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1

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3

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Q1 PAK

January 26, 1981

Mr. Tom Dine, Executive Director
American Israel Public Affairs Committee
444 North Capital Street, N.W. #412
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Tom:

Micah Kroloff, the son of a dear friend and colleague, Rabbi Charles Kroloff of Westfield, N.J., has applied for an AIPAC internship. It is a pleasure for me to write to you in Micah's behalf, and I hope that serious consideration will be given to his application.

Micah is a very fine young man. He majors in political science at Brandeis but is currently on a special program of study at the London School of Economics. Micah has been an active participant in the Union's youth and camp programs and comes from a home which is deeply involved in religious action and Israel-oriented programs. As a matter of fact, Micah has spent a good deal of time in Israel, not only as a tourist but as a part-time resident during the period of his father's sabbatical. He has an excellent background in Israel affairs, as well as a deep and abiding concern for her welfare.

I believe Micah's record speaks for itself but I did want you to know that I feel he is an excellent candidate for an AIPAC internship.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

21 EAST 40th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 684-4990

Office of the Executive Vice President

March, 1982

Dear Colleague:

Forgive the "form letter" but unfortunately there are a few too many of you for it to be personalized. You are in a state where AIPAC (America-Israel Public Affairs Committee) has no density of membership to speak of.

I think every American Jew should belong to AIPAC, not only for the support needed to fund its magnificent work on behalf of Israel, but perhaps even more important, to respond to its guidance in making effective contacts and representations with Congresspersons, Senators and other key officials.

AIPAC is one of the most highly respected agencies in the country, respected by those friendly to Israel and by those on the other side. Of all the fine work done in this country on behalf of Israel, AIPAC stands out at the pinnacle.

Enclosed is some material on AIPAC. Please find one person in your group, congregation or community who will agree to serve as the AIPAC liaison, who will be in direct contact with the Washington headquarters, will recruit members for AIPAC, will arrange delegations to public officials and hopefully will attend AIPAC national meetings. Please send the name and statistics to me. An active ARZA member would be an ideal person to do this job.

Under separate cover, you will soon receive a package of membership applications. If you have obtained an AIPAC liaison person by then, turn it over. Otherwise, please hand them out to people you think would be interested in joining, who will receive the excellent Near East Report.

With proposed arms sales to Jordan, increased sales to other Arab nations, contemplated sales and relationships with Iraq and all the other tsoris Israel has these days, a vigorous effort and close watch in Washington is crucial. AIPAC provides that. Let's provide AIPAC.

Shalom,

Joseph B. Glaser

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Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

May 13, 1982

Tom Dine, AIPAC

The enclosed letter from John Levi of Australia is self-explanatory and I call you attention to the sections I've marked. I hope you'll follow=up.

On Michael Danby, I am suggesting to Rabbi Levi that he be in contact with you.

And disregard all mention of me as a multi-millionaire!
Leave it to a Havana newspaper!!

Warm regards



May 13, 1982

Rabbi John S. Levi
Temple Beth Israel]]
76-82 Alma Road
Box 128 P.O.
St. Kilda 3182
Australia

Dear John:

Yes, the collection of material you sent was indeed eclectic! The best news, of course, was learning that I am a multi-millionaire! Rhea will love that one!

I've taken the liberty of passing the information you shared on to Tom Dine of the America-Israel Public Affairs Committee in Washington. AIPAC is the organization which should be informed of contacts such as you have shared. It is also the organization Michael Danby should be in touch with. If we can arrange to work with AIPAC it would be the best way for him to broaden his experience. If he wants to contact AIPAC directly, he should write to:

Tom Dine, Executive Director
America-Israel Public Affairs Committee
444 North Capital St., N.W. Suite 412
Washington, D.C. 20001

Tom has his name so a letter from Michael should not come as a surprise.

With fondest regards, in which Rhea joins, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

OFFICE OF THE RABBI:

JOHN S. LEVI, A.M., M.A., DIP.ED., M.A.H.L.
SENIOR RABBI

ק"ק בית ישראל
TEMPLE BETH ISRAEL
LIBERAL CONGREGATION MELBOURNE

6th May, 1982.

Slud
Confidentially
to

Rabbi Dr. A. Schindler,
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
838 Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Dear Alex,

Enclosed you will find a curious collection of material.

Item No. 1 is really for your scrap-book. It comes from the English language Cuban newspaper and describes you as a multi-millionaire !

The second item, about "Media Madonnas" describes a Melbourne woman who is now a correspondent of the London "New Statesman", and has become one of the leading apologists for Iraq and Libya. Claudia Wright is married to a fellow Australian, John Helmer, a much younger man who happens to be a nephew of our Jewish Governor-General, Sir Zelman Cowen.

John Helmer has a job as an "adviser" at the White House and it occurs to me that somebody in the American Jewish community should be aware of this rather strange tie-up - hence this letter.

These facts come from a Standing Committee of the Melbourne Jewish community that I chair, dealing with Anti-Defamation, which collects a great deal of valuable information, some of which we don't know what to do with. One of our most active full-time researchers is a young man called Michael Danby who is interested in gaining some experience working with the American Jewish community in the field of anti-defamation, public relations and hasbara. Have you any suggestions for us about whom he can contact in order to broaden his experience?

He is a most effective and politically aware young man who has spent the last three years as an apprentice to Sam Lipski (the journalist you met at the Magid home.).

With best wishes, and congratulations to Rhea on being married to a multi-millionaire..

Yours sincerely,

John Levi
(John Levi)

Media Madonnas of the Left

WASHINGTON correspondent of *The New Statesman*, author of two recent articles in *Foreign Affairs*, the most prestigious and influential foreign policy journal in America, and regular contributor on Middle Eastern affairs to *The New York Times*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *Nation*. Its quite an achievement for someone who, only five years ago, was a Melbourne journalist and "talk-back personality" whose most memorable claim to fame was the way she could toss four-letter words out "on air", often directed to members of the clergy.

Claudia Wright (nee Little) came to Melbourne from Bendigo and if she didn't quite make good in the big city she certainly made a noise. Her first journalistic job was on a country paper; she then moved to the Melbourne *Herald* and for several years, until October 1973, she was the *Herald* Women's Editor. She was quickly dubbed "Claws" because of her attacks on Melbourne socialites in her own "society column".

She was sacked from the *Herald* "after sliding between cotton floral sheets for a national advertisement in a woman's magazine" (Feb. 27, 1977 *Sunday Press*). From the *Herald*, she moved on to 3AW (from Jan 11/1974), the Melbourne radio station that specialises in talk-back programmes and its own version of wall-to-wall "controversy." Her daily programme soon grabbed the "highest ratings for that time in Melbourne and became one of the most widely known discussion programs in Australia", according to the local press (*ibid.*). Alas, she was sacked from 3AW (Jan 20, 1977), not apparently for simply being "controversial", for that, after all, was why she was hired in the first place, but because her own brand of "controversy" was threatening the station's livelihood! She maintained at the time that her dismissal was the result of a "run-in with the Catholic Church". In fact, she had been slamming the Catholic Church over its position on abortion for ages and matters simply came to a head when she insisted, to the Bishop of

Sale, that she had every right to use a certain four-letter word referring to the primary female sexual organ. Anyway, the Church called for a boycott and the station manager decided, no doubt, that enough was enough. For good measure, she also got around to insulting most everyone else, including the Jewish community.

A great hullabaloo in the press followed. Manning Clark, Joseph Camilleri, Donald Horne and many other notables wrote to *The Age* (February 24, 1977) decrying this blow to "freedom of expression" and asserting that "in a democracy, nobody has the right to hold a monopoly on the channels of public information".

Claudia made the most of the whole business by getting her opinions on virtually every subject under the sun reported in the local and national press. She proclaimed she had been made "a scapegoat", that Melbourne was "a vicious society that eats its own head [sic]" and that she couldn't wait to fly off to Washington where her second husband-to-be (a Melbourne-born Harvard Ph.D. in political science) was living.

So much for the early background. Claudia next emerges (circa 1978) as Washington Correspondent of the *New Statesman*. Presumably, the appointment was made by her friend and another former *Herald* journalist, Bruce Page, appointed editor of the *NS* in 1978 succeeding Anthony Howard. We now discover that the Claudia that writes for the *NS* is a very different Claudia from the loud talk-back comper. She now presents herself as an expert on the Middle East, her byline appearing in all the major journals.

She first went to the Middle East in 1972 for the *Herald* and wrote a series of features, mainly about Arab women, although there was one that was very pro-PLO. In that curious way in which militant Western feminists take up radical Arab causes, Claudia, rather like Vanessa Redgrave before her, managed to reconcile her call for women's lib. in the West with an admiration for the lack of women's lib. in the East:

Some [Arab women] have husbands clapping them into the veil, but no valium or grog for them. In a sense they have great refinement, and great freedom in that they're still in command of their own culture and dress. (April 5, 1978 *Sun*)

The gift for being able to hold radically different views on the same subject simultaneously has served Claudia well ever since. While she lavishes contempt on "society types" she seems not averse to putting on a front for the women's mags ("Claudia makes the big time" etc.). While she now writes sober, cautious and impressively researched articles on Iraq and Iran for *Foreign Affairs*, and more colourful but still restrained pieces on Pakistan and Saudi Arabia for *Atlantic*, she somehow manages to throw together very different and quite strikingly didactic copy for the *New Statesman*.

It is in the *New Statesman* that her ideological biases are most obvious. Primarily, she seems incapable of investing the slightest legitimacy in any aspect of contemporary American foreign policy. Her contempt for the Reagan administration knows no bounds. After criticising Reagan's use of the term "international terrorism" (which, apparently, she denies the very existence of, excepting the CIA) she goes on to describe the Administration's attempt to restrict the use of the Freedom of Information Act on sensitive foreign policy and intelligence issues as actions designed to "terrorize government officials into silence" (*NS* March 20, 1981).

With her stablemates Bruce Page and John Pilger, she thinks William Shawcross's book *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia* (partly based on documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act) one of the most important books of our time. Its attraction lies, no doubt, in the impression it gives of being a great "investigative" scoop while at the same time pouring the greatest possible calumny on the United States, that is, "ultimate responsibility" for the Cambodian genocide.

In this same article (March 20) she repeatedly uses such terms as "quislings", "terror", "collaborator" and "purge" to describe, and demean, almost every aspect of Reagan's administration, terms noticeably absent from the coverage of her favourite Arab countries (i.e. Libya and Iraq). Everyone, it seems in the Reagan administration is a crook. If they are rich they are successful crooks, if not, unsuccessful ones. Every fact about every member of the government is turned into an insult. Ever eager to see the shadow of "McCarthyism", she describes Edwin Meese, the White House supremo, this way:

If there is genius in Meese, or Reagan men like him, it is their capacity to dissemble deep hatreds

in affability, while sustaining a fanatical determination for the exorcising of demons generated by their own imagination. (*NS*, March 20, 1981)

This is not political journalism, it's the demented theology of a remarkably biased and politically immature observer. The tone of every single piece she has written for the *New Statesman* on the Reagan Administration is couched in the same mocking, contemptuous language. Reagan never rises above being the brunt of ridicule:

A man whose dim film career led to greater renown advertising vacuum cleaners, electric toasters and Borax could not have grasped Presidential power without a great deal of help and money

Since the days when she used to just scream abuse on Melbourne radio, Claudia has become a dab hand at the innuendo. For example, she gives this "collective profile" of Reagan's "kitchen cabinet":

For serious socialising, . . . the group appears to prefer all-male company. A retired San Francisco brothel madam named Brandy Baldwin alleges that the Bohemian Club, to which many of the group (including the President) belong, enjoys homosexual and transvestite frolics at its rural hideaway, as well as the occasional heterosexual gang-bang for which she claims to have supplied the girls (*NS*, June 19, 1981)

All that on the basis of an *allegation* of a brothel keeper! One has only to contrast this unrelenting barrage of contempt and ridicule with her respectful coverage of Arab politics, especially Libya (for example, *NS*, August 21, 1981) or Iraq (*Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1979/80). Neither government is democratic, both engage in assassination and torture of political enemies, facts she even concedes. The discrepancy couldn't be more stark.

The recent Australian tour by British actress and political activist Vanessa Redgrave was an example of the power that movie "stardom" conveys. Over the years, Miss Redgrave has shown herself to be a past master at using her celebrity status as an actress to further her extreme political views. The most famous public expression of this was her acceptance speech for an Academy Award in April 1978. The award was for her role as an anti-Nazi fighter in occupied Europe during the 1930s. The film was *Julie*. Her little speech is worth quoting because it captures the three main themes of Ms Redgrave's political persona:

I thank you very, very much for this tribute to my work . . . this is a true story and we believed in what we were expressing. The courage of two women who were prepared to sacrifice everything to fight the racist and fascist Nazi régime. You should be very proud that in the last few weeks you stood firm and you refused to be intimidated by the threats of a small bunch of Zionist hoodlums whose behaviour is an insult to

AIPAC

May 17, 1982

Mr. Morton Silberman, President
American-Israel Public Affairs Committee
444 No. Capitol Street
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mr. Silberman:

I am writing to offer my congratulations on your election as president of AIPAC, and to extend good wishes to you on assuming so vital a role of leadership in the Jewish community. I look forward to the opportunity of meeting and working with you.

At the same time, I should like to tell you how gratified I was at the very kind references to me in the May 7 issue of Near East Report, and at the generous quoting of my remarks about Prime Minister Begin delivered at a meeting of the Presidents Conference in Washington in late April.

It is my fond hope that we will meet in the not-too-distant future.

With cordial greetings.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Thomas Dine
Mr. Lawrence Weinberg

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. • SUITE 412 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 638-2256

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

AIPAC

May 21, 1982

Shore w/ John Helmer

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

Thanks for passing on the information on Claudia Wright. Her pro-Iraq work is well known in this office, but her background was not. John Helmer, Wright's husband, was in OMB during the Carter administration. I am unaware of what he is doing now, but I am looking into his whereabouts.

In regard to Michael Denby, thank you for thinking of AIPAC. I am looking forward to hearing from him.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Tom
Thomas A. Dine

TAD:af

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W., SUITE 412
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
Telephone (202) 638-2256

Alpac

September 1, 1982

To: Executive Committee
and National Council

For your information and use.
Please do not reprint or quote.

With the compliments of

THOMAS A. DINE

Executive Director

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. • SUITE 412 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 638-2256

MEMORANDUM

August 26, 1982

TO: Mort Silberman
President

FROM: Tom Dine

SUBJECT: Present Administration Attitudes and Approaches
toward a Middle East Policy

AMERICAN JEWISH

In preparation for this afternoon's consultative meeting with Secretary of State Shultz, along with a handful of other Jewish leaders, I thought it would be helpful to set forth Administration thinking and where it is headed concerning U.S. policy toward the Arab-Israel conflict. This analysis is based on a number of official public statements and in-depth conversations by AIPAC with key policy formulators and makers within the Executive and Legislative branches over the last three weeks.

You will recall that President Reagan at the beginning of July ordered his new Secretary of State to draw up "an integrated plan for American policy throughout the Middle East." This "new approach," following Al Haig's departure, was to take advantage of the continuing crisis in Lebanon, the setback to international terrorism, the renewed fighting between Iraq and Iran and the hope that Shiite fundamentalist fervor in the Persian Gulf has been stifled for the time being, the obvious decline in Soviet influence in the area, and George Shultz's own predilection toward "resolving the Palestinian issue."

The President has emerged as the key policy making official; the Secretary is the key policy formulator and co-maker.

Procedure. Secretary Shultz has consistently said before Congressional committees and in a variety of private meetings that he intends to proceed with diplomatic initiatives on the broader Palestinian issue. He believes that such pursuits are the key to furthering American interests in the region.

Reagan said on Friday the Palestinian issue must be resolved "in all its aspects." The Saudis have elicited a "promise" from the U.S. that it will seriously address the overall Palestinian question.

Extensive meetings on this subject have been held with the Foreign Ministers of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Israel; with private personalities of the likes of Henry Kissinger, Larry Silberman, Sol Linowitz, and Irving Shapiro; with organizational and political leaders of the American Jewish community; with Senators and Representatives; as well as several discussions with the President about the general outline of this integrated plan. Within the State Department, the Secretary has established a group headed by Nick Veliotes to prepare the background papers. Included are Watt Clavarius, Charles Hill, Ned Walker and, on some issues, Richard Fairbanks and Paul Wolfowitz.

Timetable. No decisions have been taken by the Secretary or the President, and there is no evidence of a set timetable. There is, however, common agreement within the Administration that it is necessary to "strike while the iron is hot." For some at the White House, NSC, and State Department this means striking while the situation in Lebanon and the area in general is fluid and the U.S. has the initiative. For others, it means to strike at the U.S.-Israel relationship while Israel's support among the American elite is down and the American Jewish community is demoralized.

Another common sense of urgency is generated by the perceived need to disassociate the U.S. government from Israel and, in doing so, placate the Arab world. Loosening the specialness of the Washington-Jerusalem bond would, it is argued, provide President Mubarak and King Fahd with evidence of American care and concern for the plight of the Palestinians, quell King Hussein's deep apprehension that Defense Minister Sharon will soon embark on the next stage of his plan, and provide the moderate forces in the now dispersed PLO leadership with an alternative to carrying terrorism worldwide, particularly to the United States. ("The constructive role the U.S. has played in the development of the PLO-rescue plan," Shultz said Friday at his news conference, shows Arab nations "the fundamental commitment of the U.S. to peaceful solutions and the ability of the U.S. to be a constructive force in the region.")

For all these reasons, something will soon be submitted by the Executive branch. Shultz is now scheduled to speak before a UJA group in New York on September 12th. The President is being urged to address the General Assembly in Los Angeles in November.

Strategy. The overall strategy involves three phases. Phase One is already underway -- get the PLO out of Beirut. Phase Two -- get all foreign forces out of Lebanon and go forth with the task of reconstituting a central Lebanese governing authority. (State Department careerists intensely dislike Gemayal.) Phase Three -- promote movement toward resolving the Palestinian issue.

The three phases are connected. There is recognition that developments in implementation of the earlier phases can affect the conditions for the third phase. For example, despite the inclination of the Arabists, it is acknowledged that Gemayal's success is crucial to securing Syrian and Israeli withdrawal. Also, Egypt's refusal to accept PLO forces in significant numbers owing to Cairo's insistence on a formal link to a wider solution has meant that Damascus will receive the bulk of the terrorists. As a result, Syria is likely to retain its dominance over the Palestinians, making it difficult for Egypt and Saudi Arabia to promote a moderate PLO.

Look for a simultaneity to Phases Two and Three in U.S. diplomacy (Kissinger is urging this), although it is more likely that Three will follow Two. (Military crises within Lebanon may tend to dominate Washington policy making at the expense of the Palestinian question.) At a minimum, the Administration (especially Shultz) will continue to develop its ideas on West Bank autonomy -- and leak these ideas, keeping pressure on the Begin government. The President is also likely to appoint a new Special Negotiator. (All indicators point to Max Kampelman.)

The sum of these actions is designed to act as a signal to the Arabs, particularly Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, that the U.S. is seriously committed to facing up to resolving the Palestinian situation. In turn, the Administration may decide to present publicly its own interpretation of the Camp David accords to induce Arab participation.

Phase Three. Identifying a solution to the Palestinian problem is the Administration's highest priority in the Middle East. Two complementary approaches are emerging:

1. Work with Egypt and Saudi Arabia to create and bring forth moderate PLO leaders who will meet U.S. conditions on recognizing the State of Israel. In return, the U.S. will indicate its attitude toward the ultimate fate of the Palestinians, i.e., a homeland. On Sunday, Shultz said the Palestinians "should have a part in determining the conditions under which they're governed." Kissinger on "Night Line" last week said the Palestinians have a "right to determine their own fate." (In contrast, the Israeli Cabinet on Sunday issued this sentence: "The Government of Israel will initiate actions for the establishment of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East in accordance with the Camp David accords.") Following the emergence of this new, moderate PLO leadership, the U.S. will explicitly accept the "self-determination formula; the U.S. will also give the Saudis and the Egyptians the credit for securing Washington's recognition of the PLO.

2. Make a concerted push on Palestinian autonomy within the Camp David framework. First, "line up the ducks" on the Arab side by getting Jordan, backed by Cairo and Riyadh, to enter the negotiations. (The U.S. enticement will be a Jordan arms sale of significant sophistication -- F-16s and I-Hawks.)

Once there is genuine indication on the Arab side to negotiate, the U.S. will put forward its own interpretation of autonomy plus ideas for an interim agreement. The principles on which the U.S. position would be based would be: a territorial definition of autonomy (this means significant parts of the West Bank would have to come under the control of the Self Governing Authority and Israel would have to freeze its settlement activity); confidence building measures such as ending the policies of Professor Menachem Milson; and an emphasis on the interim nature of the agreement ("autonomy as an opportunity, not a conclusion").

Dealing with Israel. The West Bank is the focal point; it is the West Bank where clear divisions exist between the diaspora and Israel; the West Bank is a fertile field for a diplomatic collision course. Such a collision could have damaging repercussions in the relationship for the remainder of this century. It is not clear that the Administration intends to induce a full-scale confrontation with Israel. Some argue that it is urgent to do so in order to roll-back the Israeli government's plans for annexation. This same group believes a confrontation is inevitable and the best place for it is over the West Bank. Others argue that while a tougher attitude toward Israel is appropriate, a confrontation (a cut in arms and economic aid; for example) would be counterproductive.

At this date, it appears that the Administration will try to pressure and push Israel to be more forthcoming. In doing so, the U.S. must bring the other side to the negotiating table and then place on that table an interpretation of Camp David that provides for Israel's security concerns (Kissinger at a luncheon Tuesday talked about the Allon Plan), but rejects Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank. The ball will then be in Jerusalem's court about whether or not to engage in a confrontation with Washington. Shultz believes an American interpretation of the Camp David peace accords would be more flexible than that of Begin. "More and more the Administration is beginning to distinguish between a U.S. commitment to Israel's security and the ambitions of Menachem Begin," said a State Department official.

Ahead of us, then, is a lengthy period of erosion in the U.S.-Israel relationship, rather than just lurching and rebounding from crisis to crisis. As a means for coping with this, the American Jewish community should seek to persuade the Administration to respect the following four parameters for American diplomacy in the forthcoming period.

Parameters for American diplomacy:

1. Get all foreign forces out of Lebanon. The Syrians and the PLO should be removed as the first step and the U.S. should support a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon as a means for stabilizing Israel's northern border.
2. Bring Jordan into the Camp David negotiations -- don't recognize the PLO.
 - Recognition of the PLO would be worthless because, despite any moderate words that Yasir Arafat might utter, the PLO will remain an umbrella organization for terrorist groups committed to the destruction of Israel.
 - Recognition of the PLO would be dangerous because it would boost a Soviet ally and proxy at precisely the time that the Soviet Union has been discredited in the Middle East heartland.
 - Recognition of the PLO would be counterproductive because it would raise Arab expectations that the U.S. was prepared to secure an independent state for the PLO. Since this is both against American interests and will be steadfastly opposed by Israel, the U.S. will be unable to fulfill the expectations it will have generated. The Arabs will therefore be seriously disappointed by the United States further down the road.
 - Recognition of the PLO would stop the negotiations. Israel will never negotiate with a group whose terms include Israel's liquidation. Bringing the PLO into the negotiations will force Israel out.
3. Resume the autonomy negotiations and pursue quiet diplomacy -- don't come out with an American interpretation of Camp David because that would dictate the outcome and undermine the negotiations.
4. Reassure Israel of American support -- don't punish Israel by cutting aid. The U.S.-Israel relationship has come through a difficult crisis intact though seriously shaken. The U.S., however, has emerged with a major diplomatic triumph and the possibility of more to come. Israel's use of force was in large measure responsible for America's enhanced position in the region. Israel has already paid a high price for this, it should not be punished. Any cut in aid will be interpreted as a political move to punish Israel.

AIPAC

February 25, 1983

Mr. Tom Dine
Executive Director
AIPAC
444 N. Capital Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Tom:

Harvey Fields, one of our Reform rabbis at the Wilshire Blvd. Temple in Los Angeles, has some close contacts with the new Senator Hecht, Nevada. For all I know you have a number of such contacts anyhow, but you might file that away for future reference.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

AIPAC

"ON THE PATH TO PEACE"

by

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director
American Israel Public Affairs Committee

to the

Missouri Political Education Workshop
St. Louis, Missouri
October 6, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Thank you Gene Weissman, for that warm, enthusiastic, and generous introduction. This state, but this city in particular, has become a citadel of pro-Israel activities and so much of this is due to your personality and leadership. You are Mr. Political Action here in Missouri and I extend to you a special salute.

For co-chairing this important event, my personal appreciation to Yusef Hakimian and Charles Newman.

Thanks, too, to the St. Louis Jewish Community Relations Council, and its president Michael Newmark, for cosponsoring this Political Education Workshop with AIPAC. The JCRC and AIPAC are partners in trying to achieve the goals of our common cause: consistently strong and close relations between Washington and Jerusalem.

As Gene mentioned, today begins my sixth year at the helm of AIPAC. What has this "real-world" experience of constant exhilaration and exasperation been like? With the death this past week of author E.B. White, I was reminded of one of my favorite passages from literature. White wrote in Charlotte's Web, a book you have probably read to your children as often as I have to mine, the following:

It was the best place to be, thought Wilbur, this warm delicious cellar, with the garrulous geese, the changing seasons, the heat of the sun, the passage of swallows, the nearness of rats, the sameness of sheep, the love of spiders, the smell of manure, and the glory of everything.

Thank you all for coming here. This all-day session is about the "glory of everything" -- about politics, about political effectiveness, about organizing and mobilizing a domestic base to underline and secure America's relationship with Israel and U.S. policy in the Middle East.

AIPAC is the American pro-Israel community's political arm. AIPAC'S objective is to affect the outcome of the policy debate. We engage in lobbying on Capitol Hill and within the Executive branch to maintain and enhance the U.S.-Israel relationship. We work closely with Members of Congress, with their staffs, with House and Senate committees, with Administration political officials, with career experts in the bureaucracies at the National Security Council, State, Defense, and Treasury Departments, at the CIA, and other agencies of government such as the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

I have used the term "we." That is us in Washington and that is you here in Missouri -- and, of course, in 49 other states. You are part of the whole pro-Israel community. You live throughout the state, indeed in each of this state's nine Congressional Districts. You are Christian Zionists, Jewish Zionists, students, professionals, businessmen and women, civic leaders; you partake in the public policy debate with friends and neighbors -- and with candidates for federal office. Together we are America's pro-Israel lobby.

Lobbying is thought of as a phenomena that takes place in the hallways of Congress, in state capitals, and city councils. That is a strict constructionist viewpoint. My perspective is much broader. Lobbying is each citizen, engaging another citizen, to hear him or her out on an issue -- basically to get someone else to join together with you. This includes the textbook definition of influence -- and you do it some way, somehow several times a day within home or workplace or in a social context. "A" gets "B" to do what "B" had not thought of doing or needed persuading to do. We are "A". Office-holders are "B"; other influentials are "B"; your co-workers, relatives, and neighbors are "B".

Members of Congress are also "A". They want to influence you to join them, to vote for them, to stay with them during issue deliberations and debates, and to vote for them again in the next November election. Ralph Hall is now engaging his constituents. Former Governor Kit Bond (R) and Lt. Governor Harriet Woods (D) are trying to persuade you to support one over the other at the polls for the U.S. Senate on November 4, 1986.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are citizen lobbyists on behalf of close and consistently strong U.S.-Israel relations. And remember, that while issues -- our issues -- are finalized in Washington, in terms of influencing Congress, the votes of Representatives and Senators are won or lost to a great extent right here in the grassroots, in each Congressional District, and throughout the whole state.

Politics is an art and a craft. It is not intimidation;

it is not physical muscle. Henry Adams observed differently. "You can't use tact with a Congressman," he wrote in The Education of Henry Adams. "A Congressman is a hog. You must take a stick and hit him on the snout." Wrong, wrong, wrong! Politics is allowing facts to be expressed and opinions to be worked out in a consensus-making arena. Consensus and compromise, based on empirical evidence, make for a common interest.

Politics is local. It is you and people like you who make relationships. Congress listens to AIPAC. Congress listens to AIPAC in Washington because Congress knows the pro-Israel community locally. Knowing each other is the heart of what we do and who we are.

We want to work with activists from all of Missouri's nine Congressional Districts, activists who, to be sure, will be involved in next year's Senatorial race and the 1988 Presidential sweepstakes [including Rep. Richard Gephardt's (D-Mo.) efforts] and beyond -- but who, most importantly, will join together with us now to face our current work.

We meet at a tense and curious time in U.S.-Israel relations. The President of the United States -- our vocal friend for so long -- who, just last Wednesday wholeheartedly supported Israel for her "legitimate," defensive, retaliatory strike on PLO headquarters in Tunis -- but who allowed the State Department on Friday night to instruct our U.N. Ambassador to abstain in the U.N. Security Council on a resolution to condemn Israel for bombing PLO headquarters in Tunisia -- is still the same man who, just a week ago Friday, informally notified Congress of his intention to propose a major arms sale to Jordan. The stage seems to be set, then, for a confrontation between the Legislative and Executive branches over the direction of our policy in the Middle East.

There is a paradox here. For, in reality, U.S.-Israel relations are currently in dandy shape, with progress in several major areas:

1. The President has been and is pro-Israel; certainly Israel stands very tall in Congress. The relationship is linked by a commonality of geopolitical outlook, policies, and personalities. The leadership of both governments are in constant contact both on the telephone and in regular, personal visits. We at AIPAC are always communicating with Administrative officials, some at the highest levels. And, of course, Members of Congress -- in great numbers -- frequently visit Israel.

2. On August 8 -- just 58 days ago -- President Reagan signed into law history's largest aid authorization bill. This includes, for FY 1986, \$1.8 billion in military assistance, \$1.2 billion in economic aid, and then the supplemental appropriations bill for FY 1985 and FY 1986 containing \$1.5 billion in emergency economic assistance for Israel. Each dollar is grant aid.

3. Strategic cooperation between the two defense

establishments, the high military commands, and foreign offices is progressing well. More and more, it is a two-way street. According to former Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's testimonies before Congress, over the last three years, Israel voted with the United States in the highest percentage of any other country in the world, including the governments of Canada, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. After Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Oman rejected the U.S. Government's request to station a Voice of America transmitter on their soil to beam new programs into the Soviet Union, Washington went to Jerusalem and Israel accepted.

Discussions are currently underway between the two militaries to pre-position U.S. materiel in Israel. Joint exercises in the Eastern Mediterranean by the two navies and the Israeli Air Force have taken place, with an emphasis on anti-submarine warfare against the Soviet Navy.

The U.S. has invited all NATO nations, Japan, and Israel to participate in the research and development of the Pentagon's proposed Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "star wars." Israel has said, "Yes." America has yet to hear one positive response from anyone among its European and Asian allies.

4. Another dimension to the U.S.-Israel relationship is trade. With the establishment of the Free Trade Area agreement, all duties and other trade restrictions between the two countries are being eliminated. It is the only time in history that the United States has established such a relationship with another sovereign nation. Expressing pleasure over the Israeli Cabinet approving the FTA accord, President Reagan stated, "The United States has a basic commitment to Israel's economic well-being, and we have pledged to help Israel fulfill its great potential."

All of these developments are pertinent and vital; U.S.-Israel relations have deepened. But still, we are faced with the ominous fact of a proposed arms sale to a nation that both neighbors and threatens Israel. And it is an arms sale which, to Jordan, is potent in its military promise -- but which, to Israel, is potent in its military threat.

The Administration has indicated that the contents of the \$1.9 billion weapons package would include:

- 40 advanced fighters (either F-20s or F-16s)
- 108 Stinger surface-to-air missiles
- 12 Improved HAWK surface-to-air missile units.
- 300 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles
- 32 M-3 Bradley cavalry fighting vehicles.

This is being billed as a package to augment Jordan's ability to defend itself. In point of fact, this war materiel has the potential to threaten the very basis of Israel's strategy for its own security.

At the core of this revelation are advanced aircraft. The F-16 is known. It has excellent ground capabilities. The

Israelis used it to go to Baghdad and back in June 1981. The F-20 is not known. But its equipment will be so precise that an individual aircraft poised on the ground 10 miles away would be detected. The F-20 will have advanced radar with a "freeze mode," permitting a pilot to turn off the radar, yet still keep a radar-generated map on display for navigation to its target. This means that the F-20 would not be detected by Israeli tracking sensors, as the plane will actually be flying with its radar turned off. And the F-20, or Tigershark, has an extremely fast reaction time. In less than 60 seconds, from a "cold" start this plane can be airborne and can have flown 10 miles. To put it another way, in less than four minutes, with these planes Jordan can be bombing the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. In less than seven minutes, Jordan could destroy the cafes on Disengoff Street in Tel Aviv.

If this arms package is passed, Jordan -- for the very first time -- with F-16s or F-20s will have a modern fighter comparable to the very best Israeli fighter bomber. And the stronger we make Jordan, the more likely King Hussein is to contribute substantially in a future war. In 1973, when Jordan had no air defenses, Egypt and Syria actually told King Hussein he could limit Jordan's involvement in the war to sending a small, expeditionary ground force to fight on the Golan Heights. And still, essentially without Jordan, that war effort caused the Israelis to mobilize, for three months, a full army of 300,000. That would be comparable, in the United States, to calling up an army of 30 million Americans.

Air superiority is the keystone to Israel's security. This so-called "defense" package is actually designed to enable Jordan to defeat aircraft and thus it directly undermines Israel's security. And Israel is especially vulnerable to attacks from Jordan, not simply because of its proximity to Israel, but because it shares the longest border with Israel. Now this border -- nearly four times the length of the Syrian-Israel border -- could become a full, active front in the next war with Israel, straining Israel's defenses and its budget to the breaking point. Israel's economy is still hemorrhaging from the cost of the 1973 war -- now, 12 years later. Since October 6, 1973, Israel has been forced to drastically increase its military spending, then she was hit with the oil price shocks of '73-'74 and '79-'80. Since that time, there has been a need for increased borrowing from the U.S., creating more and more debt, and the continued printing of money.

As the margin of military superiority erodes, Israel really cannot compensate. She simply cannot afford to buy more weapons; she cannot afford to call up more men. And you have to consider this in conjunction with the fact that Jordan itself is the 7th largest arms importer in the world. This past month alone, Jordan and Saudi Arabia have purchased arms worth between \$4.5 and \$6 billion from Great Britain.

The Jordan arms sale before Congress must be seen as a contribution to the entire Arab arsenal. It must be seen in the context of a striking but lesser known fact: as oil prices have dropped, the Arabs have not stopped their accelerated

buying of arms. Out of the top seven arms importers in the world-- six are Arab nations and five of these are at war with Israel.

So why is our Administration going ahead with its proposal?

1. It has been said, first, that King Hussein, in his speech before the United Nations just a week ago Friday, took bold steps in advancing the peace process in the Middle East. "The King is moving," editorialized the Washington Post. But I ask, on what is he moving? He is moving on a circular treadmill. We must face the truth, as the highest ranking officials of the State Department have told me privately, that the King offered nothing new in his address at the UN. Indeed, he spoke on UN Resolution 242 which implies Israel's right to exist and which is, I quote: "an acknowledgement of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats and acts of force." Let us not forget, however, that the King had accepted Resolution 242 in 1967 and then conducted a border war from 1967 to 1970 and also sent his expeditionary force to the Golan Heights in 1973, signaling that he would gladly have contributed more to the Yom Kippur War had he had sufficient hardware. So, speaking out on Resolution 242 is hardly a bold step in the right direction. On October 6, 1973, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt all sent their armies over the hill -- despite the fact they had already accepted Resolution 242.

2. At the UN, the King spoke of "prompt and direct negotiations with Israel." The Administration hails this as progress. But is it? The phrase loses its meaning when the conditions become clear: the King offers the auspices of an international conference. We have heard this idea before. In 1977, Jimmy Carter invited the Soviets to a repeat performance of the 1973 international conference at Geneva. Anwar Sadat, so disturbed by this that he decided to cut through that political red tape, then flew to Jerusalem and began direct, bilateral peace negotiations between Israel and Egypt. The Camp David Accords were the eventual result. In 1980, candidate Ronald Reagan criticized Carter's invitation to the Soviets. He saw that an international conference, especially one that included the Soviets, Syria, and the PLO, would mean that the veto power would belong to the most radical elements, leaving an outcome determined by the enemies of Israel. The wolves would certainly be in the chicken coop.

King Hussein's entire formulation for peace -- especially this Hussein plan for an international conference -- is, in fact, an echo of the 1982 Brezhnev plan for the Middle East. And this is no coincidence; the concept of the international conference originated as a Soviet idea. It injects the Soviets into the Middle East debate and gives them a vehicle for implementing their ideas. Both the Hussein and Brezhnev plans include many of the same participants; most are Soviet allies, if not Soviet dependents. So, what has changed on this score? Nothing. Reagan rejected the Brezhnev plan in

1982, Reagan should object to the Hussein plan in 1985. An international conference is a notion we are all too familiar with; we see its implementation and witness its failure every day. It is called the UN, a haven for anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and anti-peace. Look at Friday night's resolution -- condemn Israel and ignore the terrorists! What we need are direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel without intermediaries, without fringe participants.

3. The Administration speaks of King Hussein's political health being in the interest of the United States -- that he must be supported and kept in our camp. I would agree. In the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, King Hussein comes down on the side of the Arabs -- but in the context of the East-West struggle, Jordan comes down on the side of the West. But are we in danger of losing the King's loyalty if this sale does not go through? The King is very much interested in a friendship with the United States -- and we need not fear that if he does not get the arms from us he will go to the Soviets instead. The King wants American arms because they are qualitatively superior to the alternative weapons available elsewhere -- and because he can get United States taxpayers to foot the bill. Furthermore, the Jordanians recognize that the Soviet Union will always value Syria more than Jordan. In the event of any conflict between the two -- Hussein knows that the Soviets will inevitably back Syria. As long as the King remains an American client, not only will the U.S. support him against the Syrians -- but he knows that Israel will be inclined to come to his assistance in the event of a Syrian attack, as she did in 1970. But the question is: will such an arms package truly maintain Hussein's political health? What are his needs? The King's regime does not need increased defense capabilities -- the King's real need is for anti-terrorist capabilities. The King's foremost concern is not a rumbling attack from an advancing army, but the destabilizing effect of constant, quiet murders of his diplomats and his key advisors as directed by Syria's President Assad. And, as our own State Department has noted, "Modern aircraft and air-defense missiles do not stop infiltrators and terrorists." An F-16 has little bearing on a car bombing.

4. An additional point is that these new weapons do not even provide Jordan with the kinds of capabilities it requires to fight a conventional war with Syria. The State Department claims that this package is almost exclusively to protect against Syrian aircraft, but it does nothing to protect Jordan from Syria's ground-based air defenses, the most formidable in the Middle East. When our new planes, with Jordanian flags painted on them, fly high to cross the Syrian border, they will have no backup to protect them against the unique Syrian array of surface-to-air missiles and aircraft guns. In regard to its conflict with Syria, we are selling Jordan a gun without the bullets.

5. Finally, we have heard the contention that the arms sale is vital in order to advance the peace process. I submit to you this action will derail the peace process. Accelerating the military tensions between Israel and Jordan and eroding

Israel's margin of security intensifies Israel's need for the strategic depth of the West Bank land, thereby significantly reducing Israel's flexibility when it comes down to negotiating on this territorial compromise. This would further complicate the King's position -- for with decreased Israeli willingness to discuss the return of any part of the West Bank, Hussein becomes less able to deliver on the land he wants. This would be an unsustainable blow to his prestige. The fact, then, is: This arms sale does not accelerate the peace process, but rather it intensifies the peace problem. As Hirsh Goodman, the prominent defense correspondent for the Jerusalem Post and an avowed dove, writes, "The U.S. must recognize that weapons supplied independent of any movement towards peace are essentially the means of war."

Peace in the Middle East -- in that President Reagan and the pro-Israel community unquestionably agree. We also agree that King Hussein, a relative moderate, must be encouraged and helped. We both see that the King is ill with terrorism as his primary ailment. But there our paths diverge. Treating him with planes is the wrong remedy at the wrong time. He needs anti-terrorist medicine now -- and he needs to pass the litmus test of direct negotiations with Israel. No talks, no HAWKS; no peace, no planes. Rewarding the King before he comes to the negotiating table effectively reduces his incentive to come. So, selling arms to him now is a misguided, misconceived policy. It is a disincentive for Jordan. It is against American interests in the Middle East. It runs counter to peace and it runs counter to the interests of our trusted ally, Israel.

There have been, and probably will be, tactical differences between the governments of the United States and Israel -- differences that can perplex and frustrate American presidents. But never should the fact be neglected that Israel must be appreciated -- for her unfailing support for America, for the western values she espouses, and for her deterrence to the expansion of Soviet influence. But it does not matter, right now, if Israel and America have befriended each other out of cultural and political necessity. It does not matter that Israel, unsolicited, has assumed the role of guardian of our interests in the region. All that matters is reality. And today's reality calls not just for more responsible American support for Israel, but a more cogent policy in the Middle East. And a more cogent policy that leads to direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan is vital for a forceful and successful foreign policy.

Americans have an odd love affair with foreign policy and our own interests in the Middle East. We like to succeed in our efforts abroad, but we don't often take on the challenge to win. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union -- which is founded on a political credo questioned by its own populace and which has an economic system that is intrinsically flawed -- seeks, with a vengeance, to succeed in each of its forays in geopolitics. Success in foreign policy is the real source of prestige for the Soviets and thus is the only manner to legitimize the Soviet regime. Americans, however, live in a system founded on a set of universal beliefs. And beliefs

which have worked. We have created a way of life -- both political and economical -- to which we are passionately devoted. And because we live in a society in which people are generally happy at home, we often neglect the importance of our interests abroad. And this is our challenge here in the grassroots: to convey a message of unparalleled importance -- that American interests are at stake, every day, in the Middle East -- and that this arms sale directly jeopardizes those interests.

As Americans, we have an obligation to exercise the democratic system -- to work in the grassroots, educating and activating the people of our society. As Jews, and Christians, we have a need to pursue this action and to support vigorously the interests we hold dear. We must never forget what William Safire wrote during the intense battle in Congress over the 1981 sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia:

If one day, American planes and American missiles are used to rain destruction on the people of Israel, Americans and surviving Israelis will be asking with great bitterness: whose acquiescence made it possible? Who failed to fight it with voice and vote? Whose misplaced trust led to tragedy?

In Washington, and here in the grassroots, this arms sale is not a political pillow fight. Beneath all of the rhetoric and Senate resolutions, great interests are at stake.

In all of this, you play a key role. By your involvement, you help make a democracy work. By being the "involved," you make a difference. In this vein, the college students, such as those who are present, represent a new generation of leaders who, through the likes of this workshop, will learn the tools for being active, and thus, successful members of this democracy.

We must fight for our interests in society because no one else will do it for us. We must fight for Israel because there is constant opposition, such as the efforts of pro-Arab groups in this country. Indeed, just look at the avalanche of criticism which crashed down on us after Israel's surgical strike against terrorists living in Tunisia.

Who will counter these people? We will.

Who will bring the fight for Israel's security and survival to the American people? We will.

Who will believe in Israel when others lose faith in her? We will. We must.

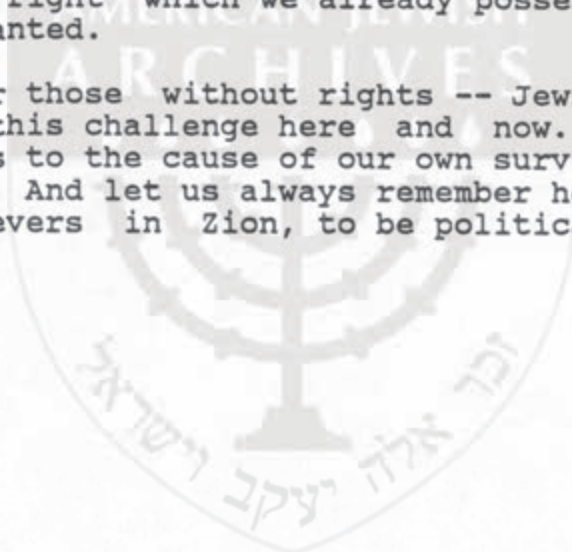
I became political because I studied history. I read about great events and came to appreciate historical forces. But the first crucial point for me was when I saw there were individuals who realized that these events and forces could be influenced by ideas. These people affected a result. They

became part of progress because they understood the value of participating in the political process. These people were the change agents. As such, they contributed to society in their time. And here, in our time, this meeting provides the basis for our work, our contribution. And this is the second point -- that ideas without actions are just wishes. We are here to ensure that our ideas become realities. The ideas that Israel has an importance for America and that Israel just must exist.

Lobbying on behalf of consistently strong and close U.S.-Israel relations is one key way for us to contribute to our society and to bring about positive change. It is an act which is important to us because we are in a democracy. It is a cause which is important to us because we are Jews, because we are Christians, because we favor Zion.

Jews in most societies, no matter how hard they have tried, have not had this chance. Whether they endured over one hundred years of pogroms in Eastern Europe, whether they fought against Nazi tyranny through the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, or whether they are isolated in Siberia today because they have spoken out against Soviet injustice, they fight to have the right which we already possess and which we often take for granted.

Let us honor those without rights -- Jews and non-Jews -- by accepting this challenge here and now. Today, let us recommit ourselves to the cause of our own survival -- to the cause of Israel. And let us always remember how rare a thing it is to be believers in Zion, to be political, and to be free.



MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
To Rabbi David Saperstein
Copies
Subject VIA FAX

Date 8/24/89

I propose to send the enclosed letter to Henry.

I want your comments before I do so, please do call or fax your reaction/

I based my comments on the substance of your call from the RAC after you meeting meeting with Metzenbaum/



Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

QAPAC



RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

TELECOPIER COVER LETTER

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PAGE(S) TO:

NAME: Tom Dine

LOCATION: QAPAC

FAX NUMBER: 202-347-4889

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DATE: 9/19/89

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

September 6, 1989

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

I have your letter of August 30th, referring to a JTA item quoting Steve Silbiger on the subject of our relations with AIPAC.

I find his comments as offensive as you do. What he said does not represent the views of the American Jewish Congress. The relationship that you describe between the UAHC and AIPAC is precisely how we perceive our relationship with AIPAC.

Steve Silbiger has left our employ as Washington representative of the American Jewish Congress as of August 31st. I therefore have no way of disciplining him for his egregiously offensive remarks, other than issuing a public statement on the subject. Given the fact that he is no longer with us, I am not certain that issuing a public statement, calling further attention to his remarks, will be particularly helpful. However, if you and Tom Dine think otherwise, I will reconsider the matter.

There is a point in your letter that requires clarification. Of course, there is no "rump group" whose purpose it is "to clean up the mess when AIPAC screws up." For your information, however, ADL, Committee, AJCongress, and NJCRAC have in fact met on a number of occasions with AIPAC to discuss AIPAC actions that we have found troubling - specifically, actions that run counter to the consensus of the organized Jewish community. The UAHC is not part of that group. These agencies have agreed to meet regularly to insure that our point of view is heard by AIPAC when significant new questions of policy arise. And on those rare occasions when AIPAC goes its own way, we reserve the right to state our views publicly.

None of this, of course, in any way excuses the destructive and foolish remarks by Steve Silbiger, his parting "present" to AJCongress, which we find embarrassing, and deeply regret.

Sincerely,

HS:ilb

Henry Siegman

cc: Tom Dine, AIPAC
Abe Foxman, ADL
Ira Silverman, AJCommittee

cc OK
DB
Larry Weinberg

Called H8
9/12/89
OK - satisfied
nil to be done
Surt

RCR
9/18



RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

August 30, 1989
29 Av 5749

Henry Siegman, Director
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, NY 10028

Dear Henry:

On my return from vacation, I came across an item in the August 15 issue of the JTA Bulletin which quotes a member of your staff extensively. Perhaps you have not seen a copy of it, so I am attaching one herewith.

Needless to say, I am chagrined. Silberger has every right to speak for himself and for the American Jewish Congress. But he has not the right to draw the UAHC into his net in such a misleading and unsavory a manner.

Yes, on occasion we consult with you, issue joint statements and engage in joint advocacy. (We do so, of course, with many Jewish organizations). But I am offended by the implication that we do so in an effort to be a "correcting mechanism for AIPAC's excesses" assuming the task of "cleaning up the mess when AIPAC screws up."

The implication that the UAHC is part of some rump group with the ADL, the Committee and the Congress which is engaged in such activity is even more distressing.

We are supporters of AIPAC in almost everything it undertakes to do. When we take issue with them, we try, whenever humanly possible, to work quietly with them in fashioning a compromise and only on the rarest of occasions publicly express a different view.

Your representative's phrase "going head-to-head with AIPAC" connotes a childish and destructive image of Jewish inter-agency relations that is not only inaccurate but downright harmful. In fact, on those few occasions when we have differed with AIPAC, we have tried our very best to coordinate

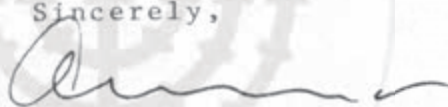
Henry Siegman
August 30, 1989
Page -2-

with them to ensure that they understand fully the nature of the steps we are taking and to explore ways to minimize the negative impact of those differences.

Furthermore, we keep our differences focused on the issues and do not engage in the kind of ad hominem attacks on the organization which marked this article. Such statements can only serve the interests, albeit unintentionally, of those who oppose Israel's well-being.

I hope, Henry, that Silberberger's statements do not represent the American Jewish Congress, any more than they do us. But now you know how deeply offended the UAHC is by them. Please find a way of publicly correcting Silberberger's misrepresentations.

Sincerely,



Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

cc: Tom Dine, AIPAC
Abe Foxman, ADL
Ira Silverman, AJCommittee

**FOUR ISRAELI TAX COLLECTORS BURNED
AS CAR IS FIREBOMBED IN RAMALLAH**

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- Four Israeli tax collectors were burned, two of them severely, when gas bombs set their car afire in the West Bank town of Ramallah on Monday morning.

All of the victims were hospitalized, with two of them, reported in critical condition, undergoing surgery at Hadassah University Hospital on Mount Scopus.

Security forces arrested 40 suspects and imposed curfews at the scene of the incident and at the nearby Kaduri refugee camp.

The Israeli authorities said it was not certain whether the victims were attacked because of their occupation.

"It is possible that it was aimed at an Israeli vehicle and just happened to hit the collectors," said Gaby Offir, commander of the Israel Defense Force in the West Bank.

Tax collectors are among the most hated symbols of Israeli authority in the administered territories and have been one of the main targets of the intifada since its beginning 20 months ago.

Palestinians are regularly exhorted by the leadership of the uprising not to pay their taxes. The authorities are equally determined to collect revenues in order to assert their control in the territories and to cover the expenses of the civil administration.

The four collectors were on their way to the local tax office for a day's work when three gas bombs were hurled at their car near the eastern entrance to Ramallah, only yards from the Jerusalem-Nablus main highway.

Two of the bombs burst in the street. One smashed the windshield, enveloping the car in flames.

Inhalation Of Fumes

Two of the passengers trapped in the front seat, Gideon Zaken, 34, and Reuven Noam, 22, were burned on 40 percent to 60 percent of their bodies and suffered from inhalation of fumes.

In the back seat, 20-year-old Sigalit Maimoni of Hadera and 32-year-old Itzik Cohen of Jerusalem suffered only minor burns. An Arab bystander who witnessed the attack helped put out the fire with a hand-held extinguisher.

Maimoni described the attack from her hospital bed.

"All I saw that moment was just flames and fumes. I opened the (car) door. My hair and my clothes were on fire. But I didn't pay any attention. I tried to rescue the two who sat in the front," she said. Apparently, their door could not be opened from the outside.

"When my friend who sat next to me told me, 'Sigi, you are on fire,' I put the fire out. I rolled on the sand and put out the fire while they succeeded to get out of the car."

A preliminary investigation established that two persons threw the bombs. "We are bound to find the attackers and punish them," said Offir.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir denounced the "brutal attack," which he said was the "continuation of a war waged against people without any purpose."

"The people responsible must know they will be caught, punished, will suffer and will cause suffering to their brethren," Shamir said.

The attack capped several weeks of continuous unrest in the city marked by almost daily stone-throwing at Israeli soldiers.

Paradoxically, the bombing occurred only a day after senior military officers briefing the Cabinet said the intifada was losing steam.

**U.S. WILL NOT SHUT OUT PLO,
DESPITE 'DEROGATORY RHETORIC'**

By Howard Rosenberg

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- Despite a U.S. rebuke of the political program adopted last week by the main branch of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the State Department said Monday it would not terminate its 8-month-old dialogue with the group.

Following a meeting Monday in Tunisia between U.S. and PLO representatives, State Department deputy spokesman Richard Boucher said that PLO reaffirmation of its commitment to take practical steps toward peace was "a very principal focus of the dialogue," but he added, "We didn't say if they don't (reaffirm the commitment) we will stop" the dialogue.

At a meeting last week, also in Tunisia, Al Fatah, the main PLO branch, approved a program that advocates "intensifying and escalating armed action and all forms of struggle to eliminate the Zionist Israeli occupation."

The State Department last week said the program contains "derogatory rhetoric" and raises questions about Fatah's commitment to peace.

A major U.S. topic at Monday's meeting -- the fourth formal U.S.-PLO meeting in Tunisia -- was urging the PLO to support a dialogue between Israel and Palestinians.

"We continue to believe that through an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, progress can be achieved in moving the process forward to elections and to peace negotiations," said Boucher.

The United States is seeking a "positive Palestinian response to the Israeli election idea," he added.

The Israeli plan, which would have Palestinians in the territories vote to elect leaders to negotiate autonomy measures, has been criticized by Arab countries and the PLO for not automatically providing for the creation of a Palestinian state.

For the past few months, the United States has been pressing the PLO to support the elections idea and to allow moderate Palestinians to talk to Israel.

Boucher would not describe the PLO response to any issues raised by Robert Pelletreau, the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia and the sole U.S. diplomat allowed to talk to the group.

Pelletreau said after the meeting that the talks were "serious and probing." He said the next "milestone," but not the last in the search for a Middle East peace, is Palestinian elections in the territories.

Yasir Abed Rabbo, a member of the PLO's executive committee, led the PLO delegation to the meeting, which was held at the request of the United States.

**IDF DETAINS TRUCK-BOMBER'S HELPER;
SLA BEGINS NEW SECURITY REGULATIONS****By Hugh Orgel**

TEL AVIV, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- The Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army has tightened security regulations in the southern Lebanon security zone following the suicide truck-bomb attack on an Israel Defense Force-SLA convoy last Wednesday.

The SLA, which polices the zone jointly with the IDF, is enforcing a rule that requires at least two persons to be in a vehicle at any time, whether moving or standing.

The premise is that two people are less likely to launch a suicide attack. Failure to comply with the regulation could lead to confiscation of the vehicle.

One SLA and five IDF soldiers were injured in the Aug. 9 incident. The suicide bomber was identified as Sheikh Assad Biro, a member of the extremist Hezbollah, or Party of God.

The IDF disclosed that a 29-year-old resident of Markabeh village in the security zone was detained shortly after the truck-bomb attack on suspicion of having helped Biro.

According to an IDF spokesman, the suspect, who was not identified, lived in Beirut when he was recruited by Hezbollah.

He was then sent back to the security zone to recruit other young people to join the extremist, pro-Iranian Shiite organization, the spokesman said.

The purpose was to establish cells inside the security zone to attack IDF and SLA targets.

The suspect recruited, among others, his friend Biro, who is a friend of Sheikh Abdel Karim Obeid, the Hezbollah leader abducted by Israeli commandos on July 28 from his home in southern Lebanon.

According to the IDF, Biro drove into the security zone in a General Motors red pickup truck already laden with explosives.

Biro stayed at the house of the suspect, who allegedly guided Biro to the best spot from which to attack the convoy and left him shortly before the convoy approached.

The new security regulations announced by the SLA on Sunday include the issuance of license plates and drivers' licenses.

Neither has been in force for years because of the chaotic situation in Lebanon. Residents of the security zone are complaining that they are being forced to comply with a rule that doesn't apply elsewhere in the country.

Some say it is a prelude to incorporation of the security zone into Israel.

**ISRAEL MULLS PUNISHING REPORTER
FOR ERRONEOUS STORY ON CAPTIVES****By Hugh Orgel**

TEL AVIV, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- Israeli authorities are considering penalties against a correspondent of the Sunday Times of London for filing a story which claimed that two Israeli soldiers held hostage by Hezbollah in Lebanon are long dead, Ha'aretz reported Monday.

The story, widely quoted here and abroad, was not submitted to the military censor.

Davar on Monday quoted a reliable diplomatic source in Washington as saying that Israel has information indicating that the soldiers held by Hezbollah were alive several months ago.

Contrary to the Sunday Times story, the IDF

never informed the families that the men died in captivity, Davar said.

The Sunday Times story claimed that the kidnapped Hezbollah chief, Sheikh Abdul Karim Obeid, told his Israeli interrogators that the soldiers, Yossi Fink and Rahamim Alsheikh, died of wounds shortly after they were ambushed and kidnapped in southern Lebanon three years ago.

Israel declined to comment but an IDF spokesman suggested that Hezbollah was engaged in a disinformation campaign.

Senior IDF officers apparently alerted the soldiers' families Saturday that the story would appear in the London newspaper the next day.

The families reportedly were told that the IDF considers the soldiers to be alive until informed otherwise by a credible source, such as the Red Cross.

The Times correspondent who may face charges for censorship violation is not the London weekly's regular correspondent in Israel but only visits Israel on special assignments.

**ISRAELI FOUNDATION IN W. GERMANY
CHARGED WITH LAUNDERING MONEY****By David Kantor**

BONN, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- An Israeli foundation, the Keren Fritz Naphtali, has been exposed as part of a money-laundering operation used to illegally finance political activities of the opposition Social Democratic Party.

Although it has been under investigation for two years, the federal prosecutor appears to have finally substantiated and documented charges against the institution, which is close to Israel's Labor Party.

But there are no plans to charge Israeli employees at the Naphtali foundation or seek their extradition, a prosecution spokesman said Monday.

According to investigators, the West German foundation Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, which is close to the SPD, transferred large sums of money to the Naphtali foundation for alleged educational activities.

Part of those funds were used to promote education programs. But part was transferred to a Zurich bank account for laundering, the prosecution contends, before being sent back to West Germany to help finance SPD campaigns and facilities.

Foundations like the Ebert Stiftung receive both taxpayers' money and donations for cultural and other activities at home and abroad.

But it is illegal to use those monies to finance political activities.

The magazine Der Spiegel reported Monday that the prosecution traced a secret SPD office to which the Naphtali foundation funneled money by way of the Zurich account.

The office, called "Institution for International Contacts," was run by a high-ranking official of the Ebert Stiftung foundation.

The prosecution has begun proceedings against two former Ebert Stiftung managers, Guenter Grundwald and Walter Hesselbach. Hesselbach, a banker, is one of Israel's most devoted friends in SPD circles.

The two will be charged with complicity to evade taxes.

It is assumed here that the money, laundered by the Naphtali foundation, came from private donors and was processed by the Ebert foundation to make it tax-deductible.

**SAN DIEGO NEWSPAPER FIREBOMBED;
SECOND ATTACK IN FOUR MONTHS****By Allison Kaplan**

NEW YORK, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- A San Diego Jewish newspaper is struggling to carry on business as usual in the face of two recent firebomb attacks, both of which occurred on Jewish holidays.

The latest attack took place Thursday, Tisha B'Av, at the offices of the San Diego Jewish Times in the suburb of El Cajon.

The bombing appears to have been a repeat attack. The Times was also firebombed April 22, the third day of Passover.

In both cases, damage to the building was minimal. The bombs were deflected by the bars on the windows of the offices and exploded outside, mainly scorching the exterior.

Morris Casuto, director of the San Diego office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said it was possible that the attackers specifically chose Jewish holidays for their attacks in an effort to intimidate the Jewish community.

Before the first bombing, the newspaper received threatening phone calls saying "the bars (on the windows) won't stop the bombs" and that "Jewish newspapers don't belong in El Cajon."

After Thursday's bombing, according to Times editor Carol Rosenberg, the newspaper also received two hate calls.

The first time, the caller said, "Sorry about what happened but we warned you," apparently referring to last April's attack. The employee receiving the call hung up on the caller, and immediately received another call.

This time, the caller said, "How dare you hang up on me. Heil Hitler."

Police believe the two incidents, both of which occurred in the early morning hours, are linked.

Similar Methods

"The method of the attack is similar, which leads us to believe it's the same suspect or suspects," said Lt. Bob Lein, investigations commander for the El Cajon police department.

There are several neo-Nazi and Skinhead groups in the San Diego area, most notably Tom Metzger's White Aryan Nations group. In an interview with a San Diego newspaper, Metzger denied having any connection with the first attack on the Times, saying that the newspaper was "small potatoes."

Lein said, however, that "we are not ruling anybody out" in the police investigation.

The newspaper's offices had been the targets of anti-Semitic attacks even before the bombings, with windows broken and swastikas scrawled on the walls.

The Times is an independent weekly newspaper which has been published by Rosenberg's husband Garry for the past 10 years.

A \$2,500 reward for information leading to those who bombed the offices in April had been offered. Since Thursday's bombing, the reward has been increased to \$10,000.

The money is being offered by the newspaper, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the local Crimestoppers organization.

Rosenberg said that the attackers had failed to intimidate any members of her staff, and that personally, she was more saddened by the attacks than afraid.

**ANOTHER FRIEND FROM CONGRESS
DIES IN MISSISSIPPI PLANE CRASH****By Howard Rosenberg**

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- U.S. Rep. Larkin Smith, a Mississippi Republican who was killed in a plane crash Sunday, was "a rising star" among Israel's supporters in Congress, a pro-Israel lobbyist said Monday.

News of the death of Smith came a day after pro-Israel forces learned they had lost a longtime friend in the House of Representatives.

Rep. Mickey Leland died in a plane crash last Monday in Ethiopia. Leland, a Democrat from Houston, was a former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus and one of the caucus' staunchest supporters of Israel.

Leland supported every House vote to reject arms sales to Arab countries. He also had a strong record on aid to Israel.

"Mickey always wanted Washington's relationship with Jerusalem to be close and strong," said Thomas Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in a statement released Monday.

AIPAC sources also had praise for Smith--who was elected to the seat formerly held by now Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) -- as someone who voted consistently in favor of aid, including the 1990 fiscal year foreign aid bill which contains \$3 billion in all-grant aid to Israel.

AIPAC lobbyists are often impressed when lawmakers with few Jews in their districts support the foreign aid bills, which have a small domestic constituency of support.

They are even more impressed when a conservative Republican like Smith does so, since conservatives are more apt to oppose bills using taxpayer money to help foreigners when the money could stay in the United States.

Smith also co-initiated a letter to President Bush two weeks ago urging him not to blame Israel for Hezbollah's murder of Lt. Col. William Higgins. The letter was signed by 59 House members, 57 of whom are Republicans.

Not Improper Action

"Contrary to some of the signals being sent from Washington, the murder of Lt. Col. William Higgins was not the result of improper action by Israel," the letter stated.

Other Jewish groups Monday had praise for Leland's activities on behalf of Ethiopian Jews and Israel.

Rabbi David Saperstein, director of Reform Jewry's Religious Action Center, said Ethiopia's leader, Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, trusted Leland more than he did any other U.S. citizen. He predicted that it will take years to fill that void of trust.

Leland was involved in the Reform movement's "Project Reap," which provided famine and medical relief at refugee camps in Ethiopia.

Saperstein, who met with Leland last Friday, a day before Leland left for Ethiopia, said Leland was to pass through Gondar and talk to Ethiopian authorities about the immunization program.

Leland last month wrote a fund-raising letter for Saperstein's group to raise funds for the medical relief efforts.

Saperstein also said a void now exists in the Black Caucus in support for Israel. Though he said Leland's surviving colleagues are "deeply committed" to Israel, "none of them has been as visible or as far out front as Leland has."

TOUTED AS ALTERNATIVE TO AIPAC, NEW LOBBY IS VIEWED SKEPTICALLY

By Andrew Silow Carroll

NEW YORK, Aug. 14 (JTA) -- Organizations and individuals on the Jewish left have never been shy about criticizing the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the large and powerful lobbying force in Washington.

Its Jewish critics have accused AIPAC of being too closely aligned with conservatives in this country and unwilling to challenge the policies of a right-wing Israeli government.

But these same critics are skeptical of a newly formed group, the Jewish Peace Lobby, that is promoting itself as an alternative Jewish lobby.

Whether it is the purported pro-Palestine Liberation Organization philosophy of the new group or its assumption of turf already staked out by their own groups, leftists and other critics of AIPAC say the new group doesn't deserve the kind of attention it has received in recent weeks.

The Jewish Peace Lobby is headed by Jerome Segal, a research scholar at the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland. The new lobby supports an independent, but demilitarized, Palestinian state.

Segal claims the group's supporters include 125 rabbis and "several dozen prominent American Jews," as well as coordinators in 50 congressional districts in 22 states.

Among those listed as endorsing the group are Robert Friedman, graduate dean of the Baltimore Hebrew University; sociologist Nathan Glazer of Harvard University; New York rabbis Balfour Brickner and Marshall Meyer; actor Edward Asner; and writers Anne Roiphe, Grace Paley and Gloria Steinem.

Not In Conflict

Toby Dershowitz, a spokeswoman for AIPAC, said her group has not commented on the Peace Lobby specifically. However, "AIPAC does not seek to quash any voices or any opinions," she said.

Segal said that on some key issues, the Jewish Peace Lobby is not in conflict with AIPAC -- specifically, it supports a "substantial flow of U.S. support for Israel" and opposes the sale of sophisticated weaponry to Arab states.

Where they differ, he said in a telephone interview, is in their views on the peace process.

Segal is already taking credit for a piece of congressional legislation, calling it the Peace Lobby's first "victory."

Last month, the House and Senate passed legislation praising Israel for reopening West Bank schools it had closed for security reasons and urged both sides not to use the schools for political purposes.

"This is the first time that the Congress had addressed the intifada and the Israeli approach to it," said Segal.

But many groups that have taken on AIPAC, think Segal's claims are exaggerated.

They point out that while Segal hopes to operate his lobby on a \$500,000 annual budget, his current holdings are far less. AIPAC, by comparison, has an \$8 million annual budget and 50,000 members.

"The Jewish Peace Lobby is a joke," said Steven Silberger, Washington representative of the American Jewish Congress. "Jerome Segal is the PLO's man in Washington from the Jewish community. He's attached himself to the Arab lobby,

which pound for pound is the weakest lobby in town."

According to Silberger, a quartet of major American Jewish organizations already act as a counter to AIPAC: AJCongress, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee.

While not registered as lobbies, these groups can devote a portion of their resources to lobbying activity.

"We are a correcting mechanism to AIPAC's excesses. When AIPAC screws up, it's important that there be Jewish institutions that can clean up the mess," said Silberger.

Going head to head against AIPAC, AJCongress and the UAHC lobbied strongly, and successfully, against the recent Helms amendment, which would have put strict and almost insurmountable restrictions on the U.S.-PLO dialogue.

Looking For Strategies

In addition, there are other, smaller organizations on the left which "are looking for strategies which can help senators and congressmen create a critical position vis-a-vis the Israeli government's policies and still be supportive of Israel," said Gary Brenner, representative of the North American office of Mapam, the leftist Israeli party.

Friends of Peace Now, Project Nishma and Brenner's group are not lobbies, but "educational" organizations that position themselves further to the left of mainstream groups like AJCongress.

But these and other smaller groups have their own problems with Segal.

One activist said Segal lacked "credentials" in the Jewish world, and more than one criticized Segal for coming initially to the Middle East debate not as a supporter of Israel but as a proponent of the PLO.

Segal has worked closely with Palestinians, having met PLO leader Yasir Arafat as a member of a delegation of American Jews who traveled to Tunis in June 1987.

Segal's writings have appeared frequently in the Arabic press and include what many, including Segal, regard as a document that led the PLO to issue its declaration of Palestinian statehood.

Regards Himself A Zionist

But Segal said that he regards himself as a Zionist. "I believe that the Jewish people have a right to a state in the Middle East. I never equivocate on that. Now, what I've argued for a long time is that Israel's security as well as Jewish values can best be preserved by going back to the common sense of a two-state solution."

And while his brochure for the Jewish Peace Lobby does not list any specific criticism of the PLO, Segal said he has called on the PLO leadership to renounce terrorism, disband the PLO and "take their covenant with them."

It remains to be seen whether Segal can become a force in Washington. In the meantime, few of the best-known names on the Jewish left are rushing to join his lobby.

According to Leonard Fein, former editor of Moment magazine and a noted activist, "No single party in this incredibly complex situation has a monopoly on wisdom, and I'd not like to see a situation in which the debate that does go on is the exclusive domain of AIPAC on the one hand and peripheral actors on the other."



RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

August 30, 1989
29 Av 5749

Henry Siegman, Director
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, NY 10028

Dear Henry:

On my return from vacation, I came across an item in the August 15 issue of the JTA Bulletin which quotes a member of your staff extensively. Perhaps you have not seen a copy of it, so I am attaching one herewith.

Needless to say, I am chagrined. Silberger has every right to speak for himself and for the American Jewish Congress. But he has not the right to draw the UAHC into his net in such a misleading and unsavory a manner.

Yes, on occasion we consult with you, issue joint statements and engage in joint advocacy. (We do so, of course, with many Jewish organizations). But I am offended by the implication that we do so in an effort to be a "correcting mechanism for AIPAC's excesses" assuming the task of "cleaning up the mess when AIPAC screws up."

The implication that the UAHC is part of some rump group with the ADL, the Committee and the Congress which is engaged in such activity is even more distressing.

We are supporters of AIPAC in almost everything it undertakes to do. When we take issue with them, we try, whenever humanly possible, to work quietly with them in fashioning a compromise and only on the rarest of occasions publicly express a different view.

Your representative's phrase "going head-to-head with AIPAC" connotes a childish and destructive image of Jewish inter-agency relations that is not only inaccurate but downright harmful. In fact, on those few occasions when we have differed with AIPAC, we have tried our very best to coordinate

Henry Siegman
August 30, 1989
Page -2-

with them to ensure that they understand fully the nature of the steps we are taking and to explore ways to minimize the negative impact of those differences.

Furthermore, we keep our differences focused on the issues and do not engage in the kind of ad hominem attacks on the organization which marked this article. Such statements can only serve the interests, albeit unintentionally, of those who oppose Israel's well-being.

I hope, Henry, that Silberger's statements do not represent the American Jewish Congress, any more than they do us. But now you know how deeply offended the UAHC is by them. Please find a way of publicly correcting Silberger's misrepresentations.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

cc: Tom Dine, AIPAC
Abe Foxman, ADL
Ira Silverman, AJCommittee

David
Sending draft
letter over. mtc

(too long for fax) De
I will be in office
all day Wed.

OK I'll be
here tomorrow
before Robin
meets.



RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
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UAHC - (212) 249-0100 Extension: 210 or 211

DATE: _____

TIME: _____

MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
To Rabbi David Saperstein

Date August 25, 1989
24 Av 5749

Copies

Subject VIA FAX

Now I am even more annoyed. Al did not tell me that the two of you "lobbied together on the Helms Amendment," not even as recently as yesterday. It was you who reported to me, in a telephone call from Washington (during which Al was either in your office or even on the phone), that you had been to see Metzenbaum and that on the way out you encountered Dine, who scowled at you, but that you had come there at Metzenbaum's request and the primary purpose was to work out language for a compromise proposal. Those were your words.

Marginally noted, I made several statements in correspondence and to reporters based on your phone conversation from Washington -- which makes me appear to have shaded the truth and I certainly don't appreciate that.

Were there visits to other legislators by you or any other members of our staff? As recently as yesterday. I was assured that there were none. What are those other "half-truths and ambiguities" -- eight or nine of them, no less -- of which I was kept in the dark?

No, I do not want to make a public statement. I want to draft a letter of protest to Henry with copies to AIPAC's lay and professional leadership and to the leaders of those other organizations which Silberger mentioned. And I want that letter to be strong and unequivocal -- that we are not, and do not intend to be, a part of any subgroup organized against AIPAC or any other umbrella of which we are a member. We will join in the consensus when our conscience permits us to do so and if not, our demurral will be voiced in our words and in our name alone.

No, I was not aware that you have "wanted for three months to sit down with me, Eric and Al to discuss the ideas which Henry, Ira and you have been exploring." I had scores of meetings during that time frame -- and besides, there is such a thing as a conference call. But there is no excuse for joint public action with these organizations when I specifically limited our contact with them to the "exploration of coordination on specific issues." I authorized only one joint action, a letter which Henry nixed, as you will recall, and, lo and behold, a letter on that subject appeared in the New York Times several days later -- signed by guess who: Henry Siegman.

Please redraft my letter as you see fit, telling me precisely why you feel compelled to make the changes -- I speak now of those 8 or 9 ambiguities and nuances to which you referred. Please have your draft in my hands as soon as possible, I want to close this matter by the early part of next week.



David Saperstein
August 25, 1989
Page -2-

On another matter, Edie tried to reach you earlier this Summer at the RAC and was told you were in Israel. She then asked for Lynne, who was also in Israel, and then she asked for Glenn, only to be told he was en route to Arizona. Temme was also out, having taken a day of vacation. There should be better coordination of RAC staff travel and vacations....at least one of the four of you should be in residence.

Please also call Edie with you schedule so she can seek to set-up a meeting with Michael Schneider of the JDC. And on that score you still haven't answered my memos requesting that you let me know just what monies are available to JDC for this purpose. You also spoke of providing me with "depositions" from some people or other who were and are actively impeding the REAP efforts.



av

MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Date

To Rabbi David Saperstein

June 12, 1989
9 Sivan 5749

Copies

Subject

Thank you for sending me Glenn's June 6, memo concerning the ongoing problem between REAP and the JDC. I appreciate being brought up-to-date.

In our conversation, you told me that you would keep me au courant by sending me memos, yet those that are attached to Glenn's note go back better than three years. Of course, I recall our meeting with Saul Cohen on this subject but, having heard nothing since, I had to assume that relations were in reasonably good shape (within the past six months, Glenn Stein did talk to me about one problem affecting the Ethiopian issue, but it dealt with the Israel community not JDC).

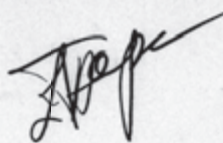
I am remiss in not letting you know that since 1986, I have been appointed to the JDC Executive Committee and I currently serve as co-Chair of the International Development Committee, which Aryeh Cooperstock serves. Ethiopia is not one of the issues on our agenda there, but you ought to know that past, present, and future lay leaders of the JDC (Eppler, Hassenfeld, Gene Ribakoff) have become good personal friends; indeed the association with Gene goes back to Worcester, Massachusetts. In other words, if help is needed, help can be forthcoming.

JDC does have financial problems of cataclysmic proportions, principally because of Ladispoli. The general budget of the JDC has been cut by 20-30% this year. You speak of "monies" which have been raised by JDC for this (Ethiopian) purpose. Tell me what you referring to so that I can track it down.

Warm regards.



RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER OF REFORM JUDAISM



June 6, 1989

From: Glenn S. Stein

To: Rabbi David Saperstein

Copies: Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Al Vorspan, Rabbi Lynne Landsberg

Re: Ongoing problems between Project REAP and the JDC

The Religious Action Center
pursues social justice and
religious liberty by
mobilizing the American
Jewish Community and
serving as its advocate
in the nation's capital

2027 Massachusetts Ave NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 387-2100

Harris Gilbert, Chairman
Commission on Social Action
of Reform Judaism

Albert Vorspan
Co-Director

Rabbi David Saperstein
Co-Director and Counsel

The Religious Action Center
is under the auspices of
the Commission on Social
Action of Reform Judaism,
a joint instrumentality of
the Central Conference of
American Rabbis and
the Union of American
Hebrew Congregations
with its affiliates:
American Conference
of Cantors,
Association of Reform
Zionists of America,
National Federation of
Temple Brotherhoods,
National Federation of
Temple Sisterhoods,
North American Federation
of Temple Youth.

On May 12th, Dr. Jeff Goldhagen, Dr. Burton Bronshter and Ellen Bronshter brought Dr. Zein Achmed of the Gondar School of Medical Science to meet with Michael Schneider at the JDC office in New York. The purpose of the meeting was a courtesy call. This was Dr. Achmed's first visit to the United States and since he had worked with the JDC doctor at the Teda clinic in Gondar, we thought it would be nice for the JDC leadership to have an opportunity to meet with him. We also thought it would be an opportunity to brief the JDC on our upcoming plans and to explore new possibilities for working together. From our perspective it was another attempt on our part to be helpful and cooperative.

The following account of the meeting was described to me by Ellen Bronshter and confirmed by Dr. Jeff Goldhagen.

Michael Schneider opened the meeting by saying that if they had come to ask for money the answer was no. It went downhill from there.

Michael invited Woody Slater and other JDC staff people into the meeting. According to Jeff he felt as if our project was on trial and the JDC was the jury. From the beginning Jeff said that Michael was "uncooperative, negative, irresponsible, possessive and territorial."

Michael did not mention or show the copy of the news release they had sent out three days earlier announcing a massive meningitis immunization campaign on Gondar, even though Jeff went into great detail to describe the immunization program we were setting up.

(We should point out that the news release, ambiguously worded, allows for the inference that the JDC is working in cooperation with Dr. Zein's school. This is not so and this may, or may not, account for

their failure to show them the release.)

Michael said that he felt "obligated to report this conversation to the Ethiopian RRC and the Regional Ministry of Health." It was not clear to Jeff why Michael said that, but the inference that was given was that Michael did not like the work we were doing and was going to complain to the authorities. Thus far, we have no indication that such a report was filed.

Jeff said that although he had never felt concerned for his physical well-being when in Ethiopia, the tone of the meeting was so hostile that he momentarily feared that some action against him could be prompted by a JDC complaint.

When Jeff was in Ethiopia he could find no evidence that there was an immunization program of any kind in Gondar. The JDC had been successful in bringing a significant quantity of supplies into the country although they had not reached Gondar. This was very interesting to me considering the JDC press release states that "They have become part of a region-wide effort with the Ministry of Health and the Gondar Medical College to administer the preventive vaccine to as many children in Gondar as possible." The fact is that there is no region-wide effort in Gondar right now. It is true that the JDC has allocated some vaccine to the Gondar School of Medical Science but the school has no plan in place to deliver the vaccine to the people in the villages. That is what they have asked us to do.

The question that arises is: how is the JDC planning to deliver the vaccine? They could not be seriously considering using their staff of one doctor and two nurses to attempt to administer 200,000 doses. They have not made any arrangements with the Gondar school. I have no idea what their implementation plan could be. The only way to do this is how we are going to. We have made arrangements with the school in Gondar to use their medical, nursing and sanitation students (an available pool of 400 people) to divide into teams in order to administer the vaccine. Our doctors will go in order to oversee the entire project.

In addition, our immunization program will not only immunize the children against meningitis but against other deadly childhood diseases such as polio, measles, tuberculosis, diphtheria and tetanus.

This is one more example of the types of problems we have had from the beginning with the JDC. Some of the JDC people have been particularly nice (Aryeh Cooperstock) and others have bordered on overt hostility (Ralph Goldman). Institutionally, however, they have been totally unresponsive. As indicated by the enclosed memos, they never had the decency to respond to our formal request for funding although they promised they would. They certainly never gave us any funding although our program was a perfect complement to their own with almost no overlap and was exactly the kind of program for which they raised all that money. We offered to cooperate with them in whatever way they wanted; indeed, we made a standing offer for them to simply take over the program whenever they wanted to broaden their own involvement

and allow them to get out of the clinic and into the villages. At no time were they willing to enter into any serious discussions with us as to such cooperation.

A related point. When Zein was here in DC, I had the opportunity to spend some private time with him. During that time he asked me what I thought of the JDC. I said we thought they were doing very good work. He said "well they don't like you." He went on to say that last year he was visited by a Ethiopian military official who was asking questions about the SACOW doctors because the JDC had complained about our presence in the area. Dr. Zein told them that the SACOW doctors were working fine and that they were in Gondar legally through the visiting scholar program of the College. The military said they were going to keep their eyes on our doctors and no other incidents occurred. See the copy of my memo to Al dated 6/23/88 which quotes a letter I received from Carol Dororshow regarding this complaint. At that time Al called Aryeh Cooperstock who after checking it out said that there was absolutely no truth to the report.

Finally, regarding the question of covert activity, as you can see from the enclosed documents, at each step of our program we had written agreements with the Gondar College of Medical Science. Nothing was done secretly or covertly in Ethiopia. As to the involvement of the UAHG, while we were certainly one, if not the major support for SACOW's activities in Ethiopia, in the beginning we were concerned that knowledge of the UAHG's involvement might raise inappropriate concerns in Ethiopia. However, certainly by this point, the medical college authorities are aware of, and comfortable with, our involvement. Indeed, Dr. Zein spent a great deal of time at the Religious Action Center meeting with our own people in addition to meetings with U.S. government officials which we facilitated. In addition, you should be aware that SACOW has been involved in developing this program far beyond with what we had originally anticipated in accordance with their normal legitimate medical activities.

Ideally, if we could have at this point anything we wanted from the JDC, it would be: 1) to provide funding for our program; 2) to respond affirmatively, and to request NJCRAAC to do likewise, to any inquiries from local federations and CRC's about our program. This is particularly important now since the Tzedek Society mailing (which will drop over the next few weeks) and the bulletin articles (which will appear in July) will likely evoke such questions; 3) since, sadly, it is too late for us to work together in the immunization program, to assure us that they will do nothing to undermine our project in Ethiopia; and, 4) to change their general mindset so they view us as a partner with whom to cooperate and assist rather than a threat or competitor.

RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER OF REFORM JUDAISM

August 24, 1989

TO: RABBI ALEX SCHINDLER
FROM: DAVID SAPERSTEIN
RE: AJ CONGRESS AND THE HELMS AMENDMENT

I just had your fax and the article read to me over the phone. The article which annoyed you, annoys me even more.

Nonetheless, since there seems to be no time urgency in this matter, and many points both in the article and your draft are problematic and nuanced, I would strongly urge that you hold off until we have the opportunity to meet together.

To be more specific, Silberger's assertions have some half-truths to them; (e.g. as I'm sure Al told you, we did lobby together on the Helms's Amendment; we certainly opposed it tactically, although, in our case, leaving open the possibility that we would accept it if we couldn't come up with an alternative. And these are only two of eight or nine such ambiguities - none of which are germane to the central point which you are making).

You know Henry. By sending anything other than an absolutely clear letter, you allow him to focus on the half he wants, to ignore the half you intended to be focused on. In such cases, you end up going completely by each other -- creating misunderstandings and prolonging a spitting match.

As you know, I have wanted for 3 months to sit down with you, Eric, and Al to discuss some of the ideas which Henry, Ira and I have been exploring. If we can do it in the next couple of weeks, it would be most helpful to wait on this matter. If you feel it is time urgent then I would be glad to take a crack at redrafting your note to eliminate the ambiguities.

Finally, no matter what happens, I am not certain the letter to Henry is the appropriate response. If you just want to express to him your annoyance (and send a copy to AIPAC for their information) then it's fine. If, on the other hand, you want a public statement on the matter, it probably isn't the best way. Henry is very stubborn. He's already terminated Silberger. He's not going to issue a public statement on this. If a public statement is the goal, I would suggest that we issue the public statement and send Henry a copy.

The Religious Action Center
pursues social justice and
religious liberty by
mobilizing the American
Jewish Community and
serving as its advocate
in the nation's capital

2027 Massachusetts Ave NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 387-5800

Harriet Gilbert, Chairman
Commission on Social Action
of Reform Judaism

Albert Vorspan
Co-Director

Rabbi David Saperstein
Co-Director and Counsel

The Religious Action Center
is under the auspices of
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Action of Reform Judaism,
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the Central Conference of
American Rabbis and
the Union of American
Hebrew Congregations
with its affiliates:
American Conference
of Synagogues,
Association of Reform
Zionists of America,
National Federation of
Temple Brotherhoods,
National Federation of
Temple Sisterhoods,
North American Federation
of Temple Youth.

ai PAC

MEMORANDUM

DATE: August 2, 1990
FROM: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
TO: Rabbi David Saperstein
COPY: Albert Vorspan

Al tells me that he sent you the material concerning Wayne Owens and that you are going to check on the matter and see whether it is true.

Feel free to correspond with Mr. Janove directly and keep me posted on what you find out.

Thanks.



MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 25, 1990
FROM: Rabbi Alexander Schindler
TO: Rabbi David Saperstein, Albert Vorspan
COPY:

The enclosed is self explanatory.

Is Mr. Janove right, or is he wrong?

If he is right, would you be good enough to pursue this matter with AIPAC as well?

Thank you very much.

#10
19
Please keep
me posted on
this
matter.
A. Schindler

A. Schindler
Owens is the guy
we met with in gary
ofc. We like him. If
his letter is accurate,
it's an outrage. David's
first reaction is it can't be
true, but he'll look
A

3
~~XX~~

July 17, 1990

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of Am. Hebrew Cong.
838 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Re: Wayne Owens, U.S. Congressman Second
Congressional District, State of Utah

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am a trustee and Executive Committee member of Congregation Kol Ami (approx. 550 member units) in Salt Lake City, Utah. However, I write to you not on behalf of the congregation, but as a member of the Utah Jewish Community.

In the past two years, I have become knowledgeable of Wayne Owens' views on the Middle East. This knowledge has been acquired from face-to-face meetings with Wayne and members of his staff, speeches he has given and material he has written. As a result, I have formed the opinion that Wayne is a strong, energetic and committed supporter of the State of Israel. He supports the Jewish state not because he finds it politically expedient to do (in Utah, I question whether such support is expedient), but because he genuinely believes the cause is right and just. In the past three years, he has spent a tremendous amount of time traveling to the Middle East, reading materials on the subject, meeting with people and, most importantly, learning about the issues and their complexity. Perhaps no other congressman or senator has spent as much time on this matter as he.

Nevertheless, because his support for Israel springs from a personal feeling of what is right, he sometimes has taken positions with which some supporters of Israel (including myself) would disagree. However, my occasional disagreements with him have never shaken my confidence that what Wayne does or says is motivated from a desire that Israel achieve lasting peace and prosperity. I therefore wholeheartedly support Congressman Owens.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of Am. Hebrew Cong.
July 17, 1990
Page Two

No doubt you are aware that Utah is an overwhelming Republican state. This fact alone ensures that Wayne can never take re-election for granted -- especially in light of some of the gerrymandering activities of the Republican-controlled state legislature and governorship.

In this year's election, Wayne's probable opponent is Republican Dan Marriott, who poses a serious challenge to Wayne's candidacy. Marriott was U.S. Congressman for the Second District in Utah from 1976 until 1984 when he ran for governor and was defeated in the primary by incumbent Governor Norman Bangerter. Marriott has strong name recognition and financial support.

For any supporter of Israel, Dan Marriott is anathema. His voting record and public statements on Middle East issues would compare favorably to perhaps Congressman Gus Savage, but hardly anyone else. Marriott consistently voted against aid for Israel and voted for bills resulting in reductions in assistance for Israel. He has made clear his feelings to the media. The October 15, 1981 issue of the Salt Lake Tribune quotes Marriott criticizing a House of Representatives vote to disapprove sale of AWAC aircraft to Saudi Arabia. This vote, according to Marriott, was due to the "strength of the Jewish Lobby." Marriott further stated the U.S. cannot "continue to appease the Israelis." He contrasted Israel with the leaders of Saudi Arabia as to whom "I am convinced that they are true allies."

A little over two years later, Marriott was quoted by the Salt Lake Tribune (January 27, 1984) as criticizing the U.S. for giving too much military and economic aid to Israel and not enough to Jordan. Marriott spoke of Jordan's King Hussein as another true ally and said the U.S. should sell him all of the F-16 fighters he wished to buy. Marriott described Israelis as being "paranoid" about Hussein's intentions. Finally, this article presented Marriott's views on Jewish settlements in the West Bank: "I think that's wrong. They ought to get out of there."

Given Marriott's record and views, it was quite a surprise last month to hear his name announced at the AIPAC banquet. Marriott's appearance signifies either an excessive amount of chutzpah or naivete as to how easily Israel's friends can be fooled.

Wayne Owens' record on Israel could not present a sharper contrast. He has consistently voted for foreign aid

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of Am. Hebrew Cong.
July 17, 1990
Page Three

appropriations bills providing \$3 billion in grant aid for Israel. He co-sponsored a resolution disapproving the sale of Maverick-D air to ground missiles to Saudi Arabia and voted for a House Resolution calling for withholding of U.S. funds to the United Nations or affiliated organizations which grant membership as a state to the PLO. In May 1989, Wayne introduced a bill to establish a U.S. based Middle East development bank which would locate opportunities for cooperative business ventures between Israel and its Arab neighbors and offer loan guarantees for such projects. Wayne has personally involved himself in an attempt to secure freedom for the Soued brothers of Damascus and has addressed this issue twice with Syrian Vice President Abd al-Khaddam.

Wayne Owens' support for Israel has been strengthened by friendships he has made with Israeli leaders including Shimon Peres. By the same token, Wayne has expressed strong support for Prime Minister Shamir's election initiative. He believes that peace in the region is achievable, although it will only come after many slow and arduous steps. He also firmly believes that a lasting peace will require strong U.S. assistance and involvement.

Notwithstanding his pro-Israel record, Wayne has raised concerns on occasion among some of Israel's friends. Perhaps most prominent was his trip to Tunis in early 1989 and meeting with Yasir Arafat. Upon his return from this meeting, I hosted Wayne at my home and invited about 30 leaders and intellectuals in the Salt Lake Jewish Community. Needless to say, the questioning was aggressive. Nevertheless, following this meeting and a similar such meeting at Kol Ami in December 1989, many of us concluded that while the decision to meet Arafat was perhaps not his best, it did not signify any change in Wayne's feelings about Israel but simply reflected his willingness to explore any possibility if he thinks it might lead to an improvement in the Middle East situation. Also, the trip to Tunis allowed Wayne to compare and contrast subsequent actions and statements of the PLO with the representations Arafat made to him. I think this has given Wayne a better understanding of the danger in relying on Arafat's statements for western consumption and that the PLO is no harbinger of peace.

Thus, although my views on the Middle East are not synonymous with Wayne's (just as they are not synonymous with those of many other friends of Israel), I endorse his efforts to make a

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of Am. Hebrew Cong.
July 17, 1990
Page Four

contribution toward peace in the region and firmly believe he is valuable friend of the State of Israel. I also feel it would be a sad day if we were to lose his voice and vote in the House of Representatives -- especially if he is replaced by Dan Marriott.

If you have any questions or would like additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me at work or at home:

Work: Fabian & Clendenin
Twelfth Floor
215 South State State Street
P.O. Box 510210
Salt Lake City, Utah 84151
Telephone: (801) 531-8900
Facsimile: (801) 596-2814

Home: 765 Third Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
Telephone: (801) 322-4007

Very truly yours,



Jathan W. Janove

JWJ:071790A

P.S. I am not a member of Wayne Owens' staff or re-election committee. Although I am a registered democrat, I am not active in the party and voted for republican candidates in the most recent gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races.

AIPAC



COPY

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

March 15, 1991
29 Adar 5751

Mr. Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director
AIPAC
500 North Capitol St., N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Tom:

I don't know if Senator Kennedy contacted you directly. In case he did not, I write to advise that he will be unable to attend the Annual Conference Banquet. He has to be in Massachusetts and is very sorry to miss the AIPAC Conference for it is an event he usually tries to attend.

I tried my best. Sorry it didn't work.

With fond good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Edward M. Kennedy
Massachusetts

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

March 7, 1991

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

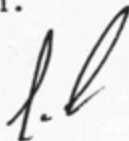
Thank you for your recent letter regarding AIPAC's annual conference. It is an event I always try to attend.

Unfortunately, I will be in Massachusetts this year during the conference and will have to miss it. I would have welcomed the opportunity to discuss with those at the conference the many critical issues facing Israel.

I hope I will be able to catch up with you in the near future, particularly now that the war is over. I can only hope that the Administration will use the same energy and determination we just witnessed in the Gulf conflict to address the challenges ahead, both in the Middle East and here at home.

Thank you for writing and, again, I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,



AIPAC



The most powerful, best-run and effective foreign policy interest group in Washington.

— The New York Times

AIPAC Is Unique

- * AIPAC, headquartered in Washington, is the nationwide American organization which, for over a quarter-century, has worked to strengthen United States-Israel relations.
- * AIPAC is the *professional* group that fights for Israel's security and welfare in our nation's capital.
- * AIPAC is the *only* Jewish organization registered to lobby on issues affecting Israel and world Jewry.

A power to be reckoned with at the White House, State and Defense Departments, and on Capitol Hill.

— The Washington Post

AIPAC Does An Effective and Significant Job

- * AIPAC has a *distinguished* record of presenting its positions reliably and authoritatively on Capitol Hill, to the Administration and through the media, to the American public.
- * AIPAC is in *direct contact* with Representatives, Senators and their staffs on a daily basis — its lobbyists brief them, provide useful materials, monitor all relevant legislation, and anticipate legislative issues affecting Israel.
- * AIPAC is in congressional hearing rooms, *testifying* for aid to Israel on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and answering tough questions from committee members.
- * AIPAC is at the *State and Defense Departments* seeking explanations of policy and making its case at the highest levels. It is also frequently invited to the White House to meet with senior policy makers and the President's political advisors.
- * AIPAC is at work in its own library, handling research and media requests, preparing speeches, statements and analyses, demonstrating that Israel's case is supported by the facts.

- * AIPAC is on *university campuses*, educating and involving pro-Israel students in the American political process and sensitizing America's future policy makers to Israel's strengths and needs.
- * AIPAC *works closely* with the other major American Jewish agencies, all of whose top leaders serve on its Executive Committee.

Israel is defended by the most effective citizen lobby in Washington.

— Karl E. Meyer, Editorial Board, New York Times, Oct. 1980

AIPAC Needs Your Help

- * AIPAC needs to *counter* the growing Arab propaganda effort more intensively.
- * AIPAC needs to *broaden* its research capabilities.
- * AIPAC needs to *augment* its vital and well-respected information services for the Washington press corps.
- * AIPAC needs to *increase* its nationwide political education efforts.
- * AIPAC needs to *strengthen* its key contacts with all senators and representatives at the grass-roots level.

AIPAC must continue to play this role because it is the only organization with the expertise and contacts necessary to succeed.



AIPAC is an American organization, registered as a domestic lobby, and supported financially by private donations. It receives no monetary assistance from Israel nor from any national Jewish organization or any foreign group. Because it is a lobby, contributions to AIPAC are not tax-deductible.

AIPAC contributions are an excellent investment in Israel's future. On an operating budget of just over \$1 million in 1980, AIPAC helped secure \$2.2 billion in aid for Israel. In 1979, AIPAC lobbied successfully for \$1.8 billion in military and economic aid as well as an additional \$3 billion for Israel to enable her to relocate her defense forces from the Sinai.

Membership includes a subscription to **Near East Report**, the authoritative weekly newsletter on Mideast affairs, and **Myths and Facts**, a concise record of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Contributions to AIPAC mean involvement in the unique and crucial efforts to ensure Israel's security and viability. Your own efforts and support are vital for our success.

AIPAC
American Israel Public Affairs
Committee
444 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 638-2256

Catholic - Jewish
Reflective Statement
On:

THE SINGLE

PARENT

FAMILY

The Los Angeles
Roman Catholic-Jewish
Respect Life Committee
October, 1981
Los Angeles, California

MESSAGE

This is the third major STATEMENT of former Catholics and Jewish converts to Judaism, issued in Los Angeles observance, in 1975, of the 100th anniversary of the Vatican I document *Mater et Magistra* (Declaration on Non-Christian Religions).

That document, by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in consultation with the Southern California Board of Rabbis and the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, centered on several basic themes. One of these themes, "The Good for Life" has been the subject for each of the three STATEMENTS.

For this Jewish and Jewish Catholic Statement, we are indebted to Rabbi David J. Green, who was assisted by the National Council for Life Council of Israel.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

A Jewish Catholic Statement on the
Single Parent Family, issued in 1975, in
observance of the 100th anniversary of
the Vatican I document *Mater et Magistra*.

INTRODUCTION

THIS DOCUMENT, with its theme of "The Good for Life," is the third of three STATEMENTS, issued in Los Angeles observance of the 100th anniversary of the Vatican I document *Mater et Magistra* (Declaration on Non-Christian Religions). The Single Parent Family was chosen as the specific topic because in 1975 it was the subject of a major study by the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, which was published in the form of a book, *The Single Parent Family: A Jewish Catholic Statement*, by David J. Green and David J. Green.

The first of the three STATEMENTS, "The Good for Life," was issued in 1973, in observance of the 100th anniversary of the Vatican I document *Mater et Magistra*.

David J. Green
David J. Green

PREFACE

This is the third major STATEMENT of Roman Catholic and Jewish concern to grow out of the Los Angeles observance, in 1975, of the 10th anniversary of the Vatican II document **Nostra Aetate** (Declaration on Non-Christian Religions).

That observance, by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in cooperation with the Southern California Board of Rabbis and the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, centered on several basic themes. One of these themes, "Respect for Life," has been the springboard for each of the three STATEMENTS.

The first, **Jewish and Roman Catholic Reflections on Abortion and Related Issues**, was published by the Catholic-Jewish Respect for Life Committee in September, 1977.

The Committee's second STATEMENT, **Caring for the Dying Person**, was published in September, 1979. In it we spoke together of the care and compassion we must extend to those about to die and to their families.

Work on this third STATEMENT, **The Single Parent Family**, began in 1980, marking the 15th anniversary of **Nostra Aetate**.

INTRODUCTION

Having dealt with problems of birth and death in the first two STATEMENTS, we move on to mid-life problems in our third study. **The Single Parent Family** was chosen as the specific topic because, in 1980, it was on the current agenda of both the international Roman Catholic community and the American Jewish Committee. Moreover, it was then being considered in a nation-wide "White House Conference."

Our first step was to set limits. For our own purposes, we decided to define a single parent as including a parent who is:

- a) widowed
- b) divorced

- c) separated or abandoned
- d) single, never married (natural or adoptive)
- e) single because spouse is incarcerated or hospitalized for extended period.

Others worthy of study, but deemed too distinctive to be included in this study, are:

- a) widows, widowers, and other singles without children
- b) single parents with non-dependent children

Our second threshold decision was to add three single parents to the Committee's membership, to reap the benefits of their first-hand experience. With specific ethnic concerns in mind, we chose one Black single parent and one Hispanic single parent as part of this threesome.

We have divided our presentation into five sections:

- 1) Jewish and Catholic Reflections on the Family.
- 2) Contemporary Realities of the Single Parent Family
- 3) Present Response of Church and Synagogue
- 4) Areas of Future Ministry
- 5) Recommendations

The Committee's aim is to highlight the realities of single parent families in synagogue and parish life . . . and the need for greater response and sensitivity on the part of our established religious authorities and agencies. The topic is timely, is being widely discussed, and is in need of community support.

In terms of dialogue, this STATEMENT takes us an important step forward. Unlike our two previous STATEMENTS, this one reaches a consensus, with no separate "Jewish" and "Roman Catholic" viewpoints.

1. JEWISH AND CATHOLIC REFLECTIONS ON THE FAMILY

The traditional family structure has always been the basic unit of both Jewish and Christian society. Reverence for marriage, children, and family have been para-

mount. Both religions have stressed, with the Book of Genesis, that "it is not good that man (and woman) should be alone," and that God created "a helper fit for him" (Genesis 2:18).

But in recent years the manifold stresses of modern living have fragmented this pattern. Today, single parent families are found in all our churches and synagogues, often in substantial numbers. Often overlooked, often regarded as less than members in good standing, they become peripheral to the life of our congregation.

Yet these families among us have the right to our care and attention as much as do the two parent families. "The Lord . . . has no favorites . . . and executes justice for the orphan and the widow" (Deuteronomy 10:17-49). "You shall not wrong any widow or orphan" (Exodus 11:21).

These families too have a sacred role, for it is within the family that children first learn of God's love for them and for others. Parents have the solemn obligation of teaching their children to give loving observance to God's commandments, and of introducing them to the wonder of their religious rituals. "Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children" (Deuteronomy 6:7). Children in turn owe to their parents not only obedience, gratitude, and honor, but also loving support when hardship and old age make them vulnerable. The commandment to "Honor your father and your mother" is paramount in both traditions, applicable even when families separate. When families have separated this commandment is at times quite difficult to implement, particularly when each parent wants to depict the other parent in a bad light.

2. CONTEMPORARY REALITIES OF THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

One of every two California marriages ends in divorce.

Almost one-third of the children in California public schools are not living with both of their natural parents. One-fourth of these live with a single parent.

One million one hundred thousand single teenagers become pregnant annually. Of

these, two hundred thirty thousand remain single, have babies, and keep them.

Of course, the importance of ministering to the single parent family is determined not by statistics but by the immeasurable personal and social loss to each parent and each child as well as to the communities in which they function — or fail to function. The challenge of ministering to their religious, social, economic, psychological, and educational problems is compounded by the sad reality that most of us do not even know the numbers of single parent families in our congregations.

The most pressing problems are psychological — notably, loneliness, isolation and hostility. These in turn intrude into other areas of distress such as decision making, economic insecurity, feelings of depression or rejection, and poor self-image. Individual family members develop patterns of vulnerability, anxiety, anger, and frustration.

3. PRESENT RESPONSES OF CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE

Church and synagogue, awakening to the reality of single parent families, are finally beginning to respond to their needs. National publications include:

- a) **Report of the Task Force on the Jewish Single Parent Family and Single Individual**, published by the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, April, 1980.
- b) **Single Parent Families: A Challenge to the Jewish Community**, by Chaim I. Waxman for the National Jewish Family Center of the American Jewish Committee, February, 1980.
- c) **A Vision and Strategy: The Plan of Pastoral Action for Family Ministry**, by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1978. (This document considers family life in general, but mentions the specific need to minister to single parent families.)
- d) **The Message to Christian Families**, a statement by the Bishops' Synod, October 25, 1980 (calls for help to be given to single parent families,

the widowed, the separated and divorced).

- e) **Paths of Life**, a Program for Parishes by Paulist Press. This series includes materials (books, discussion materials, and audio/visual aids) for "healing family hurts and Christian parenting." Some chapters are devoted to the single parent family.

Local publications include:

- a) **Getting Everything You Want in L.A.: A Guide for the Adult Jewish Single**, published by the Single Adult Department of the Jewish Federation Council, 1980. (lists a variety of services and organizations in the local Jewish community).
- b) **Resource for Family Ministry**, by the Archdiocesan Family Ministry Committee, 1980 (pamphlet listing the Archdiocesan agencies involved in ministry to parents, hurting families, the divorced and separated, widows, etc.).

Local programs include:

- a) Single Adult Department of the Jewish Federation Council, founded in 1980 to coordinate activities for single adults in synagogues and Jewish community centers.
- b) Jewish Big Brothers and Catholic Big Brothers, serving children of single parents.
- c) support groups for the separated, divorced, and widowed.

Specific Services Available to Single Parent Families

While the Catholic or Jewish single parent may find help in existing single adult, divorced, or widowed support groups, few of them are specifically oriented to single parents. In **Getting Everything You Want in L.A.: A Guide for the Adult Jewish Single**, a few synagogues and Jewish community centers list support groups for the single parent. Support for single parent families is less, though some Jewish community service centers do offer them child care. The Los Angeles Catholic Directory lists no Catholic support groups or services

specifically oriented toward the single parent family.

However, it must also be noted that many needs of the single parent family are ministered to through general counselling services and other agencies within our religious communities.

The March, 1980, **Program Perspectives** published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is devoted to suggestions on how synagogues and religious schools can be sensitive to the children of divorced parents. Many of these suggestions are applicable to single parent families.

Catholic Social Services within the Archdiocese also send counselors to parochial schools when requested. Here the child can be helped without the single parent having to arrange for transportation or taking time off from work.

Many single parent families and even some counselling priests and rabbis are unaware of these programs.

Place of Single Parent Families Within Congregations

Single parent families in both of our religions tell us they want to participate fully in the life of the church or synagogue community. Single parents want to be welcomed warmly when taking part in worship services. Otherwise, their participation — amidst a majority of married couples — can be emotionally trying.

Even when their financial contributions and active participation are limited by necessity, they do not want to be seen always as "hurting families" or as drains on the community particularly at the major life cycle events.

Financial Assistance

Scholarships for the religious education of their children are among the primary needs of Catholic and Jewish single parents. Where scholarships (or tuition reductions) are already available, this is often not sufficiently publicized. In some instances, greater sensitivity should be exercised in the granting of such funds.

4. AREAS OF FUTURE MINISTRY

Before making specific recommendations, we want to identify four general considerations which, we feel, are central to any realistic effort.

a) No Doomsday Mentality

Pessimism pervades much of the contemporary literature on the family. But this is contrary to the Jewish and Christian ultimate sense of hope. Furthermore, it underestimates the durability of the family institution demonstrated for several thousand years. Pessimists also equate radical change with destruction, disregarding the valid role that stress-change plays in human history. Despite the current difficulties that beset family life, we must tone down the doomsday preachers who see the family in danger and the single parent in chaos.

b) Need for Integration

A key objective must be to integrate the single parent family into the larger communal family. Ministering to single parent families must not leave them feeling isolated. Chaim Waxman, in the American Jewish Committee pamphlet **Single Parent Families** (p. 7 #2), said, "Virtually all Jewish institutions have been designed around the traditional two-parent family, which has been considered both intrinsically valuable and central to Jewish community . . . By failing to reach out to single parents, we will convince them that we reject them as 'deviants'." A parallel situation exists in the Catholic community.

c) A Listening Posture

In a 1980 position paper on single parents by the National Federation of Priests' Councils, we found an expression which reflects our present position: "a listening posture." That is, our study and experience are not yet sufficient for us to unquestioningly support any single programmatic response to the needs of single parent families.

d) **Change of Attitude**

Today, the best description of the Catholic and Jewish community attitude toward the single parent family is "ambivalence." No program can work until this attitude is altered in a positive way—across the board and, most importantly, at the congregational level. To take action without this change is to pursue solutions that won't last and, worse, to invite an increased sense of isolation among these families.

5. **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Simple acts can change attitudes. For example, **church and synagogue bulletin announcements** should make it clear that the single parent is welcome. **Special seminars** for clergy and religious educators can create an awareness of the special needs of single parent families. **Small support groups** can be developed to examine ways to transmit religious identity and values in the home and to encourage the involvement of single parent families in the church/synagogue setting. It should be noted that groups are more effective when tailored to the needs of all single parent families, although separate groups may be appropriate in the early stages of the loss of a mate through separation, divorce, or death. While this early crisis intervention is significant and should be expanded, parenting programs need the involvement of both single and two parent families.

Dues and Educational Fees

Dues and tuition should be structured so as to give children of single parents the opportunity to participate in religious and educational institutions. Established scholarship funds would be most beneficial. In some cases synagogues might offer special memberships covering both the head of the family and the other parent. In parochial education a tuition reduction — with volunteer service provisions — might be considered where there is great financial need. Whatever plan is adopted, the administrator or principal should be sufficiently sensitized so as not to embarrass or shame the single parent legitimately requesting a reduced fee.

Improved Scheduling

Many institutions habitually schedule activities (such as parent-teacher conferences, counselling sessions, sacramental preparations, courses) for daytime hours on weekdays, as if every family still included a mother who stays at home. To accommodate working parents, consideration should be given not only to evening meetings but to weekend meetings as well. Also, child care might be made available during such activities. This would not only make attendance possible but also provide a relaxed environment for the single parent to benefit from that attendance. These adjustments would be in the religious community's own interest, enabling more people to become involved in its activities.

Religious Rites of Passage and Festival

In both our communities, the rites of passage are celebrated in a religious context. Traditionally these rites have been structured with dual parent involvement. For Baptism, Bar Mitzvah, Confirmation, and Marriage, the single parent family requires extra attention. A priest or rabbi should take the initiative, offering support and counsel as well as utilizing the expertise in the community.

Festivals too are family oriented, with emphasis on the two parent family. The seasons of Christmas and Passover are typical occasions when a creative response from the religious communities is needed to help the single parent family share in these times of great joy and warmth.

For the most part, our failures are by default rather than by design. As a case in point, take the special liturgical expressions in connection with Holy Family Sunday. Previously at that celebration, both parents stood within the congregation to renew and strengthen their marriage commitment, often creating a sense of pain and isolation for those without spouses. Presently, this revised celebration includes children's commitment to their parents and individuals' commitment to their faith. This suggests how this service can become a source of strength for the entire family fabric, regardless of its particular structure.

Judaism understands the Sabbath as a family ritual. Emphasis should be placed on the doing of the ritual rather than on specific sex roles. In the absence of one parent, the other can and should carry out those practices designed for family religious observance and enrichment of the family individually and collectively.

SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS

The present STATEMENT, like the previous two, has opened our eyes to undreamed of complexities. If our conclusions appear to be tentative, that was precisely our intent.

True, we have been able to articulate a number of religious principles relating to the family, often having their root source in both Judaism and Christianity. But when we started considering specific remedies, we encountered an avalanche of cultural, economic, sociological, and futuristic challenges and problems facing us as religious communities.

At least, and at last, both Judaism and Christianity have begun to identify needs and concerns of the single parent family, to accumulate data, and to try some programmatic outreach. Yet these efforts are still somewhat sparse and, in most cases, not congregationally based. Those in the religious offices of family support agencies are most anxious for assistance, still unwilling themselves to settle upon a single or completely developed program for the purpose.

Two areas of future ministry seem to us most critical. First is the need for integration. The concept of a single parent family synagogue or a single parent family parish seems to us counterproductive. The single parent family can best be ministered to, and in turn make its own best contribution, in the humanly diverse setting of the traditional synagogue and parish.

The second area, which we unanimously felt even more basic, even more urgent, is: change of attitude. This is what we stressed in our overall recommendations. The approach need not be sermonistic, but rather one involving expansive and in-

clusive wording, thoughtful scheduling, and imaginative development of religious rites and festivals.

What do we ask of our communities? To refresh our awareness of the centrality of the family in religious life. To recognize how very many of our families are now single parent. To heighten our congregational sensitivity to these families' special needs. To bestow upon them the gifts of warmth and fellowship which are ours to give. And to learn from them the lessons of adaptability and courage which are theirs to teach.



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