speaking French. Yet

their nine children have all graduated from Israeli universities. The entire family was in attendance at the wedding of this young Israeli woman to the observant son of an American former assistant secretary of the Treasury.

Organic links are also being forged at the business-professional level as a result of the impetus flowing from the Free Trade Agreement. But much more needs to be done. One place to begin is by giving the *yordim* a positive role in the relationship. Let us start looking at the *yordim* not as failures or traitors to Israel but as *kesharim* between the two communities. *Certainly American Jews who have not made aliyah are not in a position to question the decision of Israelis who elect to live in America. Moreover, the Institute's yordim study shows that most yordim continue to have strong ties to Israel. This is less true for their children, who, if they are not made to feel at home in the organized Jewish community, may in time drift away and be lost to the Jewish people.*

American Jewry is quite good at organizing missions for Jews and non-Jews to visit Israel. But, as we know, these are largely directed to fund-raising or introducing influential non-Jews to Israel. We need more people-to-people programs that stress the unity of the Jewish people. The Institute's Edna and Mathew Brown program for visiting Israelis does this. We are now planning to implement a similar program for future American-Jewish influentials to spend several weeks in Israel getting to know the Israel of *yom-yom*. In a recent visit to Israeli high schools in development towns and in the poorer sections of Tel Aviv, I was struck by the feeling of isolation on the part of the students. As these youngsters see it, not even America is a true friend of Israel, and the concept of the "Jewish people" is too vague to

have meaning for them. The Institute is working with the Ministry of Education on a textbook program that we hope will explain the Diaspora in a way that will break down such feelings and strengthen the notion of the Jewish people as an important ingredient in Israeli life. More needs to be done in this field in the religious schools of America as well. Mishnah and Gemara, without peoplehood, are sterile stuff.

In the meantime, ground rules need to be established governing the relationship between the two communities that at a minimum acknowledge the responsibility of each to operate in ways that respect the interests of the other. A few years ago when American Jewry's fear of the Christian right was at its height, Menachem Begin gave a medal to the Reverend Jerry Falwell at a public ceremony in the United States. Regardless of Falwell's support for Israel, we know it is based on dogma abhorrent to Jews. How, one might ask, could an Israeli prime minister embrace Jerry Falwell at a time when American Jewry was locked in combat with Falwell and others like him on matters going to the essence of Jewish being in America? Israel's interests could have been served in other ways. Begin could have met with Falwell privately in Jerusalem. But to pin a medal on him in the United States was for American Jews not very different from President Reagan's visit to Bitburg. The message Mr. Begin was giving in loud and clear tones was that the interests of American Jewry do not count for much when it comes to Israel's dealings with non-Jewish America.

In a way the Pollard affair, and how it was handled, fall in the same category, only more so. How much better it would have been if when the story first broke Israel's prime minister had apologized to the U.S. government

and to American Jewry on behalf of Israel without getting into the question of individual responsibility. It is still not too late for such a clear unequivocal statement to American Jewry. As for the Avineri riposte, suffice it to say that the political process in America today permits Jews and other ethnic groups to support countries with which they identify through origin, race or religious ties without being stigmatized with the charge of dual loyalty. Zbigniew Brzezinski, when asked during an interview published in a Kuwaiti journal whether U.S. policy in the Middle East would be different if there were no Jewish lobbies in Washington, acknowledged that this would be the case, but then added: "But the fact of the matter is that America is a multiethnic society and that ethnic lobbies are a feature of American political life. In fact, you are saying, would America be different if America were not America." This is well and good as far as it goes but there is also an expected level of behavior that does not allow ethnic groups to condone acts by those they support when they violate accepted norms of behavior. Spying on America is one of these. American Jewry would not be nearly as effective in the U.S. halls of government on behalf of Israel if it did not also let it be known that it is not afraid to speak out when Israel is wrong. American Jews were not afraid to criticize President Reagan's trip to Bitburg. The issue was portrayed as a moral one. American Jewry cannot speak out on Bitburg and be silent on Pollard. This is something Israelis need to understand.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN American Jewry and Israel is based on common values in addition to peoplehood and religious ties. American Jewry is essentially universalist in outlook and committed to a pluralist society. This outlook is rooted in American Jewry's awareness, as a conspicuous minority in an

overwhelmingly Christian country composed of many ethnic strains, that the strengthening of the universalist credo and acceptance of ethnic differences support Jewish interests. These values have become deeply inculcated in the thinking of American Jewry and are the standard by which American Jewry measures others. To the extent any significant segment of Israeli society advocates a different standard, the relationship suffers. Extremism in all forms is an anathema to most American Jews, as it is to most Israelis. Unfortunately, statements such as the recent call by a prominent Israeli for the deportation of West Bank Arabs to Jordan are magnified by the press and take on more significance in the news as reported in the United States than the facts warrant. But we should not underestimate the harm such statements do to our common cause, nor should we lose sight of the fact that extremism is part of the price paid for the absence of a genuine peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

Although the political programs of the ultranationalists and the religious beliefs of the fundamentalists are not in all respects congruent, the two groups frequently support one another politically within the workings of Israel's political system. Views that were once regarded as crackpot extremism by the vast majority of Israelis are currently acceptable to perhaps as many as a third of Israel's Jewish population. If what results is a kulturkampf between fundamentalist and mainstream beliefs in Israel, it is bound to affect adversely the way most American Jews view Israel.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN American Jews and Israel goes to the essence of the composition of the Jewish world of tomorrow. In the aftermath of the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel, world Jewry was unified as never before around a common purpose and

commitment to supporting Israel and strengthening Jewish life throughout the world. It is evident that we are now moving in a more divisive direction. If the bond between Israel and American Jewry is weakened to the point where each community goes its own way, the consequence will be disastrous for both. Philip Roth, in his recent novel *The Counterlife*, portrays two Jewish extremes -- Mordecai, the tragicomic, grenade-carrying American-Israeli Orthodox extremist living in an armed camp overlooking an Arab village waiting for the day the Arab villagers will be sent across the Jordan, the other an American Jew who is married to a Christian woman and is conscious of his Judaism only when confronted by an anti-Semitic incident that provokes him into deciding that his unborn son should be circumcised as an act of tribal identification. These are extremes and caricatures for sure, but they cannot be completely dismissed by those of us who care about the future of the Jewish people.

What better time than the 40th anniversary of Israel's independence to have a celebration of the Jewish people? This is the way Israel used to be portrayed, but frankly the image has been tarnished in recent years. We have allowed the Jewish agenda to be set by the extremists, by the conflict between *hilonim* and *haredim*, by political maneuvering on the issue of amending the Law of Return, and by a score of other divisive issues. In the process we have lost sight of the larger themes that bind us together as Jews. It is not planes and missiles, essential as they are to Israel's survival, but 3,000 years of Jewish history that link the Jewish people. It is history, prophesy, triumphs and agonies, great thoughts and solid deeds. It is music, dance and poetry, as well as liturgy and ritual. It is all the things that make our hearts stir with pride as Jews.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022

October 1987

Single copy \$2.00
Quantity prices on request

DRAFT STATEMENT ON THE ISRAEL-ARAB PEACE PROCESS

Current developments in the Persian Gulf demonstrate that the Middle East encompasses far more than the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is clear that the Iran-Iraq war constitutes a far greater and fundamental threat to the U.S. interests and global tranquility and must remain a vital and pressing U.S. concern.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is now perceived as more than an isolated phenomenon. ~~It must be comprehended~~ ^{It must be comprehended} ~~(if not more readily resolved)~~ in the context of broader trends in regional religious and cultural patterns, demographic changes and geopolitical developments. ^{or} The Gulf war has clearly worn away the veneer of the Arab obsession with the Palestinian question, refocusing the intensity of Arab rejectionism of Israel ^{and} diminishing the standing and strength of the PLO. It has also contributed to restoring Egypt's place of leadership in the Arab world, and ⁱⁿ encouraging King Hussein in his readiness to contemplate direct negotiations with Israel. ~~Yes~~ ^{however,} These trends ~~remain only that,~~ ^{are} intensely contested by countervailing forces which continue to thwart direct face-to-face negotiations.

Influencing this process is also a new Soviet diplomatic activism in the region which broadly hints at the restoration of normal diplomatic relations with Israel, diminished support for the PLO and other radical elements, and purported acceptance of a limited role as co-sponsor of bilateral Arab-Israeli negotiations. Here too, countervailing expressions -- the Soviet vote against seating Israel at this year's session of the United Nations General Assembly being the most recent example -- also suggest that positive manifestations are neither unqualified, nor clearly indicative of ultimate intentions.

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Clearly, it is not in King Hussein's interest to increase Soviet influence in the region ~~so much~~ as it is to enlist the Soviets in restraining the Syrians and PLO from intimidating Jordan. Similarly, those in Israel who are ready to entertain King Hussein's expressed need for an international conference have insisted upon condition^s/circumscribing the Soviet role along with assurances from the United States that it will abandon the negotiations with Israel if the Soviets violate this model.

Soviet bona fides are the pivotal issue in moving the peace process forward, at this juncture ~~and~~ Israel's leadership is united in requiring that the Soviets ^{for this} ~~immediately~~ normalize diplomatic relations with Israel and permit substantial and sustained emigration of Soviet Jews. Failing clear and unequivocal movement in this direction, Jordan's insistence on a Soviet role in legitimizing direct bi-lateral negotiations through an international format must be understood as a precondition of negotiations mitigating against rather than for such negotiations, ~~and~~ he must declare, as he did in rejecting his negotiating agreement with the PLO, that the Soviets have disqualified themselves from the peace process.

We are, therefore, acutely concerned that the expenditure of time in the resolution of these factors will harden and entrench the political stalemate in Israel which is an expression of Israel's understandable frustration and disbelief in Arab intentions since before the state's creation.

We look to Israel's political leadership to be indefatigable in its quest for creative approaches to the ²peace process. We urge the President and Secretary of State to be similarly creative and dedicated to movement within^H the context of adherence to the principles of direct negotiations

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and non-imposition of a solution. We would hope that King Hussein will divest himself of all preconditions for direct negotiations whose most tangible effect has been to avoid direct negotiations.

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10/27/87



RESOLUTION ON SOVIET JEWRY
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING
OCTOBER 29 - NOVEMBER 1, 1987
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Moscow is emitting mixed signals on the Soviet Jewry issue. On the one hand, Soviet prisons are, for the first time in years, blessedly free of Jewish prisoners of conscience; a number of well-known activists -- Vladimir Slepak, Ida Nudel, among others -- have been given permission to leave; the emigration rate is up from 1986, and some movement in the religious and cultural sphere has occurred. At the same time, however, the emigration rate remains only a fraction of the 1979 peak of 51,000; severe restrictions prevent the vast majority of Soviet Jews from even submitting exit applications. Officials effectively bar the legal teaching of Hebrew, and anti-Semitic expressions from Pamyat and other sources cause serious concern.

The American Jewish Committee is encouraged by those positive changes affecting Soviet Jewry since Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in 1985. We take note, for example, that Moscow has acknowledged the importance of human rights questions in the framework of the Soviet-American relationship by agreeing that human rights should be one of the four principal components of the superpower agenda together with arms control and security, bilateral issues, and regional conflicts. This provides a framework, we trust, for regularized and thorough reviews of the Soviet Jewry question.

Nevertheless, we are deeply disturbed by the narrowing of the pool of eligible exit applicants to only those with immediate relatives abroad, or those whose names appeared on the list of approximately 12,000 presented to General Secretary Gorbachev in Reykjavik in the fall of 1986. This policy prevents the vast majority of Soviet Jews from even submitting an application to leave. Further, the expanding use of secrecy as a pretext for the denial

2)

of exit visas is also deeply worrisome.

We have welcomed those steps that seem to increase contact and understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. We believe, however, that only when we begin to witness substantial and sustained levels of emigration, including provision for a systematic and orderly process of reviewing exit applications and issuing visas for those who seek to leave, can we consider waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

While we acknowledge the gestures that have been made in relation to fostering Jewish identity, such as allowing a Jewish culture club in Leningrad, a kosher kitchen and ritual bath in Moscow, we cannot ignore the harsh and consistent campaign to extinguish Jewish culture and sever the ties between Jews in the USSR and their co-religionists abroad. Recent statements have been made by Soviet officials condemning anti-Semitism, nevertheless, we remain concerned by the anti-Semitism (often disguised as anti-Zionism) which still persists as a result of decades of government-inspired efforts to spread this pernicious poison. We call on Chairman Gorbachev and his associates to repudiate this ideological bigotry which contradicts the spirit of glasnost.

We commend the Administration for its unstinting efforts on behalf of the Soviet Jewry issue. With increasing contact points between Soviets and Americans, and with a leader in the Kremlin able to exert strong leadership, two indispensable ingredients for possible progress on the Soviet Jewry issue are in place. We therefore urge United States policymakers to continue to seize every appropriate opportunity to make clear to the Kremlin that tangible progress on Soviet Jewry and human rights is vital to the process of building credibility and mutual trust between our two nations.

3)

The American Jewish Committee rededicates itself to the struggle of those Soviet Jews who seek, consistent with numerous international agreements to which the USSR is signatory, the right to be repatriated to their historic homeland, Israel, or to be reunited with their families. We shall persist in our efforts to assure greater religious and cultural opportunities, including the teaching and study of Hebrew, for those Soviet Jews who remain in the USSR.



Submitted by AJC's International Relations Department

rpr

October 28, 1987

It is now my privilege to introduce Dr. Nimrod Novick.

Within the Foreign Minister's Bureau, Nimrod Novik is Senior Personal Adviser and Assistant to Mr. Shimon Peres on questions related to the Vice Premier's responsibilities in the areas of national security and foreign policy. He previously served in that capacity in the Prime Minister's Office during Mr. Peres' tenure as Prime Minister. Born and raised in Israel, Dr. Novik was educated at the Hebrew University and the University of Pennsylvania.

The author of numerous monographs, articles and books on strategic development in the Middle East, he has just published two new studies: Encounter with Reality --- dealing with the Reagan Administration's strategy in the Middle East; and the U. S. and Israel --- a book that deals with the making of Washington's policy vis-a-vis Israel as well as the changing nature of the American commitment to the Jewish State.

While he describes his most important accomplishments as his daughter Ariel and son Ray - - - and we do not contest this for a moment - - - we know him best as an extremely creative and articulate advocate for his country and the Minister he advises. I am delighted to present Dr. Nimrod Novick.

BIOGRAPHY

ROBERT B. OAKLEY

Ambassador Oakley has the rank of Career Minister in the Foreign Service, which he joined in 1957.

On December 31, 1986, Ambassador Oakley was appointed to his current assignment as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Near East, South Asia, and North Africa.

Prior to this appointment, he was a Resident Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In September 1986 he completed a two-year tour as Director of the Office for Combatting Terrorism, Department of State. From November 1982 until August 1984 he was Ambassador to the Somali Democratic Republic; from November 1979 until August 1982 he was Ambassador to the Republic of Zaire; from February 1972 until November 1979 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Asia and the Pacific; from September 1974 until February 1977, he was Senior Advisor of the National Security Council Staff for the Middle East, South Asia and North Africa. Earlier posts include Beirut, Lebanon; U.S. Mission to the United Nations; Paris, France; Saigon, Viet Nam; Abidjan, Ivory Coast; Department of State (IO/UNP); and Khartoum, Sudan.

Ambassador Oakley was born in Dallas, Texas on March 12, 1931 and moved to Shreveport, Louisiana in 1934 where his mother, Mrs. Josephine Oakley, still lives. He attended South Kent School, graduated from Princeton University in 1952, and in that same year he entered the U.S. Navy where he served as an intelligence officer on the staff of Commander Naval Forces, Far East.

He and his wife Phyllis Elliott Oakley, also a Foreign Service Officer, were married on June 8, 1958 in Cairo, Egypt. They have two children, Mary (26) and Thomas (24) who live in Washington, D.C.

87-964-78

October 19, 1987

INTRODUCTION BY EDWARD ELSON OF HENRY GRUNWALD, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF
TIME MAGAZINE, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1987, ATLANTA

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The National Media Award of the American Jewish Committee, when judged by the roster of its recipients in past years, is our closest equivalent to the Hall of Fame, or the Pulitzer Prize, or the Nobel Prize -- perhaps even a little of all three.

Among the honorees in recent years have been men and women of such distinction as Walter Cronkite, Eric Sevareid, Bill Moyers, Barbara Walters, the McNeill-Lehrer News Hour, Katherine Graham of the Washington Post, and A.M. Rosenthal of the New York Times. Our honoree this evening belongs both by nature and by achievement in that pantheon of media superstars. Indeed, he adds luster and a special quality of brilliance to that singular universe of media statesmen.

Henry Anatole Grunwald was editor-in-chief of Time, Inc. from June 1979 until he retired from that position in August 1987, in anticipation of his nomination this fall as United States Ambassador to Austria. He remains a director of Time Inc., whose publications include Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated, People, Money, and Time-Life Books, among others.

Marshall McLuhan set forth the thesis that the world has become a global village, and that the media--both the print and the electronic media -- have become the sinews, the nerve system, which hold together and enable the international family of nations and peoples to function. Henry Grunwald has been one of the great seminal brains that has consistently over decades sent out messages of knowledge,

information, insight, and wisdom throughout the nation, and across the globe.

Mr. Grunwald was managing editor of Time from 1968 to 1977, and then served as corporate editor until his appointment as editor-in-chief.

Born in Vienna, Austria in 1922, Ambassador Grunwald came to America at the age of 17 and enrolled ~~in~~ at New York University, where he majored in philosophy, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and served as editor of the college newspaper. Henry Grunwald started with Time in February 1944 while still in college, working part-time at night as copy boy. After graduation and a stint as a reporter on a labor newspaper, he joined the magazine full-time. In 1945, he became a writer in the foreign news department and six years later, senior editor, the youngest person on Time to hold that title.

While continuing to write major stories on a wide range of subjects, he edited in turn most departments of the magazine, becoming managing editor in 1968.

As editor-in-chief of Time, Inc., Mr. Grunwald initiated an unusual project when all seven magazines he presided over simultaneously published special reports on a common theme: American Renewal. Each magazine treated a different set of issues, offering suggestions as to what might be done to renew America's spirit and resources.

Henry Grunwald has written for Time until his retirement, interviewing statesmen and politicians and contributing essays on such subjects as conflicts over the First Amendment ("The Press, the Courts and the Country"), foreign affairs ("Reagan II: A Foreign Policy Concensus?") and the immigrant experience ("Home Is Where You Are Happy").

Mr. Grunwald has also written articles for Life, Fortune, Foreign Affairs, and Horizon magazines, and contributed to or edited several books including: Churchill: The Life Triumphant, and Salinger: A Critical and Personal Portrait.

Mr. Grunwald is a director of the World Press Freedom Committee, a trustee of New York University, the American-Austrian Foundation, the Scientists' Institute for Public Information, the Council of Foreign Relations, among other prestigious bodies.

Jewish tradition, speaking of the great Rabbi Mendel of Kotsk, said, "Where the rabbi's word is, there he himself is." It is clear that when we read through the pages of Time magazine each week and imbibe knowledge of the world through its words, there Henry Grunwald is.

The late great scholar, Prof. Louis Ginsberg, himself no mean stylist, may well have had Henry Grunwald in mind when he wrote in his classic study, "Students, Scholars, and Saints,"

"A tenacious memory, a quick perception, and other mental equipments enable men to acquire information; but to be a sage, one must be in possession of a great soul."

Henry Anatole Grunwald, editor-par-excellence, counselor to presidents and statesmen, now an ambassador, resident sage... it is a distinct honor to present to you the National Media Award of the American Jewish Committee...

(read inscription on award)

SUMMARY OF REMARKS
BY
ROBERT B. OAKLEY
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
NOVEMBER 1, 1987

Critical Choices in the Middle East

The Middle East today is experiencing what may well turn out to be a major shift in political patterns, although as yet the seeming kaleidoscopic nature of the events and trends leave us all uncertain as to the final pattern which may emerge. There are hopeful developments, including a new found realism on the part of most Arab states and a much greater willingness to accept Israel. In addition to there being little interest in renewed warfare with Israel, there is also a sustained interest in having the US play the key role in helping bring peace to the region. Additionally, the gradual increase in Middle East oil revenues over the next decade may be a positive factor if it helps to create a more stable base for socio-economic development, something which could arrest the growth of radicalism and fundamentalism.

There are, of course, a number of worrisome trends and developments that could undermine the forces favoring peace and reconciliation. Perhaps, most threatening in this regard is the widespread growth of politico-religious fundamentalism with its ties to traditional radical movements, and the inspiration Teheran provides. Other problematic trends include the division within Israel which makes the adoption of choices difficult, and the continued weakness of Arab Governments and Palestinians more generally in standing up to radical political forces.

As if this were not enough, you also have a United States which is struggling for a clearer national consensus and sense of direction, placing its Administration in difficulty for dealing with foreign problems. This is particularly true with respect to Congressional attitudes toward key elements of the Administration's Middle East policy. At the same time, the US and those in the region are facing a much more dynamic, clever Soviet diplomacy which is promoting its own image and influence through the area at the expense of the US but to as yet uncertain ends for the region.

Secretary of State Shultz' recent trip to the Middle East and Moscow has provided a somewhat clearer view of the choices which need to be made in this confused situation but did not actually precipitate them. The Arab summit set for Amman on November 8 may bring still more focus and perhaps some choices will be made. However, only time and the results of critical choices made or avoided will tell us what we want to know. Some of those choices

will necessarily be made in this country and Israel over the next year -- if only because we both have important national elections next November. There will also probably be choices which cannot await these elections. Certainly on the Arab side there will be opportunities for decisions with major long-term significance for the region. However, inaction may again prove to be the outcome because it is politically safer. Should Ayatollah Khomeini die, there could be the opportunity in Teheran for similarly significant decisions. Unless he loses his grip, Iran's aggressive policies will continue. Whether Soviet "new thinking" suggests serious new possibilities for conflict resolution, or simply the more effective pursuit of traditional objectives, remains to be seen.

Our challenge is to make sense of this kaleidoscope and to try to shape events and trends in a way that creates a more stable, predictable, and peaceful future. Not an easy task, but surely a necessary one. The Administration remains determined to do its best.



INTRODUCTION BY DAVID HIRSCHHORN TO SOVIET JEWISH SESSION

* * * * *

Concern over the welfare of Soviet Jewry is deeply linked with the origins and history of the American Jewish Committee. As we all know, it was our preoccupation with the Kishinev pogroms in 1906 that led to the creation of AJC by preeminent leaders of American Jewry.

In the mid-1950s, AJC became the first American Jewish organization to carry out a systematic study of the Soviet Jewish community and their growing plight. The book we published on Soviet Jewry focused the attention of American and world Jewry on ~~xxx~~ that third largest Jewish community in the world.

That interest and commitment to the human rights of Soviet Jewry has continued across the years as a central concern of AJC, down to the present moment. Now we find ourselves at a critical stage in the struggle for Soviet Jewry. The announcement yesterday that President Reagan and Chairman Gorbachev will hold a summit meeting on December 7 in the United States dramatizes the fact that the Soviet Jewry cause is at the center of agenda of the superpower negotiations.

This session is devoted to helping us understand the complex reality of the Soviet Jewish situation, ~~xxxxxxx~~ especially in light of the latest developments between the United States and Soviet Russia. There clearly have been a number of positive developments in easing the ~~xx~~ plight of some Soviet Jews, which we greatly welcome. A number of prisoners of conscience and well-known refuseniks have been released from ~~xxxx~~ prison and allowed to leave Russia. There have been easements in allowing for some small aspects for Jewish cultural development.

There have even been some few official Soviet statements condemning anti-Semitism.

But the overarching reality is that the vast majority of Soviet Jews who have applied for visas to leave Russia are still being denied that fundamental right. And it is clear that unless some major decisions are made by Soviet authorities to allow Jews to live their religion and culture in a fuller way, they will eventually expire as a Jewish community.

We are here seeking at this luncheon meeting to ask ourselves what can we do as AJC, in cooperation with other competent Jewish agencies as well as independently, to develop an effective strategy that will help relieve the deeply vexing condition of our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union. What can we do as an agency and as individuals in our communities to exploit in the best sense the forthcoming summit meeting for the benefit of Soviet Jewry and the cause of human rights?

We could not have two more effective experts in this area than the three speakers whom we are about to hear. Morris Abram, whom we proudly claim as an honorary president of the AJC, has become a foremost spokesman in the cause of Soviet Jewry in his dual capacities as chairman of the National Conference of Soviet Jewry and ~~xxxxi~~ chairman of the Presidents Conference of Major Jewish Organizations. His warm and close relationship with this Administration has placed him in a particularly influential role to advance this great cause.

We look forward with anticipation to hearing Morris' views.

David Harris (see bio)

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~~NORA~~

NORA SAMAROFF, daughter of refuseniks still in the Soviet Union will speak on "A Personal Perspective."



RESOLUTION ON SOVIET JEWRY
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING
OCTOBER 29 - NOVEMBER 1, 1987
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Moscow is emitting mixed signals on the Soviet Jewry issue. On the one hand, Soviet prisons are, for the first time in years, blessedly free of Jewish prisoners of conscience; a number of well-known activists -- Vladimir Slepak, Ida Nudel, among others -- have been given permission to leave; the emigration rate is up from 1986, and some movement in the religious and cultural sphere has occurred. At the same time, however, the emigration rate remains only a fraction of the 1979 peak of 51,000; severe restrictions prevent the vast majority of Soviet Jews from even submitting exit applications. Officials effectively bar the legal teaching of Hebrew, and anti-Semitic expressions from Pamyat and other sources cause serious concern.

The American Jewish Committee is encouraged by those positive changes affecting Soviet Jewry since Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in 1985. We take note, for example, that Moscow has acknowledged the importance of human rights questions in the framework of the Soviet-American relationship by agreeing that human rights should be one of the four principal components of the superpower agenda together with arms control and security, bilateral issues, and regional conflicts. This provides a framework, we trust, for regularized and thorough reviews of the Soviet Jewry question.

Nevertheless, we are deeply disturbed by the narrowing of the pool of eligible exit applicants to only those with immediate relatives abroad, or those whose names appeared on the list of approximately 12,000 presented to General Secretary Gorbachev in Reykjavik in the fall of 1986. This policy prevents the vast majority of Soviet Jews from even submitting an application to leave. Further, the expanding use of secrecy as a pretext for the denial

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of exit visas is also deeply worrisome.

We have welcomed those steps that seem to increase contact and understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. We believe, however, that only when we begin to witness substantial and sustained levels of emigration, including provision for a systematic and orderly process of reviewing exit applications and issuing visas for those who seek to leave, can we consider waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

While we acknowledge the gestures that have been made in relation to fostering Jewish identity, such as allowing a Jewish culture club in Leningrad, a kosher kitchen and ritual bath in Moscow, we cannot ignore the harsh and consistent campaign to extinguish Jewish culture and sever the ties between Jews in the USSR and their co-religionists abroad. Recent statements have been made by Soviet officials condemning anti-Semitism, nevertheless, we remain concerned by the anti-Semitism (often disguised as anti-Zionism) which still persists as a result of decades of government-inspired efforts to spread this pernicious poison. We call on Chairman Gorbachev and his associates to repudiate this ideological bigotry which contradicts the spirit of glasnost.

We commend the Administration for its unstinting efforts on behalf of the Soviet Jewry issue. With increasing contact points between Soviets and Americans, and with a leader in the Kremlin able to exert strong leadership, two indispensable ingredients for possible progress on the Soviet Jewry issue are in place. We therefore urge United States policymakers to continue to seize every appropriate opportunity to make clear to the Kremlin that tangible progress on Soviet Jewry and human rights is vital to the process of building credibility and mutual trust between our two nations.

Intrudes without foundation. (I should be serious, should be now fully developed)

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The American Jewish Committee rededicates itself to the struggle of those Soviet Jews who seek, consistent with numerous international agreements to which the USSR is signatory, the right to be repatriated to their historic homeland, Israel, or to be reunited with their families. We shall persist in our efforts to assure greater religious and cultural opportunities, including the teaching and study of Hebrew, for those Soviet Jews who remain in the USSR.



Submitted by AJC's International Relations Department

rpr

October 28, 1987

Henry Grunwald
522-3175

Atlanta Speech Draft

10/27/87

I am greatly honored by this award and deeply grateful for it. I accept it on behalf of the hundred^s of journalists at Time with whom I worked over the years. For the last two decades or so I was fortunate to be able to direct their efforts -- and quite often, I assure you, they directed mine.

I believe they are an unusually talented and dedicated group of people, animated by the belief that journalism is not only a profit-making enterprise but a public service. For more than sixty years, Time has come out once a week, trying to make sense of the world. I hope that, on balance, we have gotten it right more often than not.

Concerning my impending venture into diplomacy, let me recall the classic remark by Sir Henry Wotton, the 17th century poet and diplomat, who observed: "An ambassador is a man of virtue sent to lie abroad for his country." In a less well known addendum, he observed later: "And a [journalist] is a man without virtue who lies at home for himself." So perhaps I am only moving from the fire into the frying pan. The fact is that we journalists aren't very popular and never have been. So I find it remarkable, and rather touching, that anybody is offering an award for journalists, other than journalists themselves, of course.

I have been asked to speak about the social responsibility of the media or, to use the word I still prefer, the press. I think at this hour of the evening, the supreme social responsibility of the press is to be brief.

People define the responsibility of the press in different ways. One way has to do with national morale. Henry Luce, the founder of Time, once said that any publication put out by Time Incorporated must contribute "to the greater goodness and glory (check quote) of America." In the same vein, Mark Twain observed that the press's duty was to make Americans fall in love with their country. (Check) I certainly have no quarrel with the notion that the press should be patriotic but not at the price of suppressing criticism. We owe it to America to be what John Gardner once called "loving critics", to confront our society with its shortcomings and thus challenge it to live up to its best self.

Others feel that the duty of the press is to serve peace, justice, democracy, brotherhood. This, too, makes me a little uneasy in part because it reminds me of the kind of high sounding slogans which dictatorships wrap around their propaganda machines. Moreover, the reverse of these idealistic demands upon the press is that when peace falters or injustice is rampant, we are all too easily blamed as the

villains of first resort.

Still others, instead of wanting us to be upbeat, believe that the supreme social responsibility of the press is to expose wrongdoing. That is expressed in American folklore, which gives Superman, the righter of wrongs and champion of the weak, an alter ego in Clark Kent, the journalist. There is an ~~an~~ important traditions in America of crusading journalism and it should continue. But I don't believe this crusading role is the chief responsibility of the press. That might well make us too narrow and too shrill.

Most of the time, the responsibility of the press is defined as being helpful in particular situations. The other day, the President of General Motors told one of our reporters that the future of auto sales and thus much of the economy depends how Time and other big news organizations report and interpret the Wall Street crash. "We are in your hands", he said.

In politics the press is held responsible not only for knocking off this or that candidate -- Gary Hart, etc., but for not helping to produce better leadership in general. Even the Russians are getting into the act. When Gorbachev a few days ago hastily reversed course and apparently decided he wanted a summit after all, a

Soviet spokesman blamed the American press for having been too negative in its reporting of the Shultz-Gorbachev meeting. Now the press often is negative, pouncing on failure or trouble with glee. But all this is going a bit too far.

There is some validity in all the views of press responsibility I have cited. Ultimately, however, I believe our social responsibility -- by which I mean our responsibility to society as a whole -- subsumes all the other definitions. In my view it is this: To understand and to explain, to explain the very complex and often deceptive reality in which we live.

That sounds awfully simple, but it is not. Even reporting just the facts is very hard. Take tonight. What does Grunwald look like? Is he a dignified white-haired gentleman with a light of intelligence shining through his eyeglasses? Or is he a short, quite portly fellow, straining to read his text through his spectacles? Is his speech clever or full of platitudes? Is his audience keenly interested or politely bored? Are they here voluntarily or out of a sense of duty? So even factual reporting requires individual judgments. When it comes to explaining and analysing, things get even trickier -- trickier, I would argue, than designing a computer program or fighting a lawsuit. Does Grunwald really deserve this award? Who else might have received it? Who made the decision to give it to him? ~~Who really runs the American~~

Jewish Committee? Where does the Committee fit in the spectrum of American Jewish organizations? Why are there so many of them, and why do they so rarely seem to agree with each other? And on and on.

I'm exaggerating to make a point. Most of these questions need not be asked about this particular event -- but more such questions should be asked, for instance, when we are dealing with Congress or the United Nations or governments or corporations -- and especially when we are dealing with experts whose word we tend to accept uncritically.

There was a story in the papers the other day about the Physicians' Task Force on Hunger in America, to the effect that hunger in America is getting worse. But who or what is the Physicians' Task Force? And what are its methods? They may be impeccable, for all I know, but the fact is I don't know from just reading the newspapers. Similarly, anything put out by an organization with "human rights" in its title is almost guaranteed to see print, without any background. We journalists are supposed to be cynical and skeptical. But often we are credulous -- or maybe just in too much of a hurry. We are also given to group-think. We are apt to go along with the current cliches -- small ones as well as large ones, including some of the great, false cliches of the century. I am sure that you can make your own

list of those. Mine would include the notion that Communism is somehow progressive, that peace depends on good will, that most wars can be stopped ^f "through ^h political solutions", that people act mostly out of economic self-interest, that hatred and violence are not deeply imbedded in human nature but can be eliminated by social or psychological tinkering, that the state can eliminate poverty and inequality by spending enough money. The press does not often deal explicitly with these rather large philosophical concepts, but its daily coverage is informed by them. On whatever level the journalist must re-examine his assumptions, question received wisdom, and think independently.

A State Department official has suggested that ^{the press} ~~there~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~some~~ ~~thing~~ ~~like~~ ~~the~~ ~~commandment~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Hippocratic~~ ~~Oath~~: First, Do No Harm. He was speaking in the context on covering terrorism and hostage-taking and in this area he has a point. Even in a larger sense we should be careful not to hurt people, but I am afraid we always will. We should think about the consequences of our reporting, but there is a limit to how far this can inhibit us. I will say it crassly: the press is not in the business of compassion, it is in the business of truth.

This may sound arrogant ^{and} ~~but~~ you may well ask: " Who elected you? To whom are you accountable?" Let me offer a citation from Judge Irving R. Kaufman, who wrote: "Different

as the press and the federal judiciary are, they share one distinctive characteristic: both sustain democracy ... precisely because, except in the most extreme cases, they are not accountable at all. Thus they are able to check the irresponsibility of those in power."

What happens, ~~you may well ask~~ if the press itself is irresponsible, as God knows, it often is? Who checks it You, the public, must check us, and we must check ourselves. Not very reassuring? Well, the thing to remember is that freedom, including freedom of the press is dangerous. The Founding Fathers knew that, ^Ffreedom, alas, must be for both good and bad, for the deserving and the undeserving, for the responsible and the irresponsible, otherwise it would not be freedom at all.

Last sentence TK.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 28, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject Chairman's Notes/NEC Diplomatic Outreach Session

The well-earned reputation of the American Jewish Committee in the area of international relations has been based over the years on special missions and delegations of the AJC officers to various foreign countries or visits of foreign dignitaries to this country. There has also been a number of outstanding publications on a wide variety of foreign affairs issues and we note the especially important work in the area of Human Rights that has been done under the aegis of the Blaustein Institute.

For the last several years, a new and exciting program has been implemented which we call Diplomatic Outreach. It began when a number of chapters were asked to send delegations to meet with Consuls General of specific countries in relation to important issues in which we were involved. These included 1) that the PLO not be given observer status at meetings of the International Monetary Fund, 2) the treatment of Jerusalem in UNESCO, 3) anti-Semitic statements made at the United Nations, 4) gaining access to UN archives on war criminals and other issues. Over the years, Diplomatic Outreach has developed into a most effective and interesting program as many chapters have established

contact with the Consuls General in their area and have become the Jewish address, as it were, on issues affecting or involving international Jewry. Delegations visiting the Consuls General have been provided with materials and advice by our AJC International Relations Department in New York. After the meetings, there is a report back to New York, which in many cases has provided useful insights for the department in their dealings with various issues.

To give you an idea of this exciting program and its effectiveness, we've asked three panelists who have been involved in this activity to share with us their experiences and perceptions. The panelists include ~~Bart Udell of Miami~~ ~~Richard Rice of Chicago~~, Martin Kelner of Los Angeles and Sherry Frank, AJC's Atlanta Area Director.

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INTRODUCTION BY CEDRIC SUZMAN OF "DIPLOMATIC OUTREACH" PANEL

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Diplomacy and foreign affairs have been a hallmark of the American Jewish Committee since its founding. In response to the horrors of the Kishinev pogroms in 1906, preeminent leaders of the Jewish community organized the AJC and used their considerable diplomatic talents and influence to help relieve the suffering of Russian Jews.

Ever since that time, AJC has become a mini-state department of the Jewish community, interpreting and defending the interests of Jews in Israel, the Soviet Union, and of endangered Jewish communities throughout the world.

During the past four years or so, AJC's International Relations Department has extended that service by building direct and effective relationships and programs with governments throughout Western and Eastern Europe, Central and South America, and increasingly in Africa and Asia.

An important deepening of that diplomatic work has now taken place with chapter leadership arranging to meet with Consul Generals in their respective cities. In each of these meetings, issues of fundamental importance to American and world Jewry have been discussed with foreign diplomats - questions affecting Israel's security, the United Nations obscene resolution on Zionism and racism, human rights and Soviet Jewry, Ethiopian Jewry, South Africa, democracy and human rights in Latin America.

Our purpose at this workshop is two-fold: first, to share information about what our chapter leaders have been doing in their diplomatic outreach program in their local meetings with consul generals;

and second, to evaluate the effectiveness of these activities with a view toward determining how we can strengthen these programs through our chapters.

To help us realize these objectives, we have the benefit of reports and statements by three outstanding AJC personalities who have made distinctive contributions to the diplomatic outreach programs in their communities. They are Martin Kellner of Los Angeles; Bart Udell of Miami (?), and Sherry Frank, Atlanta Area director.

Martin Kellner ~~xxxx~~ is chairman of the International Relations Commission of AJC's Los Angeles chapter, and has been active in a number of diplomatic discussions, including meetings with diplomats in the Pacific Rim - Japan, Taiwan, Korea.

Sherry Frank has done a splendid job in organizing a network of relationships with diplomats for the Atlanta chapter from many parts of the world. Some 20 diplomats attended the last luncheon she arranged for the Atlanta AJC chapter.

Bart Udell has been one of AJC's effective ~~xxxx~~ statesmen in relations with Central and South American countries, among others. Most recently, and his wife he represented AJC at the inauguration of the President of Guatemala. Cedric: report on your own experiences.

**ask community people to report on their experiences; lead to evaluations and recommendations for future activities, especially in the Pacific Rim

STATEMENT ON FOREIGN AID

*Very useful
for demomstrating
to State Dept
our support*

In a statement adopted unanimously in May 1987 in support of U.S. foreign aid, the American Jewish Committee declared that, "our national security and vital interests require not only military preparedness but also a strong diplomatic presence and effective programs of foreign assistance." Yet, despite Congressional approval of \$750 million in supplemental funding for Fiscal Year 1987, the Budget Resolution for 1988 is virtually one billion dollars below 1987, a clear indication that the three-year downward trend in spending for foreign affairs continues to slide dangerously.

While the Congress has wisely endorsed the Administration's recommendations to sustain military and economic aid levels to the Camp David countries, Israel and Egypt, it is clear that America's ability to aid fledgling democracies such as the Philippines, or to provide desperately needed support in the effort against unremitting famine in Africa is being impeded. Additionally, cuts in the State Department authorization bill will mean a loss of \$84-120 million for diplomatic personnel and missions -- a comparatively miniscule sum that forces the elimination of 1,270 positions, closes 13 consulates and two more embassies, thereby further constricting America's diplomacy.

These cuts and reductions all precede whatever additional cuts will be mandated under Gramm-Rudman requirements since the total federal budget deficit is still above target.

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Foreign aid and the maintenance of our diplomatic apparatus is not, as we observed, "simply charity, but enlightened self-interest since it contributes to a politically stable and peaceful world where human dignity is preserved." As Congress and the Administration begin anew an examination of the budget deficit and its remedies, we caution against further drastic cuts which will compromise basic American foreign policy needs. Merely maintaining the status quo, much less sustaining further cuts, promises a weakening of America's world posture that will surely have political and economic costs in the near future. We call upon Congress to act creatively in working to restore the disproportionately small sums of foreign aid and State Department budget which can have such a major impact on maintaining and strengthening America's international relations.

Submitted by AJC's International Relations Department

rpr

October 18, 1987