



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

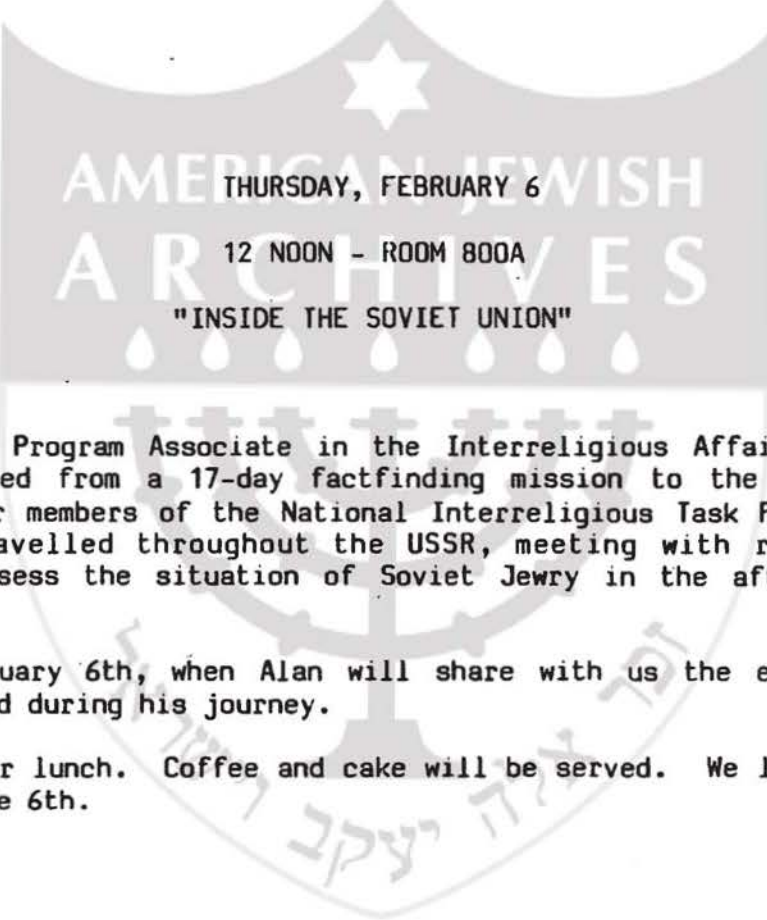
*Preserving American Jewish History*

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 102, Folder 2, General correspondence, memos & working papers, February-April 1986.

# AJC Staff Forum



THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6  
12 NOON - ROOM 800A  
"INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION"

Alan Mittleman, Program Associate in the Interreligious Affairs Department, has just returned from a 17-day factfinding mission to the Soviet Union. Along with other members of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, Alan travelled throughout the USSR, meeting with refuseniks and officials to assess the situation of Soviet Jewry in the aftermath of the Geneva summit.

Join us on February 6th, when Alan will share with us the experiences and insights gathered during his journey.

Please bring your lunch. Coffee and cake will be served. We look forward to seeing you on the 6th.

David Gordis

# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

## ALERT TO EDITORS AND BROADCASTERS

**WHO:** Ambassador Manuel Sassot, Consul General of Spain in New York -- formerly director of the Middle East office of the Spanish Foreign Ministry and a key force in the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel

**WHAT:** Will speak on "Spanish-Israeli Relations: Their Meaning for Middle East Peace"

**WHEN:** Monday, February 10, 1986, at 3:30 p.m.

**WHERE:** American Jewish Committee headquarters  
165 East 56th Street (corner of Third Avenue)  
New York City

Will the new diplomatic ties between Spain and Israel help forward Middle East peace negotiations, as some have suggested, or will they harm them? What about the Arab states that tried to persuade Spain not to establish these ties -- how will they react? How will the new "normalization" affect Spain's Jewish community? What about economic competition between Spain and Israel, which export many of the same products? Will Spain's action strengthen the European Economic Community in its economic and political aims, and will it help strengthen Israel in the world politico-economic arena?

Few people are as well qualified to answer these and related questions as is Ambassador Sassot, and we invite you to hear him speak on them, and to ask your own questions.

## YOUR COVERAGE IS INVITED

**Contact:**

PRESS - Joyce Kaplan

BROADCASTING - Haina Just

(212) 751-4000

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1986 NJCRAC Plenary Session  
The Waldorf-Astoria  
New York, New York  
February 16-19, 1986

Preliminary Agenda

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15

- 8:30 PM: ORIENTATION OF FIRST-TIME DELEGATES  
8:30 PM: HEARINGS ON APPEALS ON PROPOSITIONS  
9:30 PM: CHAIR'S RECEPTION

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16

- 9:00 AM: Opening Session  
CRITICAL CONCERNS  
Observations of NJCRAC Executive Vice Chairman
- 10:15 AM: General Session  
THE JEWISH CONNECTION TO THE URBAN AGENDA
- 12:15 PM: Luncheon Honoring NJCRAC Chair  
Address by NJCRAC Chair Jacqueline K. Levine  
A CHANGING AMERICA AND A CHANGING JEWISH COMMUNITY:  
IS THE JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS FIELD RESPONSIVE?
- 2:30 PM: Three Concurrent Forums
1. KAHANEISM: WHAT DOES IT REPRESENT AND WHAT IS BEING DONE?
  2. BALANCING RIGHTS: CULTS AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY
  3. CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS: 20 YEARS AFTER NOSTRA AETATE
- 5:00 PM: Reception Tendered by the MetroWest, New Jersey Jewish Federation  
at the METROPOLITAN OPERA CLUB, LINCOLN CENTER
- 8:45 PM: General Session  
TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE UNITED STATES POLICY ON APARTHEID

(over)

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17

8:00 AM: Forum and 5 Concurrent Workshops on Community Programming

Forum: ETHIOPIAN JEWRY'S PROSPECTS

Workshops:

- a. MAINTAINING A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY
- b. CAN PACS AND CRCS WORK TOGETHER?
- c. ADVANCING THE WOMEN'S AGENDA: WHAT ROLE ARE CRCS PLAYING?
- d. STRENGTHENING CRCS STAFFED ON A PART-TIME BASIS
- e. ARAB PROPAGANDA: HOW DO CRCS WORK WITH THE CAMPUS COMMUNITY?

10:30 AM: General Session

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF NJCRAC REVIEW COMMITTEE

1:30 PM: Joint Program Planning: DOMESTIC CONCERNS

3:30 PM: General Session

AMERICA'S NATIONAL PRIORITIES: ARE SOCIAL AND FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY COMPATIBLE?

5:30 PM: Reception Tendered by the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York at the NEW YORK UJA-FEDERATION BALLROOM

8:45 PM: General Session

POST SUMMIT PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET JEWRY

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18

8:00 AM: Forum and 5 Concurrent Workshops on Community Programming

Forum: CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION: IS THE THREAT ABATING?

Workshops:

- a. PUBLIC OPINION AND ISRAEL: DEVELOPING A YEAR-ROUND PROGRAM
- b. HOW DO STATE LEGISLATIVE OFFICES WORK WITH CRCS?
- c. SOVIET JEWRY: PREPARING FOR THE 1986 SUMMIT
- d. MAINTAINING A WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MEDIA
- e. INCREASING THE VISIBILITY OF THE CRC: EFFECTIVE P.R. PROGRAMS

10:00 AM: Three Concurrent Forums

4. THE ADMINISTRATION'S CAMPAIGN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONISM
5. IS ANTI-SEMITISM GROWING?
6. ASSESSING PROTESTANT-JEWISH RELATIONS

2:30 PM: Joint Program Planning: INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS AND ISRAEL

8:45 PM: General Session

UNITED STATES, ISRAEL AND THE PEACE PROCESS

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19

8:00 AM Joint Program Planning: PRIORITIES FOR 1986-87: SYNTHESIS OF PLENUM DELIBERATIONS

10:15 AM General Session

RE-EXAMINING THE PREMISES OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS

12:30 PM Adjournment

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** February 26, 1986  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Marilyn Rothman - Personnel  
**subject** "Your 25 years on staff"

I am happy to extend to you the good wishes of the American Jewish Committee on the occasion of having completed 25 years of service with the Committee on March 1st. I am personally grateful to you for all you have contributed towards furthering our program.

In recognition of your loyalty and devotion, the Board wishes you to have a United States Savings Bond of \$500.

Best of luck to you.

MR:mf

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** March 7, 1986  
**to** See Below  
**from** David Harris  
**subject** Meeting with Israeli Ambassador Meir Rosenne

Leo Nevas, Marc Tanenbaum and I met yesterday with Ambassador Rosenne for one hour at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. The highlights of the discussion were:

1. The Ambassador sees no short-term prospect for significant improvement in Soviet Jewry. In fact, he noted that Edgar Bronfman, during his visit to Moscow in September 1985, had been promised 900 Jews in exchange for muting the tone of Soviet Jewry demonstrations expected in Paris in connection with Gorbachev's visit to France the next month. Bronfman agreed and, together with the Israeli Government (over the objection of Ambassador Rosenne), persuaded French Jewry to tone down their manifestations. Since then, however, there has been no Soviet fulfillment of the promise of 900 emigrants. On the issue of direct flights, that is, via Warsaw (or Bucharest which the Israelis proposed and the Kremlin rejected), there has also been no progress whatsoever.

Concerning the possibility of a thaw in Soviet-Israeli relations, the Ambassador indicated there had been no progress. He did note a meeting he had had with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin prior to the latter's departure for Moscow to attend the 27th Party Congress, and added that Dobrynin's new assignment at the Central Committee could be interpreted positively. After 24 years in Washington, Dobrynin will likely advocate in behalf of improved superpower bilateral ties and also movement on the Soviet Jewry issue. For example, said Ambassador Rosenne, it was Dobrynin who was quoted, in response to a journalist's question about the possibility of Shcharansky's mother and brother being issued exist visas, as saying, "I hope so."

The Ambassador expressed the view that the Kremlin has belatedly understood its mistake in having severed diplomatic ties with Israel in 1967. As a result of this short-sighted move, the Soviets have been cut out of a substantial part of the Middle East scene and retain close ties only with Libya, Syria, South Yemen and the PLO. Speaking of the PLO, the Ambassador referred to Farouk Kaddoumi's recent visit to Moscow, the official governmental reception he received (normally he is received by only semi-official Soviet groups), and the strong support extended by Moscow to the PLO in the face of the split with Jordanian King Hussein. (NOTE: Kaddoumi is the head of the PLO's political



department.) He also noted that PLO officials had recently met at least three times with Soviet Embassy officials in Amman to discuss the matter.

2. On Eastern Europe, Ambassador Rosenne referred to Poland's inexplicable delay in implementing the October agreement for an exchange of diplomats with Israel. Although the top representatives on each side has already been named (Israel's envoy will be its ambassador to Santo Domingo), no movement has actually occurred. He does not see any progress towards the establishment of diplomatic ties with other East European countries, though he noted that non-diplomatic relations with Hungary are quite good. Annual trade totals \$15 million and there is a steady flow of tourists, cultural figures and athletic teams.

3. On Shcharansky's proposed visit to the U.S., the Ambassador indicated that the plans were for an April visit but he had heard that the former Soviet prisoner of conscience was not yet feeling well and might postpone the visit until May. We advised the Ambassador of our interest in having the Shcharanskys participate at our 80th Annual Meeting.

4. On the upcoming Joint Colloquium on Minority Rights Under International Law in Bonn, the Ambassador made two points: a) in 1955 West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer reached an agreement on repatriation with the Soviets which included the key point that the Soviets recognized even those ethnic Germans born in the USSR as eligible for repatriation. This interpretation set an important precedent for Soviet Jews. b) He expressed caution about drawing too similar conclusions between Soviet Jews and Germans, noting, for example, that ethnic Germans had collaborated with occupying Nazi forces in the Soviet Union. The Ambassador appeared impressed with the list of academic participants.

5. He was deeply upset to learn of the death of Zach Shuster and indicated he would attend the Memorial Service in New York on March 17th. He spoke movingly of Zach's major contributions in behalf of the Jewish people during a lifetime of communal service. He added that the AJC presence in Europe under Zach and then Abe Karlikow was a major factor on the European continent and the publication of Evidences was a significant contribution to European intellectual life. The Ambassador lamented the fact that AJC had downgraded its profile in Western Europe and urged reconsideration.

6. We raised with him the case of John Demjanjuk, ("Ivan the Terrible"). He noted the trial would not take place for at least several more weeks and added that the final week before the deportation was a particularly difficult one. The El Al flights all made stopovers, either in Canada or Western Europe, and none of these intermediate countries would permit the group escorting Demjanjuk to transit. The Canadian Government even threatened to arrest Demjanjuk's escorts and set the deportee free. Finally, a non-stop flight to Israel became available and he was placed on it. O'Connor, Demjanjuk's lawyer, is "no

friend" of Israel and can be expected, together with the deportee's son, to seek to create trouble for Israel as the trial approaches. It is not yet clear whether O'Connor will go to Israel, though Israeli law now permits a foreign lawyer to act in a client's behalf in cases where the death penalty is involved. We expressed the need for effective information and interpretation of the case and the forthcoming trial to combat accusations of Jewish "vengeance" and the desire of many to put the Holocaust behind that will doubtless surface in certain U.S. quarters. The Ambassador took note of these points and promised to send us appropriate material. Further, he will discuss the possibility of a meeting with AJC for key staff involved in informational activities.

7. We asked the Ambassador for regularly updated material on Israel and South Africa, as well as any new information on the Arab-South African connection, explaining that this matter continues to be a community relations issue for us. He will send us some recently prepared data.

8. He expressed pleasure that we will be meeting with Marcelino Oreja, Secretary General of the Council of Europe. On another note, he also stressed the absolutely vital role of Mark Palmer at the State Department in Shcharansky's release (we told the Ambassador that we had already acknowledged Mark in a letter), and urged that we consider honoring Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations Alan Keyes (we told him we had already done so at the NEC in Miami).

9. What is especially striking in each of our meetings with Ambassador Rosenne is the breadth and depth of his experience with AJC, his respect and affection for the agency, and his extraordinary memory for names, dates and places. On this occasion, he made reference to Rita Hauser, the NEC meeting in Philadelphia, Sidney Liskofsky, Bernie Resnikoff, Ya'acov Pnini and Mordechai Gazit, in addition to his comments about Zach, and asked whether former U.S. Ambassador to Italy Richard Gardner was still active with AJC.

#### DISTRIBUTION

Hyman Bookbinder  
Theodore Ellenoff  
David Geller  
David Gordis  
George Gruen  
Sidney Liskofsky  
Leo Nevas  
M. Bernard Resnikoff (via FAX)  
Marc Tanenbaum  
William Trosten

9417 (IRD-6)/e1 - 3/11/86

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** March 7, 1986  
**to** See Below  
**from** David A. Harris  
**subject** Meeting with Rozane Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

### PARTICIPANTS

Hyman Bookbinder  
Howard Friedman  
David Harris  
Alfred Moses  
Leo Nevas  
Lynn Pascoe, Deputy Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Department of State  
Rozane Ridgway  
Marc Tanenbaum  
William Trosten

The meeting was held as a luncheon in a private dining room at the Embassy Row Hotel in Washington, D.C., beginning at 1 p.m. and ending at 2:30 p.m.

The principal points of discussion were:

1. Secretary Ridgway, was hesitant to welcome the reports of Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin's new assignment in Moscow at the Central Committee. Though Dobrynin has served 24 years in the U.S. and understands this country better than any other Soviet in government today, he may have to adopt a tough position on the U.S. to prove that he has not been "softened" by his years in Washington. Whether this view is correct (other observers have suggested that Dobrynin will indeed prove a force for moderation in East-West relations), what does clearly emerge is an effort to strengthen Gorbachev's policy team on Western issues. In addition to Dobrynin, former Soviet Ambassador to Ottawa Yakovlev will also assume a key role in East-West matters. It appears that Georgi Arbatov, head of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science's Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, may find his own role diminished.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

2. Asked about Dobrynin's successor, she responded that of the two names most frequently mentioned, Soviet envoy to Paris Vorontsov, or Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' U.S. Division Komplektov, she preferred the latter.
3. The State Department expended enormous time and energy in working out Shcharanky's release and has been seeking to pursue a public line that welcomes the move and attempts to encourage other Soviet gestures, while at the same time noting the continued low emigration numbers and unchanged situation for activists and other refuseniks.
4. Nearly two months ago, the U.S. signalled to the Soviets easing of restrictions on the transfer of oil and gas equipment technology. While not explicitly linking this move to the resolution of ten divided bi-national marriage cases, the issuance of a temporary visa to Elena Bonner, Andrei Sakharov's wife, and the emigration of a handful of long-term refusenik cases (Mark Nashpitz, Yakov Mesh, etc.), the State Department indicated to the Kremlin that it would respond positively to improvements in the human rights area with parallel gestures in other areas of importance to Moscow. Until now, though, no U.S. corporation has submitted an application in the oil and gas sector, thus the Soviets cannot be certain that a new policy is truly in effect. It is, however, the Department's hope that favorable review of future applications will spur the Soviets to increase their gestures in the human rights area. If, on the other hand, additional gestures will not be forthcoming in response to a favorable review of applications, the Department is prepared to curtail its liberalized policy.
5. On arms control, Secretary Ridgway confirmed newspaper reports that no progress in any of the three principal areas (intercontinental, intermediate and space and defense) had occurred in the recently-concluded talks in Geneva. She continues to believe that there is a glimmer of hope in the INF talks, though the difficulties of negotiation are compounded by Gorbachev's sweeping proposals designed to gain favorable publicity for the Soviets but which he knows to be totally unacceptable to the West. She also noted that President Reagan's most recent letter to the Soviet General Secretary outlining the U.S. position on Gorbachev's arms control initiative was as much a reflection of West European and Japanese thinking as it was of U.S. The effort of the Kremlin to drive a wedge between the U.S. and its allies has failed completely. This is reflected, too, in the virtual disappearance of vocal opposition in such countries as Belgium and Holland to the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles.
6. Considerable discussion focused on strategies for breaking the emigration logjam. Secretary Ridgway indicated that the Administration will continue to pursue a policy of quiet diplomacy on

human rights questions, but may need to reconsider its posture if significant developments do not occur in the months leading to the next Summit meeting. At the same time, however, she encouraged private groups to continue a vocal public campaign both as a means of pressuring the Kremlin and to permit the Administration in its own dealings with the Soviets to continue to cite a major domestic constituency concerned with these issues.

In response to a specific question about U.S. strategy should emigration continue to be low but other areas of the bilateral relationship benefit from improvement, she made the following important points: a) The Administration will not link progress in Geneva to the human rights sector though it shares the view of Morris Abram stated to the President in September that the issues of "trust" and "credibility" simply cannot be divorced from the discussion and will be important determinants in the climate and atmospherics surrounding consideration of any arms control agreement. We indicated that we shared the Secretary's views on this matter and would not seek any formal linkage at Geneva. b) The three principal weapons in the Soviet Jewry struggle are: i) the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, ii) the informal linkage cited above in paragraph 4, and iii) the force of public opinion in creating a particular climate. When asked, though, whether the U.S. would consider slowing progress in other non-strategic areas, e.g. cultural, economic, maritime, etc., if there were no change in the emigration rate, Secretary Ridgway responded that she would not make such a recommendation. In other words, if progress in a particular area were otherwise in the interests of the U.S., she could not foresee a decision to forestall such progress in pursuit of the Soviet Jewry issue. Thus, she was, in effect, suggesting that the U.S. has very few "sticks" it can or will use in the superpower relationship and would prefer, in any case, to use possible "carrots" in addressing the Soviet Jewry issue. While we agreed that it was certainly preferable to attempt to use "carrots," there may come a point where the positive inducements are not working and human rights supporters, seeing progress occurring in other key non-strategic areas of the relationship, may have to take issue with the Administration's policy. Secretary Ridgway expressed understanding for this position.

7. We advised the Secretary of our contacts with Soviet Embassy officials and the possibility of a trip to the Soviet Union. She expressed support for this channel of communication, adding: "All open-eyed contact with the Soviets is to the good." We also informed her of our plans for the Colloquium on Minority Rights Under International Law taking place in Bonn later this month.
8. Secretary Ridgway expressed some concern about the likelihood of renewal of M.F.N. for Romania (because of growing Congressional criticism of Bucharest's treatment of certain Christian sects, not

to speak of the generally poor human rights record of the Ceaucescu regime).

DISTRIBUTION

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Theodore Ellenoff  
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Richard Maass  
Alfred Moses  
Leo Nevas  
✓ Marc Tanenbaum  
William Trosten



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**American Jewish Committee Involvement in European Protest  
on Behalf of Lebanese and Syrian Jews**

*The International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee was actively involved behind the scenes in the meeting in Paris on February 23 of the International Committee for the Freedom of Syrian Jews, which focussed also on the plight of the Lebanese Jewish community. Nives Fox, Director of our European Office, who has been a primary source of contact with the relatives of Lebanese Jews in France, helped in the preparations for the conference and represented AJC at the sessions.*

*The latest background analysis on "Lebanese Jews--Victims of Shi'ite Muslim Terror" written by Dr. George E. Gruen, AJC Director of Middle East Affairs, was distributed to the press and conference participants. Dr. Neil Sandberg, Director of AJC's Los Angeles office, helped to secure funding for the participation in the conference of Mrs. Rosemary Cohen, the sister-in-law of Haim Cohen, one of the Jewish hostages murdered in Beirut by the self-styled "Organization of the Oppressed in the World."*

*The conference was widely covered by the French TV and press, including Le Monde and Le Quotidien. The following are texts of the dispatches filed as a result of the conference by the Associated Press and Reuters, and a photocopy of the story that appeared in the New York Times. (Also appended are the Resolution and Program of Action adopted by the Conference.)*

**"Families of slain Lebanese Jews condemn Syria, Iran"**  
by Marilyn August

Associated Press Writer

PARIS (AP) - The families of some of the Jewish hostages murdered in Lebanon in recent months called on western governments Sunday to pressure Syria and Iran into releasing the remaining Jewish hostages and letting Lebanon's tiny Jewish community live in peace.

Speaking at a meeting in Paris of the International Committee for the Freedom of Syrian Jews, the families joined French Jewish leaders and political figures in blaming Syria and Iran for the deaths of five Jewish hostages.

Eleven Lebanese Jews are currently thought to be in the hands of fundamentalist Moslem kidnapers.

"President Assad says he does not control the groups holding the hostages, but that is only a half-truth," said Theo Klein, president of CRIF, a French Jewish organization.

He stressed that the Moslem groups working in Lebanon took their orders directly from the Ayatollah Khomeini and could not operate freely without the tacit approval of Syria.

Rosemary Cohen, the sister-in-law of Chaim Cohen, killed in December, said she was not after revenge.

"I hope the assassins live so that they change their attitudes and feel guilty for what they have done," she said. "What can they get out of killing my brother-in-law? The problems in Lebanon are terrible; it's as if God had turned his back on us."

In 1975, Lebanon's Jewish community numbered about 8,000. Today, there are fewer than 100 Jews left. Most have emigrated to Israel.

Mrs. Cohen, an Iranian [citizen born in Lebanon] who has been living with her husband and children in Los Angeles for the past 18 months, said she had spoken to her brother-in-law a few days before gunmen burst into his home and dragged him away. His bullet-riddled body was found nine months later.

"He was a very simple man who didn't really feel he was in danger because he wasn't a soldier, and wasn't involved in politics," she told The Associated Press.

Mrs. Cohen said her brother-in-law, 38, did not want to go to Israel because "he didn't want to ever have to shoot at his fellow Lebanese." His wife and three children, she added, remain in Beirut and have no plans to leave.

Other speakers at the day-long conference included noted Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld, Ovadia Soffer, Israeli ambassador to France, and Rene Samuel Sirat, Grand Rabbi of France.

Mrs. Klarsfeld, who recently returned from Beirut where she spent three weeks trying to negotiate the release of the Jewish hostages, said she was not optimistic about their fate.

"Jews are the scapegoats for all the anti-Israel feeling in the Middle East," she said. "The various Lebanese groups are fighting each other, but they express their hatred of Israel by kidnapping and killing the few Jews left.

"They are behaving just like the Nazis during World War II -- They are killing Jews just because they are Jews," she said. "There is no government to defend them."

She said her husband, Serge, was currently in Beirut trying to convince Moslem spiritual leaders to condemn the killings.



Other talks included the testimony of a young Syrian Jew who described life in Syria for the 4,000 remaining Jews.

"The entire Jewish community is being held hostage," said the young girl, who spoke to the audience, her back turned and surrounded by body guards. She declined to be identified saying it would endanger her family in Syria.

In Syria, she explained, Jews are under constant surveillance. They are arrested arbitrarily at home or in the synagogue. Unlike Christians or Moslems, they are required to carry identity cards marked with their religious affiliation.

"You cannot imagine what it is like for a young girl to face a hostile civil servant for the 'nth time, to be harassed, asked the most indiscrete questions, to wait years for an answer, knowing that it will be negative," she said.

Syrian universities have strict quotas for Jewish students and entrance refusals need no explanation. Jews cannot sell their home or car. They cannot vote, work for the government as civil servants or for nationalized companies, she said.

"Conditions are getting worse all the time," she said. "We live in constant fear. Every time the door bell rings, we never know who it's going to be."

\* \* \*

#### "French Jewish leaders blame Syria for death of Lebanese Jews"

PARIS, February 23, Reuter - Leaders of France's Jewish community today accused Syria of direct responsibility in the capture and killing of Lebanese Jews.

Roger Pinto, head of the International Committee for the Liberation of Syrian Jews, told a meeting that the Jews "are being held in territory under Syria's control...where nothing is done or decided without its accord."

An underground Shi'ite Moslem group calling itself the "Organization of the Oppressed in the World" has claimed responsibility for killing four Lebanese Jews since last December and has said it is holding three others.

Addressing delegates to the meeting from 16 countries, Pinto accused the European Community of failing to take a firm stand against Syria, Libya and Iran, which he said fostered guerrilla groups acting in Western Europe.

A young woman, her back turned to the public and her head swathed

in a scarf to hide her identity, told the meeting that Syria's 4,500 Jews lived in a state of near-terror, having to account to the authorities for every movement.

She called on Syria to let the Jews "leave and have the right to happiness."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1986

# JEWIS IN LEBANON URGED TO GET OUT

## Moslem Extremist Campaign Making Beirut Too Risky, Paris Conference Says

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN  
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Feb. 23 — Leading French Jews, saying that the Jews of Lebanon are in imminent danger, called on them today to leave for other countries.

The appeal at a conference here today came amid a continuing campaign by extremist Moslems against Lebanese Jews. Since December, the extremists have announced the executions of four Jews in Lebanon and the abduction of three.

The appeal follows by nearly a year the first kidnappings of Jews in Beirut — four kidnappings in a single day last March. The families of those hostages, many of whom live in France, had asked that the incident not be publicized in hopes that by remaining silent they would increase the chances that their relatives would be released.

But since the end of December, the group holding the Jews has announced in written communiqués to a Beirut newspaper that three of the four kidnapped last March have been executed. In each case they have provided pictures of the victim, saying it was evidence of their death.

### Moslem Group Claims Abductions

A group calling itself the Organization of the Oppressed on Earth has claimed responsibility for the abductions and the executions. In letters to An Nahar, an Arabic-language daily in Beirut, the Shiite Moslem group has demanded that Israel withdraw all its forces from southern Lebanon and release the Shiite prisoners it is holding.

The victims have been identified as Elie Hallak, a 52-year-old physician who was vice president of the Higher Council of Lebanon's Jews; Chaim Cohen-Halala, 39, a merchant, and Isaac Tarrab, 70, a professor of mathematics at a Beirut university.

A fourth Jewish hostage said to have been killed was Ibrahim Benesti, 34, a physician and one of three Jews reported kidnapped on Feb. 15.

That would leave at least three other hostages still alive, including the father and the son of Dr. Benesti, kidnapped with him on Feb. 15, and Elie Sasson, a merchant who is the chief spokesman for Jews in Lebanon and who was among those kidnapped last March.

French Jews have historic ties with Lebanese Jews, who numbered several thousand in the early 1980's. French Jews say there are now 22 Jews living in West Beirut and 73 in the East, many of them widows and elderly people.

In the last few months, a few quiet efforts have been made here to win the release of the Jews being held prisoner. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish spokesmen here have called on Moslem clerics in Lebanon to speak out against the taking of Jewish hostages.

Serge Klarsfeld, a French lawyer who has tracked down former Nazis, went to West Beirut last week to appeal to local religious leaders to condemn the hostage seizures in Lebanon and to offer himself in exchange for the hostages.

But Mr. Klarsfeld's wife, Beate, said today that he had received threats against his life after arriving in Beirut and, on the advice of the French Embassy there, had moved to the Christian-controlled half of the city.

Earlier, Mrs. Klarsfeld spent three weeks in east Beirut in an effort to negotiate the release of the hostages. She said today that she was able to meet with a man described as a low-level representative of the Party of God but that the meeting produced no results.

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INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE FREEDOM OF JEWS IN SYRIA

COUNCIL RESOLUTION

February 23, 1986

Delegates from 16 countries which joined the International Council for Freedom of Jews in Syria, met in Paris February 23, 1986, with leaders of the Jewish community, religious authorities and a broad range of French political representatives.

-- Recalling that the International Committee is inspired by humanitarian concerns about the life and freedom of persons undergoing moral and physical suffering and as its fundamental objective "defends the Freedom of Jews in Syria and their right to emigrate to the country of their choice, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights";

-- Being aware that the worsening fate of the Jewish Community in Syria, in contravention to international law and fundamental principles of the right to life and human dignity;

-- Stresses that its intended campaign for international protest will have no political connotation,

- \* for Jews in Syria constitute a community in peril, suffer discrimination in an environment that is hostile and full of hate,
- \* as second class citizens their condition is a permanent offense to the United Nations Charter and Human Rights,
- \* they live in a prison-land, a hostage community at the mercy of harassment, isolated and scorned, in daily fear and without hope;

-- Call upon universal conscience, international bodies and all governments to work unceasingly so that all Jews, citizens or residents of Syria, who wish to leave the country can be assured of the right to do so freely, at any time, and settle in the land of their choice.

-- Commits itself to pursue this struggle in all its aspects and by appealing to all bodies in order that the principles of liberty and dignity stated in Articles 13 and 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights become effective for all concerned, Jews and non-Jews, who are forbidden to emigrate freely from their country of nationality or residence.

---

PROGRAM OF ACTION

The following program of action was voted unanimously and with the approval of French and European Parliamentarians present:

-- Mrs. Nicole Fontaine, member of the European Parliament, agreed to submit to this organization a proposition that a delegation of European Parliamentarians go to Syria to inquire about the situation of the Jews.

-- On the initiative of deputies Georges Sarre, Olivier Stirn and Claude Gerard Marcus, a French Parliament delegation will be constituted for the same purpose.

-- The 16 Committees formed throughout the world have agreed to ask their governments and Parliaments to intervene with the Syrian government.

-- In addition, the same committees agreed to launch a campaign in their respective lands pointing up the tragic situation of Jews in Syria.

-- In each country requests for a meeting with the Syrian Ambassador also will be made.



INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE FREEDOM OF JEWS IN SYRIA

PRESS RELEASE

Paris, February 23, 1986

Roger Pinto, President of the International Council for the Freedom of Jews in Syria which gathered in Paris, February 23, 1986, in the presence of delegates from 16 countries declared:

That the President of the Syrian Republic did not keep his promises. On November 18, 1984, he declared that the Jews of Syria were full-fledged citizens, that is to say that, as other religious communities, their right to freely circulate and go to the country of their choice was recognized.

Unfortunately, the situation has not changed and Jews in Syria are still a hostage community, living under difficult conditions.

Mr. Pinto stated that the Council's international action will have strictly humanitarian bases, that the means used will be peaceful, though firm and continuous for as long as Jews in Syria will not be authorized to leave the country if they so wish.

As for the Jews of Lebanon, Mr. Pinto expressed horror for the barbarous killing of four hostages whose only crime was to be Jewish.

It reminded him of the "old times" when Jews were selected and led to slaughter.

He accused Syria of bearing major responsibility for these murders. How could it be otherwise, when one knows that the hostages, French as well as Lebanese Jews, are kept on Lebanese territory controlled by Syria, omnipresent in the country, and without whose accord nothing can be done or decided.

Syria, Libya and Iran are treated with strange indulgence by the free world and especially by the European community. This is even more astonishing given that these three countries are cradles for international terrorism and that Western Europe has become its first victim. We do not understand...

Addressing himself to Jews in Lebanon Roger Pinto pressingly and solemnly called on them to "quit Lebanon as rapidly as possible, for you are in mortal danger. Leave Lebanon lest you wish to lengthen tomorrow's list of hostages."

9406-IRD-6  
3/11/86:tp

86-580



ST. JOHN'S SEMINARY  
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

197 FOSTER STREET · BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135 · 617 254-2610

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

March 11, 1986

Dear Rabbi Janenbaum,

We are most grateful to you for addressing us tonight on the future of Roman Catholic - Jewish relations. This has been a memorable part of our Annual Aquinas Lecture series at the seminary college.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick J. Murphy

\$600<sup>00</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

helicopter / state trooper

Marsha Turken © 374

3/12

Marc -

Attached is a sample  
80th Mtg. Invitation letter.

Oakley's session would  
be on Thursday, May 15,  
12:30 - 2:30 (luncheon  
plenary) at the J.W.  
Marriott Hotel in  
Washington.

Thanks for your help.

Marsha



The American Jewish  
Committee

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022  
212 751-4000  
Office of the President

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March 12, 1986

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

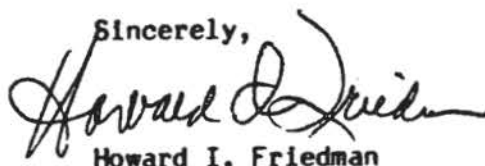
On behalf of the officers of The American Jewish Committee, it is my sincere pleasure to invite you to address our 80th Anniversary Dinner on the evening of May 15, 1986 at the J.W. Marriott Hotel in Washington, DC. This gala dinner will be the highlight of a five-day meeting commemorating AJC's 80 years as the leading human relations organization in the United States. As you may already know, Secretary of State Shultz will be accepting AJC's American Liberties Medallion on this occasion.

From its inception in 1906, The American Jewish Committee has been in the forefront of efforts to ensure the health of our democratic society and the dignity of all groups within it, as well as a leader in the field of international human rights. As you know, AJC also publishes Commentary magazine, and I believe many of our current leaders are well known to you, including Max Fisher, Gordon Zacks, Richard Schifter and Richard Fox.

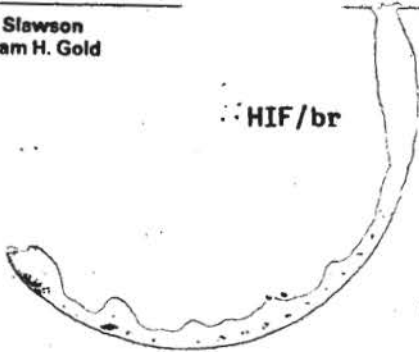
According to Jewish tradition, the 80th anniversary signifies the special gift of strength and wisdom, and we would therefore consider it a great privilege if you would share this very special evening with us. Your audience will consist of over one thousand civic, communal and religious leaders from throughout the United States and abroad, all of whom will be most eager to hear your remarks.

We extend to you our best wishes and look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely,

  
Howard I. Friedman

HIF/br





A G E N D A

AJC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

Monday, March 17, 1986, 10:00 A.M.

LEO NEVAS, CHAIRMAN, PRESIDING

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- 
- I Soviet Jewry: Winds of Change?
  - II West Germany: Reports on a Meeting with Chancellor Kohl, the Textbook Project and the Joint Colloquium on Minority Rights Under International Law
  - III The Middle East: AJC Policy Statement on Proposed U.S. Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia
  - IV International Terrorism: Report of a Meeting with Ambassador Robert Oakley
  - V The Vatican: Recent Statements on Jews by Pope John Paul II
  - VI Proposal for a Carmelite Convent in Auschwitz
  - VII Human Rights in Israel  
Special Guest: Dr. Mala Tabory, Associate Editor of Israel Yearbook on Human Rights, Tel Aviv University Law School

The following prospectus was sent to the Embassy of Hungary in accordance with conversations with the Second Secretary

\* \* \* \* \*

PROJECT: EXCHANGE PROGRAM FOR FUTURE LEADERS IN HUNGARY AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

Recent years have witnessed a growing recognition of the importance of Hungary in world affairs and especially as a bridge country between East and West. This awareness is reflected in the positive development of the relationship between the United States and Hungary. For Jews as well, Hungary is a country of major importance since its Jewish community of 90,000 now constitutes the third largest community in Europe, exclusive of the USSR. Furthermore, the community represents a link with a thriving and creative Jewish cultural history in Hungary going back many hundreds of years.

Accordingly, in cooperation with the Government of Hungary, the American Jewish Committee is proposing to set up an exchange program designed to provide young leaders of the American Jewish community with an objective view of present-day Hungary and, to bring to the United States a representative group from Hungary in order to provide them with insights into the life of the Jewish community in the United States, and to develop an understanding of each other's cultural, socio-economic and political life.

The Hungarian participants in the program would spend several days in New York for general orientation and an introduction to some of the major institutions of the American Jewish community. In addition, there

would be seminars providing the opportunity for discussion regarding religious, cultural, educational and social welfare activities of our community. Specialists in the various fields would brief the participants and would be prepared to answer their questions. The group would then visit Washington, D.C. and two or three other major cities in the United States such as Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Ohio; Atlanta, Georgia and Los Angeles, California. The group would then return to New York for a final evaluation session.

Program participants from the United States would be visiting two or three of the major cities in Hungary where they would have the opportunity to speak with knowledgeable individuals and visit important cultural and educational sites in accordance with arrangements made by the coordinators in Hungary. In both countries participants would also be meeting with political figures. Another aspect of the program would be the provision of home hospitality to give participants a more intimate view of family life in each other's country.

The program envisages an exchange visit once a year. In addition, thought will be given to appropriate follow-up activities.

\* \* \*

David Geller  
Director of European Affairs

9397-(IRD-7)  
3/12/86 /el

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OPPOSING DISCRIMINATION BASED ON  
SEXUAL ORIENTATION

AJC opposes discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment, housing, education and public accommodation and instructs that this phrase be added to all appropriate AJC policy documents relating to discrimination based on race, religion, gender or national origin.

It further instructs that AJC chapters and units be advised of this action and encouraged to support legislation to bar discrimination based on sexual orientation in jobs, housing, education and public accommodations.

Such legislation should incorporate exemptions that may already exist in other civil rights laws such as those designed to protect the right of religious institutions to carry out their religious purposes.

Adopted by AJC's Board of Governors  
March 17, 1986

86-600



The American Jewish  
Committee

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022  
212 751-4000

March 17, 1986

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His Excellency Anatoly F. Dobrynin  
Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
1125 16th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ambassador Dobrynin:

In behalf of the American Jewish Committee, permit us to extend to you our congratulations and best wishes on your new position in the Central Committee.

As you have undoubtedly heard from Messrs. Isakov and Rogov, a delegation from the American Jewish Committee established contact with Dr. Rogov in January and has met with him individually on two occasions in Washington. Most recently on March 7th, we met with both gentlemen. It is important that we state at the outset that we initiated this contact in the belief that the evolving nature of Soviet-American relations rendered this a particularly auspicious time for such communication. We also believe that only through such communication, in a spirit of purposefulness and candor, can issues of mutual concern be aired and addressed in a constructive manner, contributing, we would hope, to an improvement in relations.

We feel that an atmosphere of mutual respect and frank discussion has prevailed in these three meetings. Accordingly, we look forward to continuing this exchange of views with representatives of your Government. To this end, we have proposed to Messrs. Isakov and Rogov that a delegation of the top officers of the American Jewish Committee visit the Soviet Union to engage in dialogue with appropriate Soviet officials and other personalities on the following issues: a) arms control and security, b) Soviet-American bilateral relations, c) Jews in the Soviet Union, d) the Arab-Israeli conflict, and e) the United Nations as an instrument for peace and cooperation.

The American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906 and is this nation's oldest human relations agency. Our membership is located in all fifty states and represents a cross-section of leading American Jews who share a deep commitment to the larger concerns of American and international life and the particular matters affecting Jews in this country and overseas. Our members participate actively in both major political parties, as well as in the economic, cultural and social spheres. It is in this spirit, for example, that Jacob Blaustein and Joseph Proskauer,

two former presidents, took active part in the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Further, an AJC leadership delegation headed by the late Senator Herbert Lehman was the first American Jewish group to meet with First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan during his U.S. visit in January 1959. In that tradition, we today meet with leading officials from both Eastern and Western countries, as well as with Latin American, Asian and African representatives, on a wide range of current issues. Thus, it is this broad-based view of the role of the Jewish community in society that distinguishes our agency and explains the agenda items we have herewith enumerated.

We recognize that the complex area of arms control and security constitutes the overriding issues of our time and requires every citizen's attention and understanding. It is important for us to seek a better understanding of the viewpoints of both major nuclear powers in the vital search for an end to the spiraling weapons race. In addition, we are deeply concerned with the direction of Soviet-American bilateral relations in non-strategic areas, including economic, cultural and other ties, and strategies for reducing tension and increasing understanding of the respective interests of each of our societies. In this regard, we are, of course, particularly interested in the position of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union and anxious to engage in three areas of discussion: i) family reunification, ii) religious issues, and iii) cultural affairs.

The fragility of the Middle East situation and the elusive search for peace in the decades-long conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors is a matter of worldwide concern. We have a deep and abiding concern for events in the region and are eager to discuss perspectives on strategies to foster greater peace and harmony between the nations and peoples of this vital area. And, finally, as noted earlier, we have been involved in the United Nations since its very founding and, while we make no secret of our disappointment with some of the directions the world body has taken, we retain an intrinsic faith in the potential utility of such an instrumentality for reducing world tension.

We recognize that as a non-governmental agency we represent but one among many organizations which seek to affect governmental action and public opinion in our country. Still, we sincerely believe that the pursuit of discussions between the American Jewish Committee and officials of the Soviet Government and other Soviet institutions, if conducted in the constructive and discreet manner which characterized our three above-cited meetings, can contribute, in a modest way, to a clarification of our particular positions on several key issues and ideally lead to an atmosphere of greater dialogue and overcoming confrontation.

To be specific, we propose that a small group of American Jewish Committee members travel to Moscow to engage in discussions with representatives of the International Department of the Central Committee, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Religious Affairs and Culture, the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, the Institute of World Economy and International Affairs, and

other appropriate official and non-governmental groups designated by your experts. If possible, we would hope this trip could occur in the second half of April, or soon thereafter. The purpose of the mission would be to establish preliminary contact and lay the groundwork for a future delegation of our leading officers to travel to Moscow to engage in fuller discussions.

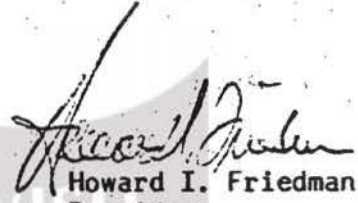
We look forward to your consideration of the views set forth in this letter.

With best wishes.

Respectfully yours,



Leo Nevas, Chairman  
International Relations Commission



Howard I. Friedman  
President



LN/HIF/sm



The American Jewish  
Committee

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4, rue de la Bienfaisance  
75008 Paris  
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Nives E. Fox  
European Representative

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Honorary Chair,  
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**Bertram H. Gold**

March 19, 1986

Dear David:

Just had a call from Francis Rosenstiel, brief but sweet: very pleased that our little project for Oreja/AJC meeting worked so well.

Oreja enjoyed the evening thoroughly, very much liked AJC's informal, frank and direct style, combined with intelligence and pertinence. Apparently it was a new experience and he was quite taken with it. The mark received is "Excellent!" I hope it will make up for the hard work you and everyone put in to make the dinner a success.

Now is the time to see what we might want from the Council of Europe. I understand Howard Friedman might still make a stopover this week, and if so it will keep up the good memory.

In any case, Francis and I will be in touch and I am sure we can, more than ever now, count on his help and advice.

With very best regards,

Yours,

cc: Marc Tanenbaum

Nives Fox

Mr. David Harris  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022





The American Jewish  
Committee

Institute of Human Relations  
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John Slawson

Bertram H. Gold

March 19, 1986

Dear Friend:

The recent exodus of thousands of Ethiopian Jews from their ancient homeland to the Promised Land was one of the most moving and heroic sagas of our time. But just as the original Exodus was but the beginning of a people's struggle to survive, so was this one. As this courageous and unique community strives to build a new life for itself in Israel -- where both the culture and the very practice of Judaism differ strikingly from what the Ethiopians knew before -- we must inevitably be concerned about the group's future.

Thus we are very pleased to invite you to hear Israel's only ordained rabbi from Ethiopia -- Rav Yosef Hadani, the religious leader of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel -- at a press luncheon on Tuesday, April 1, 12 noon, at American Jewish Committee headquarters, 165 East 56th Street.

At our luncheon, sponsored jointly by AJC and the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry, Rav Hadani will deal with such issues as:

- \* Can these deeply religious Jews -- whose Judaism is based literally on the Torah, and who had no previous knowledge of the centuries of rabbinical teachings that make up normative Judaism -- become an integral part of Israel and of modern Jewry while still preserving their own rich heritage?
- \* Now that most of those who arrived during "Operation Moses" are leaving absorption centers and entering ordinary communities, how are they faring?
- \* Because thousands of people were physically unable to cross the mountains out of Ethiopia, Israel's Ethiopian community has a disproportionate number of males, teenagers, one-parent families, and "orphans." What special problems face such a demographically abnormal community -- and what about the anguish they feel for those they left behind?

Rav Hadani will also talk about the yeshiva he hopes to establish in Israel, a school that will teach both normative Judaism and the Ethiopian traditions, and he will answer all your questions about this 2,500-year-old community that we all feel strongly must not be lost.

We look forward to seeing you on April 1st.

Cordially,

Morton Yarmon  
Director of Public Relations

Barbara Ribakove  
Executive Director, NACOEJ

## Editorials

### Papal Synagogue Visit

The Jewish community of Rome, as well as Jewish community leaders in Israel and throughout the world, have welcomed the Vatican's announcement that Pope John Paul II will visit Rome's main synagogue next month.

Church officials have described the planned papal synagogue visit as an historic step intended to improve Roman Catholic-Jewish relations. According to church scholars, Pope John Paul II would be the first pontiff since St. Peter, regarded as the first pope, to visit a synagogue during his reign.

The papal visit to the main synagogue of Rome is indeed a welcome gesture, and it is consistent with the record of Pope John Paul II, who has shown great sensitivity to the Catholic-Jewish issue throughout his clerical career. As a priest, bishop and cardinal in Cracow, Poland, John Paul used his good offices to make sure that the religious needs of the small Jewish remnant in that city were taken care of.

During the papal visit to his native Poland, John Paul insisted upon a visit to the site of the infamous Auschwitz death camp, where the Nazis murdered four million people — most of them Jews — between 1941-45. And on his visit to various communities around the world, John Paul has pointedly sought meetings with Jewish leaders.

The foundation for improved Roman Catholic-Jewish relations was established at the Second Vatican Council in 1962, which approved a document deploring anti-Semitism and stating that there should be no collective guilt for the Jews of his day or since in connection with the death of Jesus.

All of Pope John Paul's gestures toward

improved Catholic-Jewish relations have been welcome, including his plans to visit the synagogue. But Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, the international affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, said that while "normally we would have rejoiced that this happened... the mood in the Jewish community is very mixed and filled with some anxiety."

Rabbi Tanenbaum points out that in two recent homilies, the pope made references to Jews which states that the "new Israel" of Christianity "assumes and surmounts the former." In another homily, the pope said that the "promised land of Abraham became for many generations the country of the people of the Old Covenant. Yet, the God of the Covenant does not contain His promise in any single terrestrial country." The latter reference appears to demean the link of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel.

Indeed the source of greatest friction between the Vatican and the Jewish people, in addition to remnants of anti-Jewish sentiments among elements of the church, is the refusal with the State of Israel. Apparently this refusal is based on a combination of religious prejudice against the Jewish claim to the Land of Israel as well as a political fear of antagonizing the Arab states.

And so, while we welcome the pope's visit to the synagogue, and his exemplary personal record of fostering good Catholic-Jewish relations, we hope that he will refrain in the future from divisive language of the kind cited by Rabbi Tanenbaum. And to truly deepen the relationship between the two faiths, we hope he will establish full diplomatic ties between the Holy See and the Holy Land.

MAR 31 1986



The American Jewish  
Committee

European Office  
4, rue de la Bienfaisance  
75008 Paris  
Tel. 45.22.92.43 43.87.38.39  
Nives E. Fox  
European Representative

March 26, 1986

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Honorary Chair,  
National Executive Council

Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti

**John Stawson**

**Bertram H. Gold**

To: Marc Tanenbaum

From: Nives Fox

Subj: Meeting to discuss Auschwitz Carmel and Possible  
Jewish Action for its Removal -- Paris, March 23, 1986

In view of increasing awareness and opposition by Jewish communities in Europe with regard to the establishment of a Carmelite Convent in Auschwitz and its implications, Me. Théo Klein, President of the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France (CRIF) ~~decided to~~ held a meeting on the subject, with the participation of the Rabbinate, community leaders, deportees organization representatives. Given the seriousness of the problem and concern of Jews everywhere, he asked for the participation of American Jewish bodies as well.

Present at the gathering were the Chief Rabbi of France, René Samuel Sirat; Mr. Sneek, of the Belgian Consistory; Markus Pardes, Pt. of the CCOJB (Council of Jewish Organizations in Belgium); David Susskind, of the Laic Community Center of Brussels (publishers of Regards), Ady Steg, Pt. of the Alliance Israélite Universelle; Serge Czeigenbaum, of the WJC France; Jacques Kupfer, member of CRIF Executive; CRIF Director Jacqueline Keller; CRIF Deputy Director and Public Relations Sabine Rojzman; representing deportees and resistance groups were Henri Bulawko and Mr. Pudlo, for Serge Klarsfeld; for AJC, David Gordis, Marc Tanenbaum and Nives Fox.

The Belgian group, just back from a visit to Auschwitz and a meeting with Cracow's Cardinal Macharski and Cult Minister Mr. Lopatka, opened the discussion.

Mr. Pardes stated that it had been the Belgians (funds for the Carmel were raised in that country) who alerted Jewish communities to this serious problem, and he was glad to see that the French and European communities were taking action as well as the WJC and other US bodies. It was almost by happenstance that the community learned about the Convent from an article in Le Soir, which revealed how \$46 million dollars were raised by Help for the Church in Distress, an organization with a

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bi-monthly of the same name run by Father Werenfried von Straaten and the slogan "your gift to the Pope: a Convent in Auschwitz." The affair began in 1984, coming to light almost a year later, by which time eight nuns already were established in a rundown building on the outer edge of the camp, slated to be a theater before the war and used by the Germans as the lethal gas warehouse for the camp.

A journalist from the magazine Regards visited the site and also met with Cardinal Macharski, who declared he was ready to talk to a Jewish delegation from Belgium. With the accord of Jewish leadership in Belgium and the WJC, therefore, the above-mentioned delegation took up the invitation and went to Poland.

Throughout an impressive three hours they spent with the Cardinal he remained courteous but firm, taking full responsibility for the establishment of the Convent. Because Auschwitz is important and because it was essential that the Bishop of Cracow take this responsibility -- his duty, in fact! -- <sup>to Jews and humanity</sup> for it would be intolerable that only the Polish government do this and turn the place into a museum. Why then had he not consulted Jews, since Auschwitz was a major symbol of their suffering? or act through Christian/Jewish Associations so that Jewish opinion might be taken into account? asked the delegation, also expressing doubt about the sincerity of such action in view of this silence.

The question in no way bothered Cardinal Macharski, nor the declaration by the Jewish group that Jewish communities everywhere would oppose the project until a solution was found to put the Convent elsewhere. "Why did you come so late? he asked, there was a Pastoral letter on this in 1984; and added that he was taking a long-term view.

When the delegation met with the Minister of Cult to express opposition to the plan, saying that Jews will not accept the Carmel and expressing surprise that a Communist government would agree to this religious manifestation, the reply was "We are sovereign..." Members of the delegation wonder if a bargain of sorts was struck between the Church and the government.

Contacts with Belgian churchmen brought a "it's not us" reply, and an attitude of neither support nor intervention. Pardes spoke of greater understanding, support and preoccupied attitude on the part of the French Catholic hierarchy on this problem. He said that an appointment was requested with Cardinal Willebrands, to which there had not been a reply as yet, only information from Ms. Zevi (Pt. of the Italian Jewish Community) that the Cardinal was ready to meet with the Belgian group. The Belgian community also had a sense that not all Jewish organizations viewed the establishment of the Convent in Auschwitz as a serious matter. The International Committee on Auschwitz, they had learned, minimizes the event and is not averse to including suffering of other Auschwitz victims in this 'on behalf of all' round the clock prayer plan.

Chief Rabbi Sirat spoke of the December 1985 declaration by the Pope to pilgrims containing accusations of deicide, the subsequent Vatican embarrassment and apology. As for the Convent, he informed the meeting that France's Consistory President Jean Paul Elkann sent a telegram to Cardinal Willebrands on February 28, protesting the Carmel. In a reply of March 3, the Cardinal wrote that the Convent -- and he specified that it had not been especially built for the purpose and had a parallel in Dachau -- had been active for a year and a half. He also sent Cardinal Macharski's declaration on the Carmel, in Italian, suggesting a meeting with Macharski and adding that others had met with him with positive results.

The Chief Rabbi said that a letter signed by five chief rabbis -- Sir Immanuel Jakobowitz of Great Britain, Max Warschawski of Strasbourg, Moses Rosen of Romania, Mordechai Piron of Zurich and himself -- was sent to Pope John Paul II expressing the sense of offense and pain experienced by Jews in having Auschwitz, the synonym of the holocaust, become a Catholic place of pilgrimage, dedicated to the religion practiced by the majority of Nazi executioners. "This sanctification of earth that was profanated and cursed is unacceptable," wrote the five Chief Rabbis. The document also asked that the Church give evidence of its amity, not empty words. Chief Rabbi Sirat talked about the matter with Cardinal Etchegaray and asked him to intervene with the Pope. Etchegaray's response was that he did not know much about the issue. Rabbi Sirat is pessimistic about results: after 40 years of goodwill between the Vatican and the Jews the situation now is changing. He compared the current religious backtracking and the Carmel situation to Faurisson's revisionist efforts.

Sirat's suggestions were that Jewish communities go in large representative numbers to Auschwitz this coming September, on the occasion of the Jewish Holy days; contact with the Soviet Union, for many Soviets did not die as Soviets in Auschwitz, but as Jews; contact with Christian/Jewish Friendship groups, a possible visit to the Pope by a group of rabbis.

Serge Czeigenbaum of the WJC reviewed his organization's "all directional" initiatives: letters to the Vatican declaring the convent decision unacceptable. Describing the political conjunction between the Polish government and the Church as unfavorable at present he spoke of the effort to efface the specificity of Jewish suffering in Auschwitz as it considered Jews only as persecuted Poles; the problems of visits to the Jewish Pavillon in the camp, closed unless the authorities were warned in advance about important visits or unless stubborn persistence is shown by determined Jewish tourists; revisionist history and emphasis on the view that Jews were not the only ones to perish; that in any case the Carmel was in Auschwitz and Jews died in Birkenau.

Reading the recent Orientations shows that the Vatican position also is in retreat from Nostra Aetate; and the Pope's several homilies indicate a return to past Church attitudes. According to Czeigenbaum the decision about the convent was the will of the Pope, as was the

decision about Maximilian Kolbe. Thus, Jewish displeasure was coming up against the highest level in the Vatican. IJCIC, set up for dialogue with the Church, can intervene with the Vatican; and WJC can also intervene with the Polish government which agreed to the establishment of the Carmel. Edgar Bronfman saw both Jaruzelski and Lopatka to protest about the convent. The first replied that he did not agree about it and himself was a victim of the Episcopate on this score, suggesting an intervention with Cardinal Macharski and the Vatican. Bronfman also wrote to Jaruzelski to ask that he annul the government decision on the Convent in Auschwitz. Possible leverage with the Poles could be applied in the U.S., through Polish need for MFN. Cardinal Willebrands received Dr. Riegner of the WJC some 10 days before and also suggested pressures from the US. Were it in his power, he said, he would change the decision; but it is in the hands of the Polish Episcopate. However, he promised to go to Poland and speak with Cardinal Macharski.

Prof. Steg mentioned the danger of adding Catholics as enemies (a problem raised during lunch with AJC leaders) to already numerous anti-Jewish elements. But he too spoke in anger about the recent changes in Catholic attitudes, the efforts to banalize Jewish suffering with comparisons to that of others, the repeated glorification of Edith Stein, a converted Jew. He viewed Jewish/Catholic relations as being close to a breaking point, in spite of the comfort of a few true Catholic friends. He favored a cautious approach on the matter of Jews joining forces with Gypsies (vedi declaration of Rom opposition to the Convent early this March); but personally was against it.

Marc Tanenbaum said he shared the outrage and resentment expressed by everyone at the meeting about turning Auschwitz into a "Catholic experience," agreeing that the language used by the leaders of Aid to the Church in Distress was indeed obscene, scandalous and offensive. His points were: 1) Reversal of the Carmel decision is essential, but this should be done without creating additional problems. The Polish government does not want to alienate the Jewish community now, especially in the US, because of MFN negotiations. Projecting what might happen if US banks were to call in their loans, he predicted that the Polish government would then fall and the Soviets would have to help. But Poles in the US are eager to be on good terms with the Jewish community, and AJC will intervene with the Polish Embassy to point out the need for a change in the Carmel situation as fundamental to good relations with Jews. 2) Philadelphia's Cardinal Kroll, designated by President Reagan to organize US food aid to Poland, could also be a key for pressure on Poland; though the possibility of a Willebrands-Macharski meeting was more important. 3) While all must register criticism of what is taking place in Auschwitz, the occasion should be used to educate people about what the site means to Jews. One way to do this was organizing an international seminar on the meaning of Auschwitz, its singularity and uniqueness, with top intellectuals, academics, rabbis, etc., not as a conflict situation but with emphasis on education. He concluded by saying that what we see today as Catholic triumphalism to convert Auschwitz into a Catholic image, to evangelize it, should not be allowed to put us on the defensive; while an initiative like the seminar would put the Catholics in this position.

Prof. Steg then suggested that a text could be prepared for such a seminar by personalities like Elie Wiesel, Emanuel Levinas, Claude Lanzman.

Henri Bulawko, a writer, journalist, who is associated with WJC but represented Jewish resistance and deportee groups at the meeting, felt that the problem of the Carmel was but the culmination of a gradual 40 years old effort to de-Judaize Auschwitz. He bitterly reminded those at the table that often Jewish organization positions have been "we must care for those who are alive and not the dead." He did not believe international mass manifestations would help much; but thought an international delegation to the Vatican or Poland or both could be useful. Pilgrimages to Poland by youth groups might help spread the purpose of Jewish protest against the Carmel, and these could take place on the Warsaw Ghetto anniversary this April 17 or on other commemorative occasions. He also favored a roundtable of Christians with deportees and other Jews, who would go to such meetings well armed with documentation.

Paula Borenstein (Public Relations AJDC) declared she was present as an individual and not for her organization. She had just been in Auschwitz days before (March 13) with a Dallas Young Leadership delegation. While there she learned that the Jewish stone slab (among the many, each representing a nationality of people who died in Auschwitz) had been hammered to bits. The person responsible for the deed had been arrested: a 36 year old man, said to be a priest or a seminarist working in a monastery, who claimed he had done it because he had been mistreated by Jews during the war. Described as mentally deranged, it is certain that the man is incapable of relating his age to WWII dates. The delegation looked for but could not find the Carmel. It was told by a Polish ministry representative that the convent does not exist as yet. In a burst of emotion she called upon Jews and Jewish organizations to do something: the world did not change, Jews did, we are not doing enough to educate the younger generation, to maintain our memorials.

As various degrees of emotion took hold of the gathering, Sabine Rojzman outlined possibilities for mobilizing media, intellectuals and students to carry out large manifestations. Small actions, she contended, got lost in the turbulence of other world events. A large coordinated Jewish world action would have impact. It would be a challenge for the Church, which could then either revert the Carmel decision or reveal its position once and for all.

Mr. Kupfner reinforced this with a call to dramatize the problem, bring it to the street, mobilize Jews, have press conferences with Rabbis, community leaders, in Auschwitz itself and elsewhere, pointing up this aggression against Jews living and dead; organize watches at the Polish Embassy, in front of Jewish memorial monuments, in Rome itself, at the Rome synagogue when the Pope visits there this April 13.

Jacqueline Keller expressed doubts about the success of any large manifestation in Poland.

Mr. Susskind informed the meeting that 150 Belgian Jews intended to go to Poland soon.

Focusing the meeting on the need for an immediate decision concerning the Pope's visit to the Rome synagogue, Me. Klein said he had been in touch with Tullia Zevi, President of the Jewish Community in Italy, who informed him that she had asked Chief Rabbi Toaff -- who will be welcoming the Pope at the synagogue -- to speak publicly about the convent and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. The question also had been raised on whether an international delegation ~~will~~ be present at the synagogue to show Jewish concern. Mrs. Zevi was waiting for a reply about this following the meeting. Me. Klein asked Prof. Steg to form a working group to follow the matter of the Auschwitz Carmel and, as a first step, prepare a declaration on the Jewish position.

David Gordis summarized the situation as follows: A choice had to be made for the Jewish response. There were no differences in the appreciation and analysis of the two present problems, the matter of Auschwitz and relations with the Church. One is confronted either by a general, irreversible deterioration of the relationship or this problem can be reversed, with the Auschwitz matter remaining a limited symptom. Our reaction must go beyond this to find an appropriate way. Group manifestations are one dimension, but we must decide what we want and how to get there in the most effective way. One way is to use Jewish contacts with the Church, the Polish and German governments, to be approached on an individual basis or through alliances. Responding to the Pope's planned visit and international Jewish presence at the synagogue, he felt that such participation was possible, but one needed to know the Vatican's intentions first, for just ceremony did not warrant it. If the Vatican was willing to deal with the problem he would agree to Jewish international presence.

Marc Tanenbaum further clarified the position by outlining scenario possibilities with regard to the Pope's synagogue visit. One was that the pattern of John Paul II responses to IJCIC and AJC will be repeated: God did not reject the Jews, a condemnation of anti-Semitism as evil, nothing on relations with Israel but we are all brothers. He personally thought this will happen, and the subject of the Carmel avoided. The occasion, however, could also be used as a confrontation, to say all the agreeableness hardly fits the series of homilies the Pope has made expressing exactly the opposite: Jews are a deicide people, Christ brought salvation and the true Israel, etc. Consequences of such a confrontation will be that no Cardinal or Bishop will remain on the Jewish side -- the choice between 14 million Jews and the Pope will be only too easy. He therefore pleaded that dramatic public demonstrations are an alternative whose consequences must be very carefully weighed and perhaps a last resort action.



The meeting ended with Me. Klein saying that the working group just established would determine what could be satisfying positions to take: Mrs. Zevi would be told that unless there were assurances that something substantive would be said by Pope John Paul II during his visit to the synagogue there was no interest in a representative international presence on that day.

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THE WILLIAM PETSCHER  
NATIONAL JEWISH FAMILY CENTER



**For the Jewish Family**  
**Goals, Programs, Accomplishments**  
1979-1986



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

## THE WILLIAM PETSCHER NATIONAL JEWISH FAMILY CENTER

E. Robert Goodkind, Chairman      Yehuda Rosenman, Director

The William Petschek National Jewish Family Center was created by the American Jewish Committee in 1979 as an expression of its commitment to the family as the indispensable social institution for maintaining and enhancing Jewish identity, communal stability and human fulfillment. Its goal is to promote research on family problems, help clarify family values and stimulate the development of innovative programs to help meet the needs of parents, would-be parents and their children. It also strives to encourage an awareness and responsiveness to those needs in the Jewish and general communities.

## FOR THE JEWISH FAMILY

### Goals, Programs, Accomplishments 1979-1986

The goals, programs and accomplishments of the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center should be examined within the context of recent trends in American society. Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing through the 1970s, concern mounted over the state of the American family. While not everyone agreed with the noted sociologist Urie Bronfenbrenner that "the American family is falling apart," there was a widespread consensus that significant shifts in attitudes and behavior were affecting the family.

Evidence abounded to substantiate this perception. Illegitimacy increased, as did teenage criminality, drug abuse, alcoholism and suicide. Divorces multiplied faster than marriages, more young people stayed single longer, and couples had fewer children. Largely as a result of high divorce rates, the percentage of children living with only one parent rose dramatically, and even many children living with two parents were actually part of "blended families," the result of previous divorces by one or both parents.

The 1970s also witnessed a sharp increase in the number of working mothers. Impelled both by economic considerations and career aspirations, most of them were working full-time. Who was minding the children? In two-parent families, despite much optimism about fathers sharing child-rearing responsibilities, reality lagged behind the rhetoric. Such families, as well as the growing number of single parents, bemoaned the lack of adequate child-care facilities, while others wondered whether even the best day-care center could substitute for parental involvement.

Jewish families enjoyed no immunity from these trends. Indeed, certain of the new tendencies -- such as later marriages and fewer children -- were more pronounced in the Jewish community than in the general society. Responding to concern about the future of the Jewish family, the American Jewish Committee's Department of Jewish Communal Affairs began addressing the issue in the early 1970s. By 1976 interest had reached such a high level that the Department, under the chairmanship of E. Robert Goodkind and the directorship of Yehuda Rosenman, announced a three-year program of literature review and data gathering to determine the needs of Jewish families and how AJC might address those needs.

This process culminated in the creation of a Task Force on Jewish Family Policy consisting of academics, Jewish communal professionals, and AJC staff members. This Task Force issued a report in 1979 entitled Sustaining the Jewish Family which recommended that "issues related to Jewish family life, quantitatively and qualitatively, be given top priority on the communal agenda.... The object is to help create a climate in which raising a family will not be an overly difficult option, and, more generally, to engender a richer Jewish family life." To help realize this goal, the Task Force proposed a National Jewish Family Center which would "conduct and sponsor research and disseminate information...serve as an instrumentality for formulating policies and program proposals, as well as for training lay and professional leaders in matters related to Jewish family life." In October 1979, AJC's National Executive Council, meeting in San Francisco, endorsed the Task Force report and authorized the creation of a National Jewish Family Center.

Under the professional leadership of Yehuda Rosenman and the lay leadership of E. Robert Goodkind, Howard Gilbert and others, the Center took shape. New staff was hired. Outside sources of funding were secured. Two distinguished panels were organized to assist the Center. One, the Advisory Board, consists of Jewish leaders from around the country and functions as a bridge to the wider Jewish community, both informing the Center of new trends and needs, and interpreting the Center's work to others. A second body, the Professional Advisory Committee, is made up of individuals who are professionally involved, in one way or another, with issues of concern to the family. This group helps the Center with ideas for research and programming, ensuring that the highest professional standards are maintained.

Since its founding in 1979, the Family Center has commissioned research, issued reports, held conferences and conducted pilot demonstration projects dealing with a wide variety of family issues. The ultimate intent of these programs has been to affect the policies of the functional Jewish agencies by pinpointing new trends in family life and by helping devise new strategies to strengthen Jewish families.

### Intermarriage

No phenomenon has shaken Jewish communal self-confidence over the last two decades so much as the rising intermarriage rate, which is estimated now to hover between 30 and 40 percent. Jews have had difficulty coming to grips with the proliferation of intermarriage, and reactions have ranged from a search for ways to deter it, on the one hand, to assertions of its inevitability, on the other. As more and more families are affected, there is considerable perplexity about how the community should relate to intermarried couples and their children.

The Family Center has tried to avoid emotionalism and concentrate on objective research. Its first, pathbreaking report was Intermarriage

and the Jewish Future, published in 1979, which provided the first clear picture of the attitudes and religious behavior of the intermarried. Based on a national sample of 446 couples, the study found that, indeed, intermarriage did dilute Jewish identity. Yet, in those cases where the non-Jewish spouse converted to Judaism, the average level of Jewish observance and Jewish commitment was markedly higher than in intermarriages without conversion.

This finding was confirmed in a follow-up survey, Children of Intermarriage (1983), which looked at the Jewishness of the offspring of the original sample. It turned out that the children of conversionary marriages tended to be considerably more "Jewish" than the others. And yet even among the former, there was a noticeable gap between involvement in Jewish religion, which approximated that found in endogamous Jewish marriages, and appreciation of Jewish peoplehood, which was very low.

These two studies have clear programmatic implications for the Jewish community. They indicate that the decision to intermarry does not automatically signify a desire to sever all Jewish ties. Furthermore, since conversion of the non-Jewish spouse increases the likelihood of a Jewish family connection, efforts should be made to accomplish the conversion, either before or after the marriage. Also, conversion programs must place greater stress on Jewish peoplehood, including the significance of Israel, so the convert does not develop the misconception that Judaism is simply a religion with no ethnic component.

These practical suggestions have made an impact. The Family Center's studies on intermarriage are cited widely as standard works on the subject. They have contributed to a climate of opinion in which it is now rare for a rabbi or other Jewish professional to simply write off intermarriers as lost to the Jewish community: all the denominations, even the Orthodox, recognize that keeping open lines of communication with the intermarried may eventually lead the family toward a Jewish affiliation. The importance of conversion in maximizing the Jewishness of the children has been widely acknowledged most noticeably in the outreach program of the Reform movement's Union of American Hebrew Congregations and in the group sessions for intermarrieds conducted by Jewish community centers and Jewish family service agencies.

The proliferation of programs for the intermarried has in turn stimulated the Family Center to further activity. The Center commissioned and published a detailed guide to conducting sensitivity groups for the intermarried, entitled Working with the Intermarried (1985), that has been widely used. The Center conducted an all-day seminar on Outreach Programs to Intermarried Couples, which enabled professionals involved in this kind of work to share information about new program ideas, and participated in a two-day conference on outreach together with the Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist national organizations. Through AJC chapters, the Family Center has directly stimulated the formation of discussion groups for the intermarried in Washington,

D.C., and for Jewish professionals who work with the intermarried, in Pittsburgh.

The Family Center is about to release a third scholarly study on intermarriage, which focuses on the dynamics of conversion. The findings are highly relevant for Jewish agencies and synagogues, since they show that the attitude of the Jewish partner toward Judaism is the prime variable that determines whether the non-Jew will convert. This implies that outreach programs to intermarried families should target both partners.

### **Divorce and Single-Parent Families**

While Jewish divorce rates are still below the general American rates, the fact remains that Jewish divorce, which used to be rare, is now increasingly common. And although most divorced individuals do remarry, large numbers of children spend some time growing up in single-parent families. This has created new challenges for synagogues, Jewish schools and family service agencies which must provide aid and direction to many of these families. Since the Jewish religion is so family-centered, divorce, which disrupts the family, presents special problems for Jews.

The very first publication issued by the Family Center was Single-Parent Families: A Challenge to the Jewish Community (1980), which surveyed the impact of the rising divorce rate and, while upholding the two-parent family as the desired norm, urged the community to develop programs for single parents and their children, including helping single parents find new partners.

The next year, Divorce and the Jewish Child appeared. The author, an experienced child psychologist, conducted in-depth interviews with divorced Jews and their adolescent children to get at the effect of marital breakup on the child's Jewish identity. He found that children react to divorce in a variety of ways. As the family structure crumbles, some youngsters become estranged from religion, while others, seeking something to hold on to, come closer to it.

The Family Center then published two research studies that delved further into the Jewish communal implications of divorce. The first, The Jewish Community and Children of Divorce (1983), was based on interviews with rabbis, educators and social workers who deal with such children. Sadly, it found that most of these professionals and the institutions they work for not only do not have special programs targeted to the needs of this population, but many do not even know which of their members or clients come from divorced homes. A follow-up conference for service providers to these families bore out the accuracy of the findings, and the participants discussed ways to sensitize agencies and synagogues to the special problems of the divorced and their children.

A second study, The Divorced Parent and the Jewish Community (1985), relied on interviews with 40 divorced couples and zeroed in on the causes and consequences of divorce. Orthodox couples in the sample divorced for concrete reasons such as abuse and financial problems, whereas many of the others divorced for less tangible, "lifestyle" reasons. While religious issues did not precipitate these divorces, quite often religious conflict developed once the relationships began to sour. Interestingly, none of the custodial parents in the survey lessened his or her Jewish involvements in the wake of the divorce, and some actually strengthened them. The positive impact of caring, charismatic rabbis on some of the families is evident.

The programmatic implications of the Family Center's work in this area are clear. The Jewish community is so strongly geared to married couples with children that it neglects and shuts out those who do not fit the mold. The needs of divorced and single-parent families must be recognized: since they feel uncomfortable at events attended primarily by two-parent families, they need programs suiting their own needs where they would feel at home. Rabbinical students should be trained to deal with this population, and, since such families are often financially hard-pressed, they should benefit from reduced rates for synagogue membership, school tuition, and other Jewish activities. Efforts are needed to enable single parents to socialize and remarry. The admirable decision of a few synagogues to hire full-time social workers to deal with such families should be emulated by others.

Partly due to the attention the Family Center has given to the issue, such steps are being taken in a number of communities. Nevertheless, the problems of single-parent families are extensive, and not easily solved.

### Young Jews

Americans are waiting longer and longer before they marry, and Jews, for a variety of reasons, marry even later than non-Jews. This has created a large subculture of young unmarried Jews. They are of great interest to the community, first, because their attitudes and values are likely to shape the future of American Jewry, and, second, because of the concern that this group tends not to affiliate with or participate in organized Jewish life.

The Family Center has studied three types of young Jews. Single and Jewish (1985), based on information gleaned from conversations with mature, unaffiliated Jewish singles, points up how far removed they are from Jewish life. American Jewish High School Students (1984) contains a wealth of information about Jewish teenagers' aspirations, scholastic performance and values, and shows that, on the average, they are noticeably more ambitious and achievement-oriented than their peers, but also less religious.



Jewish Campus Life (1984), the third study of young Jews, focused on college students. It revealed a curious dichotomy: even those students with strong Jewish backgrounds and commitments were thoroughly integrated into the universalistic ethos of the campus. While the great majority say that they want to marry Jews and establish Jewish homes, many would marry non-Jews if they "fell in love."

In practical terms, these studies indicate a grave need to reach out to young Jews on the high school, college, and post-college levels. Many singles do not feel at home in the organized Jewish communal setting, which is geared to family units. Alternative social networks must therefore be created for them to stimulate Jewish affiliation and commitment.

### Intergenerational Connections

The health of families depends, to a large extent, on relations between the generations. The Family Center has done a lot to illuminate and enhance those relations within the Jewish community.

The Center has commissioned a study of Jewish parenting patterns, part of a much larger project on the ecology of family life. It is now being edited, and will soon be released. This research indicates that Jewish parents tend to spend more time with their children than non-Jews do, that the children enjoy more extensive contacts with larger social networks than their non-Jewish peers, and that Jews utilize day care more than others. Since this implies a residue of the traditional Jewish attitude toward family, its pragmatic implications would include a further strengthening of Jewish family values along with the provision of high-quality day care under Jewish auspices that would reinforce those values.

The Family Center has also explored the interaction between grandchildren and grandparents. It cosponsored a major scholarly conference on grandparenting in conjunction with the Catholic National Institute on the Family, and the papers delivered there have been published as a book. The Center also ran a conference of its own on grandparenting in the Jewish community, which attracted rabbis, social workers and other professionals who deal with the elderly. Among the suggestions that emerged for bringing the old and the young closer together were foster grandparenting programs, intergenerational housing, more visual portrayals of intergenerational interaction, and the establishment of a clearinghouse for information about successful programs so that they can be replicated by others. Stimulated by this conference, AJC's Detroit Chapter convened a conference that focused on intergenerational housing.

The Center has also run pilot demonstration projects aimed to show concretely how the generations can draw together within a Jewish

context. One was a retreat for single parents and their children, and another, cosponsored with AJC's Dallas Chapter, was a weekend for two-parent families with children. Reports of both these programs, which have been published and made available to other agencies and the general public, point up how Jewish practice and ritual can enhance intergenerational solidarity among Jews. Future plans include a repeat of the Dallas retreat as well as a three-generational retreat in Detroit.

### Changing Roles of Men and Women

Traditional stereotyped images of men and women have faded over the last generation. Increasingly, women have moved into the world of work, and many have moved up the career ladder in such fields as law, medicine and business. At the same time, some men have begun to rethink their roles, and have decided to spend less time working and more time fathering. But these social changes have also generated considerable confusion. Many men and women, caught between the old and the new, are unsure of what is expected of them. And since Jewish women tend to be more highly educated than other women, and some are highly visible leaders of the feminist movement, the Jewish community has been especially affected by changing sex roles.

As early as 1979 the Family Center conducted a consultation on The Response of Women's Organizations to the Changing Role of Women, which brought together leaders of Jewish, Christian, and non-sectarian women's organizations. All agreed that careers for women posed new challenges for voluntarism, and that there was a need to heighten the status of volunteers, perhaps by viewing unpaid service as preparation for a subsequent career.

Three years later there was a conference on The Role of Women in Jewish Religious Life. Since the synagogue has been a male bastion until our own generation, the presentations by female rabbis and cantors about their experiences highlighted the remarkable gains of women in the world of Jewish religion. There emerged from the conference a general determination to press for full gender equality in this area, and the Family Center's subsequent support for the ordination of women at the Jewish Theological Seminary was another step toward this end.

Greater opportunities for women outside the home have also raised the problem of how women can balance family and career. The Family Center explored some of the possibilities in Working and Mothering (1980), a study of 97 Jewish career women with large families, which was followed by a conference on the subject. It emerged that most such women are very happy about their careers, but they feel that society in general and the Jewish community in particular could do more to ease their burdens by providing high-quality day care, flextime arrangements, more part-time and shared jobs, and better career guidance programs.

The Center has also explored the other side of the coin in The Jewish Father Past and Present (1984). This pamphlet traced the role of Jewish fathers historically, and showed that the idea of a man being totally devoted to his career is Jewishly inauthentic. On the contrary, the father who is involved with his family, an ideal which feminism now espouses, is actually close to the classical Jewish view.

### Jewish Family Values

From the standpoint of the Family Center, strong families and traditional Jewish values are mutually reinforcing. Communal awareness of the family's centrality through Jewish history and an understanding of how Jewish sources can be brought to bear on contemporary family issues will contribute to Jewish family solidarity.

The Family Center has focused attention on the history of the Jewish family, holding an all-day conference at Queens College on the subject, and publishing scholarly papers by noted historians on The Traditional Jewish Family in Historical Perspective (1983) and Childhood, Marriage and the Family in the Eastern European Jewish Enlightenment (1983). In this way the Center has attempted to educate American Jewry about how the Jewish family has changed through the ages while maintaining its special significance.

The Family Center has tried to affect Jewish attitudes through a series of background papers applying Jewish tradition to current public questions relating to family. These publications have attracted attention and stimulated controversy by showing that Judaism has a distinctive value system that does not necessarily conform either to Christian views, on the one hand, or modern secular attitudes, on the other. Judaism discourages divorce, though allowing it when there is no alternative; it abhors pornography while viewing sexuality itself as healthy and normal; it allows abortion, but only to protect the health of the mother; it applauds the use of genetic engineering techniques to heal sickness and cure infertility, but denies the relevance of "quality of life" criteria in making decisions about treatment. In addition to these papers, the Center has hosted luncheon forums on controversial issues such as the role of homosexuals in the Jewish community and the phenomenon of single mothers by choice.

These initiatives have had an impact. The clearest example is occurring in Philadelphia, where the AJC chapter, disturbed by the rising tide of hedonism, has spoken out repeatedly in favor of Jewish family values, even reaching out beyond the Jewish community to organize an interfaith coalition of those concerned about values and the family.

Jewish ritual can also enhance family solidarity, as demonstrated in the Family Center's Shabbat Haggadah for Celebration and Study (1981). Giving step-by-step instructions for family Sabbath celebrations, this highly popular publication underlines the intimate link

between family and Jewishness. A supplement, specifically geared to children, will appear shortly.

### Jewish Population Growth

There is concern, and, in some quarters, even alarm, about the small size of the average Jewish family. Even if the American Jewish community is not in any danger of imminent disappearance, the low birth-rate may have unfortunate consequences in several ways. A shrinking, or even a stable, Jewish population made up predominantly of older people may lose its vitality and cultural creativity. Schools and youth centers may have to shut down for lack of enough users. Since many adult Jews do not affiliate with the community until they have children, many Jews will put off, or even neglect entirely, such affiliation. A general cultural climate in favor of population control, and the common assumption that children hamper social and economic mobility make it all the more difficult for American Jewry to face up to the problem of small families.

In response, the Family Center has launched an ambitious program to study how Jewish families make decisions on family size, to determine how they differ in this respect from other Americans, and to advocate a public strategy encouraging more Jewish births.

Two Family Center research projects will provide information on Jewish patterns of childbearing. One will compare the family formation of American Jews to that of non-Jews, based on data from the National Surveys of Family Growth. The other will be a series of interviews conducted in two cities that will elicit information on the decision-making process that leads some Jewish families to have many children and others to have few.

In its advocacy role, the Family Center initiated and hosted a two-day Conference on Jewish Population Growth that elicited the cosponsorship of 30 other major Jewish organizations. Many representatives of functional Jewish organizations attended, and the focus of the program was on concrete ways of affecting family size. Among the recommendations that emerged were: beefing up social support systems such as Jewish day care so that women will not feel that an additional child must necessitate leaving the work force; a restructuring of fees for Jewish communal participation that would ease the financial burden on large families; more forthrightness on the part of rabbis, Jewish social workers and other Jewish professionals about the value of children; more stress at all levels of Jewish education on the centrality of family; better use of the media to "market" the concept of larger families.

The Conference and its recommendations received considerable publicity in the Jewish and the general media, and most of the Jewish leaders and their organizations responded positively. While the Family Center initiative on this matter undoubtedly influenced the climate of

Jewish opinion in favor of raising the birthrate, there has as yet been no assessment of what impact, if any, its practical recommendations have made on communal policy.

The Family Center also tackled the problem of small families from another angle. It produced a pamphlet on The Joys of Parenting (1985) in which five Jewish men and women of different lifestyles and different Jewish backgrounds describe the pluses and minuses of having and raising children. This publication, which has an overall pro-childbearing thrust, is specifically targeted to an audience of teenagers and young adults who will soon be making decisions about family. Numerous rabbis, Hillel directors, and other Jewish professionals have requested multiple copies for use in their work of counseling young Jews; we thus know that this pamphlet is falling into the hands of the target population. Whether it will have the desired impact remains to be seen.

### AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

#### The Media and the Family

There is no consensus today on whether the media reflect social change or actually promote it. But there is a widely shared mood of discontent over how the media portray families. There is reason to believe that exposure to a steady diet of television programs that ignore, or even disparage, the traditional family has an effect on popular attitudes. The Family Center has striven to counter this trend by arousing public awareness of the problem and by making the television industry itself aware of the situation.

The Family Center first tried to determine just what messages television generates about family. A professional media analyst was commissioned to study how prime-time network situation comedies depict family life, and his research showed, not only that there were very few two-parent families with children featured on these shows, but that even the shows that dealt with parent-child interaction did so in such an unrealistic way that they could hardly contribute to strengthening family ties. Following release of these findings, AJC personnel had meetings with executives of all three major networks to make them aware of our concerns.

Not content with simply criticizing television's performance, the Family Center also developed a positive strategy to encourage high-quality family programming. It instituted a new AJC award for outstanding contributions to American family life, and presented the first award to The Cosby Show, in the hope that such public recognition would stimulate further efforts by the networks to portray positive family values.

#### Enhancing Knowledge and Awareness of the Jewish Family

In addition to exploring all the specific aspects of family life

previously noted, the Family Center has also understood the need to enlarge, in a more general way, public understanding and appreciation of the Jewish family.

Toward this end, the Center has published an annotated bibliography of the 100 most important items published on the Jewish family from 1970 to 1982, which is a useful guide to the literature both for researchers and for the general public. Also, since so many people are interested in comparing Jewish families with other American families, the Center published Are Jewish Families Different? (1982), which sums up our present state of knowledge on the subject.

The most ambitious Family Center effort to maintain high public visibility for the Jewish family is its quarterly newsletter. It contains feature articles on major issues and trends in American family life and how they affect Jewish families, descriptions of Family Center activities and publications, and reviews of new books on the family. The newsletter has over 4,000 subscribers, including rabbis, Jewish educators, social workers, academics, and non-Jewish family professionals. From the feedback the Center gets from readers, it is evident that the newsletter serves a useful purpose in keeping people who are involved with the family up-to-date on changing needs and attitudes, providing Jewish professionals with ideas for programs, and serving as a resource for academics teaching courses on the family and the Jewish community.

Prepared by Lawrence Grossman

PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
WILLIAM PETSCHER NATIONAL JEWISH FAMILY CENTER

Quarterly

The William Petschek National Jewish  
Family Center Newsletter

1979

Intermarriage and the Jewish Future  
Egon Mayer and Carl A. Sheingold

Sustaining the Jewish Family  
A Task Force Report on Jewish Family Policy

1980

The Jewish Family Impact Questionnaire

Single-Parent Families  
A Challenge to the Jewish Community  
Chaim I. Waxman

Working and Mothering  
A Study of 97 Jewish Career Women  
Linda Kuzmack and George Salomon

1981

Divorce and the Jewish Child  
Thomas J. Cottle

A Shabbat Haggadah  
For Celebration and Study  
Michael Strassfeld

1982

**Are Jewish Families Different?**

Andrew J. Cherlin and Carin Celebuski

1983

**Childhood, Marriage and the Family  
in the Eastern European Jewish Enlightenment**  
David Biale

**Children of Intermarriage**  
A Study in Patterns of Identification  
and Family Life  
Egon Mayer

**The Jewish Community and Children of Divorce**  
A Pilot Study of Perceptions and Responses  
Nathalie Friedman and Theresa F. Rogers

**Service Providers Look at Divorce  
and the Jewish Family**  
A Consultation

**The Traditional Jewish Family  
in Historical Perspective**  
Jacob Katz

1984

**American Jewish High School Students**  
A National Profile  
James L. Peterson and Nicholas Zill

**Conference on Genetic Engineering  
and the Family**  
Summary of Proceedings

**Family: The Missing Ingredient  
in TV Family Fare**  
Harry Kovsky

**Focus on the American Jewish Family**  
A Selected Annotated Bibliography, 1970-1982  
David Singer



**Jewish Campus Life**  
A Survey of Students' Attitudes  
Toward Marriage and Family  
Rela Geffen Monson

**The Jewish Father Past and Present**  
Chaim I. Waxman

**Jewish Views on Abortion**  
David M. Feldman

**Jewish Views on Divorce**  
Elliot Gertel

**National Conference on Jewish Population Growth**  
Summary of Proceedings

**The Pornography Issue: A Jewish View**  
Lawrence Grossman

**Single Parent Families at Camp**  
The Essence of an Experience  
Bernard Reisman and Gladys Rosen

1985

**The Divorced Parent  
and the Jewish Community**  
Nathalie Friedman with Theresa Rogers

**Jewish Families Together**  
A Model Weekend Retreat  
for Family-Life Enhancement  
Bernard Reisman and Harriet Abraham

**Jewish Grandparents  
and the Intergenerational Connection**  
Summary of Proceedings

**The Joys of Parenting**

**Outreach Programs to Intermarried Couples**  
Summary of Proceedings

**Single and Jewish**  
Conversations with Unaffiliated  
Jewish Singles  
Jan Yager

**Working with the Intermarried**  
A Practical Guide for Jewish  
Community Workshops  
Andrew Baker and Lori Goodman

1986

**For the Jewish Family**  
Goals, Programs, Accomplishments  
1979-1986

In Progress

**Becoming Jewish**  
Egon Mayer

**The Ecology of Jewish Family Life**  
Burton Mindick

**Secondary Analysis of Demographic Data  
on Jewish Women**  
Eitan F. Sabatello

86-750  
February 28, 1986  
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For additional copies, write to  
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*Rabbi Tannenbaum*



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April 1, 1986

**TO:** Members of the Board of Governors

**FROM:** Theodore Ellenoff, Chair

**RE:** NEXT MEETING - MAY 14, 1986  
80TH ANNIVERSARY MEETING  
J.W. MARRIOTT HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
GRAND BALLROOM - SALON III - 2:00-4:00 PM

Our next meeting will be held in conjunction with the 80th Anniversary Meeting on Wednesday, May 14. Our agenda will include a discussion of the implication of proposed tax bills on some of our socio-economic concerns.

In preparation for this discussion, you will find enclosed background material on this subject prepared by Dr. Steven Bayme, Assistant Director, Jewish Communal Affairs Department and Gary Rubin, Deputy Director, National Affairs Department.

As you know, the Board of Governors acknowledged the primacy of program planning by devoting substantial time in the last few months to a profound and conscientious review of the agency's current and projected programs. I am pleased to enclose several documents summarizing various phases of this undertaking. They are as follows:

1. The full minutes of the 1986 Board of Governors Institute.
2. An analysis of the Program Rating Questionnaires which were completed by the Governors who participated in the Institute, as well as related statistical charts.

Although this is rather voluminous material, I would urge you to read it carefully as the recommendations of the Institute will guide the activities of the agency in the coming years.

I would like to take this opportunity to share with you a few other pertinent documents recently issued by AJC:

1. Jacques Chirac, France and The Middle East, and Post Shcharansky: Winds of Change? both by David A. Harris, Deputy Director, International Relations Department.

2. For the Jewish Family - Goals, Programs, Accomplishments 1979-1986, prepared by Dr. Lawrence Grossman of the Jewish Communal Affairs Department.
3. AJC Policy Statement on Sexual Orientation, adopted by the Board of Governors at its March 17th meeting.
4. The schedule of Board meetings for 1986-87.

In the coming weeks you will receive more details on the agenda of our May 14th meeting and, of course, background material on AJC's 80th Anniversary Meeting which promises to be a most significant event.

I look forward to seeing you in Washington, D.C. All best regards.



TE:ar  
Enclosures  
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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\*  
\* CALENDAR OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETINGS \*  
\*  
\* 1986 - 1987 \*  
\*  
\*\*\*\*\*

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
<u>1986</u>		
Monday, June 23	1:00 - 5:00 PM	Institute of Human Relations
Monday, September 15	1:00 - 5:00 PM	Institute of Human Relations
Thursday, October 30	12:00 - 3:00 PM	National Executive Council Mtg. Sheraton Hotel Seattle, Washington
Monday, December 15	1:00 - 5:00 PM	Institute of Human Relations
<u>1987</u>		
Thursday, February 5 - Sunday, February 8		Board Institute Sandpiper Bay Port St. Lucie, Florida
Monday, March 23	1:00 - 5:00 PM	Institute of Human Relations
Wednesday, May 13	12:00 - 3:00 PM	81st Annual Meeting Grand Hyatt Hotel New York City

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE  
TUCSON, ARIZONA - FEBRUARY 1986

ANALYSIS OF PROGRAM RATING QUESTIONNAIRES

INTRODUCTION

The completion of the Program Rating Questionnaires culminated the Board Institute task group discussions on AJC's program directions and activities. These evaluation and planning aids were devised to assist the Governors to engage in a systematic review of current and projected programs through the adaptation of recognized planning techniques. By introducing measurable standards, an integral part of any effective evaluation process, we attempted to confront the difficulty of determining the value of AJC programs which are related to advocacy, public education and other intangible modes of operation. Of course, the information provided through this process is a supplement to the in-depth deliberations held by the Governors in their task groups.

The reports of the task groups and the utilization of these instruments enable us to articulate, with a degree of confidence, the consensual understanding among the Governors of the mission of the agency and the relative priority of current and projected program areas.

The findings analyzed in this document are based on the questionnaires filled out by 64 Governors which give us diverse and important information on 38 program areas each rated by 17 different criteria. These criteria include the quality of our programs, the degree of support they have among AJC leadership and membership and the distinctiveness of AJC's involvement. They were selected through discussions with lay leaders and staff, tested with the Officers and validated by AJC's research experts.

The following program areas were rated through the process. Descriptions of these programs, their objectives and related specific activities were included in the Program and Organizational Plans document which was mailed to the Governors in advance of the Institute.

AJC Key Areas of Activity

Anti-Semitism & Extremism  
Israel & The Middle East  
World Affairs  
American Public Policy Issues  
Jewish Public Policy Issues  
Interreligious/Interethnic Affairs

Specific Program Areas & Activities

Anti-Semitism & Extremism

- Research, trends analysis and information gathering
- Media campaign and public education
- Legislation and law enforcement
- Executive suite and social discrimination
- Intergroup relations and coalition building

### Israel & The Middle East

- Advocacy in the U.S. and abroad of Israel's needs and concerns
- Research and analysis of issues related to the Middle East conflict and the peace process
- Relations between the Diaspora, American Jews and Israelis
- Israel's internal domestic issues:
  - Intergroup relations and religious pluralism
  - Economic development

### World Affairs

- International terrorism
- International human rights
- Soviet Jewry and Eastern Europe
- Western Europe
- Latin America
- Africa, including South Africa and Ethiopian Jewry
- Asia and the Pacific

### American Public Policy Issues

- Religious pluralism and values education
- Immigration and acculturation
- Socio-economic issues
- Women's issues
- Affirmative action
- Energy

### Jewish Public Policy Issues

- The family
- Jewish identity
- Jewish education
- Intra-Jewish relations
- Campus-related programs

### Interreligious & Interethnic Affairs

- Black-Jewish relations
- Hispanic-Jewish relations
- Asian-Jewish relations
- White ethnic-Jewish relations
- Ethnic identity and culture
- Evangelical-Jewish relations
- Catholic-Jewish relations
- Mainline Protestant-Jewish relations
- Moslem, Eastern Religions-Jewish relations
- Religious leadership education, including seminarian and Holocaust education projects



Criteria for Rating Program Areas

1. Relevance to current mission

Is the program area central to AJC's overall mission and goals?

2. Consistency with strategies

Is the program area consistent with AJC strategies, modes of operation and skills?

3. Concern to the Jewish community

How important is the program area to the Jewish community?

4. Achievement of program area objectives

How likely are we to achieve the desired and stated objectives of the program?

5. Fundraising appeal

How well does the program area add to AJC's fundraising appeal?

6. Cost effectiveness

Is the program area cost-effective for the agency? What do you estimate is the level of return for dollars spent in this program area?

7. Quality

If the program area presently exists, how would you rate the current quality of our work in this area? If the program area does not exist, how would you rate the potential quality of our work in this area?

8. Uniqueness

How distinct is AJC's involvement in this area? Do we make a unique contribution? How does our work in this area compare with that of other organizations?

9. Visibility

How much visibility will the program area provide for AJC in the general and Jewish community?

10. Implementable in chapters

Can the program area be implemented in the chapters in an efficient and effective fashion?

11. Leadership and membership support

How well does this program area help attract or retain members and leaders for AJC?

12. Impact on Jewish community

To what extent does (or will) our work in this area have an impact on the Jewish community?

13. Concern to general community

How important is this program area to the general community?

14. Concern to our allies

How important is this program area to our current or potential coalition partners?

15. Impact on general community

To what extent does (or will) our work in this area have an impact on the general community?

16. Evaluation potential

Does our work in this area lend itself to evaluation and assessment of accomplishments?

17. Level of resources

What do you think should be the adequate level of resources allocated to our work in this area? (The current percentage of resources allocated to this program area, based on 1985 national staff and program expenditures analysis, is indicated on the questionnaire.)

Rating Scales

Rating scale for Criteria 1-16

1	2	3	4	5
(lowest)				(highest)

Rating Scale for Criterion 17

1	2	3	4	5
(No resources)	(Lower than present level)	(Continue at present level)	(Moderate expansion)	(Major expansion)

Criteria No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11 and 17 were identified as the priority criteria for the organization mainly because they apply evenly to all of the 38 program areas rated through this process. Criterion No. 10, while considered important, was not included in this priority list since there was a recognition that certain program areas may be conducted nationally and not in the communities.

Special computer programming facilities enabled the presentation of partial findings in Tucson. Full statistical analysis, including means (averages), standard deviations from the means, frequency of responses and testing of correlations, were completed in the national office, and the findings are analyzed in this document. Copies of statistical charts are enclosed.

#### KEY AREAS OF ACTIVITY - Questionnaire A

There is an overwhelming consensus among the Governors for a broad conception of AJC's mission and the notion that the agency must be involved in several major aspects of Jewish concerns and interests.

The perception of AJC as a multi-focused organization and our continued assertive presence in all of the key areas of activity received great support from the Governors during their deliberations and was further reinforced by the findings.

Particularly outstanding were the ratings in the area of Anti-Semitism & Extremism, which may imply a major shift from the prevailing attitudes and activities of the agency. These ratings demonstrate a high level of concern among our leaders and reflect a vulnerability in the Jewish community caused by increasing anti-Semitic attitudes among Blacks and extremist trends in the farmbelt.

AJC's intergroup activities, both interreligious and interethnic, were also very highly rated and were perceived as our main strategy to counter anti-Semitism and prejudice and to bring about understanding among various segments of society.

All six key areas of activity were considered highly relevant to our mission, with the means ranging from just below 4 to 4.67. The distribution of responses on the rating scale indicate a high consensus among the responders.

#### Mission

Distribution of responses on rating scale (by percentage):

Anti-Semitism & Extremism	92% rated at 4 and 5; 8% rated at 3
Israel & the Middle East	74% rated at 4 and 5; 17% rated at 2
World Affairs	66% rated at 4 and 5; 26% rated 1 or 2; 8% at 3
American Public Policy Issues	69% rated at 4 and 5; 30% rated 3; 1% rated at 2
Jewish Public Policy Issues	67% rated at 4 and 5; 27% rated 3; 6% rated at 2
Interreligious/Interethnic	95% rated at 4 and 5; 3% rated 3; 2% rated at 1

### Quality

The evaluation of the quality or potential quality of our current key program areas ranges from moderate to high. The quality of our Israel & Middle East related programs was rated the lowest, possibly due to the professional situation in the Israel office. Yet even here 52% of the Governors rated our work at 4 and 5, while 25% rated it at 3.

### Concern to the Jewish Community

#### Very High Concern

Anti-Semitism & Extremism 98% rated at 4 and 5; 2% rated at 3  
Israel & The Middle East 91% rated at 4 and 5; 9% rated at 3

#### High Concern

Jewish Public Policy Issues 78% rated at 4 and 5; 20% rated at 3; 2% at 1  
Interreligious & Interethnic 72% rated at 4 and 5; 19% at 3; 9% at 1 and 2

#### Moderate Concern

World Affairs 42% rated at 4 and 5; 36% at 3; 22% at 1 and 2  
American Public Policy Issues 44% rated at 4 and 5; 36% at 3; 20% at 1 and 2

### Resource Allocation

The Governors are generally satisfied with the current level of resources allocated to the six key activity areas.

Moderate increases are recommended for Anti-Semitism & Extremism and Interreligious & Interethnic Affairs.

Minor increases are recommended for Israel & the Middle East, American Public Policy Issues and Jewish Public Policy Issues.

While the mean for resource allocations (criterion 17) might suggest a decrease for the area of World Affairs, an analysis of responses indicates that 44% of the respondents recommended sustaining the current level of resources and 22% suggested moderate or major increases.

Finally, statistical testings show a high correlation between the findings of Questionnaire A and those for each of the key areas of activity, (Questionnaires B-G) with the lowest correlation being +0.92 (+1.0 being the highest level of positive correlation).

### ANTI-SEMITISM & EXTREMISM - Questionnaire B

The findings reinforce the concept that the agency should be concerned with attitudes directed at Jews as a group and anti-Jewish trends of ideological and political significance, though not those that may affect individual Jews. Thus, there is a consensus to curtail our programs on Executive Suite and Social Discrimination, with 86% suggesting lowering or allocating no resources to this program area and 62% perceiving it of low or no relevance to our current mission.

As to future direction, there is much support for increasing our research and trends analysis on anti-Semitism, for educating the public through the media and for sensitizing the media to the danger that anti-Semitism poses to society at large. Our outreach efforts to targeted religious and ethnic groups also received the high ratings.

Of particular interest is the high rating for the proposed media campaign and the public visibility it may bring. This may indicate a desire for a change of strategy and moving from behind the scenes to the public arena, now considered necessary in view of the increasingly sophisticated use of the media by extremist groups.

There was no meaningful consensus or support for legislation and law enforcement related activities.

A moderate increase in resource allocations was recommended for the three priority areas of activity, with 50% calling for a moderate or major increase for research and analysis, 47% for an increase in media activity and 77% for increased coalition building with ethnic and religious groups. These three areas also received the highest rating in the category of program quality (80%, 75% and 95% respectively).

It is important to note that there is positive correlation (+0.92) between ratings in this area in the general Questionnaire A and this more specific questionnaire.

### ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST - Questionnaire C

An analysis of the findings regarding the eight priority criteria indicate consensus on AJC involvement in the following program areas: American Jewish-Israeli relations; advocacy of Israel's needs and concerns and her aspirations for peace; research and analysis related to the Middle East; Israel's internal social problems, particularly intergroup relations and religious pluralism.

While Israel's economy is at peril, there seems to be a general consensus that AJC does not currently possess the necessary organizational skills to make a real contribution, with most of the respondents indicating that agency activity in this area is not consistent with our mission or strategy. (64% and 65% rated at 1 and 2 respectively.)

AJC's political advocacy and research on Israel and the Middle East are not considered particularly distinct as compared with that of other organizations, and the resources allocated to these two areas are considered adequate, with those suggesting either a decrease or increase balancing each other. Yet, these areas received the highest overall ratings. There seems to be support for the contention that, even though other organizations are politically

active on behalf of Israel, AJC brings to this activity its unique independence, high credibility and comprehensive relations in the international arena. This program area is also perceived of highest concern to the Jewish community (88% rating at 4 and 5, as compared with 72% rating American Jewish-Israeli relations at 4 and 5, and 52% rating intergroup relations in Israel at 4 and 5).

Programs to advance American Jewish-Israeli relations seem to be receiving great support due to AJC's established primacy in this area and the seminal quality of our work. This area and intergroup relations in Israel were recommended for a slight expansion of resources (39% recommending a moderate or major increase for the first area and 41% for the second).

The figures suggest that AJC should expand its programs to foster religious pluralism in Israel, counteract extremist and anti-democratic forces there, and help promote better understanding between various segments of Israeli society, as well as between American and Israeli Jews.

WORLD AFFAIRS - Questionnaire D

AJC's outstanding programs to promote international human rights were overwhelmingly acknowledged by the Governors. Our consistent record of achievement in this area, the quality of our programs, and their relevance to our mission and strategies accorded this area the second highest ratings among the 38 program areas (immediately following religious pluralism in the U.S.). The Governors also suggested a modest increase in resource allocations.

International terrorism was also considered as a high priority and of major concern to the Jewish community, with a mean of 4.66 in this category.

Soviet Jewry was identified as one of the most critical issues facing world Jewry today and plans to heighten our presence and activity in this area were supported, including the development of relations with Soviet officials and diplomats.

The Governors seemed to accept the Officers' recommendation that we assess the impact of our offices in Europe and Mexico and the services we provide to Latin America, and they recommended a slight decrease in resources allocated to these areas. While there is no major disagreement with the perception that our activities in these parts of the world are consistent with our overall mission (only 14% and 6% respectively rated it at 2), there is a feeling that they are not of major concern to the Jewish community. (The responses were distributed in an inconclusive fashion on the scale, with no consensus indicated.)

In addition, the respondents recommend that proposed outreach activities in Asia and the Pacific be postponed and receive no emphasis in the near future.

As to the support of AJC membership and leadership (Criterion 11)), the three program areas which received the highest rating were: international terrorism, human rights and Soviet Jewry (with means considerably above 3 as compared with the other areas which are consistently below 3). Generally, the findings suggest that the Governors do not deem our activity in the international arena to be cost effective, perhaps because the course of world events is dominated by governments and non-governmental agencies can have relatively little impact.

It is important to emphasize that virtually every AJC activity in the international arena bears directly or indirectly on Israel and the Middle East. Much of our advocacy work on behalf of Israel is conducted with governments, public officials and activities outside the U.S. and the relationships we cultivate with world leaders are long-range in nature and enable us to mobilize, when warranted, diverse individuals and groups from different parts of the world on behalf of Jewish interests. An incomplete awareness of the interrelatedness of our international activity with our total agenda may have influenced the ratings in this area.

#### JEWISH PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES - Questionnaire E

AJC's accomplishments and initiatives to sustain the family and our projected programs in this area were rated very highly by the Governors. They were considered most consistent with our mission and strategies, of high quality, of great concern to the Jewish community and deserving of a modest increase in resource allocation. They are clearly the primary priority in the Jewish communal arena and among the agency's top priorities in general, with a mean average of 3.84 in the eight primary criteria. Sample ratings follow:

Mission 77% rated at 4 and 5; 18% rated at 3

Concern to Jewish Community 79% rated at 4 and 5; 20% rated at 3

Quality 75% rated at 4 and 5; 20% rated at 3

It is also considered to be greatly supported by AJC leaders and members.

Our recently initiated activities to diminish the schisms and polarization within the Jewish community and to bring about intra-Jewish tolerance and harmony were encouraged by the Governors with responses consistently at 5, 4 and 3, and 50% of the Governors suggested a moderate or major increase in resource allocations to this program area.

Our programs in the area of Jewish identity, while highly rated in all of the eight key criteria, are to be maintained on the same level of resources.

AJC's campus-oriented programs were perceived as related to AJC's mission as follows -- 54% at 4 and 5 and 26% at 3, with 20% perceiving them of low or no relevance to the mission. As to other criteria, there is no consensus as to their concern to the Jewish community, level of resources or quality. Yet the positive responses (5,4,3) outnumber the negative ones (1,2).

Finally, the ratings on Jewish education programs indicate support for the Officers' recommendations that we review our work in this field. While 57% perceive this area of real concern to the Jewish community, 36% perceived it as irrelevant to AJC's mission, with numbers slightly higher for consistency with AJC strategies. Decreased or no resources were suggested by 59%, while 33% suggested maintaining the current level in this program area. Immediate impact assessment of our childhood and adult education programs may be called for with the possibility of phasing out or curtailing certain aspects of these programs, such as our service-oriented activities.

AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES - Questionnaire F

There is an overwhelming consensus among the Governors that the area of religious pluralism and values education is of the highest priority to the agency, and that efforts to oppose attacks on the principle of separation of church and state, as well as our activities to define and teach core American values, should be increased. The relevance to AJC's mission of our endeavors to offer constructive alternatives to political fundamentalist groups was rated the highest among the 38 rated programs, with a mean total of 4.44 in the selected criteria and 4.82 on mission (97% of the respondents rating it at 4 and 5). The high ratings remained consistent on concern to the Jewish community, support of our members and leaders, quality, visibility, fundraising appeal, etc., 79% of the Governors suggested a moderate or major expansion of the resources allocated to this area.

On the other end of the spectrum is AJC's involvement in the area of energy. The findings suggested that we should assess our continued activity in this area in light of current global developments and competing agency priorities. While there seems to be a recommendation to phase out our activities, the agency may have to assess the long-range implications of such a move. It is important to note that the quality of our work in this area is recognized by the Governors, with 66% rating these activities of average to high quality.

The ratings on our women's issues programs reinforce the task groups' discussions which suggested that we review the premises directing our programs and the alternatives of managing our work in this area. One of the options discussed was the mainstreaming of our activities within each program department and providing national coordination to oversee the implementation of these activities. The task groups also recommended restructuring our approach to women's issues by linking them more closely with our broader human rights and social justice concerns. The Governors call for a decrease in resources allocated to this area to make it consistent with our regular annual expenditures. (Last year's expenditures were higher than usual due to our active involvement in Nairobi.)

As to other American public policy issues -- immigration and acculturation, socio-economic issues and affirmative action -- slight decreases in resource allocations were recommended for all, even though they were perceived as relevant to AJC's mission and strategies.

INTERRELIGIOUS & INTERETHNIC AFFAIRS - Questionnaire G

AJC's intergroup activities are perceived as a hallmark of our activities because they affect almost every area of our work and set us apart from other organizations.

The following specific target groups seemed to emerge as of the highest priority to AJC due to the high relevance to our mission (with means consistently around 4.5), level of concern to the Jewish community (with means between 3.5 and 4.16), and consistency with our strategies (with means between 3.7 and 4.45).



Catholics - The findings suggest enhancing our presence in this area and utilizing our success with the Vatican II commemorations to clarify and resolve emerging issues which may impinge on our relationships.

Evangelicals - As groups like the Moral Majority change their focus and aspirations, the "Christianization of America" remains a major concern within the Jewish community and to AJC. The ratings demonstrate this concern and support major focus in this area.

Blacks - The Governors recommended augmenting our activities targeted to the Black community, particularly as other segments of the Jewish community distance themselves from it due to recent manifestations of anti-Semitism and the growing polarization between Blacks and Jews. An overwhelming percentage of Governors rated this area very highly on all of the key criteria, with total means just below 4.

Hispanics - Of all the growing ethnic communities in the U.S., the Hispanic community is recommended for special attention.

Moderate or major increases in resource allocations were suggested for all of the above priority groups.

Our relations with mainline Protestants and white ethnics were perceived to be of a moderate level of priority and are seen as of a lesser concern to the Jewish community, even though they are highly consistent with our mission and strategies. Outreach plans to Asians, Moslems and believers of Eastern religions are of lowest priority and probably should be postponed.

Our pilot projects and programs dealing with ethnicity as it affects personal self-image, life cycle and the family are to receive less resources. While 42% of the Governors suggested sustaining the current levels, 36% called for lower or no resource allocation, and 22% suggested increasing resources. These findings reinforce a general trend emerging from the questionnaires which calls for emphasis on group-oriented programs, rather than programs focused on the individual.

Finally, while religious leadership education is considered slightly above average as a priority (with a total mean of 3.20 on the 17 criteria), 42% of the Governors suggested a moderate or major resource increase and 42% suggested maintaining the current level. Task group discussions reflected great interest in the new Holocaust education program which AJC is to co-sponsor with the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, with possible expansion of this project to other groups.

The task group deliberations suggest that our activities in the intergroup area should focus on cultivating relations with the leadership of the groups targeted for future activity.

FINAL NOTE

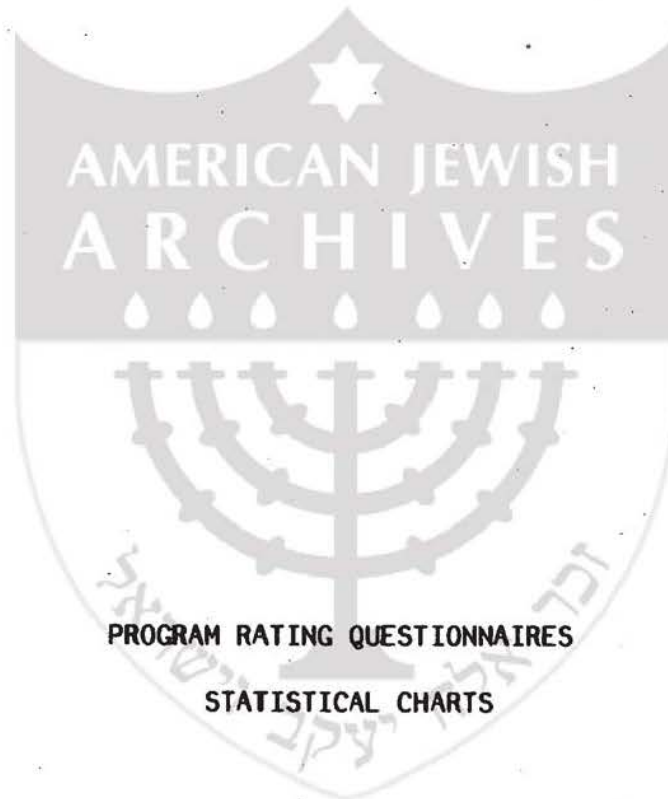
A close review of the findings highlights an understanding among the respondents of the synergistic nature of the various aspects of AJC's mission and the interrelation of our diverse activities. This, of course, reinforces the essence of the discussions at the Board Institute. The findings also highlight the responsiveness of the Governors to the critical challenges facing the Jewish community. Throughout, there is a meaningful preference for traditional AJC modes of operation: -- research and analysis, public education and outreach to other religious and ethnic groups -- as the best strategy to advance Jewish interests.

This process is the first phase in a continuous cycle of decision-making on AJC program directions, the systematic organization and efforts needed to carry out these decisions, and the evaluation of their results. It will increase our capacity to keep the goals of the agency in the forefront of our activities, to offset uncertainty and change, and to focus attention on the integrated nature of our work. These guidelines will enable us to select among alternative activities and will lead the national departments and chapters as they set forth their objectives, activities, program timetables and budgets for the coming year.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE  
January 30 - February 2, 1986  
El Conquistador, Tucson, Arizona



RATING KEY AREAS OF ACTIVITY - QUEST A  
 Current Resource Allocation: Total 100%

Criteria	Program Areas					
	(4.7%) Anti-Semitism & Extremism	(16.4%) Israel/ Mid East	(25.2%) World Affairs	(16.9%) Amer. Public Policy Issues	(12.4%) Jewish Public Policy Issues	(24.4%) Interethnic/ Interreligious
1. • Relevance to current mission	4.67	4.20	3.85	4.10	3.98	4.67
2. • Consistency with strategies	4.40	4.01	3.92	4.12	4.06	4.64
3. • Concern to Jewish community	4.89	4.67	3.28	3.37	4.17	3.89
4. Achievement of objectives	3.57	3	3.25	3.35	3.23	3.95
5. • Fundraising appeal	4.64	4.23	2.98	3.06	3.18	3.81
6. • Cost effectiveness	3.75	3.03	3.01	3.29	3.29	3.96
7. • Quality	3.89	3.40	3.85	3.92	3.73	4.42
8. Uniqueness	3.18	3.18	3.75	3.54	3.20	4.5
9. Visibility	3.10	2.84	2.98	3.39	3.17	3.87
10. Implementable in chapters	3.92	2.96	2.37	3.81	3.82	4.25
11. • Leadership & Membership support	4.23	3.75	3.26	3.59	3.60	4.09
12. Impact on Jewish community	3.87	3.26	3.01	3.21	3.43	3.76
13. Concern to general community	3.17	2.48	2.5	3.40	2.04	3.56
14. Concern to our allies	3.01	2.59	2.75	3.85	2.10	3.78
15. Impact on general community	2.98	2.40	2.40	3.31	1.98	3.59
16. Evaluation potential	3.15	2.85	2.71	3.20	2.98	3.64
17. • Level of resources	3.76	3.18	2.92	3.26	3.12	3.95
TOTAL	64.2	56.1	52.8	59.8	55.1	68.3
MEAN TOTAL	3.78	3.30	3.11	3.52	3.24	4.02
STD DEVIATION	0.60	0.63	0.48	0.31	0.65	0.34
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	4.27	3.81	3.39	3.58	3.65	4.17

RATING KEY AREAS OF ACTIVITY - QUEST A  
Totals by Response Category

<u>RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>COST EFFECTIVENESS</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	0	5	11	48	Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	3	25	21	15
Israel & the Middle East	0	6	11	11	36	Israel & the Middle East	3	17	25	13	6
World Affairs	2	3	17	22	20	World Affairs	5	14	26	13	6
Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	4	17	19	24	Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	11	29	18	6
American Public Policy Issues	0	1	19	16	28	American Public Policy Issues	1	8	27	22	5
InterEthnic/InterReligious	1	0	2	13	48	InterEthnic/InterReligious	1	2	13	30	18
<u>CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>QUALITY</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	1	8	14	40	Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	4	15	29	16
Israel & the Middle East	0	6	10	20	27	Israel & the Middle East	1	14	16	24	9
World Affairs	0	4	16	25	19	World Affairs	2	4	10	33	15
Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	3	16	19	26	Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	6	20	23	15
American Public Policy Issues	0	2	18	14	30	American Public Policy Issues	0	2	15	33	14
InterEthnic/InterReligious	0	1	5	10	48	InterEthnic/InterReligious	0	1	5	24	34
<u>CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>LEADERSHIP &amp; MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	0	1	5	58	Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	1	9	28	26
Israel & the Middle East	0	0	6	9	49	Israel & the Middle East	1	4	19	26	14
World Affairs	3	11	23	19	8	World Affairs	1	13	25	18	7
Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	1	13	24	26	Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	5	21	32	6
American Public Policy Issues	2	11	23	17	11	American Public Policy Issues	0	6	22	28	8
InterEthnic/InterReligious	1	5	12	28	18	InterEthnic/InterReligious	0	2	8	36	18
<u>FUNDRAISING APPEAL</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>LEVEL OF RESOURCES</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Anti-Semitism & Extremism	0	1	4	12	47	Anti-Semitism & Extremism	1	1	25	22	15
Israel & the Middle East	1	4	6	21	32	Israel & the Middle East	0	15	31	9	9
World Affairs	3	18	26	11	6	World Affairs	1	21	28	10	4
Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	17	22	21	4	Jewish Public Policy Issues	0	16	31	10	7
American Public Policy Issues	1	18	26	14	5	American Public Policy Issues	0	10	32	17	5
InterEthnic/InterReligious	0	6	17	24	17	InterEthnic/InterReligious	1	4	16	19	24

ANTI-SEMITISM & EXTREMISM - QUEST B  
 Current Resource Allocation: Total 4.7%

Program Areas	Research, Analysis & Info. Gathering	Media Campaign & Public Education	Legis. & Law Enforcement	Exec. Suite & Social Discrim.	Intergroup Coalition Bldg.
<u>Criteria</u>					
1. ● <u>Relevance to current mission</u>	4.28	4.17	3.42	2.45	4.71
2. ● <u>Consistency with strategies</u>	4.28	4.10	3.42	2.82	4.64
3. ● <u>Concern to Jewish community</u>	4	4.28	3.56	2.68	3.89
4. <u>Achievement of objectives</u>	3.64	3.35	3.09	3.04	3.98
5. ● <u>Fundraising appeal</u>	3.42	3.95	2.96	2.29	3.73
6. ● <u>Cost effectiveness</u>	3.57	3.56	3.09	2.5	3.92
7. ● <u>Quality</u>	4.03	3.42	3.23	2.85	4.35
8. <u>Uniqueness</u>	3.48	3	2.43	2.90	4.32
9. <u>Visibility</u>	2.78	3.28	2.54	2.42	3.65
10. <u>Implementable in chapters</u>	2.68	3.34	2.70	3.10	4.34
11. ● <u>Leadership &amp; membership support</u>	3.67	3.68	2.95	2.40	4.10
12. <u>Impact on Jewish community</u>	3.67	3.60	3	2.57	3.84
13. <u>Concern to general community</u>	2.56	2.68	2.54	1.67	3.25
14. <u>Concern to our allies</u>	2.93	2.92	2.90	1.89	3.89
15. <u>Impact on general community</u>	2.73	2.82	2.5	1.76	3.40
16. <u>Evaluation potential</u>	3.25	3.09	2.95	2.93	3.75
17. ● <u>Level of resources</u>	3.5	3.54	2.68	1.68	4.17
TOTAL	58.5	58.8	50.0	42.0	68.0
MEAN TOTALS	3.44	3.46	2.94	2.47	4.0
STD DEVIATION	0.53	0.46	0.33	0.46	0.38
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	3.85	3.84	3.17	2.46	4.19

**ANTI-SEMITISM & EXTREMISM - QUEST B**  
Totals by response category

<u>RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>COST EFFECTIVENESS</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Research, analysis & information	1	3	8	17	35	Research, analysis & information	1	7	22	22	12
Media campaign & public educa.	0	3	13	18	30	Media campaign & public educa.	2	8	20	20	14
Legislation & law enforcement	2	12	22	13	15	Legislation & law enforcement	5	12	25	16	6
Exec. suite & social discrim.	19	21	10	4	10	Exec. suite & social discrim.	15	18	18	10	3
Intergroup coalition building	0	1	2	11	50	Intergroup coalition building	0	2	15	33	14
<u>CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>QUALITY</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Research, analysis & information	1	3	10	13	37	Research, analysis & information	1	4	10	26	23
Media campaign & public educa.	0	2	14	18	29	Media campaign & public educa.	1	9	24	22	8
Legislation & law enforcement	1	13	22	14	14	Legislation & law enforcement	2	10	28	19	5
Exec. suite & social discrim.	15	15	12	10	12	Exec. suite & social discrim.	11	11	24	12	6
Intergroup coalition building	0	0	5	13	46	Intergroup coalition building	0	0	8	25	31
<u>CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>LEADERSHIP &amp; MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Research, analysis & information	0	4	20	12	28	Research, analysis & information	1	8	19	19	17
Media campaign & public educa.	0	5	7	17	35	Media campaign & public educa.	0	9	14	29	12
Legislation & law enforcement	3	12	17	10	22	Legislation & law enforcement	3	17	28	12	4
Exec. suite & social discrim.	9	23	17	9	6	Exec. suite & social discrim.	14	21	19	9	1
Intergroup coalition building	0	3	17	23	20	Intergroup coalition building	0	2	8	35	19
<u>FUNDRAISING APPEAL</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>LEVEL OF RESOURCES</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Research, analysis & information	6	8	22	9	19	Research, analysis & information	2	6	24	22	10
Media campaign & public educa.	2	7	10	18	27	Media campaign & public educa.	1	6	27	17	13
Legislation & law enforcement	8	16	19	12	9	Legislation & law enforcement	6	22	25	8	3
Exec. suite & social discrim.	14	24	19	7	0	Exec. suite & social discrim.	29	25	8	0	1
Intergroup coalition building	0	5	21	24	14	Intergroup coalition building	0	2	13	21	28

ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST - QUEST C  
Current Resource Allocation: Total 16.4%

Program Areas	(8.0%)		(6.0%)	(2.4%)	(0%)
	Advocacy of Israel's Needs & Concerns	Research on Mid East Conflict & Peace	Diaspora Amer. Jewish/Israeli Relations	Intergroup Relations/ Religious Pluralism in Israel	Israel's Economic Development
<u>Criteria</u>					
1. ◦ Relevance to current mission	4.01	3.84	4.26	3.98	1.93
2. ◦ Consistency with strategies	3.88	3.77	4.11	3.82	2
3. ◦ Concern to Jewish community	4.57	3.77	3.98	3.66	2.57
4. Achievement of objectives	3.17	3.22	3.38	2.61	1.66
5. ◦ Fundraising appeal	4.04	3.20	3.39	2.95	1.92
6. ◦ Cost effectiveness	3.25	3.06	3.28	2.82	1.63
7. ◦ Quality	3.53	3.76	3.73	3.19	1.66
8. Uniqueness	2.63	3.17	4.01	3.92	1.57
9. Visibility	3.03	2.71	3.01	2.66	1.47
10. Implementable in chapters	3.09	2.06	2.98	2.12	1.61
11. ◦ Leadership & membership support	3.93	3.28	3.53	3.23	1.77
12. Impact on Jewish community	3.52	3.17	3.34	3.06	1.84
13. Concern to general community	2.34	2.30	2	1.87	1.39
14. Concern to our allies	2.61	2.61	2.14	2.17	1.41
15. Impact on general community	2.31	2.28	1.82	1.85	1.31
16. Evaluation of potential	2.92	2.82	2.95	2.88	1.50
17. ◦ Level of resources	2.95	2.93	3.17	3.14	1.53
TOTAL	55.8	52.0	55.1	50.0	28.8
MEAN TOTALS	3.28	3.06	3.24	2.94	1.69
STD DEVIATION	0.62	0.53	0.69	0.65	0.29
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	3.77	3.45	3.69	3.35	1.87



ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST - QUEST C  
Totals by Response Category

<u>RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>COST EFFECTIVENESS</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Advocacy of Israel's Needs	1	7	13	10	30	Advocacy of Israel's Needs	0	16	25	10	10
Research on Mid East Conflict	3	8	12	13	25	Research on Mid East Conflict	2	19	23	10	7
Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	0	3	12	12	34	Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	2	9	26	17	7
Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	1	6	16	9	29	Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	8	13	28	6	6
Israel's Economic Development	29	9	14	4	3	Israel's Economic Development	34	13	9	1	2
<u>CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>QUALITY</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Advocacy of Israel's Needs	0	6	16	13	25	Advocacy of Israel's Needs	0	7	21	26	7
Research on Mid East Conflict	1	8	14	16	21	Research on Mid East Conflict	0	8	15	22	16
Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	0	1	15	12	31	Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	0	5	19	20	16
Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	2	6	14	10	27	Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	5	15	17	14	10
Israel's Economic Development	27	11	11	3	6	Israel's Economic Development	31	13	10	4	0
<u>CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>LEADERSHIP &amp; MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Advocacy of Israel's Needs	0	1	6	11	43	Advocacy of Israel's Needs	0	1	19	24	17
Research on Mid East Conflict	0	7	18	17	19	Research on Mid East Conflict	1	13	23	17	7
Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	1	2	14	23	21	Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	0	6	28	15	12
Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	2	7	20	12	20	Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	4	13	21	12	11
Israel's Economic Development	17	7	17	13	5	Israel's Economic Development	26	17	14	2	0
<u>FUNDRAISING APPEAL</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>LEVEL OF RESOURCES</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Advocacy of Israel's Needs	0	6	12	16	27	Advocacy of Israel's Needs	2	16	25	10	6
Research on Mid East Conflict	3	16	19	14	9	Research on Mid East Conflict	2	14	29	9	5
Amer. Jewish/Israeli Relations	3	10	16	22	10	Amer.Jewish/Israeli Relations	1	10	25	17	6
Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	8	15	19	10	9	Intergroup Rels./Relig.Plural.	4	12	19	14	10
Israel's Economic Development	26	13	13	7	0	Israel's Economic Development	34	12	5	3	2

WORLD AFFAIRS - QUEST D  
Current Resource Allocation: Total 25.2%

Program Areas	(0%) Internat'l Terrorism	(6.7%) Human Rights	(6.6%) Soviet Jewry & E. Europe	(4.8%) Western Europe	(5.6%) Latin America	(1.5%) Africa: Incl. S.Africa, Ethiop.	(0%) Asia & the Pacific
<u>Criteria</u>							
1. • Relevance to current mission	4.19	4.65	4.20	3.53	3.69	3.07	2.17
2. • Consistency with strategies	3.92	4.71	4.31	3.73	3.76	3.20	2.41
3. • Concern to Jewish community	4.66	4.19	4.50	3.12	3.11	2.74	1.66
4. Achievement of objectives	2.61	3.41	2.87	3.07	2.92	2.44	1.85
5. • Fundraising appeal	4.01	3.69	3.87	2.71	2.60	2.31	1.44
6. • Cost effectiveness	2.92	3.52	2.96	2.73	2.85	2.39	1.69
7. • Quality	3.20	4.22	3.58	3.30	3.36	2.57	1.88
8. Uniqueness	3.04	3.69	2.61	3.23	3.38	2.49	2.42
9. Visibility	2.85	3.42	2.74	2.63	2.61	2.20	1.68
10. Implementable in chapters	2.57	3.33	2.77	2.19	2.47	1.92	1.58
11. • Leadership & membership support	3.61	3.84	3.52	2.84	2.76	2.33	1.46
12. Impact on Jewish community	3.84	3.66	3.47	2.77	2.76	2.26	1.36
13. Concern to general community	3.96	3.26	2.38	2.03	2.04	2.04	1.50
14. Concern to our allies	3.92	3.68	2.80	2.28	2.47	2.53	1.68
15. Impact on general community	3.50	2.93	2.12	1.88	2.01	1.95	1.52
16. Evaluation potential	2.66	3.04	2.77	2.61	2.74	2.25	1.53
17. • Level of resources	3.55	3.46	2.88	2.85	2.87	2.26	1.82
TOTAL	59.0	62.7	54.4	47.5	48.4	41.0	29.7
MEAN TOTAL	3.48	3.69	3.20	2.80	2.85	2.41	1.75
STD DEVIATION	0.60	0.48	0.68	0.49	0.48	0.33	0.31
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	3.76	4.04	3.73	3.10	3.13	2.61	1.82

**WORLD AFFAIRS - QUEST D**  
**Totals by Response Category**

**RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	1	2	12	17	31
Human Rights	0	0	6	10	47
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	1	4	8	18	32
Western Europe	0	9	21	23	10
Latin America	0	4	22	26	11
Africa	4	16	21	15	7
Asia & the Pacific	19	20	15	7	1

**COST EFFECTIVENESS**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	9	10	25	10	8
Human Rights	2	6	24	19	12
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	3	14	35	4	7
Western Europe	5	25	19	10	4
Latin America	4	21	23	10	5
Africa	9	27	22	3	2
Asia & the Pacific	31	16	10	1	2

**CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	2	5	11	18	26
Human Rights	0	0	4	10	49
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	0	2	11	15	35
Western Europe	0	6	19	24	14
Latin America	1	2	24	20	16
Africa	5	12	18	21	7
Asia & the Pacific	16	15	20	9	2

**QUALITY**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	7	8	20	16	11
Human Rights	0	1	10	26	26
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	1	4	22	29	7
Western Europe	5	12	15	21	10
Latin America	5	6	20	25	7
Africa	10	15	31	6	1
Asia & the Pacific	29	13	12	7	0

**CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	0	0	7	7	49
Human Rights	0	2	14	17	30
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	0	1	7	14	41
Western Europe	1	14	30	12	6
Latin America	1	17	23	18	4
Africa	9	15	24	13	2
Asia & the Pacific	36	12	11	3	0

**LEADERSHIP & MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	3	7	20	14	19
Human Rights	1	4	18	21	19
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	3	5	22	22	11
Western Europe	4	15	34	7	3
Latin America	3	19	33	6	2
Africa	13	24	20	4	2
Asia & the Pacific	40	12	8	1	0

**FUNDRAISING APPEAL**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	1	5	15	13	29
Human Rights	3	4	17	24	15
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	0	6	16	21	20
Western Europe	6	21	24	9	3
Latin America	4	25	27	6	1
Africa	11	27	20	4	1
Asia & the Pacific	41	15	4	2	0

**LEVEL OF RESOURCES**

	1	2	3	4	5
International Terrorism	7	5	10	23	17
Human Rights	2	5	31	12	13
Soviet Jewry & East Europe	3	15	36	4	5
Western Europe	4	16	31	9	3
Latin America	2	23	21	15	2
Africa	10	30	20	2	1
Asia & the Pacific	33	12	8	6	2

JEWISH PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES - QUEST E  
 Current Resource Allocation: Total 12.4%

Program Areas	(6.4%) The Family	(1.2%) Jewish Identity	(3.6%) Jewish Education	(0%) Intra-Jewish Relations	(1.2%) Campus Programs
<u>Criteria</u>					
1. • Relevance to current mission	4.14	3.79	3.03	3.80	3.51
2. • Consistency with strategies	4.14	3.80	3.22	3.80	3.40
3. • Concern to Jewish community	4.32	3.79	3.61	3.56	3.12
4. Achievement of objectives	3.58	3.11	2.70	2.83	2.82
5. • Fundraising appeal	3.48	3.03	2.53	2.69	2.64
6. • Cost effectiveness	3.54	3.09	2.41	2.77	2.69
7. • Quality	3.96	3.50	3.12	3.16	3.16
8. Uniqueness	3.69	3.06	2.40	3.46	2.80
9. Visibility	3.40	2.83	2.20	2.83	2.56
10. Implementable in chapters	4.00	3.33	2.66	3.43	3.22
11. • Leadership & membership support	3.72	3.19	2.50	3.22	2.77
12. Impact on Jewish community	3.75	3.22	2.70	3.32	2.82
13. Concern to general community	2.59	1.72	1.64	1.64	1.82
14. Concern to our allies	2.87	2.04	1.74	1.87	1.91
15. Impact on general community	2.48	1.62	1.46	1.66	1.79
16. Evaluation potential	3.16	2.67	2.41	2.85	2.70
17. • Level of resources	3.40	2.98	2.29	3.29	2.83
TOTAL	60.2	50.8	42.7	50.2	46.6
MEAN TOTAL	3.54	2.99	2.51	2.95	2.74
STD DEVIATION	0.51	0.63	0.54	0.65	0.49
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	3.84	3.40	2.84	3.29	3.02

**JEWISH PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES - QUEST E**  
Totals by Response Category

RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	2	1	11	18	29
Jewish Identity	1	7	17	14	22
Jewish Education	9	13	16	13	10
Intra-Jewish Relations	4	5	12	18	22
Campus Programs	4	8	16	19	14

COST EFFECTIVENESS

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	1	5	23	18	13
Jewish Identity	2	12	25	17	4
Jewish Education	11	18	25	5	1
Intra-Jewish Relations	9	11	23	12	4
Campus Programs	8	19	17	13	3

CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	0	3	13	16	29
Jewish Identity	1	6	17	16	21
Jewish Education	7	9	21	11	13
Intra-Jewish Relations	5	5	10	18	23
Campus Programs	6	7	19	15	14

QUALITY

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	1	2	12	24	21
Jewish Identity	4	4	23	18	12
Jewish Education	7	3	31	16	4
Intra-Jewish Relations	8	5	20	21	6
Campus Programs	6	9	22	17	7

CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	0	1	12	14	34
Jewish Identity	1	3	22	16	19
Jewish Education	1	8	17	22	13
Intra-Jewish Relations	6	6	13	20	16
Campus Programs	3	16	20	14	8

LEADERSHIP & MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	1	4	17	28	11
Jewish Identity	4	9	23	22	3
Jewish Education	10	20	24	6	1
Intra-Jewish Relations	7	10	15	21	8
Campus Programs	7	16	21	13	3

FUNDRAISING APPEAL

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	2	5	25	19	10
Jewish Identity	4	14	24	14	5
Jewish Education	9	17	30	4	1
Intra-Jewish Relations	9	19	20	9	4
Campus Programs	8	18	25	8	2

LEVEL OF RESOURCES

	1	2	3	4	5
Family	3	7	27	10	14
Jewish Identity	4	17	21	13	6
Jewish Education	16	19	20	4	2
Intra-Jewish Relations	8	7	15	17	13
Campus Programs	11	11	21	12	6

AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES - QUEST F  
Current Resource Allocation: Total 16.9%

Program Areas	(5.1%) Religious Pluralism	(2.0%) Immigration & Acculturation	(1.5%) Socio-Econ. Issues	(4.8%) Women's Issues	(2.8%) Affirmative Action	(0.7%) Energy
<u>Criteria</u>						
1. • Relevance to current mission	4.82	3.60	3.50	3.38	3.87	2.30
2. • Consistency with strategies	4.77	3.85	3.76	3.58	3.98	2.39
3. • Concern to Jewish community	4.58	3.14	3.25	2.98	3.07	1.95
4. Achievement of objectives	4.01	3.19	2.92	3.09	3.28	2.42
5. • Fundraising appeal	4.15	2.57	2.66	2.87	2.66	1.69
6. • Cost effectiveness	4.12	3.11	2.93	3.00	2.96	2.31
7. • Quality	4.53	3.82	3.42	3.58	3.76	3.12
8. Uniqueness	4.26	3.44	2.85	3.03	3.28	2.88
9. Visibility	4.04	2.96	2.60	3.04	3.14	2.14
10. Implementable in chapters	4.25	3.00	2.88	3.55	3.33	1.87
11. • Leadership & membership support	4.38	2.93	2.79	3.15	3.11	1.87
12. Impact on Jewish community	4.25	2.74	2.76	2.77	2.95	1.85
13. Concern to general community	3.68	2.90	3.11	2.82	2.95	2.03
14. Concern to our allies	3.96	3.42	3.44	2.96	3.61	1.90
15. Impact on general community	3.66	2.87	3.00	2.74	2.98	2.06
16. Evaluation potential	3.63	2.88	2.73	2.77	2.95	1.95
17. • Level of resources	4.15	2.90	2.87	2.57	2.73	1.85
TOTAL	71.3	53.3	51.5	51.9	54.6	36.6
MEAN TOTAL	4.19	3.14	3.03	3.05	3.21	2.15
STD DEVIATION	0.34	0.35	0.32	0.29	0.37	0.37
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	4.44	3.24	3.15	3.14	3.27	2.19

**AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES - QUEST F**  
Totals by Response Category

RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	0	2	7	52
Immigration & Acculturation	2	6	21	18	14
Socio-Economic Issues	1	8	23	19	10
Women's Issues	3	12	19	14	13
Affirmative Action	2	7	13	16	23
Energy	20	14	16	10	1

COST EFFECTIVENESS

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	1	12	26	22
Immigration & Acculturation	2	13	28	13	5
Socio-Economic Issues	3	14	26	14	3
Women's Issues	4	17	20	15	5
Affirmative Action	2	18	24	14	3
Energy	19	18	13	6	5

CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	0	3	8	50
Immigration & Acculturation	1	0	26	14	20
Socio-Economic Issues	1	3	23	18	16
Women's Issues	4	6	19	15	17
Affirmative Action	1	5	15	15	25
Energy	19	15	14	9	4

QUALITY

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	0	4	20	37
Immigration & Acculturation	0	5	17	23	16
Socio-Economic Issues	2	6	22	22	8
Women's Issues	4	8	13	21	15
Affirmative Action	2	4	17	23	15
Energy	14	7	8	20	12

CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	0	8	9	44
Immigration & Acculturation	0	14	26	18	3
Socio-Economic Issues	1	11	29	12	8
Women's Issues	4	15	23	16	3
Affirmative Action	4	14	25	9	9
Energy	20	27	11	2	1

LEADERSHIP & MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	0	8	22	31
Immigration & Acculturation	2	16	29	12	2
Socio-Economic Issues	4	13	32	10	1
Women's Issues	2	10	29	15	5
Affirmative Action	1	16	24	14	6
Energy	24	24	9	3	1

FUNDRAISING APPEAL

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	2	12	21	26
Immigration & Acculturation	6	19	32	2	2
Socio-Economic Issues	3	25	20	10	2
Women's Issues	9	13	21	13	5
Affirmative Action	6	23	19	11	2
Energy	26	27	8	0	0

LEVEL OF RESOURCES

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Religious Pluralism	0	0	13	26	22
Immigration & Acculturation	0	17	35	6	3
Socio-Economic Issues	4	13	31	8	4
Women's Issues	8	22	22	6	3
Affirmative Action	6	16	29	8	2
Energy	23	23	15	0	0

INTERRELIGIOUS & INTERETHNIC AFFAIRS - QUEST G  
Current Resource Allocation: Total 24.4%

Program Areas	(8.8%)				(5.8%)	(7.5%)				(2.3%)
	Black/ Jewish	Hispanic/ Jewish	Asian/ Jewish	White Ethnic/ Jewish	Ethnic Identity Culture	Evangel/ Jewish	Cath./ Jewish	Main- line Protes- tants	Moslems, Eastern Religs.	Rel. Leader- ship Edu., Seminarians, Holocaust
<u>Criteria</u>										
1. °Relevance to current mission	4.65	4.44	3.39	4.31	3.47	4.49	4.52	4.13	3.50	3.87
2. °Consistency with Strategies	4.45	4.34	3.70	4.19	3.54	4.37	4.37	4.14	3.67	4.03
3. °Concern to Jewish community	4.16	3.49	2.36	3.36	3.04	4.06	3.96	3.67	2.83	3.48
4. Achievement of objectives	3.06	3.08	2.62	3.26	3.03	3.57	3.90	3.24	2.19	3.45
5. °Fundraising appeal	3.22	2.78	1.98	2.77	2.49	3.59	3.59	2.91	2.16	3.14
6. °Cost effectiveness	3.36	3.19	2.55	3.09	2.78	3.52	3.65	3.11	2.21	3.28
7. °Quality	3.96	3.60	2.83	3.57	3.62	4.14	4.34	3.68	2.70	3.86
8. Uniqueness	3.57	3.70	3.49	3.81	3.67	4.09	4.08	3.44	3.29	3.67
9. Visibility	3.54	3.18	2.44	3.14	2.91	3.86	4.06	3.04	2.32	3.12
10. Implementable in chapters	4.19	3.88	3.21	3.78	2.88	3.78	4.08	3.62	2.50	2.98
11. °Leadership & membership support	3.77	3.29	2.52	3.32	3.06	3.70	3.86	3.32	2.34	3.33
12. Impact on Jewish community	3.90	3.45	2.49	3.24	2.78	3.72	3.77	3.37	2.36	3.39
13. Concern to general community	3.14	2.77	2.11	2.72	2.52	3.06	3.04	2.88	1.93	2.55
14. Concern to our allies	4.01	3.68	2.78	3.45	2.98	3.72	3.70	3.27	2.37	2.86
15. Impact on general community	3.16	2.78	2.01	2.70	2.39	2.96	3.01	2.77	1.78	2.62
16. Evaluation potential	3.40	3.13	2.68	3.13	2.73	3.36	3.47	3.14	2.29	2.96
17. °Level of resources	3.57	3.45	2.70	3.11	2.65	3.50	3.52	3.27	2.39	3.36
TOTAL	63.10	58.30	45.90	57.00	50.60	63.50	65.00	57.00	42.90	55.95
MEAN TOTAL	3.71	3.43	2.70	3.35	2.97	3.73	3.82	3.35	2.52	3.29
STD DEVIATION	0.46	0.47	0.48	0.45	0.38	0.40	0.40	0.38	0.51	0.35
MEAN TOTALS-SELECTED CRITERIA	3.89	3.57	2.75	3.47	3.53	3.99	3.98	3.53	2.71	3.54



INTERRELIGIOUS & INTERETHNIC AFFAIRS - QUEST G  
Totals by Response Category

RELEVANCE TO CURRENT MISSION

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	0	0	5	11	45
Hispanic/Jewish	0	1	9	13	38
Asian/Jewish	3	11	22	9	16
White Ethnic/Jewish	0	2	10	16	33
Ethnic Identity Culture	2	8	18	15	16
Evangelical/Jewish	0	1	8	12	40
Catholic/Jewish	0	1	5	16	39
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	0	4	12	17	28
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	3	11	16	14	17
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	0	3	19	15	18

CONSISTENCY WITH STRATEGIES

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	0	1	8	9	42
Hispanic/Jewish	0	3	9	8	40
Asian/Jewish	1	11	14	9	25
White Ethnic/Jewish	0	4	11	10	35
Ethnic Identity Culture	2	8	15	17	17
Evangelical/Jewish	0	0	9	15	36
Catholic/Jewish	0	0	8	17	35
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	0	2	14	13	31
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	3	7	13	17	20
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	0	3	14	15	21

CONCERN TO JEWISH COMMUNITY

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	1	2	10	21	27
Hispanic/Jewish	1	10	19	20	11
Asian/Jewish	12	23	20	4	2
White Ethnic/Jewish	2	11	21	17	10
Ethnic Identity Culture	2	17	23	9	9
Evangelical/Jewish	1	3	9	26	22
Catholic/Jewish	0	3	15	24	19
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	1	6	21	17	16
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	10	13	21	11	6
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	2	3	24	17	8

FUNDRAISING APPEAL

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	5	4	33	10	9
Hispanic/Jewish	7	12	32	7	3
Asian/Jewish	20	24	15	2	0
White Ethnic/Jewish	8	11	31	9	2
Ethnic Identity Culture	7	20	24	7	1
Evangelical/Jewish	1	3	27	19	11
Catholic/Jewish	1	4	23	24	9
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	3	15	28	14	1
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	18	18	22	3	0
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	4	11	19	13	7

COST EFFECTIVENESS

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	4	6	25	16	10
Hispanic/Jewish	4	7	30	13	7
Asian/Jewish	12	14	23	8	3
White Ethnic/Jewish	4	11	24	14	7
Ethnic Identity Culture	7	11	25	14	2
Evangelical/Jewish	2	4	21	23	10
Catholic/Jewish	2	3	19	22	14
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	2	13	22	19	4
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	14	21	21	4	0
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	3	6	23	15	6

QUALITY

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	1	2	15	23	20
Hispanic/Jewish	1	5	21	19	14
Asian/Jewish	5	16	21	12	5
White Ethnic/Jewish	2	5	16	22	14
Ethnic Identity Culture	1	7	15	19	17
Evangelical/Jewish	0	2	9	23	26
Catholic/Jewish	0	0	7	21	32
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	0	6	20	17	17
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	7	15	27	8	3
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	1	2	12	26	12

LEADERSHIP & MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	0	4	17	24	15
Hispanic/Jewish	1	9	25	18	7
Asian/Jewish	8	20	23	8	1
White Ethnic/Jewish	1	9	26	14	10
Ethnic Identity Culture	2	9	29	15	4
Evangelical/Jewish	1	4	18	22	15
Catholic/Jewish	0	2	16	26	16
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	1	7	28	16	8
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	12	22	17	9	0
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	1	11	19	13	9

LEVEL OF RESOURCES

	1	2	3	4	5
Black/Jewish	3	1	22	23	11
Hispanic/Jewish	2	6	23	22	8
Asian/Jewish	10	12	24	11	3
White Ethnic/Jewish	4	8	28	14	6
Ethnic Identity Culture	9	12	25	11	2
Evangelical/Jewish	1	4	24	22	9
Catholic/Jewish	2	2	25	21	10
Mainline Protestants/Jewish	2	7	33	10	9
Moslems, Eastern Religions/Jew.	14	16	20	10	0
Rel. Ldrshp. Edu., Semins., Holoc.	3	4	24	15	7

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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January 30 to February 2, 1986  
El Conquistador - Tucson, Arizona

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Daniel H. Ninburg  
David H. Peirez  
Charles I. Petschek  
Elaine Petschek  
Michael Price  
Leon Rabin  
Idelle Rabin  
Bruce M. Ramer  
Julian F. Reichman

Robert S. Rifkind  
Edward A. Ring  
Gordon S. Rosenblum  
Mena Rosenthal  
Herbert Schwartz  
Mary Shapero  
Robert I. Shapiro  
Stanley W. Snider  
David F. Squire  
R. Peter Straus  
Barton S. Udell  
Elise D. Waterman  
Elmer L. Winter  
Maynard I. Wishner

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE  
January 30 - February 2, 1986  
El Conquistador, Tucson, Arizona

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

**AJC'S PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS,  
OPERATING PRINCIPLES & LONG-RANGE GOALS**

Theodore ELLENOFF opened the meeting by welcoming the participants and noting that the specific purpose of this

Institute was to clearly establish AJC program priorities that are responsive to the needs of today's Jewish community as well as to the special mission and focus of our agency.

David GORDIS referred to the mandate given to the Officers by the Governors in December, which called upon them to present their definition of the mission of the agency and the underlying assumptions, judgements and perspectives that unite us as a group. He stated that the agency is more than a conglomeration of programs; it is also a group of people who share similar views of the Jewish community, American society and the world. These views which we espouse include a commitment to the democratic values upon which American society is based; the unique role that Jews have in this society; the state of Israel as the most significant feature of contemporary Jewish life; and the vitality of a creative, successful American Jewish community. We are a group which is dedicated to the concept of pluralism, which we see as a source of strength and energy for Jews and non-Jews alike, and to a deep concern for the rights of Jews and others whose freedoms are threatened anywhere in the world.

Dr. GORDIS noted that the basic objectives of the agency today are reflective of current world conditions, with our present agenda being defined by the need to fight anti-Semitism, to support Israel's needs, to enhance the relationship between American Jews and Israelis, to protect the civil rights of Jews and others around the world, and to enrich the quality of Jewish life in the U.S. In addition to the external threats, we must take into consideration internal problems facing the Jewish community which threaten our continuity and creative existence, particularly the growing polarization between various segments of the Jewish community.

Consistent with our vision of how the world works best, we pursue our objectives through a network of relationships with groups both within and without the Jewish community, including groups with whom we often disagree. In addition, we concentrate our efforts on effective research and strategic planning, social and political action, and public education and interpretation.

Dr. GORDIS disagreed with those who would suggest that AJC shape its program by concentrating only on areas which are not addressed adequately by other Jewish organizations. He noted that shutting ourselves out of principle issues of concern to the Jewish community would be untrue to our history, strip us of our weight and influence and lessen our attractiveness to contributors. He stated, however, that addressing ourselves to such issues, as well as to those in which we are preeminent, does not mean that we are trying to be everything to everybody and cannot make hard choices. It means, rather,

that honest and sober appraisals of our agency structure and program, such as the one being undertaken at this Institute, can be used as successful tools to help establish an organizational structure that brings us together as a group and reflects our style and ideology.

Dr. GORDIS then proceeded to enumerate the six broad areas in which AJC is involved. The first three -- Israel, anti-Semitism and world affairs -- are also the concern of other Jewish organizations, and we must work to develop a sense of uniqueness about our role in these areas, utilizing our tradition, talents and unique methodology to pursue our goals. In the remaining three areas -- American and Jewish public policy issues, interethnic and interreligious affairs, and research and strategic planning -- we are the preeminent player, and we continue to have a major role in formulating public policy which affects the Jewish and general public, based on the humanistic nature of our Jewish experience.

He noted that the budgetary decisions which will be made in the coming months will conform to the programmatic priorities decided upon by the Governors, and he expressed confidence that our current fundraising efforts will produce sufficient funds to do so effectively. Dr. GORDIS stated that the budget for the current fiscal year will be balanced, and he pointed out that we will have raised at least \$1,000,000 more than was raised during the preceding twelve months. These facts belie the rumors that the capacity of the agency to raise funds has decreased; rather they promise a successful future, after some initial corrections and refinements are made.

Dr. GORDIS concluded by noting that it was crucial to the future of the agency that we emerge from the weekend's deliberations with a clear-cut commitment to what the AJC is all about and how the various elements of our program are closely related to the basic principles and fundamental goals of our organization.

#### AJC PROGRAM EVALUATION & PLANNING PROCESS

Howard FRIEDMAN noted that the concentrated process that the agency has been engaged in since November will be culminated by the effort taking place during the weekend. He believes that the results of these deliberations will give the agency a new sense of self-understanding and importance and will guide the Officers in molding the budget along the lines of the decided-upon priorities.

He described the process the Officers have followed in order to fulfill the Board's mandate -- clustering all the agency's programs in the six areas described by Dr. Gordis and examining each one in light of a number of criteria. Among the criteria with which each program was rated were its level of concern to the Jewish community, the likelihood of achieving our desired objectives, its fundraising appeal, its cost effectiveness, the quality of our work in the area, the uniqueness of our contribution, and the level of visibility it will provide for AJC. The percentage of resources allocated to each program within the six areas was also calculated to assist the Governors in understanding the amount of staff and program costs related to each. Mr. FRIEDMAN noted that the Officers have devoted much time during the last few months to this process and that they have made a great deal of progress, and he stated that he would be presenting the results of their personal evaluations the following morning.

He went on to describe the process in which the Governors would be participating during the weekend. They will be organized into four task groups, with each group examining every program area in depth. These sessions will be followed by the same evaluation exercise already undertaken by the Officers, wherein they will fill out questionnaires rating each program in 17 different categories.

Mr. FRIEDMAN pointed out that the results of these evaluations will provide valuable guidance in the upcoming budget process, although it is not in itself part of that process. If there are further budgetary reductions necessary, they will not fall only on the agency's program, but on the entire range of our expenditures, including central administration and the field.

He closed by noting the importance of the process the Governors will be engaging in during the weekend and noted that it is a constructive one that should perhaps be undertaken periodically to ensure an ongoing and systematic review of the agency's program.

In the ensuing discussion, it was stated that there were not many significant differences among the Officers on the basic program thrust of the agency. It was noted that the Officers' recommendations were offered as a response to the Board's mandate, and the Governors were encouraged to formulate their independent recommendations in the program areas under consideration.

#### FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

#### PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE OFFICERS

Mr. FRIEDMAN presented the recommendations resulting from the Officers' numerous meetings and the evaluations they compiled. He noted an overwhelming consensus regarding the overall mission of the agency and the belief that we must be involved in the following major aspects of Jewish concern and interest -- Israel and the Middle East; anti-Semitism and extremism; world affairs, as related to Jewish concerns; interreligious and interethnic affairs; American and Jewish public policy issues; and research and strategic planning for the Jewish community. The Officers feel that many of our program activities in these areas are interrelated and feed each other, forming an overall pattern consistent with the agency's principles and strategies. He then proceeded to outline the specific recommendations of the Officers in each program area.

1. Interethnic & Interreligious Affairs -- This category was given the highest priority because it affects every area of AJC's work and because our unique accomplishments in this field set us apart from other organizations. Even though major resources are already invested in this area, the Officers recommended a slight increase for the coming year.

Specific program recommendations call for augmenting our relationships with emerging leaders in the Black community; adjusting the emphasis of our relations with white ethnic groups to focus on common political objectives; reassessing the impact of our ethnicity programs which relate to personal self-image, the life cycle and the family; exploring with Evangelical

Christians the subjects of religious pluralism and missionary activities; and adding emphasis on Catholic-Jewish relations through religious leadership training, Holocaust education and our seminarians program.

2. American Public Policy Issues -- Our involvement in the American public policy arena was rated by the Officers as second in order of priority, based on our perception of the Jewish community as a full participant in American society as a whole and AJC's ability to affect meaningful social change based on our heritage of Jewish values and ethics. The Officers recommended a slight increase in the amount of resources allocated to this program area and a redistribution of funds among the programs within this category.

Specific program recommendations include increasing our efforts to promote pluralism and teach core American values; clearly defining our position on social policy issues, which is now being considered by an agency task force; restructuring our approach to women's rights issues by linking it more closely with our broader human rights concerns; reassessing and possibly phasing out our involvement in the energy area; and assessing the nature of our activity on immigration and acculturation based on the recommendations of our task force.

3. Anti-Semitism and Extremism -- The Officers recommended that AJC become more vigorously and visibly involved in countering anti-Semitism of ideological and political significance and more responsive to the intense concerns of the American Jewish community on this issue. They believe AJC's perception of this phenomenon as an aberration, rather than endemic to American society, gives us a unique vantage point from which to stimulate effective change. They recommend increasing the resources allocated to this area.

Specific program recommendations include increasing our research, analysis, coalitional activities and public education efforts to fight the growing assault on the separation of church and state, the movement to "Christianize" America, the rise in anti-Semitism among Blacks, and the activities of extremist groups in the nation's farmbelt. The Officers also recommend phasing out our executive suite and social discrimination programs.

4. Israel & the Middle East -- The Officers believe that AJC's traditional independence from other Jewish organizations and our high level of activity on the international scene enables us to make a unique contribution in interpreting Israel's needs and its aspirations for peace.

They recommend that the greatest emphasis be given to fostering religious pluralism and intergroup relations within Israel by utilizing our unique coalition-building skills and exhibiting sensitivity for differing points of view within Israeli society. They also suggest continuing our seminal work in the area of American Jewish-Israeli relations. A slight increase in resource allocations was suggested for both these areas.

5. Jewish Public Policy Issues -- The Officers feel that AJC should continue its tradition of activities which enhance the quality of Jewish life, foster the conception of the family as the main vehicle for transmitting Jewish values and ethics, and assist Jews to be Jewish in a modern world. They suggest maintaining the present level of resources allocated to this program area, with some readjustments as described below.

Specific program recommendations include a major focus on the internal polarization within the Jewish community; continued concentration on Jewish family issues; a reassessment of our contribution in the field of Jewish education, leading to a possible curtailment of our adult education activities and increased concentration on augmenting the Jewish knowledge of AJC's leaders and members; and a limitation of our campus related programs to activities involving our academicians network.

6. World Affairs -- The Officers recommend a more targeted approach to our international activities, focusing on the areas of human rights, international terrorism, Soviet Jewry and endangered Jewish communities.

They suggested a review of the work of AJC's foreign offices and of the services we provide in Latin America and Western Europe, as well as the creation of a network of correspondents in key locations to assist us in cultivating relations and assessing trends in various parts of the world. They recommended decreasing the resources allocated to this area and reconceptualizing our objectives and strategies.

Mr. FRIEDMAN closed by noting that the Officers highly recommend the centralization of the agency's research activities, which they believe will enhance the quality of our research and strategic planning capabilities and enable concentration on long-range issues and phenomena that must be studied in order to formulate effective AJC policies.

In response to a question on how the program criteria will be weighted, it was explained that those criteria over which the agency has some control will be weighted more heavily when the final analysis is tabulated. It was also noted that the Officers' recommendations were based on numerous and substantive deliberations probing the agency's mission and program, and that the rating process was only the culmination of these discussions.

#### FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

##### WORLD AND COMMUNAL CHALLENGES - AJC'S UNIQUE ROLE

David SQUIRE opened the session by noting that AJC is often called upon to react to new and emerging needs of

American and world Jewry. He stated that this session would touch upon three such contemporary issues, with the speakers recommending possible strategies for AJC to pursue.

Mimi ALPERIN addressed the subject of the recent revival of religion in the U.S. and around the world. She noted that two phenomena seemed to be growing simultaneously -- a rise in religious fundamentalism, which we find extremely

threatening, and a deepening commitment to one's own religious tradition, which respects religious pluralism. She questioned whether Americans will remain committed to the concept of pluralism in the long run, in light of the wave of fundamentalist ideologies now sweeping the world.

Ms. ALPERIN stated that AJC's role in combatting the fundamentalist threat must be systematic, rather than piecemeal. She suggested undertaking research focusing on the fundamentalist mindset, utilizing the knowledge of eminent religious thinkers, sociologists, psychologists and historians to help us explore what makes fundamentalism so attractive to certain people and societies and how the current phenomenon compares to such movements in the past.

She enumerated the threats to the Jewish community posed by this rise in religious fundamentalism, which include external and internal threats to Israel, the participation in cult activities by a growing number of young Jews, and the loss of many basic rights for women, and she urged AJC not to underestimate the seriousness of this problem.

On the subject of women's issues, Ms. ALPERIN stated her belief that this area should be of central concern to the agency. She noted that women make up 52% of the American Jewish community and that the Jewish women's movement has had a revitalizing impact on Judaism. She also cited the important link women have forged with Christian groups as a result of our activities in Nairobi, and she mentioned that tentative plans are now underway for an interreligious women's conference in Geneva. She closed by urging AJC to continue to play an important role in this area.

Sholom COMAY next spoke on the topic of pluralism, noting that it is the underlying theme of all the discussions being held during the weekend. He cited the external forces in today's world which are working to undermine the concept of pluralism -- extremists and anti-Semites, such as Louis Farrakhan, and fundamentalists who are attempting to "Christianize" America. To balance these centrifugal forces, AJC has established a network of alliances with many other religious and ethnic groups, with whom we pursue common goals in an attempt to hold society in a state of equilibrium.

Mr. COMAY noted that we also face a similar challenge within the Jewish community today, with increasing divisions between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews. He believes that AJC can be particularly effective in dealing with this issue, due to our long history of bringing various groups together. He pointed out that the science of intergroup relations was pioneered by AJC over forty years ago, when we began exploring the area of ethnic identity. As we enter our 80th Anniversary year, he noted, AJC is poised to continue its important contributions to intergroup understanding and the defense of pluralism.

Robert RIFKIND then shared his views on the current internal situation in Israel and how it will affect AJC's relationship with her. He expressed his doubt that the peace process will move ahead in the near future, partly due to Israeli coalitional pressures, and he predicted that the rotation agreement will go into effect and that the troubled economy will take a turn for the worse. As the percentage of Jews from Arab lands increases, due to their higher birthrate, and the political orientation of the country moves more to the right, he foresees that we will find it increasingly difficult to communicate our views and establish a common set of values with the Israelis.

Mr. RIFKIND feels that this situation will cause increasingly difficult prob-



lems for Israel, including the inability to form normal relations with its Arab neighbors and an increase of antagonism and insecurity. He believes that American Jews will be less likely to rally to the defense of such a society, and he feels that such a situation would, in turn, demoralize American Jewry.

To prevent such a scenario from materializing, Mr. RIFKIND stated that we will have to alter the way we deal with Israel by distinguishing between Israelis and the Israeli government, cultivating relationships with those opposed to such a government, and offering useful criticism to Israel when necessary. He also suggested that we become constructively involved in the relationship between Israel and other Jewish organizations, such as UJA and the Jewish Agency. He concluded by urging that AJC work toward transmitting positive American values to the Israeli public, which will be a major contribution that will benefit both communities in the long run.

In the ensuing discussion, concern was voiced about the stereotyping of Sephardic Israelis in Mr. Rifkind's remarks and the suggestion that Israel could become a fascist country. A number of Governors pointed out the increasing rate of intermarriage between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, the leveling experience of serving in the Israeli army and their belief that any existing societal gap will be bridged in one more generation. Others noted recent positive trends in Israel, including the improving economic situation, the recognition of Israel by Spain and a number of African nations, and the increasing commitment of American Jewry to assist Israel in coping with political, economic and societal problems.

AJC's role at the Nairobi Women's Conference was reviewed, and it was pointed out that the ramifications of that meeting must not be viewed only as a women's issue, but as an issue of general concern to AJC because of the anti-Western bias that still is perpetuated by groups such as the World Council of Churches.

On the subject of pluralism, it was pointed out that this concept can also present a danger to America, with increased competition between different ethnic and religious groups causing a fragmentation of our society. Others argued that it is just in such a society, where separate groups are valued for their distinct characteristics, that Jews flourish best.

#### SATURDAY EVENING SESSION

##### **KEY AREAS OF ACTIVITY FOR THE COMING YEARS - REPORT OF TASK GROUPS**

Charlotte HOLSTEIN opened the session by commending the Governors on the high level of discussion and decision-making which was displayed during the series of task group discussions. She stated that the four Governors who served as "reporters" would now present brief reviews of the discussions concerning the program areas they covered.

##### **ANTI-SEMITISM & EXTREMISM**

Bruce RAMER, who audited the sessions on Anti-Semitism and Extremism, stated that a basic conclusion reached by the Governors was that AJC must remain true to its founding principles and contemporary goals by combatting anti-Semitism and extremism. They believe that this issue cuts across the entire spectrum of agency programs, and that AJC has a unique role to play in this area. There was high praise for our

interdepartmental "rapid deployment force," whose readiness was exemplified by our recent response to the farmbelt crisis. The Governors noted the perception of vulnerability which pervades the American Jewish community today and the switch from individual concern to group concern on this issue, and they feel that AJC must react to this mood.

Mr. RAMER stated that economic dislocation often provides fertile soil for the rise of anti-Semitic extremist groups, as is presently occurring due to the farm crisis in the Midwest and among Black populations of major cities where unemployment is on the rise. He also noted that anti-Semitism is often spurred by anti-Israeli propaganda emanating from the United Nations or by episodes such as the recent Pollard affair.

He pointed out that AJC can make a major contribution in this area due to our expertise in intergroup relations, and that the Governors believe we should aim at making this an American issue, rather than just a Jewish one. They recommended that AJC engage in research and analysis aimed at discerning trends and causes of anti-Semitism; continue our efforts to influence Christian teachings about Judaism; develop further techniques while transmitting core values to the American public; continue our support for the positive and healthy aspects of pluralism in our society; play a significant role in transmitting accurate information to the media; and continue our input with legislative and law enforcement bodies.

Mr. RAMER concluded by noting that AJC's Task Force on Anti-Semitism and Extremism, which is currently engaged in a series of meetings throughout the country, will be coming back to the Governors with a series of recommendations for effective agency program and policy in this important area.

#### WORLD AFFAIRS

Ann KAUFMAN next reported on the deliberations of the task groups on World Affairs and Israel and the Middle East.

During the sessions on world affairs, international terrorism was the highest priority of each group, and program suggestions included convening a national conference on this issue; raising the consciousness of the American public on the dangers of terrorism; and developing coalitions with other religious and ethnic groups around this issue. The Governors suggested that AJC begin by evaluating the work and materials produced by other groups who are fighting this phenomenon, so as not to duplicate those efforts already underway. They also recommended reaching out to foreign governments on this issue, now that their dependence on Arab oil is on the wane and they might be more receptive to cooperative action.

There was also a consensus that AJC should continue to be deeply involved in the areas of human rights and Soviet Jewry. As these are issues of primary concern to the Jewish community, there is a likelihood that we can also use our activities in these areas for fundraising purposes. The Governors recommended that we utilize our interreligious connections and influence with European governments to promote these important causes.

Concerning our program in Europe, the Governors felt that the structure of our Paris office and European operations should be reassessed. There was general support for our German activities, which were viewed as a model for relationships with other western European countries. The Governors felt that South Africa should be on AJC's agenda, with a particular view toward aiding the

local Jewish community, as well as fighting apartheid. A number of questions were also raised as to the effectiveness of our programs in Latin America, and little enthusiasm was voiced for any involvement in Asia and the Pacific.

Ms. KAUFMAN reported that there was broad support and appreciation for the work of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights and a desire to utilize their materials more effectively in our chapters, which often feel removed from our activities in the international arena.

#### ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST

She next turned to the sessions on Israel and the Middle East, where AJC's involvement is based on our

common origin and sense of peoplehood, as well as our awareness of the ultimate safety valve that Israel represents for world Jewry. We also share the same commitment to basic democratic values, thus making American Jewry jointly responsible for Israel's well-being. The Governors were optimistic about the upcoming staff change in our Jerusalem office, and they felt that AJC's program in Israel should concentrate on areas where we have the greatest expertise, rather than duplicating the work being done by organizations such as AIPAC. Recommended program activities in this area included promoting intergroup relations and pluralism among Israelis and continuing our seminal work on the relations between Israelis and American Jews. It was suggested that we might broaden our program to teach more Israelis about the American Jewish experience and follow up more closely with Israeli visitors to the U.S. after they return home. Ms. KAUFMAN closed by noting that AJC'ers who participate in programs in Israel might want to assist in this task by meeting with Israeli students and others to expose them to American Jewish values and viewpoints.

#### AMERICAN & JEWISH PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES

Robert GOODKIND then reviewed the Governors discussions in the area of American and Jewish Public Policy Issues.

He began by noting that AJC's involvement in American public policy stems from our belief that American society is the greatest experience in self-government in history and that it has offered Jews the greatest opportunity to play an integral role in its shaping. Our Jewish traditions, values and ethics assist us in understanding and contributing solutions to contemporary social issues.

Our involvement with Jewish communal issues derives from our belief in the viability of the American Jewish community and our deep concern about its continuity. This impels us to deal with internal threats to our community, such as intrareligious friction, the erosion of Jewish family life and intermarriage.

The Governors strongly endorsed AJC programs which promote intrareligious dialogue among the various branches of Judaism, with the hope that AJC's tradition of bridge-building might lessen the growing polarization within the Jewish community. There was general agreement that this program also has great potential for implementation in the chapters.

Mr. GOODKIND noted that the Governors strongly support the agency's work with respect to the Jewish family, and they particularly cited our grandparenting program. They also endorsed our annual academicians missions to Israel.

Strong support was voiced for programs which promote religious pluralism, church-state separation and, particularly, the teaching of core American values, which they feel also has fundraising potential. In each of these areas, they urged utilizing our coalitional network and sponsoring colloquia which will inform the public and change the climate of opinion.

On the subject of women's issues, although there was general support for our involvement in this area, many Governors called for integrating our program into the context of our broader work on human rights and social justice. There was a consensus that the resources allocated to this area should be reduced, particularly in light of the large portion of last year's budget devoted to the Nairobi conference and the Pay Equity Task Force.

The Governors had a mixed reaction to our programming on immigration and acculturation, with a general sense that perhaps our task force should be dismantled and our efforts directed toward working with Hispanic groups. On social and economic policy issues, they suggested waiting for the report of the Social Policy Task Force before establishing definitive AJC policy positions on issues such as unemployment and poverty. Mr. GOODKIND concluded by noting that the Governors endorsed the agency's policy on affirmative action and expressed satisfaction that we have gained new allies in the Black community for our position.

#### INTERETHNIC & INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Robert HEXTER next offered his report on the Governors deliberations on Interethnic and Interreligious Affairs.

He stated that there was strong support for our Black-Jewish relations program, with particular emphasis on our contacts with emerging Black religious and political leaders. They also endorsed our work with Hispanic and Asian groups in those communities where they make up a substantial portion of the population.

The Governors felt that our growing relationship with Evangelical Christians was very important, and they stressed the delicacy of working with this group, which normally supports us on Israel and Soviet Jewry but is opposed to us on most domestic issues. They also endorsed our ongoing Catholic-Jewish relations program, with particular interest expressed in our preparation of Holocaust education materials for Catholic schools. As for mainline Protestants, they felt that our dialogue with this group must be maintained, as they are our strongest allies on domestic social issues. Training programs for our leaders involved in interreligious dialogues was also strongly endorsed.

Mr. HEXTER noted that the Governors felt that our work with white ethnic groups should focus mainly on our shared political agendas, rather than our past concentration on exploring ethnic identity.

He closed by noting the Governors' call for wider dissemination of our materials in this area and an improved public relations effort to let the public know about our important accomplishments.

During the discussion that followed, it was noted that each reporter presented a general overview of all four task group meetings on their particular subject, thus perhaps failing to note that some groups devoted more time to certain issues than others. It was pointed out, however, that there was an overall endorsement of the agency's major programs. While there was little desire

to curtail our activities generally, there were suggestions for refining and improving particular programs.

One of the Governors voiced support for continuing to handle World Affairs and Israel & the Middle East in a joint manner, as well as for retaining the separateness of our work on women's issues, rather than submerging it into the general mainstream of our efforts.

Some concern was raised that the Governors expressed more interest in the identity of other ethnic groups than they displayed about exploring Jewish identity, and they were urged not to ignore the important contribution AJC can make in the latter field.

The session closed with a number of Governors commenting on the success of the task group and program rating sessions and noting their importance and productivity in guiding the agency's future program.

### SUNDAY MORNING SESSION

#### **ORGANIZATIONAL & INSTITUTIONAL IMPERATIVES & OBJECTIVES**

Dr. GORDIS reported on a number of organizational and institutional tasks which the agency will be undertaking in

the coming program year. He described the plan to enhance our research and strategic planning capabilities by centralizing our research and information activities and concentrating on long-range issues and phenomena which will guide us in formulating appropriate strategies and policies. He mentioned the upcoming inauguration of AJC's Project 2000, a comprehensive endeavor to study emerging needs and problems which will affect the American Jewish community at the turn of the century and beyond.

He stated that a major effort will be undertaken to reduce the deficits of our agency publications -- the American Jewish Year Book, Commentary, Present Tense, and AJC Journal -- through a variety of fundraising approaches.

Plans to broaden the structure of our campaign and augment our fundraising programs in a conservative and evolutionary manner will include increasing the number and volume of plate dinners; involving our leaders in directly identifying, soliciting and securing major contributors and honorees; expanding our major gift campaign; and increasing our direct mail activities. A number of campaign publications are already available to assist us in these efforts.

Dr. GORDIS stressed the importance of our field operation, which provides a major arena for articulating and implementing agency policies and programs, as well as participating actively in membership recruitment and fundraising. Our plans for the coming year include a systematic review of AJC's potential in communities around the country; an upgrading of printed communications with chapter leaders and members; and an effort to reinforce the relationship between the chapters and national through improved planning, reporting, evaluating and service systems.

In the area of marketing and communication, Dr. GORDIS outlined a plan to improve our input to both the Jewish and general public by regularly communicating with four targeted market groups -- insiders (Governors, chapter presidents and key chapter leaders), contributors (influential people who assist

our campaign efforts), Jewish leaders (heads of Jewish organizations and communities here and abroad), and American influentials (business, political and civic leaders). He advised the Governors that the agency has engaged the services of two senior marketing experts to assist us in developing a long-term marketing plan.

Leadership and staff development was the final area touched upon by Dr. Gordis. He spoke of plans for a comprehensive development cycle which would include a review and improvement of our current meeting structures; create a computerized leadership resource file; create new and meaningful national leadership positions; encourage chapter leadership retreats; and develop improved managerial, facilitation and fundraising skills among our professional staff.

Following Dr. Gordis' presentation, concern was expressed that the Governors sometimes cross the line between their role of policy formulation and the staff role of implementing those policies. There was support for an increased staff development program and attempts to further improve lay/staff relations.

On the issue of communicating the agency's message, it was suggested that we might initially undertake a test marketing campaign to gauge the success of our present efforts in this area. It was pointed out that the lack of successful marketing techniques seriously undermines the effect of our program achievements, as well as our fundraising efforts. The formation of a lay committee on marketing and communications was also recommended.

#### **SUMMARY OF GOVERNORS' PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS**

Mr. ELLENOFF presented a preliminary analysis of the tabulated results from one-half of the program rating questionnaires. He stated that there seemed to be much consistency between the Officers' and Governors' vision of the program direction for the agency.

He noted that both groups had chosen interethnic and interreligious affairs as the area of highest priority for AJC, citing its relevance to our mission, the quality of our work in this area and the uniqueness of our contribution. Both groups also shared the basic assumption that our network of relationships with other ethnic and religious groups provides us with the best assurance of Jewish survival. The Officers and the Governors recommended that this area receive the largest percentage of resources and that our work in this field continue on its present course.

The Governors chose anti-Semitism and extremism as the second highest area of priority, with a consensus that we should considerably increase the amount of resources allocated to this area. Their choice differed from that of the Officers, who had selected American public policy issues as their second highest priority area.

The Governors rated the remaining program areas in the following order of priority -- American public policy issues, Israel and the Middle East, Jewish public policy issues, and world affairs. There was a recommendation to raise the level of resources allocated to each of those program areas, with the exception of world affairs, where a slight decrease was suggested. Analysis of this last recommendation reflected the feeling of the Governors that AJC can effectively achieve the targeted programs mentioned below with a lesser amount of resources.

Mr. ELLENOFF then proceeded to outline the specific results tabulated for each program area.

1. Interethnic & Interreligious Affairs -- Chosen by both groups as the top priority area, they both put the highest emphasis on Jewish relations with Blacks, Evangelicals and Catholics, recommending that additional resources be allocated to these three areas. There was also support for expanding our relations with Hispanic and Asian groups.

While the Officers recommended maintaining our current level of coalitional activities with white ethnic groups, the Governors suggested a slight reduction in this area. Both agreed that less effort and resources should be allocated to exploring the identity and culture of ethnic groups.

In our activities with mainline Protestants, the Officers recommended an increase, while the Governors suggested maintaining the current program level. Neither group felt we should become involved at this time with Moslems or members of Eastern religions.

Religious training for our leaders involved in interreligious dialogue was highly endorsed by the Governors, though it generated less enthusiasm among the Officers.

2. Anti-Semitism & Extremism -- Both the Officers and Governors agreed that a major focus of our program in this area should be to mobilize our intergroup ties to promote the idea that anti-Semitism is an American concern, not merely a Jewish problem. They also placed importance on our research and analysis and our media and public education campaign in this area.

Two specific areas delineated as being of minor concern to both groups were our involvement with legislation and law enforcement efforts and pursuing cases of discrimination against individual Jews, such as executive suite action.

3. American Public Policy Issues -- Promoting religious pluralism in American society was the program of greatest interest to the Officers and Governors in this area. It was, in fact, the single program on AJC's agenda that was rated most highly by both groups, and additional resource allocations were recommended to increase our efforts.

Both groups recommended a reduction in the resources allocated to all other programs in this area. Minor reductions were called for in our programs on immigration and acculturation, women's issues and affirmative action, while a major reduction and curtailment of activity was suggested for our energy program.

It was recommended that we maintain our current level of activity on socio-economic issues until our task force presents its recommendations.

4. Israel & the Middle East -- Both groups considered our activities in Israel and work on her behalf in the U.S. as our highest

priority in this area.

There was major approval and support for our work on American Jewish-Israeli relations and our efforts to promote pluralism in Israel. Additional resource allocations were recommended for both these programs.

It was suggested that current levels of funding be maintained for our advocacy of Israel's interests in the U.S. and our research and analysis on the Middle East.

There was agreement in both groups that the agency should not become involved in activities related to the Israeli economy.

5. Jewish Public Policy Issues -- Both the Officers and Governors agreed that the highest priority in this area should be given to our work on the Jewish family, and additional funding was recommended for this program. Current levels of effort and resources were suggested for our work on Jewish identity.

The Governors recommended that we undertake new activities concerning intra-Jewish relations, with additional resources allocated to this program. They also suggested reducing our programs related to Jewish education and campus life, with the exception of our annual academicians missions, which are self-sustaining financially.

6. World Affairs -- There was approval by both groups for additional programming and resource allocations in the areas of human rights and international terrorism. They also recommended sustaining the current funding levels in the areas of Soviet Jewry and Eastern Europe.

A reduction in funding was suggested for our programs relating to Western Europe, Latin America and Africa (including South Africa).

Mr. ELLENOFF concluded by reminding the Governors that these findings may be somewhat altered once all the questionnaires are tabulated, at which time they will receive a report summarizing the results of the weekend's deliberations.

In the ensuing discussion, it was suggested that this program evaluation process be undertaken at regular intervals by the Governors, with the national program commissions performing similar evaluations in their respective areas.

The Governors were assured that their recommendations would be given first priority in those program areas where their recommendations differed from those of the Officers.

General satisfaction was expressed with the weekend's deliberations, with many Governors stating that it allowed them to learn more about program areas they are not directly involved in and to express their concern for the agency. They felt the experience had consolidated and cemented their commitment to AJC, and had brought forth a consensus on a direction for the agency's efforts. The process was widely viewed as a beginning, and the Governors looked forward to seeing their recommendations translated into specific actions and decisions.



BACKGROUND  
CURRENT TAX ISSUES

The current debate surrounding tax reform directly touches issues high on the AJC agenda. The Tax Reform Bill passed by the U. S. House of Representatives and the Administration version (commonly called Treasury II) contain numerous provisions impacting directly upon family policy and approaches to poverty. The following considerations are intended for discussion concerning potential AJC initiatives in the tax debate.

I. General Principles

Pending recommendations of our Social Policy Task Force, AJC's current policy would support tax reform which would accomplish the following objectives:

1. It should strengthen families in the U.S. by favoring necessary family responsibilities such as child rearing and education and, at minimum, not penalize people who live in intact family units.
2. It should seek to help the poor and near poor by decreasing their liabilities, not imposing a disproportionate tax burden on them, and encouraging them to work.
3. It should target especially vulnerable populations such as single-parent families and large families below the poverty line for special relief.
4. It should decrease the burden on middle-class families, especially young parents raising children on moderate incomes.

Both proposals now before the Senate, the House-passed Bill and Treasury II speak in different ways to these concerns. The tax burden distribution in the House Bill would greatly improve the position of the poor and near poor and enhance incentives to work, while Treasury II contains some important features that benefit families.

II. Benefits of Treasury II

Treasury II incorporates two features that provide both substantive and symbolic support for families:

1. Treasury II raises the personal exemption to \$2,000 for all taxpayers, while the House Bill contains this provision only for non-itemizers, increasing the exemption to only \$1,500 for those who itemize. Treasury II would both materially aid larger families and younger middle class families with children who would itemize to save on mortgage and interest deductions but who would lose with smaller personal exemptions.
2. Treasury II increases the Individual Retirement Account for homemaking spouses from \$250 to \$2,000 while the House Bill retains a \$250 ceiling. The Treasury approach would especially aid families that opt to have one spouse stay at home to care for children. While AJC has consistently endorsed day care and other measures that support working parents, we should also back proposals, such as the Treasury II IRA provisions, that benefit families that defer outside employment for child-rearing.

While the personal exemption issue and the IRA increase for homemaking spouses mean much to individual families, they are not big money items in the context of the whole bill. Revenue lost through retention of Treasury II's provisions can easily be made up by adjustments elsewhere in the legislation.

### III. Benefits of the House-Passed Tax Bill

Several aspects of the House-passed tax bill would materially aid poor families. These include:

1. The House Bill would end tax liabilities for working poor families whose incomes are below or slightly above the poverty line. In all, about 6.5 million households in this status would have their tax liabilities eliminated.
2. This would provide significant relief to poor families. Under current law, a family of four earning at the projected poverty line of \$12,000 in 1987 would owe \$1,271 in income and payroll tax. This liability under the House Bill would be reduced to \$399 in Social Security taxes. In addition to providing relief, this would also encourage these families to work since they would keep a larger share of their earnings.
3. This reduction of tax burdens for families earning under \$20,000 of \$30 billion over the next five years would be accomplished by three provisions: the personal deduction would nearly double, to \$2,000 for those who

do not itemize; the standard deduction would be significantly raised; and the Earned Income Tax credit would be enlarged.

4. Moreover, unlike the current system, the House Bill would not allow these gains to be eroded by rising costs of living. All three major provisions are indexed for inflation.
5. These benefits for the poor are not new policy. The House Bill restores the tax situation of the poor to levels that existed in the late 1970s before inflation eroded many provisions that kept tax liability low for low income families.
6. The House Bill also provides relief to larger families near the poverty line and to families headed by single parents, who are especially vulnerable under the current tax system.
7. Treasury II also provides some significant tax relief for the poor and near poor, but not as much as the House Bill. The House version results in a tax liability of 33% less than Treasury II for a family of four at the poverty line and sets its income tax threshold about \$1,000 higher.
8. The House Bill also provides greater relief to middle class families, many of them young with child-rearing responsibilities. The House version provides greater tax cuts than Treasury II to every income class earning less than \$75,000, while giving lesser cuts to those making more than this amount. Both the House Bill and Treasury II would transfer tax burdens from individuals to corporations by restoring the corporate share of federal taxes to about the level they were at in 1980.
9. The House Bill would continue full deductibility of state and local taxes, preserving revenues that fund many programs for families and the poor. Treasury II would eliminate much of this deduction which would threaten these programs. Many local Jewish agencies would fall into this category.

#### IV. Other Considerations

Both the House Bill and Treasury II drop the current 10% exemption on spousal income which was designed to eliminate the "marriage tax," that is to assure that married couples do not pay more in taxes than two people living together without marriage. The rationale for the new proposals is that flattening tax brackets will reduce taxes for all families. Still, under both proposals, unmarried couples making \$30,000 each will be in the 25% bracket, while if combined in one family income the \$60,000 total will place them in the 35% bracket. In other words, both bills would restore the marriage tax, though in limited form.

#### V. Conclusion

Should AJC decide to enter the debate on tax policy, it may do so on the basis of its record of statements on poverty and family values as well as the forthcoming recommendations of our Social Policy Task Force. Aspects of both major current proposals could interest us. Major decisions on taxation will be made throughout the spring and summer. We need to decide soon whether and in what form to enter this debate.

Prepared by:  
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86-100

# Jacques Chirac, France and the Middle East

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Jacques Chirac, the newly-named French prime minister, returns to the key position he first held from 1974 to 1976 under President Giscard d'Estaing. Leader of the Rally for the Republic (R.P.R.), the neo-Gaullist party he has led for a decade, and two-term Mayor of Paris, Chirac's accession to power portends a possible shift in France's pro-Israel posture under President Mitterand. Although Mitterand's term continues until 1988, the French political structure provides for a distribution of power between the top two posts, thus permitting Chirac to have a major, perhaps decisive, impact on the direction of French domestic and foreign policy.

As Mayor of France's largest city, Chirac has enjoyed good relations with the 300,000-member Jewish community. Jewish leaders praise his openness, accessibility and energy. In December, Chirac addressed a mostly Jewish gathering at the naming of Rene Cassin Square, even quoting from the Talmud in honoring the late French Jewish Nobel Peace Prize winner and human rights activist. Early this year, after lengthy and complex discussions between the Paris City Hall, Ministry of Culture and Jewish community, agreement was reached to create a museum of Jewish art. Chirac's support for this project was crucial to its successful outcome. Indeed, the municipality has offered a building gratis.

In August 1982, a kosher restaurant in Paris was attacked, leaving 6 dead and 22 wounded. Mayor Chirac returned from vacation to attend a memorial ceremony and condemned the "horrible" and "racist character" of the tragedy. At the time of the bomb blast at the Rue Copernic synagogue, which left 4 persons dead, Chirac immediately dispatched an aide to the scene and himself came to the site the next day. Yet when a mass demonstration to protest this anti-Semitic attack was organized, the R.P.R. hesitated to participate because of the heavy involvement of the Socialist and Communist parties in the manifestation. Finally, however, it was decided to join to "express its solidarity with the national elan against racism," according to Chirac.

Chirac was interviewed at length in 1982 in the French Jewish monthly L'Arche. Of the French Jewish community and its ties with Israel, he said, "History shows that Jews have resided in what is today France for more than 2,000 years, and that, despite the persecutions and expulsions, they always lived in at least one part of the country, from

Marseille to Alsace...I do not forget that during the Middle Ages the French rabbis were celebrated and one of the first to use the French language was the famous Rashi...It is normal that in the hearts of the Jews there is a place for Israel, the object of twenty centuries of hope and prayers, the biblical Promised Land, and the place where Holocaust survivors live."

French Jews, nevertheless, are concerned about the possible impact of Chirac and his R.P.R. party on French foreign policy in the Middle East. France is a significant military and economic power with substantial global interests, including the Middle East and North Africa. One of five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and a founding member of the 12-nation European Economic Community, France is further centrally placed to address Middle East issues.

The election of Mitterand in 1981 ushered in the most unabashedly pro-Israel French leader in years and strengthened Franco-Israeli bilateral ties, a move that Chirac has criticized as excessive, according to a 1982 study on France by the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs. Does the Socialist reversal in the recent election and ascendancy of the R.P.R., under Chirac's leadership, therefore, augur a change in this pro-Israel policy? Chirac's previous foreign policy record, notwithstanding his favorable ties with French Jews domestically, gives pause for thought.

As prime minister, Chirac negotiated the French nuclear cooperation agreement with Iraq. He claimed that the construction of a reactor near the Iraqi capital posed no risk to Israel and was adequately safeguarded by French restrictions on its operation, yet Israel, of course, did not share Chirac's sanguine view. It found it necessary to conduct a successful preemptive strike against the facility in June 1981.

According to a New York Times account, Chirac flew to Libya in 1976 for an official two-day visit, the first by the head of a Western government since Qaddafi came to power in 1969. At the time Chirac spoke of the "close and longstanding" ties between France and Libya, and added, "I think we shall be discussing political problems as well as French-Libyan cooperation, which should be extended and well-balanced." At the end of the visit, Chirac and Libyan officials signed agreements for France to build a nuclear power plant in Libya (but not research facilities or the facilities to produce heavy water), and several technical and cultural accords. Three months later, France agreed to build 10 naval ships for Libya armed with sea-to-sea missiles and anti-aircraft guns.

Also during Chirac's tenure as prime minister, France permitted the P.L.O., which had hitherto been part of the Arab League representation, to open its own Information and Liaison office in Paris. He claims, again in the L'Arche interview, that, "Everyone knows - for reasons about which I will not now comment - that I learned about this decision from the radio." Other observers, however, argue that Chirac had certainly never opposed the move in government decision-making circles.

In the L'Arche interview, Chirac dwelled at considerable length on his Middle East views: "France has never equivocated about Israel's right to exist and live in peace. I recall the discussions I had as prime minister, especially in Tripoli and Baghdad, where I emphasized this point as a fundamental tenet of French policy...If there are differences between France and Israel - and this is the case - it is due to the different ways in which we approach the search for peace in the region. These concern method but not the substance (of Israel's right to exist)."

On the Palestinian question, Chirac told L'Arche, "It is indisputable that there is a Palestinian problem and that any return to peace in the region requires, in one way or another, a Palestinian entity - a land for this people - and, therefore, negotiations to determine its modalities...I well know that Israel asserts that the P.L.O. is not representative. This was, at one time, France's position on the Algerian F.L.N. (independence movement). I am not certain such an approach is the best way to achieve peace."

In response to a question concerning the R.P.R.'s unenthusiastic reaction to the Camp David Accords, Chirac replied, "If I had reservations about the Accords, it was because I do not believe in the adage 'divide and conquer.' Cutting the Arab world in half, as a result of the Accords, resulted, it seems to me, in further alienating certain Arab states from the peace process." In addition, explained Chirac, France did not participate in the multinational Sinai peacekeeping force because "this initiative was an outgrowth of Camp David... about which we had our reservations. I wish to add that it is my belief that what France can best do for Israel is not to align itself systematically with every Israeli position. In such a case, France would lose its credibility as a mediator...I am terribly upset by the Middle East situation and wish, above all, that there could be a conciliation of feelings which could lead to peace."

In 1984, in a meeting with an American Jewish Committee delegation, Mayor Chirac, while acknowledging his strong and long-standing ties with Iraq and its leaders, said, "If Israel is attacked, the Europeans should immediately be on Israel's side. We have first to support Israel, but also to support peace. Nobody contests Israel's right to exist, but the problem is that Israel wants territory and settlements. The political costs, however, are too great." He added that Iraq and Israel actually had common interests in their opposition to Syria, the real Middle East menace. One day, he speculated, Baghdad and Jerusalem might actually reach an understanding and draw Amman in as well.

Later in the year, Chirac made his first trip to Israel and, by all accounts, it was a successful mission. He met with a wide range of senior government officials and toured the country. After meeting with Prime Minister Peres, Chirac stated in a January 1985 interview in L'Arche, "I was very impressed by my conversation. He is a profound,



forward-looking, honest man, and I was taken by this approach." The mayor also visited Yad Vashem, the memorial to the Holocaust victims. He said in the same interview, "My emotion became a physical reaction, pressing on my soul and heart and constricting my throat. The exceptional quality of the monument and especially the intensity of the exhibitions, particularly the photographs, are such that one truly discovers a new dimension of the Holocaust tragedy." And as is the case with so many first-time visitors to Israel, Chirac was struck by the country's small size. "It is true that if one does not know Israel first-hand, it is difficult to appreciate the exigencies that geography places on the life of the people, especially because of the shortness of distances and what this means for the country's security," he explained.

Will Chirac's strong pro-Arab tilt of the 70s once again prevail as he assumes office? To what degree will the unprecedented leadership configuration of a Socialist President and neo-Gaullist Prime Minister result in changes in French external policy until the 1988 presidential elections? Has Chirac's pro-Arab position been softened by his warm ties with the Paris Jewish community and visit to Israel? How will Chirac's barely disguised interest in running for the presidency in 1988 affect his posture on issues between now and election date? Will the new foreign minister, Jean-Bernard Raimond, the current French envoy in Moscow and a career diplomat, reflect the traditional Arabist thinking prevalent in the Foreign Ministry, or counsel a more independent line?

While it would be premature to answer these questions, there is an apprehension in large segments of the French Jewish community that the advent of Chirac and the R.P.R. may bring an effort to strengthen further France's position in the Arab world, even at the expense of its ties with Israel, and that the heady days of Franco-Israeli relations of the last five years may perforce be numbered.

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**SOVIET JEWRY AFTER SHCHARANSKY**

**Winds of Change?**

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This paper is one in a series of American Jewish Committee publications.  
A listing of other current titles appears on the inside back cover.

A few hours after Natan (Anatoly) Shcharansky's memorable arrival in the West, a journalist called me to ask if the struggle for Soviet Jewry was essentially over. After all, he said, the main symbol of the movement now was liberated and a principal demand of the Western world -- Shcharansky's freedom -- was met. What more needed to be done? I responded by telling him an anecdote recounted by Jews in Moscow:

Shortly after publication of the Soviet census in 1979, General Secretary Brezhnev asked Premier Kosygin the official Soviet Jewish population figure. "The total is 1.8 million," replied Kosygin. "I have an idea," said the Soviet leader. "What if we permit the troublemakers among the Jews to emigrate. Won't that win us some favorable publicity overseas and, at the same time, defuse tensions here?" "A fine idea," exclaimed Kosygin. "How many do you think would leave, Kosygin?" "No less than 5 million," Kosygin responded.

The point is, of course, that the struggle in behalf of the Jews in the Soviet Union, whose actual number may well be 2-2.5 million (given serious inadequacies in the Soviet census method), is far from over. And many other Soviet citizens also seek to leave for a variety of political, religious and family reasons. This in no way diminishes the importance of Shcharansky's liberation. Shcharansky's name long ago entered the lexicon of human rights, and he became, together with still-exiled Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov and imprisoned South African anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela, among the best-known prisoners of conscience in the world. His unyielding struggle, including a 109-day hunger strike, to maintain his innocence of spy charges and his identity as a Jew and a Zionist during nearly nine years of the most unimaginable prison conditions is an extraordinary demonstration of courage.<sup>1</sup>

Avital Shcharansky's relentless advocacy in her husband's behalf, including countless meetings with Western leaders, demonstrations and petitions, symbolizes the indomitable will of a loving and devoted spouse. As Anthony Lewis wrote in the New York Times in June 1983: "Moving the Soviet leadership on an individual human rights case often seems a hopeless business. But if you meet Avital Shcharansky...you

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<sup>1</sup> Shcharansky and the U.S. Government have always maintained that he never engaged in any act of espionage for the U.S. or another Western country.

will know there is no alternative to trying." In addition, Shcharansky's elderly mother's unstinting efforts from Moscow to secure her son's release, and her arduous trips to remote regions to seek even a brief glimpse of him have touched many of us. I will never forget meeting this remarkable woman in 1981. At the time, she said tearfully:

"I have not received a single card or letter from my son in months. I traveled to the Perm labor camp in May but they would not let me in. I begged the camp commander to simply show me my son, even from a distance, to assure me that he was still alive, but he wouldn't even do it. Can you imagine, I don't even know whether my son is living!"

Shcharansky's arrival in Israel -- the realization of a decades-long dream -- is a triumph of the human spirit, the power of faith, and the yearning to live in freedom. It is, too, a tribute to the efforts of the U.S. Government, joined by other Western governments, parliamentarians, Jews and Christians alike who never let his name be forgotten and never yielded to the temptation of indifference.

But for tens of thousands of other Soviet Jews the situation remains unchanged:

\* Emigration, which peaked at more than 50,000 in 1979 and totals 270,000 since 1970, has declined precipitously in recent years. In 1985, less than 100 Jews per month were issued exit visas, a drop of more than 95% from the 1979 figure. Some Soviet leaders have sought to explain this decline by suggesting that few Jews now seek to leave. "Family reunification has essentially been completed and, for this reason, emigration has diminished," explained Samuel Zivs, first deputy chairman of the official Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee at a press conference in June 1983. "Very few people indeed have any desire to leave their [Soviet] country," added Avtandil Rukhadze, a Soviet journalist writing in the English-language Soviet Weekly in 1984. Despite Soviet assertions, the Israeli Government has the names and addresses of more than 375,000 Soviet Jews who have requested a vyzov (affidavit) from Jerusalem as the first step in the emigration process but have not yet left. No doubt, others are reluctant even to request affidavits because they accurately perceive that their chances of leaving the USSR today are virtually nil.

\* 14,000 refuseniks, that is, individuals whose exit applications have been denied, some for as long as ten years or more, live as "internal refugees." Benjamin Bogomolny, for example, enjoys the dubious honor of being listed in the Guinness Book of World Records as the world's longest-standing refusenik, having made his first request 20 years ago. If a reason for refusal is given, it may be the absence of parental permission (regardless of one's own age) or "state security," even if a person has left (or lost) his job years ago in connection with an exit application. Unable to comprehend such arbitrariness, Soviet Jews often use humor to face these anomalous situations.

Rabinovich was summoned to OVIR (visa and passport office) and told that he had been refused an exit visa due to possession of a state secret from his work. "What possible state secret could I know," protested Rabinovich, "when the technology we employ at our plant is at least 20 years behind the Americans'?" "That, my dear Rabinovich, is the state secret!" replied the official.

\* Other prisoners of conscience remain in Soviet labor camps and prisons, including Iosif Begun, a victim of "triple jeopardy." Begun is now serving a third sentence -- 12 years -- for the 'crime' of teaching Hebrew. And Vladimir Lifshits, a Leningrad refusenik, was arrested after the November Geneva summit meeting for the 'crime' of writing about the Soviet Jewish condition to people in the West, as a signal to Jewish activists that domestic conditions have not eased. In early February Lifshits was badly beaten by criminal inmates and suffered a brain concussion.

\* The Kremlin has always sought to portray itself as anti-Zionist but not anti-Semitic, yet the reality of the officially orchestrated campaign over the years has been to attack Zionism, Israel, Jews and Judaism. Two typical examples: (1) In Vladimir Begun's The Creeping Counter-Revolution, published in two editions totaling 200,000 copies, the author writes: "If we view the Torah (Five Books of Moses) from the standpoint of modern civilization and progressive Communist morality, it proves to be an unsurpassed textbook of bloodthirstiness and hypocrisy, treachery, perfidy and licentiousness -- of every vile human quality." (2) And in a theme frequently echoed in the Soviet press, V. V. Bolshakov, author of Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism, alleged that "in many cases the Zionists served as Hitler's 'fifth column,' and their international network was used to establish Nazi German domination of the world."

At the same time that these libels are being featured in the Soviet media, Jews also endure another ominous form of anti-Semitism, namely, increasing restrictions on employment and enrollment in institutions of higher education. The London-based Institute on Jewish Affairs noted that the Jewish student population in the USSR had declined from 112,000 in 1968-69 to 50-55,000 in 1980, a decrease of more than 50%. During the same period, the total Soviet Jewish population dropped only 16%.

\* The virtual absence of any serious religious and cultural opportunities for Soviet Jews is a major problem. Twenty years ago, this situation was denounced by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.:

"While Jews in Russia may not be physically murdered as they were in Nazi Germany, they are facing every day a kind of spiritual and cultural genocide...the absence of opportunity to associate as Jews in the enjoyment of Jewish culture and religious experience becomes a severe limitation upon the individual. These deprivations are part of a person's emotional

and intellectual life. They determine whether he is fulfilled as a human being."

In the same year, the noted author Elie Wiesel wrote an account of his visit to the USSR entitled The Jews of Silence. Had Soviet Jews, he asked, been destined to oblivion through a deliberate Kremlin effort to forcibly assimilate them?

Fifteen years later, however, an American delegate of the Association of Jewish Book Publishers to the Moscow International Book Fair recounted his amazement at the sight of thousands of Soviet Jews lining up to view the 1,500 books on Jewish themes brought by the delegation. He recounted the story of a young woman with four children. On each of the first four days of the fair, she brought one of her children. They would sit together in a corner of the exhibit as she translated from English stories of Jewish religion and history. Somehow, she was seeking in that hour or two to instill in the child a sense of Jewish identity and pride. An elderly man also visited the exhibit. At one point, he was standing in the middle of the exhibit, away from the books, but the line to enter was so long, blocking access to the adjoining Western Communist parties' publishing booths, the American approached the man and asked him to move on. "Young man," replied the Soviet, "you don't understand. Unfortunately, I am unable to read your books in English, Hebrew and Yiddish. But don't deny me this opportunity, if only once in my lifetime, to breathe your Jewish air!"

Notwithstanding such a bleak picture, the question that persists, in light of Shcharansky's release, is whether this act augurs a fundamental policy shift or is simply a singular event. While it is still too early to discern any major change in Soviet policy, it is clear that the Kremlin long ago recognized the utility of at least symbolic gestures in the human-rights sphere, at opportune moments, as a tool for seeking to improve its image in the West. Hence, in addition to Shcharansky's inclusion in the spy exchange, there was an attempt to defuse the case of Sakharov, the other renowned Soviet human rights symbol, by issuing a temporary visa to Elena Bonner, his wife, to permit her medical care and a visit with her family in the Boston area. It should be noted that the step was announced three weeks before the summit. Of course, she will shortly be rejoining her husband -- though one would hope for the reverse -- in the prison-like conditions to which they have been sentenced in remote Gorky.

The Soviets also announced the resolution of ten divided bi-national-marriage cases four days before the Geneva meeting. In reuniting ten couples, however, they leave another twenty cases un-addressed. With three summit meetings scheduled, perhaps the Kremlin has decided to release one-third of the group for each meeting and thus exploit these calculated gestures in the continuing battle for Western public opinion.

Finally, the Soviets have begun to issue exit visas to a handful

of the long-term refuseniks. Mark Nashpitz, Yakov Mesh, Yakov Gorodetsky and Ilya Essas are among the few well-known activists whose exits are occurring in a carefully staggered fashion. Yet as welcome as the resolution of these long-standing cases may be, the obstacle to unbridled Western enthusiasm remains the low overall emigration numbers and the continuing repression of Jewish activists.

Soviet Jews define an optimist as someone who is "insufficiently pessimistic." In this view, there is today guarded hope of change, mindful of the risk of succumbing to a Soviet strategy that may be little more than a smokescreen to deflect attention from continuing human-rights abuses within its borders.

First, there is no question that the fate of Soviet Jewry has been linked to the ebb and flow of superpower relations, made hostage to a ruthless Kremlin geopolitical strategy. When superpower relations turn sour, the fortunes of Soviet Jews decline accordingly. Conversely, if the Kremlin desires to soften the atmosphere and gain reciprocal advantage in other areas of the bilateral relationship, it may choose to turn on the emigration spigot. This was best illustrated in the early 1970s during the era of detente and again in 1978-79 when a Soviet desire for Senate ratification of SALT-II and improved economic ties led to a record year of emigration. Subsequently, as relations declined in 1979 and beyond, emigration took a nosedive.

The current reestablishment of a modicum of dialogue between Moscow and Washington, the expansion of contacts in the diplomatic, economic, cultural and other spheres, and the increased, if still distant, chance for progress on arms-control issues, all help to set the stage for possible progress on Soviet Jewry. On the other hand, there is also a serious risk that, just as Soviet Jews could become beneficiaries if bilateral ties improve, they may also become the victims. The Kremlin will be watching very carefully to ascertain how much flexibility they will have to demonstrate in this area to secure desired agreements in other sectors. If their conclusion is that a few carefully timed gestures such as the release of Shcharansky or the resolution of a handful of binational-marriage cases succeeds in muting the outcry over human-rights violations, why, from their own viewpoint, should they do more? Thus it becomes critical that the Administration, Congress and public opinion remain united in insisting on significant progress toward an orderly emigration process and an end to harassment and imprisonment at home as a sine qua non of progress in other nonsecurity areas.

A second area that bears watching is the Kremlin's policy vis-a-vis Israel. Moscow broke ties with the Jewish State in 1967 after maintaining relations, with only one brief interruption, since Israel's founding in 1948. Indeed, the Soviet Union and the U.S. were the first two countries to accord diplomatic recognition to Israel. In 1947, speaking at the United Nations in support of the plan to partition Palestine, Andrei Gromyko stated:



"During the last war, the Jewish people underwent exceptional sorrow and suffering...It may well be asked if the U.N., in view of the difficult situation of hundreds of thousands of the surviving Jewish population, can fail to show an interest in the situation of these people."

Regrettably, these words of support did not prevent the USSR from embarking on an unprecedented anti-Jewish campaign at home that continued until Stalin's death in 1953 and came to be known as the "black years of Soviet Jewry," nor did they then encourage the Kremlin to permit Jewish emigration to Israel.

Still, some Soviet sources have privately suggested that the Kremlin has belatedly recognized its mistake in severing ties with Israel. Having been excluded as a principal player in the Middle East while the U.S. succeeded in strengthening its own position, the Kremlin may seek to reenter the scene. One way would be to restore relations with Israel. Is there a realistic chance today? The evidence is still scanty but noteworthy:

(a) Poland recently reestablished low-level diplomatic ties with Israel, 19 years after it broke off relations. In so doing, it became the first Warsaw Pact nation to resume diplomatic relations (with the exception of Romania, which always maintained ties with Israel). Obviously, Warsaw could not have taken this step without the approval of Moscow.

(b) Hungary, while not having diplomatic ties with Israel, has expanded commercial, cultural and tourist contacts with Israel. The volume of annual trade exceeds \$15 million and thousands of tourists are traveling back and forth. Will Hungary follow Poland's lead and set the stage for further diplomatic breakthroughs between Israel and the Warsaw Pact nations?

(c) A publicized spate of diplomatic contacts between Soviet and Israeli officials at the United Nations, in Paris and elsewhere last year has led to speculation of warming ties. If, indeed, a thaw is in the offing, and this is far from clear, it may be accelerated by the Kremlin's belief that it can strike a better deal with Prime Minister Peres than with Foreign Minister Shamir, who is slated to become the Israeli leader in October under the agreement worked out by the Labor and Likud parties in the fall of 1984. But Israeli leaders have made clear they would be more amenable to the reestablishment of diplomatic ties or Soviet involvement in an international conference on the Middle East if the Kremlin acts on the Soviet Jewish emigration question.

And a third area of potential importance to the fate of Soviet Jewry lies in recent Soviet leadership changes. Gorbachev's accession to power, his growing consolidation of control, including the purging of both the Politburo and Central Committee, and his desire to instill vigor into the beleaguered Soviet economy have major implications for

all segments of Soviet life, including Soviet Jewry. And the appointment of Anatoly Dobrynin, for 24 years Moscow's envoy in Washington, to replace Boris Ponomarev as the person in charge of the Central Committee's International Department, a key position in the ruling Communist Party structure, will doubtless have impact on the Kremlin's policy formulation on East-West relations. For the moment, though, it would be premature to draw precise conclusions, at least vis-a-vis Soviet Jewry.

The Chinese have an old curse: "May you live in interesting times!" The reality of the Soviet Jewish situation remains unchanged -- low emigration numbers, divided families, harassed activists, prisoners of conscience, a ban on Hebrew teaching, monitored telephones, disrupted mail, lost jobs, no rabbinic seminaries and only one rabbi for every 300,000 Jews, frequent anti-Zionist/anti-Semitic books, articles and television programs -- and Soviet Jews are fearful of attaching too much hope to the prospects for improvement, but these are admittedly interesting times. Soviet Jews have been disappointed before. Nevertheless, there just might be something in the air, the hint of a possible change.

This is the first real opportunity in six years for the two superpowers to engage in serious discussions on the four principal agenda items: (a) arms control and security matters, (b) regional conflicts (Central America, Middle East, Afghanistan, Southern Africa, Southeast Asia), (c) bilateral issues (trade, culture, etc.) and (d) human rights. On the last item, a Leningrad Jewish activist recently told an American visitor:

"Don't be misled. Our situation is as grim as it has ever been. Still, even in spite of our best instincts, we are holding our breath and walking on pins and needles in the hope that change may be in the offing."

The success of the Soviet Jewry movement has always depended on four interdependent factors: (a) the courage and determination of Soviet Jews themselves to assert their identity and to seek the right to leave; (b) the existence of the State of Israel as the home of the Jewish people and the support Israel has given to the advocacy effort; (c) the role of Western governments, particularly the United States, in pressing the Soviet Jewry issue, both publicly and privately; and (d) the strength of Western public opinion, generated by people of conscience, Jews and Christians, who have spoken out, demonstrated, visited Jews in the USSR and prayed for their redemption.

It can only be through continued, indeed intensified, efforts in the West at this critical moment in both East-West relations and Soviet history that the current bleak situation may be reversed and the gates reopened. As a refusenik friend from "atheist" Moscow told me some time ago in response to frustration I expressed about the lack of progress, quoting Ethics of the Fathers:

"The day is short, the work is great...It is not thy duty to complete the work, but neither art thou free to desist from it."



Current papers on Soviet Jewry available from the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department:

- \* **Anatoly Shcharansky and Soviet Jewry in the Wake of the Summit**, by David A. Harris
- \* **Anti-Jewish Discrimination in Soviet Higher Education**, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \* **A Basic Guide to Soviet Jewry**, by David Geller and David A. Harris
- \* **Crisis in Soviet Jewry: A Call to Involvement**, by David A. Harris
- \* **Gorbachev in Paris: Important Days in the Struggle for Soviet Jews**, by Nives Fox
- \* **Oral Histories of Recent Soviet Emigres in America**, a catalogue by David A. Harris for the William E. Wiener Oral History Library.
- \* **Soviet Anti-Jewish Publications, 1979-1984**, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \* **Soviet Jewry After Shcharansky: Winds of Change?**, by David A. Harris
- \* **Soviet Jews: An Overview**, by David A. Harris
- \* **Soviet Jews: Beneficiaries of Improving Soviet-American Relations?**, by David A. Harris

APR 14 1986

From JONATHAN LEVINE

4/9/86

To Marc Torenbaum

FYI



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

55 East Jackson Boulevard Chicago, Illinois 60604 (312) 663-5500

W. A. CRISWELL, PASTOR  
FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH  
DALLAS, TEXAS 75201

March 31, 1986.

rec. 4/9/86

Dear friend:

On May 14 and 15 a most significant gathering is to take place here in Dallas, Texas - 1986: JERUSALEM, A PRAISE IN ALL THE EARTH (Isaiah 62:7) at the Registry Hotel in North Dallas.

This gathering has been designated as a "Prophetic Tribute" to be held on Israel's Independence Day, May 14. We wanted this time to have the opportunity which we missed in November, 1982, to present to Israel's beloved statesman, Prime Minister Menachem Begin, "THE PROCLAMATION OF BLESSING AND FRIENDSHIP" which his American friends - both Christian and Jewish, business and civic - are now privileged to extend to him.

A "Preliminary Invitation Committee" (see enclosed copy of names) was formed and a group from them was selected to visit Israel. They consulted with Israeli officials who gave their positive acceptance to be with us for this most amazing gathering. Greetings will be sent from the Chief Rabbi of Israel and Jerusalem's Mayor, Teddy Kollek. Prime Minister Begin will accept THE PROCLAMATION. Also, we are pleased that a practical means of "blessing" America's good friend and ally in the Middle East will be brought to pass by a special presentation made to business leaders by Israel's Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Ariel Sharon, and the Minister of Building and Construction, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy.

Prior to our sending out to some 6,000 selected individuals invitations to these gatherings, we are forming the "final" NATIONAL HONORARY INVITATION COMMITTEE. Your name was given to us by one of the members of the "Preliminary Committee" to be a part of the NATIONAL HONORARY INVITATION COMMITTEE which will be comprised of approximately 200 distinguished people.

We are planning on having over 3,000 in attendance from all over the country - plus many more friends from Israel. Could you call our offices to confirm your desire to join our INVITATION COMMITTEE? Please call us at:

JERUSALEM, A PRAISE IN ALL THE EARTH  
National Committee Headquarters 214-458-9750  
Confirm no later than April 7, 1986.

An outstanding program of music and speakers is planned for the occasion.

God richly bless you as you make your decision - we will be in touch. In the meantime, let us all "Pray For The Peace Of Jerusalem" for "they that love her shall prosper."

Sincerely, a friend of Israel,



*W. A. Criswell*

W. A. Criswell  
National Honorary Chairman  
Jerusalem, A Praise In All The Earth

Encl.

PRELIMINARY INVITATION COMMITTEE"

FOR

JERUSALEM, A PRAISE IN ALL THE EARTH

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# National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

443 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016

(212) 684-6950

April 15, 1986

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House Office  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council applauds your decision last night to attack the bases from which Muammar Khadafy has launched terrorist attacks against innocent Americans and the nationals of other countries. We join you in saluting the courageous members of our armed forces who carried out your policy of a measured, firm, and unambiguous response to the outrage of international terrorism.

We commend this action, not only because it is incumbent on the United States as a principle target of such violence to demonstrate that terrorists cannot, herceforth, act with impunity, but even more importantly, for the United States, as the champion of democracy and individual liberty to defend these freedoms in behalf of her own citizens and, indeed, everyone seeking the right to live freely and without fear.

As the national planning and coordinating body for the field of Jewish community relations consisting of the 13 national and 111 community member agencies listed on the reverse of this letterhead, we have long recognized the need for a forceful reaction to international terrorism. Please be assured of our continued and most enthusiastic support for the difficult, dangerous, but essential measures you have undertaken in the battle against international terrorism.

Sincerely,

Michael Pelavin  
Chairman

MP:bp



APR 16 1986

*Memo*

April 15, 1986

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director

RE: Action Recommended on U.S. Strike Against Khadafy

The following was sent today to communities on the NJCRAC-CJF Telecommunications Network:

In consultation with members of the NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee including national and community member agencies, we are recommending that CRCs as well as national member agencies (a) send letters of support and commendation to the President for his decisive action last night against Khadafy's Libya; (b) send letters to members of Congress indicating support for the President's action; and (c) issue a public statement along the lines sketched below. As you know, our Joint Program Plan has for many years called upon the U.S. to adopt a more purposeful policy against international terrorism.

Communications should commend the President for having sent a measured but unambiguous message that the purveyors of terror cannot act with impunity. Statements should emphasize that the President acted on what is now accepted as clear evidence of Libyan responsibility for recent terrorist attacks, and intelligence information on Libyan plans for pending attacks. The Strategy Committee believes the President acted in a measured way, attacking military sites and terrorist training bases, thereby avoiding population centers and large civilian casualties. In contrast, it is precisely Libya's doctrine to kill innocent civilians. While we harbor no illusions that this action will eliminate international terrorism, it is, in the opinion of members of the Strategy Committee, an important step toward bringing it under control.

The obverse side of this coin is that the event is yet another reminder that the Jewish community must be mindful of institutional security. There is, of course, no reason to alarm the community, but, as we have indicated in earlier memos, now is the time to assess and implement appropriate security measures.

CVB:tn  
O,EX,ITF.NJ

\* Please see over for a copy of Michael Pelavin's letter to President Reagan.

(over)

APR 23 1986



The American Jewish  
Committee

European Office  
4, rue de la Bienfaisance  
75008 Paris  
Tel. 45.22.92.43- 43.87.38.39  
Nives E. Fox  
European Representative

April 16, 1986

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MEMORANDUM

To: Marc Tanenbaum

From: Nives Fox

Subj: French Committee on Auschwitz Carmel - April 15

Leaders of the Committee, chaired by Ady Steg, met with Cardinal Glemp on April 14. Present were the Chief Rabbi of France, René Sirat; Central Consistory President, Jean Paul Elkann; Henry Bulawko, representing Deportees; and Mr. Weintraub, representing CRIF and WJC and the only one who spoke some Polish. (The Cardinal had his own interpreter.)

At a press conference on the same day, before meeting with the Jewish group, the Cardinal already had declared that "I still don't know very well why the existence of the Carmel in Auschwitz is raising objections." He also said that "Polish anti-Semitism is a myth created by its enemies. One must remember that 6,230,000 Poles perished: thus the destiny of Jews and Poles is a parallel one."

During the meeting with the Committee leaders he listened attentively and at first sounded rather negative. He softened this attitude after some explanations were given but, according to those present, remained perplexed.

The points he made were: It was Cardinal Macharsky who was in charge of the Carmel diocese; of course, as Primate of Poland he could intervene if he felt it was a matter of justice; but he did have trouble understanding the Jewish objections -- others died in Auschwitz, Russians, Poles, etc. He again used the figure of 6,300,000 for non-Jewish Poles, whether as a willful equation to six million Jews or a confusion due to a not altogether new Polish habit of adding the death of 3 million Jews in Poland to that of 3 million Poles. Many, he said, died in Auschwitz; and it was Birkenau which was the place of Jewish extermination. Were it a question of Treblinka, he added, he could understand better, for there only Jews were killed.

/...

He declared he was ready to intervene with regard to emphasis on the nuns' prayers and intimation of conversion; but that there would be a problem explaining to Poles why the convent should be moved while existing Carmelite Convent in Dachau could stay. He also pointed to Polish territorial sovereignty and the difficulty of telling Poles that outside intervention necessitated a change. What possible harm could come of the nuns' recitation of psalms, which are both Jewish and Christian texts? If one could not pray in a place of martyrdom, then what of the Golgotha, or commemorations of the Warsaw Ghetto?

Each member of the delegation tried to explain the Jewish position. Prof. Steg with moderation, Elkann with aggressiveness, Sirat with religious themes. Warsaw was a symbol of fighting, not extermination; the final solution was applied only to Jews; there were differences in camp conditions and Dachau, Buchenwald, included political prisoners, hostages, did not have selections, no complete families were taken and gassed. In Auschwitz the Polish detainees came as individuals, received letters, packages with clothes and food, and some semblance of adherence to international accords was maintained. The Jews and the gypsies there had none of this; to confuse the conditions in different camps and treatment of Jews and others is a historical error, Glemp was told.

The Cardinal listened and then asked the group to submit their arguments in writing, leaving the door open, as it were.

It was the content of the "argumentation" to Glemp that the Committee reviewed the following day.

It was decided not to engage in a battle of figures, though a recent publication by Georges Wellers (well known historian and an authority here on the genocide period) gave some fairly definitive ones about Auschwitz: ~~XXXXXX~~ 1½ million Jews, 150,000 Poles, 21,000 Gypsies, 11,000 Russians. Perhaps this will be used in an annex. The Carmel's dedication to Maximilian Kolbe, a known anti-Semite, and Edith Stein, a converted Jew, also was discussed. To include proof about the first was deemed both difficult and unwise. But the de-Judaization and Christianization of Auschwitz will be raised. Elimination of the Carmel will not be asked, just removal and return to its original site in the town of Auschwitz. As for Birkenau, it was part of the enormous Auschwitz complex, and the entire area remains the symbol of Jewish destruction.

Another difficulty raised at the meeting was that of Israeli support, and lack of it, given current efforts to re-establish ties with Poland.

Sam Hoffenberg, of the B'nai B'rith felt he had found a perfect alternative to all these approaches, through a juridical attack of sorts, which would be more valid than pleas to Churchmen and the Vatican. Among Unesco's International Conventions there is one, adopted by the General Conference in 1972, on World Heritage. It was signed by Poland in 1976; and in 1979 Poland requested that the site of Auschwitz be added to the list as unique and, by implication, untouchable. In the description and listing of every building on the 191 hectares encompassed by the Auschwitz camp, the theater is nominally included. The World Heritage Committee is made up of 21 revolving representatives of signatory states, and has been operating as an independent body, with Unesco logistics aid. The U.S. signed the Convention in 1975.

It may be possible to use the convention and point out that a mistake was made by the government when permission for the Carmel was given. Approaches with governments who have signed it, the US and Poland, might be effective. Perhaps Sidney Liskofsky can cast his trained UN Conventions eyes on the World Heritage one. The terms, rapidly read at the meeting, left room for interpretation. I will be getting the document in full, or at least the necessary excerpts in a few days; but it probably is also possible to procure the material through the World Heritage group in the US.

(Note: Hoffenberg saw Mordechai Waxman in London last week and shared this with him. Waxman, he tells me, felt the convention may well be the clincher for the entire Carmel effort.)

One goes round and round with the problem, with the same sense of outrage over what is happening (latest reports now have the number of nuns settled at the Carmel as 11) and a sense of helplessness about stopping these "devoted ladies" who want nothing but to pray for world salvation. Who has the final say? Macharsky? Can Cardinal Glemp override the Cardinal of Cracow? How independent is the Carmelite Order? Though it is very independent, some say, it is inconceivable that they should be permitted to act against the Church's wishes.

When Steg was asked to set up a Committee, Gerard Israel wrote the enclosed paper outlining the situation and possibilities of action. Two of the three proposals made have been carried out. A possible Vatican intervention is still under consideration. Israel and Bulawko will be writing the "argumentation" for Glemp, which will be submitted in a Polish translation. Also enclosed are copies of two articles which appeared in Liberation this past Saturday and Monday, as a result of contacts made by CRIF's PR, Sabine Rojzman. The article by Emmanuel Levinas, written at the request of the Committee, was published in Le Figaro of April 14. (Enclosed) Unfortunately, alongside it was one by Father Riquet, a Catholic

personality that has been closely associated with Jewish and Israel causes since the war. Although Father Riquet originally had signed a Christian protest against the Carmel, he has since changed his mind and now finds nothing wrong about its establishment. In his article, he describes the convent as if it were in the town of Auschwitz and not within the camp, compounding confusion in the minds of readers.

Privately, a few persons have said to me that while one must follow up with the "argumentation" for the Cardinal and continue objecting about the Carmel, they doubted a satisfactory solution would be found. The only hope, they say, is action by Jewish organizations in the US and pressure there on the Polish government.

This was also the major thrust of the AJC position at the March 23 meeting; and at the Committee meeting yesterday Mr. Weintraub made a passing remark about WJC, of course, taking all necessary political action in the US.

CRIF did see the Polish Ambassador in Paris, as planned. His reaction, friendly enough, was to the effect that relations between the Polish government and the Church were complex and tense enough and they were not looking for additional issues of discord.

Jaruzelsky is slated to visit the US, where he will be pleading for his suffering land. His visit could give an occasion for US intervention on the Carmel and the leverage AJC spoke of for economic aid and MEN.

In any case, I would very much appreciate having all possible information about AJC thoughts and action concerning this matter and what, if anything came of the request for appointments with Cardinal Kroll and the Polish Ambassador.

cc: Harris

Enclosures: Tanenbaum only

MAY 2 1986

# People For The American Way

ANTHONY T. PODESTA  
President

4/28

More -  
 thought you might have  
 missed Pat Robertson's mention  
 of you on the 700 Club  
 Any feed back on my visit  
 to AISC earlier this month?  
 Hope to see you soon  
 Tony



ROBERTSON quoted his own open LETTER TO KIRK which said: "It's the intention of the Democratic party to begin a full-scale attack on the participation of Christians in the electoral process."

"That's bigotry and its religious discrimination. Its time to stand up against it because it's wrong, it's wrong wherever you find it, it's un-American and it's un-fair."

"If he had written the same thing about Rabbi Tannerbaum (laughs), you would have heard the roof fall in!"

Dr. Constantin Menges, former CIA expert on central American and currently special assistant to the President on national security affairs appeared, denouncing Nicaraguan domestic and aggressive foreign policy and praising Reagan's policies.

Immediately after Menges' appearance, ROBERTSON asked viewers to let their Congressperson know of their opinion on the matter, no matter whether they agreed or disagreed with the Reagan line. NOTE: this seems to be his new tactic, getting "experts" to espouse the desired attitude and then PR says, very benignly, 'isn't that interesting, ladies and gentleman! Your Congressman wants to know how you feel about this matter, he really does (or alternatively, call the White House switchboard -- here's the telephone number -- and tell them your opinion on this matter), whether you agree with him or disagree with him, its important to become involved and let him hear from you.' Also note that, interestingly enough, Ben Kinchlow is stepping in to take the more aggressive, more overtly extreme, political role from which Pat may be shying away.

Dr. Robert Morley, author of "When its Right to Fight," appeared, and PR remarked: I don't think the Bible teaches pacifism.

700 CLUE 3-13-86

Pat Robertson and Danuta Soderman are mysteriously absent. Ben Kinchlow is pinch-hitting.

KINCHLOW ON GAY RIGHTS legislation then pending in New York to recognize full equal rights for homosexuals: "If it does pass...what it does will set in motion a precedent that would then begin to impact on what happens all around the United States...and what we're talking about here...well the problem is if you legalize that...to say that this so-called sexual orientation is a protected minority then you must of necessity allow exactly the same thing for people who come along and say, 'I prefer my sex through rape, I prefer raping people.' Then you must protect [people who have] a sexual orientation that means that people who are into bestiality, who come up and say 'well, I



M. Torenbaum



The American Jewish Committee

OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-2000

April 28, 1988

His Excellency Dr. Vencel Hazi  
Ambassador E. and P.  
Embassy of the Hungarian People's  
Republic  
3910 Shoemaker St. NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Ambassador Hazi:

I was delighted to learn from Viktor Polgar that you shall be participating in the American Jewish Committee's Ambassadors' Forum. We are honored that you will join us.

The Ambassadors' Forum was designed to permit informal meetings and exchanges between distinguished ambassadors and leading members of the Jewish community from the Washington area. Our first two guests were Ambassador Rinaldo Pettrignani of Italy and Ambassador Allan Gotlieb of Canada.

The luncheon will take place on Thursday, May 26 in the law offices of Covington & Burling, 1201 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. on the 12th floor. It will begin at noon and end no later than 2 p.m. The host and chairman of the event will be Alfred Moses, a highly respected Washington attorney, former White House official during the Carter Administration, and an officer of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Moses led an American Jewish Committee delegation to Hungary in February 1985. At that time, the group met with senior Government officials and representatives of the Jewish community.

We expect approximately 20 guests to attend the off-the-record discussion. After lunch has been served, we would ask that you begin the discussion with a 15-20 minute presentation, to be followed by questions. Normally, because many questions are asked, we want to leave sufficient time for this part of the program.

You may want to touch on topics such as the state of Hungarian-American relations, information about the Hungarian Jewish community, Hungarian-Israeli bilateral relations, the Hungarian view on prospects for peace in the Arab-Israeli



7/22/88

MAY 2 1986

19 East 88 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10128  
April 29, 1986

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

The April 17th Religious Public Relations Council luncheon meeting was a very special occasion, thanks to your participation. While listening to you talk, I was reminded that ever since I worked on the Christian-Jewish dialogue project, I have been totally convinced that you are one of the religious community's most effective representatives. I wish you were in a position to not only influence but also make official government policy. And I mean high up. (Sorry. I tend to get a little carried away with enthusiasm, when there is something I can admire--which is not often nowadays.)

As I mentioned to you briefly, I have found something that I consider worthy of support--Fundamentalists Anonymous. I believe FA could serve, indirectly, as a valuable instrument to call attention to the dangers inherent in the accelerating growth of fundamentalism in our country. Let me quickly add, I do not put all fundamentalist leaders in the same category. There is a great distance separating Billy Graham from the likes of a Popoff in Los Angeles. However, fanaticism worries me, as does the prospect of too much political power in the hands of certain fundamentalist leaders.

So, what can I hope to do about this? I intend to produce a documentary film which will focus on the work of FA as a support group helping ex-fundamentalists. The human interest stories of persons harmed by their fundamentalist experiences could convey to general audiences more about the destructive potential existing in this religious movement than any amount of "lecturing" or cold statistics could. I realize that this is a dangerously sensitive area I would be venturing into. But I am confident I could provide a non-sensational, balanced film that would be constructive, not destructive, in impact.

I hope you will be able to find time to look over the first draft of the presentation. Any guidance you could give me as to content and/or suggestions as to persons who might be interested in supporting this film would be deeply appreciated.

Would you yourself care to be associated with this endeavor?  
As a consultant, perhaps?

Reminder: I have long been involved in film work, including 12 years scripting and co-producing educational films. Copies of several of my films are available for screening, if necessary.

Sincerely yours,

*Bea M. Rothenbuecher*  
Beatrice M. Rothenbuecher

## FA AND THE QUESTION OF HELLFIRE

A documentary consisting of interviews shot on location in different parts of the United States, and archival footage.

(1/2 hour - 16mm color)

(NOTE: Because the subject matter being dealt with is controversial, it is presented in some detail to avoid any misconceptions as to the film's point of view. No attack on fundamentalism per se is intended.)

### Objective

The purpose of the film is to take a close look at Fundamentalists Anonymous (FA), a national support organization, and their unusual and dramatic work helping ex-fundamentalists cope with the trauma that usually accompanies the decision to leave the fold.

### Description

The current revival of That Old-Time Religion is at the core of the strongest religious movement in the United States since the 1900s. Evangelical or Fundamentalist Christian groups have picked up 10 million new members in the past few years. One in five Americans is now a born-again believer. While membership in their own congregations dwindles, liberal Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders watch the phenomenon with dismay.

Fundamentalists Anonymous is one outgrowth of the reaction to this unremittingly authoritarian religious force. But FA is not anti-Christian or anti-religion. It does not recruit, rather, it offers support only to those persons who, having been burned by the fundamentalist experience, seek their help. Founded in spring 1985, it received immediate media attention, both nationally and internationally, and a strong public response. Something of a phenomenon in its own right, FA appears to be providing a much needed service.

Richard Yao, creator and founder of FA, was born into a devout fundamentalist Protestant family in the Phillipines. His gradual de-

fection from the faith of his fathers was completed by the time he had graduated from the Yale Divinity School and New York University School of Law. Nevertheless, he was still haunted by the concept of "unpardonable sin." Wondering if others might be having similar painful withdrawal symptoms and need help, he placed a two-line classified ad in the Village Voice, a weekly newspaper. Yao received over 100 replies. Over 4,000 letters reached him after his first television appearance (on the Phil Donohue show). Continuing TV exposure adds to the landslide growth of FA.

Currently located in basement office space donated by a prominent mainline church in New York City, Yao and his colleague, Jim Luce, a former Wall Street banker, guide and direct FA activities. A newsletter and study materials are published, telephone hotlines are tended, and thousands of letters answered. With the help of volunteers, new support groups are established across the country.

The Rev. Charles N., one of many FA volunteers, is the minister of a non-fundamentalist Southern Baptist church in a small town in North Carolina. He has assumed responsibility for forming the first FA chapter in his state. He is careful to point out that the organization is in no way anti-religion. As for those who are happy in fundamentalism, "God bless them," he says. He himself spent two years in counseling to resolve problems brought on by a dogmatic fundamentalist father determined to raise him in his own image.

Nancy W., a former schoolteacher, is a vocational counselor and FA coordinator in the San Francisco Bay Area. Her father was a fundamentalist minister, and her entire family devoted themselves to fulltime Christian work. But Nancy was unable to accept their belief system and spent her childhood in confusion and fear. Even after she went through a "conversion" mainly for her parents' sake, she did not feel "saved." Nancy assumed herself to be a hopelessly wicked skeptic. She regrets FA was not around much earlier.

Barbara M., a former counseling service employee, is the FA contact

person in Des Moines, Iowa. She was twice publicly ex-communicated from the fundamentalist church in which she was raised, first at 16 for "fornication" when she was pregnant and unmarried, and later when she divorced the father of her child. The emotional stress caused by these events led to substance abuse and suicide thoughts. She credits her university study of psychology with helping her understand the mind-control techniques used in her church. Now she encourages other ex-fundamentalists to "join the mainstream of life."

Persons seeking help from FA find great therapeutic value in the catharsis that comes from sharing their stories and from the realization that they are not alone in their feelings of alienation. It is difficult to break the cult-like bonds, the rules and regulations--no smoking, no drinking, no rock music, no jeans for women, no association with non-believers. And it is hard to root out prejudice, such as, anti-feminism, anti-Semitism, and all the other "anti-" attitudes that flourish in a climate of intolerance. But the really traumatic problems arise when coming to grips with the fundamentalist mindset. Having been taught that questioning is Satan-inspired, ex-fundamentalists worry about loss of personal salvation and punishment by hell-fire. They miss the quick spiritual fix they have been dependent on. As one recovering ex-fundamentalist says, "I didn't know I was a religious drunk until the day I woke up sober."

The stories revealed at support group meetings point up the vulnerability of the human condition. There is commonality in pain, though the backgrounds of those suffering may differ widely. Not only ex-fundamentalists attend FA meetings. Also spouses, relatives, and close friends of fundamentalists seek guidance. Jewish-born Laurie H. worries about her small son who lives with his fundamentalist father since the couple's divorce. When she sees the child, he talks constantly about how hard he must pray for her. The Roman Catholic family of Benjamin R. is distressed because his minister insists they will go to hell if they do not convert.

Richard Yao is quick to emphasize that it would be wrong to assume that intolerance and the inability to compromise are manifestations limited to Christian fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is a worldview

that is growing, he reminds us, not only in the United States.

Many college students are caught up in the resurgence of religious hunger, in the search for ultimate meaning. For example, 17,000 attended a fundamentalist conference held for students in 1984. Thousands of these young people have joined fundamentalist congregations, hoping for religious certainty and the warmth of group acceptance. Disillusioned, many have left.

Yao, 30, seems to speak for these idealistic young adults. Small of stature, he is David taking on Goliath. Television provides a visual battle arena. On CBS's Nightwatch, for instance, Yao discussed fundamentalist beliefs with the Rev. Daniel Dunphy, of Lee, Maine. The pastor himself made news in summer 1985 when he was beaten in his church by a father who accused him of brain-washing his 16-year-old daughter. (The story is unclear. Dunphy claims the townspeople are angry because he denounces their evil ways.) On the Nightwatch program Dunphy demonstrated his beat-the-Devil technique, asking questions like: "Do you believe sex outside of marriage is wrong?" To which Yao replied, "I may believe that, but I would not impose my belief on others."

On another show, NBC's Today, Yao confronted Jerry Falwell whose Sunday worship service reaches 172 television markets. An influential conservative political lobbyist and founder of Moral Majority, subsumed under the new Liberty Federation, Falwell's various ventures brought in \$100 million in 1985. On camera with Yao, Falwell smiled and avoided giving direct answers. To anyone interested in finding out who the real Jerry Falwell is, Yao advised, "Listen to him preaching to his own flock."

However, Yao does not consider it his job to take on televangelists. On the Donohue show he remained cool in the midst of heated discussion about right-wing Gospel TV. Yao, whose entire savings have gone to launch FA, is far removed from the stars of the electronic church who spend possibly \$2 billion annually on the purchase of TV and radio time--according to the estimates of their own National Religious Broad-

casters. Yao is happy just to be a guest on the air.

Many Americans find solace in the electronic church, as diverse itself as the programs of its innumerable practitioners, including: kindly Mother Angelica, the Franciscan nun; Bible-thumping, Gospel-singing Jerry Swaggart; Robert Schuller purveying Christian optimism from his \$18 million Crystal Cathedral; the forerunner of all televangelists, highly respected Billy Graham; and blue-blooded Virginian Pat Robertson, possible political candidate, whose Christian Broadcasting Network has an annual income of \$233 million.

The current groundswell of religious awareness is sweeping thousands of new converts into the fundamentalist fold. Religious awareness is also causing thousands to leave. For them, FA has some answers.



Bea Rothenbuecher  
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# INSTANT MEMO

MAY 2 1986

To: Dr. Marc Tannenbaum  
Greater NY Conference of  
From: Betty Cooney - Seventh-day Adventists  
& Religious PR Council

Subject: Attached FYI

Date: 4/30/86

Since your remarks at our recent RPRC meeting indicated a strong interest in interfaith publishing, I thought you might be interested in seeing the attached proposal concerning a book on the Sabbath. This writer, and many Adventists I know, have been very moved by Rabbi Heschel's book on the Sabbath.

God bless you in your dedication promoting understanding among people of all faiths.





## DAY OF GLADNESS

### The Need

Western religion has within it a resource for helping people to cope with the powerful forces unleashed by urban, technological society. It is not simply an idea but a practice, not just a theoretical formulation, but a way of living. In its broadest form it is the weekend--a time to break the routine, to relax, to be with the family and friends not seen during the week. Historically, this weekend has radiated from a religious core: a holy day.

Days can be symbols that order our existence. Extraordinary events become festivals around which we organize our lives. Temporal symbols rescue us from the chaos of the ordinary. Christmas is the climax of the year; festivals highlight seasons; and a day of rest and celebration creates the week.

While many enjoy the weekend they have not penetrated the significance of its core. For centuries Jews have reflected on the importance of a holy day, but have not often emphasized its universal relevance. Christians--including their thought leaders--have remained amazingly unaware of the deep significance the greatest of their thinkers--Augustine, Calvin, Emerson, Barth--have seen in the Sabbath. As a result, the holy day has lost its power to suffuse the weekend--and the week--with meaning.

One purpose of the book is to revive for the general reader the power of a sacred day to give meaning to the weekend--and the week. Just as New Year's celebrates a year, so time that becomes luminous with the holy can infuse surrounding days with greater significance.

Another purpose is to re-ignite the interest of Christians with part of their lost heritage. By being drawn into the rich meaning of a holy day they can once again experience a sacrament in time--not simply Baptism and Holy Communion, but also the Sabbath.

While most Jewish thinkers have not written on the Sabbath for the general public, the work that best combines deep reflection with a form of expression that moves all readers is The Sabbath, by Abraham Joshua Heschel. The heir of generations of Eastern European, Hasidic rabbis, and also the recipient of a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Berlin, Heschel distilled his book from his own philosophical studies, the writings of the rabbis in which he was steeped, and his experience of the Sabbath in Eastern European ghettos. The Sabbath is a profound work and an artistic expression; it both convinces and moves the reader.

Christian writers seem to be paying more and more attention to the Sabbath, but none has produced a work comparable to Heschel's. Harvey Cox devoted a chapter of his Turning East

(Simon and Schuster, 1977) to the Sabbath. Nils-Erik Andreassen (The Christian Use of Time, Abingdon, 1978) and Tilden Edwards (Sabbath Time, Seabury Press, 1982) have recently written book-length treatments of the subject. While helpful, neither book attempts either the theological creativity or poetic style achieved by Heschel. Some scholars have become interested in the Sabbath, but they tend to produce specialized works, such as Winston Solberg's Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America (Harvard University Press, 1977). Finally, conservative evangelicals have shown interest in which day of the week should be the holy day--the seventh or the first. Examples are Samuele Bacchiocchi's From Sabbath to Sunday (Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1977) and D.A. Carson's edited volume, From Sabbath to Lord's Day (Zondervan, 1982). These books by evangelical Protestant writers focus much more on what day to keep than on the meaning of a sacred day.

### The Content and Style

What is needed is the kind of work Heschel produced, but drawing on two thousand years of Christian thinkers. My aim is to produce a book as steeped in the writings of great Christian theologians as Heschel's was in the sayings of the rabbis, but like Heschel create my own, contemporary expression of the Sabbath's meaning. It will be a book in which one person invites another to enter into the order, release and refreshing fellowship of the Sabbath experience.

The first of the three parts of the book will show how special moments, such as the Sabbath, bring order to our existence. Without special events, such as Christmas, Thanksgiving, birthdays, our lives lose their rhythm. Special days, full of meaning, bring to the welter of seemingly unconnected events in our lives a sense of completion and wholeness. We do not simply live one ordinary day after another. Celebrating the Sabbath forms our days into a week; a period with a beginning and an end. We are reassured that our time, our existence, like all of God's creation, has shape and form. The Sabbath enhances the significance of the other days of the week. Through the Sabbath we are able to look at all our days and know that they are good.

The second part of the book will demonstrate how in the Sabbath we experience freedom. The Sabbath celebrates man's independence from non-existence--God creating man out of the dust of the ground. The day also celebrates God's independence from his creation--God pausing, demonstrating His own freedom by resting on the Sabbath, refusing to be a mere perpetual-creation machine. On the Sabbath, as Christians feel release from the demands and pressures of their workaday jobs, they sense the liberation so many felt when Christ went out of his way to perform healing miracles on the Sabbath, miracles that brought physical, social and religious freedom. Calvin himself thought that "the Sabbath was a sacrament, since it was a visible figure of an invisible grace." What Baptism is once, and the Lord's

Supper is quarterly, the Sabbath is every week: a sacrament renewing the experience of freedom and redemption Christ brings to our entire lives.

The third, and concluding part of the book, will explore the fellowship enjoyed on the Sabbath. The Old Testament Sabbath was a time when servants and strangers were to be treated as equals. On the Sabbatical year, debtors and slaves were to be released. The Sabbath was a constant reminder that in God's eyes the community was a fellowship of free and equal persons. In fact, it was just this sort of ideal community to which the New Testament pointed when it said that "there remains a Sabbath rest for the people of God." The final day of the week points to a culmination of history that is not merely an escape for individuals, but a gathering of the perfect fellowship community. History's last day will be a Sabbath day, a time of freedom and joy, of fellowshiping in the rest of God Himself.

Since the book will be an intellectual exercise but also the sharing of an experience, the style of expression will not be declamatory or argumentative, but evocative. An exceedingly important and integral part of this book will be reproductions--as many as possible in color--of the Sabbath as portrayed in the history of Christian art. So far, this religious artistic tradition has been totally ignored. The book will include depictions of the Sabbath in mosaics of the early church, medieval illustrations of biblical manuscripts, renaissance paintings, reformation woodcuts and modern drawings.

In both its content and form the book will be an invitation to share the response of Karl Barth, when he confessed with "a certain awe, the radical importance, the almost monstrous range of the Sabbath...it discovers and claims man in his depths and from his utmost bounds."

#### The Author

My major professor at Harvard, where I received my doctorate in religious ethics, introduced me to the work of Abraham Joshua Heschel, a turning point in my own thinking on the Sabbath.

The twelve years that I have been affiliated with the Kennedy Institute of Ethics at Georgetown University has made it possible to consult with Protestant, Catholic and Jewish (conservative) thinkers on the subject of the Sabbath.

Prior to coming to the Kennedy Institute I taught for five years at the SDA Theological Seminary, where my teaching in ethics and theology provided an opportunity for research on what major figures in Christian theology have said about the Sabbath. My writing on the subject is that of not just an observer, but a participant in a contemporary Christian community whose life revolves around the Sabbath. Some of the most vivid expressions of universal truths emerge from the most distinctive and particular of experiences.

I have written both academic and popular essays on the subject of the Sabbath. One article appeared in Judaism. Most recently I edited a volume of essays, Festival of the Sabbath.

(The attached resume provides fuller information about the author.)



# Festival of Fellowship

by Roy Branson

The Sabbath was never a haven of solitude, but always an invitation to fellowship. When man first entered the seventh day, he was accompanied by “every living thing that moves upon the earth” (Gen. 1:28). God and His creation were closer than they would ever be again. Man and woman could “hear the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day” (Gen. 3:8). They could feel the breath of God’s presence.

Eden was not a refuge for mystics. Instead of private intuition, there was conversation. God directed man and woman to oversee “every beast of the field and every bird of the air,” which the Lord God brought “to the man to see what he would call them” (Gen. 2:19). God did not draw mankind into a mystical oneness with Him. Rather, there was a walking and talking in the garden, the giving and accepting of responsibility. Eden was the joy of fellowship.

The garden of delight became the setting for tragedy when human fellowship wrongly became opposed to fellowship with God. The result of man’s decision was not the creation of evil matter or of demons, but of lone-

liness, separation from God and alienation from the land and God’s other creatures. Work became labor, responsibility turned to drudgery. When “the Lord God sent him forth from the garden to till the ground from which he was taken,” man was doomed to turn even against himself. “The flaming sword which turned every way,” made man an exile from fellowship (Gen. 3:23, 24).

Yet, the Sabbath remained — not a garden, but a moment of delight, not a place to touch divinity, but a time to feel God’s atmosphere. It became a day to remember God, and “all the work that he had done,” a day to fumblingly restore some measure of fellowship with God and His creatures. In remembering, human beings could maintain some sense of their origins, of who they were and what was important. The Sabbath provided a time to experience freedom from the demands of a creation that had become burdensome, a time once again to relish all God’s creatures. Eden was lost, but the Sabbath remained to knit all people with God and creation.

By the time of the exodus from Egypt, space had become an enemy. The alienation from the soil included all that could be fashioned from the soil: palaces, temples and burial places. Huge buildings in space demanded not fellowship, but slave labor. The ground from which man had been formed

Roy Branson is senior research scholar, Center for Bioethics, Kennedy Institute, and associate professor of Christian ethics at Andrews University. He earned his doctorate at Harvard University.

was about to swallow him. Instead of delighting in God's creation, he drew back in fear.

Into this chaos, God entered to restore some semblance of creation's original freedom and fellowship. With a mighty hand and outstretched arm, God released the Hebrews from the dust into which they were being ground. Man was not created to be a beast of burden. Man was made to be free, to converse, to walk and talk in the cool of the day.

The conversation could not be so intimate as in Eden. The distance between God and man had to be bridged with thunders, lightnings, trumpet blasts and smoke. God's first words heightened the sense of His transcendence. First, Yahweh commanded that there could be no other gods. He would countenance no pretenders. Second, He would not allow idols or images. Third, Yahweh would not accept casual and disrespectful use of His name.

In another sense, God was clearing away barriers to His presence. He was rejecting all lesser divinities, spirits or revered ancestors as avenues of communion with Him. Nothing in space — neither buildings, nor kingdoms, nor even deities — was to separate Him from His people. The Sabbath was the alternative to the pagan pantheon. It was a moment when God would be transcendent to human tampering, yet remain present with men. In the Sabbath, man could know God directly, not through incantations, bloodletting or sacrifice of children, but in time shared completely.

**A**s at creation, God did not come to isolated individuals, but to a community. In Eden, He came to the whole creation, but creation, in the form of man, broke that relationship. God did not locate another place for close fellowship with human beings, but He did find a time, the Sabbath day, and a community, Israel.

A day was an appropriate way to restore fellowship. As Abraham Joshua Heschel says:

Every one of us occupies a portion of space, takes it up exclusively. The portion of space which my body occupies is taken

up by myself in exclusion of anyone else. Yet no one possesses time. There is no moment which I possess exclusively. This very moment belongs to all living men as it belongs to me. We share time; we own space. Through ownership of space, I am a rival of all other beings; through living in time, I am a contemporary of all other beings.<sup>1</sup>

Time can be shared. God can be invisible and still share a day with mankind; He can share a day with one person and still share a day with

**“The covenant between God and Israel created solemn obligations among people. No one could ever remember the Sabbath and forget either God or fellow men. For one day in the week, the fellowship of Eden was restored.”**

others. More than that, by sharing a day with many, God can bring all together without crowding any out.

God's restoration of fellowship began with Israel's liberation. Still, God's freeing Israel from tyranny did not free them for fellowship. Before the Sinai experience, Israel was still only a collection of wandering, former slaves. Dissension separated one from another, and discussions turned into strife. But the presence of God transformed freedom into fellowship. By restoring the Sabbath, Yahweh brought out of chaos a new creation: the people of God.

Israel's common relationship to Yahweh brought them into fellowship with one another. Sharing a Sabbath with God and other human beings combined in them a reverence for God with a respect for others. The covenant between God and Israel created solemn obligations among people. No one could ever remember the Sabbath and forget either God or fellow men. For one day in the week, the fellowship of Eden was restored.

The Sabbath is the arch holding together the structure of the law. Coming as it does between the outline of commitment to God

and obligations to fellow men, the Sabbath commandment is the hinge of the two tables of stone. Sabbath fellowship is to renew covenant promises to both God and man. "The people of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, observing the Sabbath throughout their generations, as a perpetual covenant" (Ex. 31:16).

Of course, Israel did not consistently keep the perpetual covenant. When Israel divorced worship of God from obligations to one another, God sent the prophets as His spokesmen. Jeremiah, at God's bidding, stood before the temple in Jerusalem where Sabbath worship took place and mimicked the invocations of the pious worshippers. Their clichés were a mockery of God's covenant commands:

Do not trust in these deceptive words: "This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord" (Jer. 7:5).

Behold you trust in deceptive words to no avail. Will you steal, murder, commit adultery, swear falsely, burn incense to Baal, and go after other gods that you have not known, and then come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say "We are delivered" — only to go on doing all these abominations? (Jer. 7:8-10)

The Sabbath should have reminded Israel that worship of God and justice to fellow men go together.

Through the prophets, God announced that Sabbath fellowship burst the bounds of human convention. Isaiah received a special message for those often regarded by Israel as outside the covenant community. The Sabbath was a time when they too could enjoy fellowship with God, when they could know in the present that they would delight in a future fellowship. In the Sabbath, God drew *all men to Him*:

To the eunuchs who keep my Sabbaths, who choose the things that please me, and hold fast my covenant . . .

And the foreigners who join themselves to the Lord . . .

Everyone who keeps the Sabbath, and does not profane it, and holds fast my covenant —

These I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer . . . For my house shall be called a house of prayer for *all peoples* (Isa. 56:3-8). Clearly, the prophets saw the Sabbath as more than a weekly restoration of a past garden of delight. They looked on the Sabbath as a fellowship that was to include all people in a covenant of Sabbath joy.

The fulfillment of the covenant did not come at Sinai or in the prophets. The fullest entrance of God into fellowship with man was the life lived with and for human beings — the birth, ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.

The first three chapters of Matthew dealing with Jesus' life, from His birth to early ministry, are full of references to Jesus' coming as vindicating the words of the prophets and the covenant they renewed. Matthew's first reference emphasizes that as God fellowshipped with human beings in the Sinai covenant and in the prophetic word, so now more completely, in the words of Isaiah, Jesus is "Emmanuel, God with us" (Matt. 1:22; cf. Isa. 7:14). Luke praises Jesus' coming with hymns taken from the prophets. Such central parts of Christian worship as the angel's *Annunciation*, Mary's *Magnificat* and Simeon's *Nunc Dimitis* are all rephrasings of prophetic passages.

The culmination of these hymns and blessings celebrating the incarnation of Christ was Christ's inaugural Sabbath sermon. Jesus announced that He was the embodiment of the prophetic word — the Word that had renewed the covenant. To restore humanity to fellowship with God, the covenant must be reestablished. Quoting Isaiah, Jesus announced:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has annointed me to preach good news to the poor.

He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind,

to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

(Luke 4:18, 19; cf. Isa. 61:1, 2 & 58:6)

Nothing could be more dramatic in the long history of the covenant than Jesus' simple statement following this reading: "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (Luke 4:21). No wonder the people thought He spoke as one who had authority. God would not forget His covenant, or His people. Truly the prophetic, covenant Word "became flesh and dwelt among us" (John 1:14).

**"Like the other sacraments celebrated by the Christian community, the Sabbath is a memorial of past relationships with God, a present awareness of God's presence and a promise of God's future fellowship."**

Jesus' public ministry, beginning on that Sabbath day, emphasized the message of the prophets: fellowship with God means fellowship with mankind. It is impossible to share a day with God and simultaneously oppress the sick, the broken and the maimed. Immediately after reporting the inaugural sermon, Luke begins his account of Jesus' healing miracles which took place on the Sabbath. Seven times during his ministry Christ performed miracles on the Sabbath, each time establishing that the God of the Sabbath — of the covenant — was the God who fellowshiped with all people, no matter how poor or oppressed.

In His ministry and nature, Christ united the divine and the human. Many theologians have struggled to establish the nature of Christ in spatial terms. Orthodox Christianity, after a painful period of discussion, agreed that Christ was not partly divine and partly human, but wholly God and wholly man. It has not always been easy to grasp this concept, but the Sabbath, a temporal symbol, provides a fresh perspective. People cannot divide time. They exist fully in the Sabbath, yet share it completely with God.

Each week, in experiencing the Sabbath that is indivisible, people know a Christ whose time and existence were wholly God's and wholly man's. No wonder that Christ's Sabbath actions for human beings were directed to God, and worship of God propelled Him back toward His fellow human beings.

Yet, the ministry and nature of Christ's incarnation did not alone renew God's fellowship with humanity. It was the death and resurrection of Christ that allowed fellowship with God to be a perpetual covenant. The triumph of the cross over usurping powers not only freed mankind from the tyranny of death and fate, but also guaranteed that God and man would not ultimately remain separated. In the Sabbath, a person is renewed by participating in Christ's Sabbath rest from the cross. "We should," as Jonathan Edwards says, "have sympathy with Christ in His joy. He was refreshed on this day; we should be refreshed as those whose hearts are united with His."<sup>2</sup>

Christ conquered the rebellious principalities, powers, dominions and authorities and became the "head over all things for the church, which is His body, the fullness of Him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:23). It is supremely important that Christ did not merely come to earth, have some visions, speak a few wise sayings and depart. Rather, Christ, like Yahweh at Sinai, created a new covenant community. He chose the twelve and sent out the seventy. He prayed that they would "love one another . . . by this all men will know that you are my disciples" (John 17:6; 13:35). The Word that was made flesh and dwelt among us was not a secret saying, a private word to scattered individuals, but a public ministry. The death and resurrection created a community which lived, flourished and became the body of Christ, the new testament of God in the world.

The church embodied Christ in its communal celebrations of God's redeeming and reconciling acts. The special days and actions of the Christian church recreated for human beings the quality of God's acts of liberation and fellowship. Revered theologians of the Christian church, such as Augustine and



Calvin, so appreciated the Sabbath as a memorial and foretaste of God's reconciling work that they named the Sabbath, along with baptism and the Lord's Supper, a sacrament. Calvin states that in the Sabbath "a very close correspondence appears between the outward sign and the inward reality."<sup>3</sup> Thus, "the Sabbath was a sacrament, since it was visible figure of an invisible grace."<sup>4</sup> Like the other sacraments celebrated by the Christian community, the Sabbath is a memorial of past relationships with God, a present awareness of God's presence and a promise of God's future full and perfect fellowship with liberated and redeemed mankind.

A closer examination of the parallels between baptism, the Lord's Supper and the Sabbath heightens the appreciation of each. Baptism, Paul believed, recreated the experience of two past events. As Israel in the exodus entered the water as slaves and emerged free from the oppressing Egyptian armies, so sinners enter the waters of baptism and emerge free from sin (1 Cor. 1:1, 2). Baptism is also a reenactment of Christ's burial and resurrection (Rom. 6:3, 4). Moreover, in rising from the water, as Christ rose from the grave, the baptized are promised that they will be part of the future, permanent resurrection. Thus, baptism points back to Israel and Christ, as well as forward to the Second Coming (Rom. 6:6). Likewise, the Sabbath fellowship is not only with redeemed Israel and a risen Saviour, but also with a returning Lord.

The Lord's Supper also draws participants into fellowship with God. Christians sometimes forget that the Lord's Supper (or Last Supper) was indeed a meal, the Passover meal, memorializing Israel's redemption from Egypt. Along with baptism, the Lord's Supper points back to Christ. He was the perfect paschal lamb around which a new Israel, a renewed covenant community, was forming. As Christians partake of the Lord's Supper, they renew within themselves God's unique act of salvation in Christ. They enter into the special fellowship Christ's act creates. Just as baptism points to the future, so also the Lord's Supper invites Christians to look forward to the heavenly marriage

supper with the Lamb. Jesus told His disciples at the Last Supper, "I shall never eat again until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Luke 22:16).

What baptism is once in a life, and the Lord's Supper quarterly, the Sabbath is every week — a sacrament of God's redeeming fellowship. Like baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Sabbath stretches man's experience back into the past, to the creation and the redemption of Israel. Sabbath fellowship is the fellowship of man saved from nonexistence and slavery. It includes the stranger within the gates, the prisoner, the blind and the oppressed. The Sabbath points back also to Christ's ultimate act of redemption and reconciliation, His conquering the powers and principalities of evil through His death on the cross. Each Sabbath is a baptism into His death and burial rest and a reviving to a newly refreshed life. Each Sabbath is also a holy communion, a fellowship with Christ, who shares human time and shares Himself.

As baptism and the Lord's Supper refer to the past and anticipate the future, so the Sabbath points to God's past and future fellowship with mankind. The renewing companionship of Sabbath rest assures man that he will be a part of that coming perfect community. The friendship relished in and with Christ on His holy day is a promise of the approaching great Day of the Lord. The Sabbath rest is a weekly baptism into Christ, a holy communion with God the Saviour.

**S**abbath fellowship creates the desire for a more intimate relationship with God. Creation week moved to the crescendo of the final day and communion with God. The Sabbath was not a peaceful interlude, but the climax of creation. The seventh day has always drawn man forward. Celebration of the Sabbath pointed the prophets' vision toward the triumph of the Last Day. Christ Himself identified the Sabbath with the messianic age. Because of His victorious Sabbath of the passion week, Hebrews says "the promise of entering His rest remains" (Heb. 4:1). The church has continued to anticipate in the completion of each week the culmination of history. John Calvin taught the Reformation

that "the Lord through the seventh day has sketched for his people the coming perfection of His Sabbath in the Last Day."<sup>5</sup> In eighteenth-century America, Jonathan Edwards preached that the Sabbath, "a pleasurable and joyful day," was "an image of the future heavenly rest of the church."<sup>6</sup>

The climax towards which the whole creation groans is not an escape for individual souls. God is not merely rescuing isolated individuals, but fulfilling a covenant with His people. The day of the Son of Man is a day when every eye shall see Him: "For as the lightning flashes and lights up the sky from one side to the other, so will the Son of Man be in His day" (Luke 17:24). That "future, perfect eternal Sabbath of the Last Day" is no more a private rest than was Eden or the exodus.<sup>7</sup> Hebrews promises that "there remains a sabbath rest for the people of God" (Heb. 4:9).

For the believing community, Sabbath rest cannot be Sabbath apathy. Entering the Sabbath does mean one can rest in Christ's completed work of redemption. "Whoever enters God's rest also ceases from his labors as God did from His" (Heb. 4:10) and is released from trying to achieve salvation through diligent effort. But the quality of Sabbath rest is not listless indifference. Christ's work gives the people of God the assurance to make the Sabbath a day of celebration. The Lord's return is certain. Each Sabbath can already participate in the victory of the Great Day of the Lord.

Heschel states that "unless one learns how to relish the taste of the Sabbath while still in this world, unless one is initiated in the appreciation of eternal life, one will be unable to enjoy the taste of eternity in the world to come."<sup>8</sup> For centuries, Israel has welcomed the Sabbath in holy festivity. The coming of the Sabbath is the arrival of an honored guest; a queen to be met in the palace of time with beautiful robes and graceful dances, the entering of a bride sanctified to the people of God.

For Christians such as Karl Barth, joyful anticipation is intrinsic to the Sabbath. History's "last day," he believes, "will be a Sabbath day," a time of freedom and joy, of fellowship in "the rest of God Himself."<sup>9</sup> In the words of de Quervain, "The joy of Sabbath is . . . the superabundant joy at the blessings which have already been given and joy in expectation of new acts of God, at the coming salvation."<sup>10</sup>

The Sabbath continues to have the power to draw human beings out of their alienation and despair into a community created by the mighty acts of God. The Sabbath is an exodus from chaos and slavery and death, a sacred meal shared with the victor who conquers through the gift of His body. It is a weekly marriage supper with the Lamb, a baptism into the resurrection of the world. On this day, time past and time future enter into time present. The Sabbath is a prism, a multifaceted jewel, refracting throughout our lives the fullness of God's glory.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Earth Is the Lord's and the Sabbath* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), p. 99.

2. Jonathan Edwards, "Sermon XV: The Perpetuity and Change of the Sabbath," unpublished, p. 6.

3. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950), p. 396.

4. Calvin, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, trans. Thomas Meyers (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1948), p. 400.

5. Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 396.

6. Edwards, p. 6.

7. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance, vol. 3, bk. 2 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1960), p. 57. Barth indicates his indebtedness to Calvin for this phrase. See *Institutes*, Book II, Chapter 8, Section 30, cited above.

8. Heschel, p. 74.

9. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 218.

10. A. de Quervain, "Das Feiern der Gemeinde," *Die Heiligung* (1942), p. 353. Quoted in Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 3, bk. 4 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961), p. 51.