

MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1953-1996. Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

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Folder 3

Civil rights [March on Washington], 1983.

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September 20, 1983

Rabbi Balfour Brickner Stephen Wise Free Synagogue 30 West 68th Street New York, New York 10023

Dear Balfour:

Thank you for sharing with me the item on the Washington march which will appear in your Bulletin. I thank you for writing as you did, for sharing background on the Union's participation with members of your congregation, and for equating all of this to the usual question what does the Union do for us? I am truly grateful for your support.

By the way, I don't know if it came to your attention, but at the very last minute - indeed, Friday night - B'nai Brith also added its name to the supporters of the march.

Edie has told me that the Holyday services were magnificent. But you should know that Rhea did not recognize you in the Times, I believe it was the glasses, perhaps it was the talit?

With fondest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

from him Rabbi Balfour Brickner Stephen Wise Free Synagogue Mex -The enclosed will Appena in my column In m. Synappul Bulletin for October. Thomas lings lapart Dela Diale to the entire Simh B

OF ALL THINGS ...

The American-Jewish community owes the national Reform Jewish community a debt of gratitude which it will probably never offer,

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was practically the first, and until the days immediately prior to the actual day, almost the only Jewish organization publicly endorsing and supporting the August 27th Twentieth Anniversary of the March on Washington. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the UAHC, was one of the convenors. The Jewish War Veterans, which had earlier endorsed the March, later repudiated its stand. To my knowledge they never returned even after it became "safe" to do so. Courage brothers! The New Jewish Agenda also joined early in sponsorship. I liked what they said. "Our agenda will be determined by our ethics, not by our enemies." The American Jewish Congress added their name ten days before the March.

It was the UAHC which, as a result of arduous negotiations with Coretta King and Rep. Walter Fauntroy, co-chairs of the day, extracted promises from them to keep anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian rhetoric and placards out of the day's events. That promise was kept. As a result, the nation and the world was not exposed to that ugliness.

When first approached to become co-sponsors, most Jewish organizations either refused to endorse or "ducked, bobbed and weaved" their way around granting their support. Some even went so far as to use, as an excuse, the fact that the March was being held on Shabbat. What hypocrisy. For years, most of those same organizations have been holding business sessions and conventions on Shabbat.

It was the UAHC which, by its courageous action, by refusing to knuckle under to Jewish organizational pressure, not only gave the Jewish community visibility at the March (Rabbi Schindler delivered the closing prayer) but also preserved what is left of the Black-Jewish relationship in this country. It further preserved the visibility of an American-Jewish community's presence in the civil rights community. Al Vorspan, vice president of the UAHC and director of its Social Action Commission, asked the right questions:

"...will Jewish groups ever again be able to be a part of broadbased coalitions if we require a 100 percent certified kosher rating for every organization in the coalition? Are we painting ourselves into a corner of irrelevance in American life? And what interest does our splendid isolation serve?"

Another reason why it is important to have and to support the national arm of our Reform movement--the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Now you know why we ask you for the additional 12% of your dues. We send it to the UAHC.

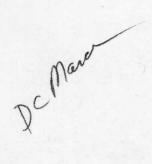
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September 20, 1983

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter, National Director Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith 823 United Nations Plaza New York, New York 10017

Dear Nate:

Many thanks for the information on Bellecourt. I am grateful to you for sharing this data with me.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Nathan Perlmutter National Director 823 United Nations Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017 Journal of Brail Brith September 13, 1983

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

Dear Alex:

The man whose name you gave me turns out to be one Vernon Bellecourt. I thought you would be interested in the following:

Bellecourt, who is now 52, was National Director of the American Indian Movement in the early 1970's. In 1972, our Denver office issued a protest directly to him after he used a University of Denver classroom as a forum for arguing that aid sent by U.S. to Israel should go to American Indians.

Bellecourt was arrested in Chicago in 1973 after returning from a fundraising trip to Europe and charged with conspiracy to incite a riot in the Wounded Knee uprising which took place earlier that year. When a judge in Illinois set his bail at \$100,000, Jesse Jackson sprang to Bellecourt's defense as did the leader of the Chicago Peace Council and the Chairman of the Illinois Communist Party.

AIM itself has been of concern to us for its participation in anti-Israel rallies and involvements with pro-PLO groups. One of its spokesmen, Russell Means, has talked about "Zionist control of the media" and has referred to Zionism as "a racist entity." The organization has openly sought Arab money and <u>Newsweek</u> reported this year that AIM's leaders had met with Col. Khaddafi

With all the very best and good wishes for the New Year,

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Richard Cohen Associates / 30 East 60th Street / New York, NY 10022

Alex:

Here's the op-ed piece as submitted to The Times.

Thought this material might be of interest to you. Any comments would be most welcome.

Richard Cohen

Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969

WHY WE'RE MARCHING

By Alexander M. Schindler

The partnership of blacks and Jews that helped to forge the civil rights movement 20 years ago has been strained in recent years by differences over affirmative action, busing and the Middle East, among other issues. As a major step toward restoring this somewhat raveled coalition, Jewish organizations were invited to take part in the 20th anniversary commemoration on August 27 of Dr. Martin Luther King's celebrated March on Washington.

There seemed no reason not to participate. The theme of the event was "Jobs, Peace and Freedom." We're for them. Leading supporters of the March included the AFL-CIO, National Education Association, United Auto Workers, United Churches of Christ and others. A fine coalition.

But there were troubling aspects as well. Among the organizers were black leaders who had visited with PLO chairman Yasir Arafat; one of them had embraced the terrorist chieftain and sang together with him, "We Shall Overcome." Among the convenors was a former United States Senator, active in Arab-American affairs, who has made no secret of his anti-Israel views. An early version of the foreign policy paper to be issued by the March criticized "massive U.S. arms exports" to the Middle East -- and thus, by implication, to Israel. One draft position paper called for direct negotiations between Israel and the PLO. Another criticized American refusal to talk to the PLO. At the same time, reports from around the country indicated that anti-Israel -- perhaps anti-Semitic -- slogans might appear on placards carried by left-wing elements that had jumped on the parade bandwagon to exploit this historic anniversary for their own purposes.

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Given these fears, Jewish organizations were faced with a dilemma: Take part in the event, try to shore up the civil rights coalition and seek to keep the March on target, or stay out and risk further damage to already-weakened black-Jewish relations and to the unity of the struggle for racial justice. There was a further dilemma: Stay in and seek to exert our influence with our friends and allies in the civil rights movement, or abandon the field to Third World ideologues and let the coalition fall, by default, into anti-Israel hands.

Most Jewish organizations dropped out, charging that the views of some of those associated with the event betrayed the spirit of the 1963 March. We at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations stayed in. We did so because we want to remain part of the struggle for racial equality in the spirit of coalition and cooperation forged by Dr. King. We do not want that spirit to die and that coalition to become a halfremembered relic of an earlier age.

So we conducted frank discussions with the March leadership, making clear that we would disengage from the commemoration if it became apparent that responsible and moderate groups could not control dissident elements.

The leaders of the March were sensitive to our concerns and cognizant of the danger of diverting the event from its main purpose. The policy paper will speak of peace but offer no specific strategy for achieving that goal. There will be no criticism of U.S. military aid to Israel but rather a call for "on-going, constructive dialogue" among the parties -- a call that Israel itself has made since the day it declared its independence 35 years ago.

The co-chairpersons also gave assurances that they will make every effort, including giving specific instructions to the marshalls, to insure that placards and banners in the line of march are in keeping with the theme of jobs, peace and freedom. And they declared that if divisive acts or statements are made -- anti-Israel, anti-Semitic or defamatory to any group in the coalition -- the co-chairpersons will publicly disavow them as inconsistent with the spirit of the event.

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I am proud that the movement of Reform Judaism will take its place among the hundreds of thousands of Americans of every race and religion and walk of life who will be marching together in Washington on August 27, and that the American Jewish Congress will also take part. Our presence will be consonant with the highest moral and ethical values of the Jewish tradition. It will be in keeping with our devotion to the security and dignity of Israel and its people. And it will express our support of the goal that Mrs. Coretta Scott King and Walter Fauntroy expressed so elocuantly in a letter to us earlier this month.

"The Twentieth Anniversary March on Washington," they wrote, "affords us an opportunity for reconciliation, for healing, for locking arms and for struggling together until the last battle is won and we can stand together and shout, 'Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we're free at last.'"

8/18/83

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Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler is president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

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Atlanta Jewish Federation 1753 Peachtree Road, Northeast / Atlanta, Georgia 30309/404-873-1661

August 17, 1983

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The Atlanta Jewish Federation wishes to express its appreciation to representatives of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations who have worked so diligently with the leadership of the upcoming March on Washington. Our understanding of community relations assumes that every effort should be made by local and national agencies to maintain positive contact with many diverse elements in the community. Your willingness to work with the leadership of the Anniversary March in order to make possible participation by Jewish organizations and individuals is an example of Jewish community relations work at its highest level.

All too often, out of noble motivation to protect the Jewish community and its concerns, we are quick to condemn the actions and statements of other groups. However, persistent and positive interaction demonstrated by your organization indicates that we can be active participants in a large range of activities and issues if we take the time to work with our friends and communicate to them our concerns and alternative solutions to problems which we face.

Fortunately, the Jewish community is not monolithic so that you, together with the American Jewish Congress, have been able to demonstrate Jewish concern and willingness to participate in this most important activity.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the statement issued by the Atlanta Jewish Federation calling for a memorial activity prior to the March and a reaffirmation of our community's commitment to the ideals reflected by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Once again we are most respectful and appreciative of the work, time and effort which you and your leadership spent on this issue. We believe it has been quite constructive.

Sincerely, term Marvin C. Goldstein

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Marvin C. Gol President

MCG:o enclosure cc: Rabbi David Saperstein Albert Chernin

PRESIDENT-Dr. Marvin C. Colastein/FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT-Gerald H. Cohen/VICE-PRESIDENTS-Henry Birnbrey, Betty R. Jacobson/TREASURER-Mark Lichtenstein/ASSISTANT TREASURER-Dr. Charles M. Rosenberg/SECRETARY-Dr. Fred N. Katz/EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR-David I. Sarnat

STATEMENT AND INVITATION

"With This Faith We Will Be Able to Hew Out of the Mountain of Despair A Stone of Hope." - Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The faith remains; the dream endures. Our commitment to hew out of a mountain of despair our stone of hope is firm for all of us who have learned from Martin Luther King, Jr. that the work of civil and human rights is an ongoing labor of dedication and love. The 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington will be a symbol of our reaffirmation of this moral task.

We must continue to focus on Dr. King's dream, "One day (to) live in a nation where (we) will not be judged by the color of our skin but the content of our character." We continue to stand with our brothers and sisters, black and white, Jew and gentile, in order to make the dream a vibrant reality. We are equal in our resolve against those who would compromise the dream, dilute the vision, or support evil and tyranny of any kind.

We strongly support the goals of Jobs, Peace, Freedom, and Civil Rights as an important part of our nation's unfinished agenda. We pledge to work together for their realization.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the marchers with whom we share a deep reverence for the ideals of Dr. King. Because the event will take place on the Jewish Sabbath, many in our community will be unable to participate. However, in a spirit of unity, we will commemorate the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington at a memorial gathering, Thursday, August 25th, 10:00 AM at the tomb of Dr. King. We reaffirm our pledge to pursue the vision so that, as Dr. King said, quoting the prophet Isaiah, "the rough places will be smooth and the crooked places straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed."

Rabbi Donald Peterman Chairman Atlanta Rabbinic Association

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Marvin C. Goldstein President Atlanta Jewish Federation



August 22, 1983

Mr. Sidney J. Brown 6158 Greenbelt Road Beltway Plaza Mall Greenbelt, MD 20770

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thank you for your candor in sharing your thoughts in regard to the UAHC's participation in the forthcoming March on Washington. The decision to be a part of this very special anniversary event was made by the Officers and Board of Trustees of the UAHC. They discussed the situation fully last May and have been kept apprised of events regularly. In fact, the enclosed mailing was sent off just last week.

The civil rights coalition is important to us. Through it, Black legislators continue to support us on Israel and Sovuet Jewry.to an extent even greater -- would you believe it -- than Jewish Congresspersons and Senators. We can't let a few bad Jackson's drive us out of the coalityoo.

By remaining in the coalition, we were able to stop anti-Israel statements from appearing in the event's legislative packages. And we kept Aburezk and his gang from taking over the Black movement.

In other words, which policy advances Jewish interests more? The easy road of ranting against the March, or the more serious effort to protect Jewish interests by staying in?

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

Attorney at Law

Member New York & U.S. Supreme Court Bars

Real Estate Investments

Usual Judice

(301) 345-6300



Beltway Plaza Mall

6158 Greenbelt Road

Greenbelt, Maryland 20770.

August 16, 1983

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Once again I am writing you because of the disservice that you do the Jewish Community and Israel, in particular, when you join with leaders of the Black movement like Jesse Jackson and Walter Fauntroy in the Martin Luther King March, who have, by their words and their deeds, indicated conclusively their embracing of the Arab cause and their opposition to the State of Israel's goals which are democracy, freedom, non-discrimination and all of the tenets of our faith which the Bible has taught us.

The last time I wrote you, you were using the public press as a forum for criticizing the State of Israel and its actions and attitudes. At that time I suggested that you were playing into the hands of our enemies, who are just waiting for statements from Jewish leaders to distort and to latch onto so that they can "rabble rouse" the public into believing that Judaism has different goals.

Why do you continually provide "fodder" for cannons of those who would destroy us by supporting those who have shown themselves opposed to everything we believe in? Why do you appease our foes and why are you so solicitious of them, when in the final analysis, they will trample you as quickly as the six million Jews were destroyed by the Nazis.

The disregard which the "March" organizers, such as James G. Abourezk, had for Jews is evidenced by their callous and indifferent attitude toward the fact that they are going to march on the Sabbath and many Jews wouldn't march on the Sabbath. They really didn't care. Why should you? Beware of the "Trojan Horse".

Very truly yours, Sidney J. Brown SJB:ss cc: American Jewish Committee American Israel Public Affairs Committee American Jewish Congress Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations B'nai B'rith International Zionist Organization of America The Jewish Week

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September 14, 1983

Ms. Margaret Holub 821 East Sixth Street Los Angeles, CA 90021

Dear Ms. Holub:

I had heard about the special service which was held in Los Angeles in solidarity with the Washington march. As a matter of fact, Rabbi Thal of our Los Angeles office gave me a lovely report. I am also grateful to you for writing to tell me what a very special evening it was. I am truly pleased to know that the service was so meaningful.

I want to also express my thanks for your encouraging words in regard to the Union's leadership position in supporting the Washington march. Thank you very, very much.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

frend her way

821 East Sixth Street Los Angeles, California 90021 September 6, 1983

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Some of us out here on the UAHC Social Action Committee were so pleased with the UAHC remaining in support of the March on Washington that we arranged a little Shabbat service to celebrate the decision. We planned it in conjunction with some of the members of the Los Angeles chapter of New Jewish Agenda, whose decision to stay with the March we likewise applauded. It was to be a small, informal service -just something so that the day would not go completely unmarked here. We hoped we would have a minyan.

Over sixty people showed up, including six or seven rabbis. The ruach was tremendous. People poured into Congregation Beth Chayim Chadashim, where the service was held, and they poured out their feelings of commitment and hope. Our sense was that if they had known about it many more Jews would have turned out to celebrate the day. Overall the feeling that morning was so positive that we thought you would like to know of this outpouring of support for the stand which you very courageously took.

I must say that for me it lifted some of the gloom that I often feel in the UAHC vis a vis social justice. This group felt like mishpachah -- I didn't know I had so much in LA! I am grateful, and I think I speak for this large group here, that you led the UAHC to stay in support of the March and of Reverend King's dream. Your leadership is very heartening -- maybe if we all keep it up, some of the dream may even come true.

A peaceful, happy new year to you.

B'shalom, Margaret Holus

Margaret Holub

with our friands. NEW JEWISH AGENDA and the UNION of AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS INVITE YOU TO CELEBRATE AND PRAY TOGETHER ON SHABBAT MORNING AUGUST 270 at 10:30 am of CON 6REGATION BETH CHAYIM CHADASHIM 6000 WEST PICO BLVD., LOS ANGELES



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We must resuscitate the Jewish presence in coalitions working towards peace and social justice, not only because this is consistent with Jewish tradition, but Olymp because it is necessary to our own economic and social survival ... "" WE Fice L.A. New Jawish Agarda WE HAVE A DREAM DIZT .137 Ŀ September 16, 1983

Dr. Sam Brown Newport "S" Apt. 4086 Deerfield Beach, FL 33441

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Dear Sam:

How lovely to hear from you. I'm glad to know that all is well and that you continue to keep active and keep people informed about so many areas of Jewish interest and concern.

I thank you for your comments about the UAHC and our participation in the march on Washington. In retrospect we are even more certain that we did the right thing by staying on as sponsors of this very meaningful event. I don't know if you know that at the very last moment B'nai B'rith joined the UAHC and the American Jewish Congress in support of the march. At any rate, I thank you for your comments and I thank you for sharing with me the fact that you spoke at one of the local black congregations about the march. That is wonderful and I thank you for representing us on this occasion.

Thank you too for the article from the Jewish Journal. I enjoyed reading it.

With every good wish for the New Year, may it be blessed with good health, happiness and fulfillment, and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Dr. Sam Brown Newport "S" Apt. 4086 Deerfield Beach, FL 33441 Dear labbe Schwalen Dear labbe Schwalen Happy, Healty New Gear To You, your Leved thes In a Peaceful Harlds To flogbe everywhere, folloeving The The Jewest Tradition and Heretoge, matter all of us frowd to know you are an beaca light in a world -where so few little que chist Learning that no commemoration was planned in This area - I called The local Black Minister - a Rev Limmy Brown - Who with after heart and arms invites we to address his Surday. gathenry last well. I stake refreunting The Union of AH. Cong and The american Junt Cingress coner The response was Gantastil. We fray duely for you and again - loe fray duely for you and faith your callengues who give us lope and faith for a bester wherea Reyards to allowsfort othe faft San brain

אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

21 EAST 40th STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

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Office of the Executive Vice President

September 14, 1983

(212)/684 - 4990

Mrs. Bernice Tannenbaum World Zionist Organization 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Bernice:

I was quite surprised to see a newspaper article in which you are quoted extensively as condemning the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for its participation in the Martin Luther King rally in Washington in August.

I was surprised not so much because of the content, which was debatable at the time, but more because of the abuse you heaped on the Union.

Be assured that I do not write as one who was involved in the decision to co-sponsor the march. or who was even involved primarily later on, although I was asked for a little advice during the course of the negotiations leading up to the actual march itself. I think you also have a pretty good idea of how I feel about Israel and its critics and opponents.

But you should also know that I have very strong commitments to the Civil Rights Movement, as every Jew should, and although I believe that the cause of civil rights was diluted by the all too broad spectrum of concerns adopted as the purposes of the march, I do think that the Civil Rights Movement was served by the occasion.

Having been kept up to date on virtually all of the details following the decision to co-sponsor and participate, I am in a position to inform you that the participation of Alex Schindler and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was an enormous blessing to the Jewish people and in particular, to the State of Israel. Had the Union not been involved, there would have been some very damaging statements and demonstrations. But because of the forcefulness and determination of Alex Schindler, and the most skillful work and persistence of David Saperstein of the Union staff in Washington, the entire rally, its sponsorship and its effect turned out to be utterly neutral (with the sole exception of one American Indian from Minnesota who was the only one out of over fifty speakers who made any reference to Israel and that had to do with Israel's providing bombs and weapons to Central American governments which are then used to do harm to Indians in those countries.)

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Mrs. Bernice Tannenbaum

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I think that Israel and the American Jewish community owe a great debt to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for playing this extremely important and effective role of protecting Israel's interests. You probably didn't know about all that when you issued your statement, but Bernice, you could have found out by calling Alex before you did so.

With regard to the Shabbat, that certainly was a point of major concern and, in spite of some pressures from within the Movement, Alex was adamant about not participating. He did change his mind toward the end and delivered the closing benediction late on Saturday afternoon. I was glad that he did so. During a debate on the subject at the June meeting of the Board of Trustees of the UAHC, a rabbi expressed the opinion that the Union should somehow participate in the march because of <u>pikuach nefesh</u>. Another rabbi disputed the application of that principle, saying that no one was in danger of imminent death, and that seemed to settle the matter. A few weeks later, I was in Oakland, California and reading the local newspaper, discovered that infant mortality among blacks in Oakland is <u>twice</u> the number of white infant mortality. This caused me to reconsider my own agreement with the second rabbi and, although there was no other UAHC participation during the Sabbath, I am grateful to Alex for his pronouncing the benediction, albeit late Saturday afternoon, such participation being in the highest Jewish tradition.

Bernice, we will always find people who are critical of Israel in the many coalitions in American life and elsewhere. But we cannot divorce ourselves from American life altogether or we will become irrelevant and worse, we will not carry out the distinctly Jewish imperative of <u>tikkun olam</u>. This is not the first time that our involvement has proved to be beneficial for Israel and for Jews by way of our being in a position to exert discipline and reasonableness. What came out of this particular march was far preferable to the kind of anti-Israel and perhaps anti-Semitic sloganeering and vituperation which almost certainly would have otherwise resulted.

I think that your charge of "hypocrisy" is totally unjustified and frankly, I think that your tying it in with the Soviet anti-Zionist Committee activity was so far fetched as to be disingenuous.

I must also say that we really don't need this kind of vituperation among us in the Jewish world. Coming especially from the Chair of the American Section of the WZO, it is even less justifiable. How we deal with our common enemies is certainly an appropriate subject for debate, but I would have preferred that this particular dispute had been handled on a different level.

I would not write to you thus if I did not have a high regard for you, and I think that you are well aware of the esteem in which I hold you. But I really feel that you deserve a candid response, privately, of course. I am sending a copy of this to Alex because he has been unjustly accused and I feel deserves defense and endorsement.

My warmest good wishes to you and a hearty G'mar Tov.

JBG/s cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Shalom, Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser

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September 12, 1983

Mr. Horace A. Stern 307 S. Sterling Road Elkins Park, PA 19117

Dear Horace:

Many thanks for your beautiful letter in regard to the Union's participation in the Washngton March. I am so very grateful for your having taken the time to write and for the words of appreciation.

The leadership of the Union is a very special group and it is thanks to their support and strength of purpose that we stood firm in our sponsorship. It was the right thing to do. Even in retrospect I know it was right! The days of the March was hot and humid but also beautiful, peaceful, filled with understanding and fellowship between all peoples. Would that each and every day of our lives might bring such a feeling!

With fondest regards and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

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September 6, 1983

Mrs. Mary Lynn Kotz 1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mary Lynn:

What a beautiful letter. I thank you for taking the time to write and share your thoughts following the Washington march. You moved me and I am grateful for your words of commendation.

Rhea and I join in sending warmest regards to you and Nick and our best wishes for a beautiful, happy and healthy New Year.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

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MARY LYNN KOTZ 1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

September 1, 1983

Rabbi Alexander Schindler President Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838 5th Avenue New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Nick and I arrived back in Washington Saturday morning to participate in the march. We found ourselves between Methodists and Baptists, unionists and environmentalists, all in a spirit of unity and brotherhood, reaching out to each other with a cacophony of songs and comments on the heat. It was hopeful. We found our way to the edge of the reflecting pool, where we submerged our feet and sat until the last joining of hands and hearts in "We Shall Overcome."

Your prayer was beautiful. More beautiful, however, was your presence there, showing the world that the leader of a major Jewish organization still has his arms outstretched to embrace the needy, to make a positive gesture toward deeper racial and religious understanding, and to underscore our hope for peace.

That yours was a prayer, as the Sabbath sun was dropping low behind the Lincoln Memorial, was so fitting. It was a long day for you, taxing your energy beyond what even you expected, I am sure. Please know how important it was for you to have been there, and how we applaud you for participating.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Mary Lynn Kotz

September 6, 1983

Mr. Lee J. Price The National Conference of Christians & Jews, Inc. 43 West 57th Street New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Price:

Deman

It was thoughtful of you to send me the Religious News Bulletins as well as the photographs taken at the Washington march. I am most grateful for your graciousness.

It was a very meaningful and special day. And in retrospect, I am absolutely certain that the UAHC did the right thing by remaining on as sponsors of this important event.

With all good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

March

LESSONS OF THE MARCH

By Albert Vorspan Vice President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

American Jews were among the most avid readers of newspaper accounts of the March on Washington, a massive, peaceful, orderly and historic event. What happened -- and didn't happen -- vindicated the faith and justified the risks that were taken by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith in publicly supporting the March.

What lessons may be drawn from this experience? Here are six:

1. The significance of Jewish participation lies in the maintenance of black-Jewish cooperation in coalitions for human rights and social justice and in the avoidance of what would have been a genuine tragedy: a total rupture between the Jewish community and American blacks.

2. As a result of this participation and the agreements patiently and carefully negotiated with the leadership of the March, great sensitivity was shown to Jewish concerns -especially on Israel. Most important, the understandings achieved were fully respected. None of the major speakers exploited the Middle East. Even Senator Abourezk did not attack Israel. Jesse Jackson did not refer to the Middle East at all.

3. There is no question that the leaders of the March were grateful for our participation, that Jews belonged in the coalition and that we succeeded in raising the consciousness of the leaders to the issues that we felt most important. It is also clear that if the entire Jewish community had boycotted this event, the March leadership would have been subject to powerful pressures from anti-Israel forces. In that vast panorama of concerned Americans, with some 250,000 representatives of diverse causes from the environment to gay rights, I personally did not see or hear about even one hostile sign or placard. There may have been some, but if so they were very few and very far between.

-2-

4. Jewish visible participation was minimal, particularly because of the Sabbath, but Rabbi Alexander Schindler gave the benediction near the close of the March. It was a beautiful, poetic prayer. The night before the March, a special service was held in Washington's Temple Sinai in which the NAACP's Ben Hooks and Mrs. Coretta Scott King spoke, along with Rabbi Schindler and representatives of the American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith. It was an evening of friendship, mutual respect, cooperation -- and love.

5. Robert Lipshutz, a past president of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in Atlanta and former White House counsel in the Carter Administration, played a vital role in the negotiations that kept the alliance on track. The American Jewish community owes him a great debt of gratitude for his role in bringing the black and Jewish communities together. Rabbi David Saperstein, director of Reform Judaism's Religious Action Center in Washington, did a superb job in defending Jewish interests in this high-pressure situation.

6. It is clear from the personal statements made to Rabbi Schindler, to Rabbi Saperstein and to me by black, Hispanic, women and labor leaders that Jewish participation in the March -- despite much controversy -- created invaluable opportunities for renewing relationsips and deepening cooperation in common causes. The alternative would have been worsening isolation, with harmful repercussions for community relations locally as well as nationally, and with great damage to the cause of Israel, of Soviet Jewry and other deeply-felt Jewish concerns. We were all glad that we were there and gratified that it went so well.

#

9/83

AJP

August 31, 1983

Mrs. Bernice S. Tannenbaum, Chairman World Zionist Organization 0 American Section, Inc. 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Bernice:

Mara

Thank you for your letter of August 23. I regret that I spoke harshly to you over the telephone, but I was much provoked. You know me well enough to know that I do not mind being attacked; in fact, I even relish it -provided the discourse is on a decent plane. If it is not, and comes from people I respect, I bristle, as I did when I read your release.

Since you do not seem to understand the reasons for my anger, let me give them to you calmly, and thereafter let us consider the matter closed:

a/ While you may not have intended to single out the UAHC for obloquy, this is how I read it, and more to the point this is whom the Anglo-Jewish editors around the country read it. Your statement was given the following caption: "UAHC is Assailed on Joining March? (see Jewish Week, August 12, 1983).

b/ Your condemnation of the march was entirely too sweeping and hence unfair. Of the 710 organizational and communal convenors, only two or three could be labeled as questionable, from our point of view. The rest of the marchers approached the commemoration with earnestness and in the fullest harmony wih the spirit of the 1963 march. The roster of those participating contained the names of some of Israel's staunchest supporters on the American scene -- and I am not speaking of Jewish organizations now, but of the organizations like the AFL-CIO, the NEA, the UAW, and, fundamentalist church groups whom Begin embraced in other arenas. What purpose of ours do we serve if we label them all as our enemries?

c/ Your words wielated the propeleties of rational discourse. I don't think you realize what you did say, but please re-read your lines: "As a Zionist, I am outraged by the hypocrisyof those who march for social justice while their fraternity brothers in Moscow have just concocted yhe Soviet anti-Zionist etc..." Come now, Reform Jews are communists? The American Labor leaders are Communist stooges? The UAW and the Southern Baptists have been penetrated by KGB agents? That's irresponsible slander scarcely worthy of your usual high standards. Mrs. Bernice S. Tannenbaum August 31, 1983 Page -2-

As things transpired, our participation was fully vindicated. The 1983 march was massive, peaceful, orderly and historic. The crucial point is that, as a result of our participation and agreements patiently and careffully negotiated with the leadership of the March, there was great sensitivity shown to our particular concerns, especially Israel, and the understandings achieved were fully respected. None of the major speakers explotted the Middle East. Even Senator Abourezk did not attack Israel and Jesse Jackson did not refer to the Middle East at all. There is no question the leaders were grateful for our participation, that Jews belonged in the coalition and that we succeeded in raising the consciousness of the leaders to our conerns. There is very little doubt that if the entire Jewish community had boycotted this event, the march leadership would have been subject to powerful pressure from those whose views we oppose;; the predictable result would have been anti-Israel and anti-Jewish anger. As it was, in that vast panorama of concerned Americans with a wide coalition representing diverse causes, I personally did not see or hear about even one hostife sign or placard.

I see no reason why this issue should becloud our friendship. Friendship builds on honest communication.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Richard Cohen Albert Vorspan

ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית – אגף אמריקאי WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION American Section, Inc.

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

PLaza 2-0600

Cable Address: JEVAGENCY

August 23, 1983

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am still shocked and hurt by your abrupt telephone call. You peremptorily ordered me to listen and not speak until you finished your statement, and them hung up before I could respond. I did not expect this harsh behavior from a respected colleague and friend, and I believe you owe me an apology.

There is one point you raised for which I am sorry, i.e. that I did not speak to you prior to issuing a statement. It would have been useful to know your motivations for joining the march.

Now as to substance...It was absolutely not my intention to have my statement on the August 27th march upset you or the UAHC. I have the highest esteem for you as a leader, not only of Reform Jewry, but indeed, of K'lal Yisrael; as a most valuable member of our American Section of the World Zionist Executive; as a person of integrity whose opinions and insights I fully respect, even when -- as in this instance -- there is disagreement between us. I assure you that such inevitable differences of opinion and/or attitude in no way impugns my high regard for you.

There was not the slightest attempt or intention to disparage, nor, in my considered opinion, was there any disparagement of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in my statement to the press regarding the March on Washington. The participation of Dr. Joseph Lowery and Rep. Walter Fauntroy as leaders -- men who are on record as having made pro-PLO and anti-Israel statements, and the inclusion as sponsors of Rev. Jesse Jackson and former Senator James Abourezk -- men who have been associated with anti-Israel declarations -- was the basis for my valid comment that this is "strange company" to be marching with, and that is just what I said.

In addition to the above, I note the participation in the March of a number of organizations who are clearly affiliated with the Communist Party and who have publicly endorsed the PLO position. Among these are: the People's School for Marxist Studies; <u>Jewish Affairs</u>, a publication of the Communist Party; the United States Peace Council; Pax-Christi; Women for Radical and Economic Equality; and the National Alliance against Racial and Political Repression.

ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית – אגף אמריקאי WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION American Section, Inc.

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

PLaza 2-0600

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- 2 -

My criticism was targeted specifically at these people and groups, not at the UAHC, and I regret that you have interpreted it otherwise. Our study of the participating groups at that time revealed that the only Jewish organizations, either participating in or endorsing the March, to be UAHC, the New Jewish Agenda, and the Community Relations Councils of Philadelphia and Rochester.

After my article appeared, the American Jewish Congress, whose President in 1963, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, was a major participant with Martin Luther King, Jr., decided to participate and the reassuring statements of the conveners were publicized.

I believe the facts as stated above, clearly indicate there was no intention on my part to denigrate the UAHC.

Let us hope that this issue will not becloud our friendship and respect for one another.

Sincerely,

Bernice S. Tannenbau

Bernice S. Tannenbaum Chairman

P.S. This is a personal letter to you and is not for publication or dissemination.



Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS-CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

מתקדמת באמריקה

> To: Commission on Social Action UAHC Board of Trustees UAHC Regional Directors

From: Albert Vorspan

August 30, 1983 Date:

Subject: CONCLUDING REPORT ON MARCH ON WASHINGTON

You have all read the press and watched television, and you know that the March on Washington was massive, peaceful, orderly and historic. The purpose of this memo is to add some information and comments from the UAHC perspective and to indicate that events have vindicated our faith and justified whatever risks we ran.

The significance of our participation lies in the maintenance 1. of black-Jewish cooperation in coalitions for human rights and social justice. Even more, perhaps, it lies in the avoidance of what would have been a genuine tragedy....a total rupture between the Jewish community and the minority communities in this land. Indeed, our presence not only made it easier for the American Jewish Congress to join in, but for the B'nai B'rith, also, to join in at the last minute, and for representatives of some of the Jewish agencies which chose not to join as agencies, to participate as individuals in the march and in connected events.

2. The crucial point is that, as a result of our participation and agreements patiently and carefully negotiated with the leadership of the march, there was great sensitivity shown to our particular concerns, especially Israel, and the understandings achieved were fully respected. None of the major speakers exploited the Middle East. Even Senator Abourezk did not attack Israel and Jesse Jackson did not refer to the Middle East at all. There is no question the leaders were grateful for our participation, that Jews belonged in the coalition and that we succeeded in raising the consciousness of the leaders to our concerns. There is very little doubt that, if the entire Jewish community had boycotted this event, the march leadership would have been subject to powerful pressure from those whose views we oppose; the predictable result would have been anti-Israel and anti-Jewish anger. As it was, in that vast panorama of concerned Americans with a wide coalition representing diverse causes (from the environment to gay rights), I personally did not see or hear about even one hostile sign or placard. alond I see to reason why this pour stimed bedone our

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Chairman Harris Gilbert Director Albert Vorspan Associate Director Rabbi David Saperstein .

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

3. Jewish visible participation was minimal, particularly because of the Sabbath, but Rabbi Alexander Schindler gave the benediction. His beautiful and poetic prayer is attached. A special service was held at Temple Sinai on Friday evening, with the generous cooperation of Rabbi Eugene Lipman, in which the NAACP's Ben Hooks and Coretta King spoke, along with Alex and myself and representatives from the American Jewish Congress.

In my remarks, I paid particular tribute to the officers of the UAHC for the courageous leadership which, in the end, transcended doubts and fears and contributed to an historic outcome. I singled out David Saperstein, who did a remarkable job in defending the interests of the Jewish community and the concerns of the UAHC in the most difficult, pressurized and time consuming situation. David was ably assisted by Mark Kushner, one of our superb young interns at the Religious Action Center.

I also expressed our deep gratitude to Bob Lipshutz, former president of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in Atlanta and White House counsel in the Carter administration, whose skillful negotiations (described in the attached article) kept the alliance on track despite severe strains. The New Jewish Agenda participated in the march with various Biblical signs, and also participated in an interreligious service Friday evening.

4. It is clear from the personal statements made to Rabbi Schindler, to David Saperstein and to me by black, Hispanic, women and labor leaders that our participation - despite much controversy - creates valued opportunities for renewing relationships and deepening cooperation in common causes. The alternatives would have been deepening isolation, with harmful repercussions for community relations in local communities as well as nationally. We were all glad that we were there and gratified that it went as well as it did.

5. Harris Gilbert, chairman of the Commission, has convened a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Commission, to meet in Washington on September 19, so that the Commission can explore carefully the expanded opportunities which now appear to be available to us for improved dialogue and cooperation with Hispanics, blacks, women and other groups in American life.

BEST WISHES TO YOU ALL FOR A HEALTHY, HAPPY AND PEACEFUL NEW YEAR.

- 2 -

20TH ANNIVERSARY -- MARCH ON WASHINGTON August 27, 1983

Closing Prayer

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

We turn to Thee in prayer, Oh God. We stand before Thee as one community of faith and fate.

Though we differ in color and creed, We carry common convictions and our destinies intertwine.

We are in a place endeared by sacred remembrance. We think of the dreamer who dreamed here his daring dream. His vision enthralled us, his words still haunt us. Yet his dream remains but a dream.

He spoke of peace, but violence still rages. He spoke of freedom for his people, for a widening of their rights. Yet twenty years later they are still imprisoned In the bleak and airless dungeon of urban ghettoes.

He envisaged an America whose bounty would be shared by everyone, Yet poverty persists in this land of plenty. Many go hungry and naked; Countless feel the shame and ostracism of need. It is because the few claim those blessings which should be held by all, Because this nation has tightened its belt 'round the necks of the poor.

The noble dreamer was cut down, alas! But his dream lives on -- in our minds and souls. Help us, Oh God, to act on its truths.

If we say we believe in equal opportunity, Give us the determination to make a full and creative life possible for all people. If we say we believe in peace, Give us the courage to take those risks required for its attainment. And if we say that we believe in liberty, then give us the strength

to loosen the fetters,

to break the bonds,

to shatter the chains,

Until the freedom of all is secured.

Amen.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1983

Tom Teepen

Jews, blacks avoid sundering

It took prodigies of diplomacy to keep black and Jewish organizations together in their historic role as civil rights comradesurarms for the 20th anniversary March on Washington this Saturday. The diplomacy worked — but it was a near

thing. The agreement on a policy statement about the Middle East, the issue which had threatened to divide the longtime allies, was not formalized until Aug. 17, less than two weeks before the march date.

Ratification by the march's national planning council on Aug. 13 followed two key meetings July 30 and Aug. 7 at Atlanta's airport between leaders of the march and representatives for the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. By common account, Mayor Andrew Young played a vital role as go-between.

The once-close association between black civil-rights organizations and organized Jewry has been strained in recent years.

Some Jewish leaders have opposed affirmative action, rankling many blacks. And pro-Arab lobbyists have sold some black leaders on the proposition that Israel is to Palestinians as Jim Crow was to blacks, rankling the Jewish community.

Jewish groups played a major role in the original March on Washington. But the intervening years of tension had put some Jewish organizations on edge this time around. The edginess was compounded by the presence of former U.S. Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota, representing the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, among the conveners of the anniversary march.

The worries were beightened when a march policy statement opposed U.S. arms aid and sales to the Middle East and to Central America — this in the service of the peace part of the march's "jobs, peace and freedom" slogan.

So far as the black leadership was concerned, the statement specified those two places only because they are the current hot spots - Chad has come up since - but Jewish groups saw the singling-out



of the Mideast as a threat to Israel, which relies on U.S. arms while Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization, who call for the destruction of Israel, get huge arms shipments from the Soviet Union.

Worst fears seemed confirmed when the march staff, apparently pretty much on its own, began churning out documents that struck a PLO-like line. The generations-old black-Jewish alliance against prejudice and discrimination could have been torn for good right there.

But Robert Lipshutz, former White House counsel for Jimmy Carter and a longtime civil-rights supporter, came in for the American Jewish Congress and, *de facto*, sometimes for the Union of Hebrew Congregations. Coretta Scott King actively involved herself, as did the march's national director, Congressman Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.), and Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It helped that Lipshutz, King and Lowery are all Atlantans.

The black leadership, which has had more experience than it would care to have in deciphering political code words, recognized that some of the work produced for the march had drifted close to anti-Israeli propaganda. None of the organizers, at least none of the major ones, had intended that.

A revised policy statement acknowledges divergent views on the Mideast within the march coalition but calls, evenhandedly, for "a just and lasting peace for the Palestinians, the Israelis and all other people in the Middle East" and promotes "ongoing constructive dialogue between these parties." The march committee has told its marshals to keep banners and placards in line with that theme. The cochairs have promised to disavow any statement or act that is inconsistent with it.

This allowed the Union of Hebrew Congregations to hang in — it was one of the original conveners of this anniversary march — and on Aug. 17 the American Jewish Congress endorsed the march in a letter to Coretta King, writing "We will not be deterred from this struggle for civil rights and social justice by anyone." The letter concluded, "We will walk proudly beside you and your colleagues on Aug. 27th as we walked proudly with Martin Luther King 20 years ago." August 30, 1983

His Excellency, The Israeli Ambassador Meir Rosenne Embassy of Israel Washington, D.C.

Dear Meir:

De Maret

We checked with all of our contacts in the civil rights leadership and the telegram from Arafat was received by no one, that is to say, none of the people who were really responsible for convening the march. In any event, the wire wasn't read. I wonder where Israeli radio heard of it. Is someone trying to do mischief? Possibly Arafat made an attempt to reach the civil rights coalition; I don't blame him for doing so, but the attempt was not successful.

This is precisely my point. Here is a coalition of 710 organizations representing in the main the Black and Hispanic community, or approximately 15 to 20 percent of America's population, a sector whose political power will undoubtedly increase in the years ahead (note it you will how President Reagan has fallen all over himself to reach the Hispanics). It is a coalition which we simply must not abandon to our enemies for Israel's sake. Out of the 710 organizations maybe one or two have illdesigns against Israel, the others can be retained in their loyalty to our cause.

As it was, the conduct of the leadership was exemplary, not one untoward word was spoken, not even Jackson or Abourezk. People cam to thank me for my participation and to express the hope that our relations will not be severed.

The American Jewish community dare not isolate itself just because there are one or two bad apples in such a large group, or even because some of the main players here or there said something or did something we have taken amiss. In these instances we must act like Israel and your own Foreign Ministry which maintains contact with the African States and aids the African States even though none of us were pleased with how they voted yesterday in the U.N. or what they said in its halls or even publicly. Ambassador Meir Rosenne August 30, 1983 Page - 2 -

Marginally noted, in this connection, you ought to know that the voting record of Black and Hispanic legislators in Congress on matters such as aid to Israel, issue affecting Soviet Jewry, in letters, resolutions, etc., and on anti-AWACs, measures better on AIPAC's scale than even the record of Jewish legislators.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



איחוד ליהדות מתקרמת באמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969

20TH ANNIVERSARY -- MARCH ON WASHINGTON August 27, 1983

CLOSING PRAYER RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER PRESIDENT, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

We turn to Thee in prayer, Oh God. We stand before Thee as one community of faith and fate.

Though we differ in color and creed, we carry common convictions and our destinies intertwine.

We are in a place endeared by sacred remembrance.

We think of the dreamer who dreamed here his daring dream. His vision enthralled us, his words still haunt us. Yet his dream remains but a dream.

He spoke of peace, but violence still rages.

He spoke of freedom for his people, for a widening of their rights. Yet twenty years later they are still imprisoned in the bleak, and airless dungeon of urban ghettos.

He envisaged an America whose bounty would be shared by everyone. Yet poverty persists in this land of plenty. Many go hungry and naked. Countless feel the shame and ostracism of need. It is because the few claim those blessings which should be held by all,

'round the necks of the poor.

The noble dreamer was cut down, alas! But his dream lives on -- in our minds and souls. Help us, Oh God, to act on its truths.

If we say we believe in equal opportunity,

give us the determination to make a full and creative life possible for all people. If we say we believe in peace,

give us the courage to take those risks required for its attainment.

And if we say that we believe in liberty, then give us the strength

to loosen the fetters,

to break the bonds,

to shatter the chains,

until the freedom of all is secured.

Amen.

Saturday, August 13, 1983

'March on Washington' Position Papers Revised

Since January, organizers of the March on Washington have revised a proposed foreign policy paper several times in an effort to reach anaccommodation with Jewish groups that opposed certain statements concerning U.S. involvement in the Middle East. Final language on the subject is expected to be announced today. Following are several versions offered thus far:

• "We oppose the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected."—published in January as part of the official "call" or agenda of the "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" march.

• "After decades of hatred and bloodshed, it is clear that there can be no peace in the Middle East without a political resolution of the conflict among Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab states. . . . [The] U.S. should cease to be a partisan in the region and should adopt policies which are even-handed [and] use its considerable influence to achieve direct negotiations between Israel and the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians, including the PLO . . . "—part of a 2½-page policy statement drawn up July 2 by the march's peace task force.

• "The Middle East is a barometer and acid test of our nation's foreign policy... The U.S. should use its considerable influence to achieve direct negotiations between Israel and the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians, on a basis of mutual recognition and a commitment to peaceful co-existence.... The unilateral policy of shuttle diplomacy by the U.S. and the refusal even to talk to [the] PLO... should be discontinued."—part of a revised, two-page version drawn up at a meeting of the march co-chairs on July 30.

• "Among the organizations in our coalition, there are divergent views with regard to the Middle East. However, there is a general opposition to present United States policy and all recognize the Middle East as a barometer and acid test of our nation's foreign policy.... Towards this end the United States should have policies which contribute to a just and lasting peace for the Palestinians, the Israelis, and all other people in the Middle East and should encourage on-going constructive dialogue between these parties."—part of a twoparagraph revised version agreed to at a meeting of the co-chairs Aug.

• The final version, according to march organizers, will delete the sentence saying there is general opposition to U.S. policy in the Middle East.

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By Karlyn Barker Washington Post Staff Writer

With the 20th-anniversary civil rights "March on Washington" but two weeks away, its organizers vesterday reaffirmed their support for the Aug. 27 gathering here and said they were putting aside their differences on foreign policy to get behind the general march theme of "Jobs, Peace and Freedom."

Key supporters of the march, representing civil rights groups, labor unions, women and American Jews and Arabs, downplayed reports that there are any serious divisions among organizers, saying the broadbased coalition planning the commemorative march remains intact.

March organizers said participants are coming from 325 cities and that they expect the march to attract a crowd comparable to the 250,000 speople who attended the march in 1963.

Several Jewish groups had been at odds with march leaders in recent weeks over expansion of the march's focus to include foreign policy questions, specifically criticisms of U.S. arms shipments and involvement in the Middle East. Some black, Arab and anti-nuclear groups had pressed for stronger language in a proposed foreign policy paper being prepared by march organizers, but march leaders promised Jewish groups last week they would avoid any specific statements about U.S. foreign policy anywhere in the world, including the Middle East.

"Coalitions are formed and strengthened by choosing consensus

See MARCH, B10, Col. 1

By Gerald Martineau-The Washington Post Walter E. Fauntroy and Coretta Scott King reaffirm support for the Aug. 27 gathering.

Marchers Put Aside Their Differences

MARCH, From B1

issues: Our consensus issues are jobs. peace and freedom," Coretta Scott King, widow of slain 1963 march leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., told a news conference vesterday. * She praised groups she said had worked to resolve the conflict over the march's foreign policy positions and said she was "heartened by our ability to compromise and to reach accord over such volatile issues as the Middle East."

Robert Lipshultz, representing Rabbi Alexander Schindler, a march convenor, said American Jews still support the goals of the march just as they did 20 years ago. But he acknowledged the tension that had grown up around some march statements that Jewish groups regarded as anti-Israel, saving he was "very gratified" black leaders had agreed "to remove them from the agenda."

He and D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy said they were confident the march has the "overwhelming support of the Jewish community," particularly now that the foreign policy concerns of some Jewish groups had been allayed.

Former Sen. James Abourezk. president of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and another march convenor, said his group is mobilizing several thousand Arab-Americans to attend the march and that its 44 chapters have contributed nearly \$10,000 so far to help finance the event.

"We have people who have suffered as an ethnic group, and we feel the need to join with other ethnic groups," Abourezk said.

Fauntroy said the march would

support "the nonviolent resolution of conflicts . . . but not go into specific detail on how that should be done [because] there are some differences. on how to achieve these goals."

March leaders have promised Jewish groups they will screen march placards and banners to make sure there aren't any anti-Semitic or anti-Israel statements, but Fauntroy did not specify yesterday what kind of signs might be regarded as anti-Israel.

One group, the International Green Party, yesterday challenged the decision to opt for general rather than specific foreign policy language in march position papers. A group spokesman said the organization, which is concerned with anti-nuclear and environmental issues, plans to carry signs in the march specifically critical of Israel's "West Bank settlement expansion in the Middle East."



March Organizers Offer Concessions

By Karlyn Barker Washington Post Staff Writer

Key organizers of a 20th-anniversary civil rights "March on Washington" moved yesterday to shore up Jewish support for the event by stating they will avoid any specific statements about U.S. foreign policy and publicly disavow any anti-Semitic or anti-Israeli statements that might be made at the Aug. 27 gathering.

They also have promised to instruct parade marshals to screen all placards and banners to make sure they adhere to the general march theme of "Jobs, Peace and Freedom."

However, the march will proceed without the support of a number of major Jewish groups, as well as other key organizations including the National Urban League.

"We intend to highlight in our legislative and official policy statements the goal of peace. We will not articulate a specific strategy for achieving it," Coretta Scott King and D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy said in a letter to Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

But the assurances announced yesterday seemed only to fan the controversy that has sprung up around the march in recent weeks. And there were complaints by several groups who want the march to adopt specific foreign policy stands that Fauntroy and King are making concessions to Jewish groups that aren't



CORETTA SCOTT KING "We intend to highlight ... the goal of peace"

expected to actively participate in the march anyway.

The historic 1963 march led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. championed the goals of jobs and freedom for all Americans. Organizers of the 20th-anniversary march have broadened that theme to include the goal of peace in the world, and therein lies the problem-for in trying to lay out specific peace

concerns and foreign policy objectives, the question of U.S. involvement in the Middle East has been a major sticking point.

Several national Jewish groups, including the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish War Veterans and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, already have withdrawn their support for the march or refused to participate.

They complain march organizers have taken on controversial issues unrelated to civil rights, sanctioned an agenda critical of U.S. support for Israel and opened the march to a well known critic of Israel, former Sen. James Abourezk, who now lobbies for Arab causes.

The expanded march theme also has cost the participation of the National Urban League, one of the nation's largest black civil rights groups, which said this week that widening the focus of the march likely will limit its impact.

March coordinator Donna Brazile said yesterday, however, that 715 national groups have endorsed the march and plan to have contingents present. And she said she gets 20 calls a day from local Jewish groups which support the event. March organizers have said they expect to have at least as many, if not more, marchers as the 250,000 who joined the 1963 gathering.

See MARCH, B4, Col.1

Organizers of March Announce Concessions

MARCH, From B1

Neither King, wife of the slain civil rights leader, nor Fauntroy could be reached yesterday to comment on the letter, which differs sharply from earlier pronouncements that the march would oppose U.S. policy in the Middle East as well as in Central America and South Africa.

March participants have been working for weeks on position papers intended to spell out specific goals in the areas of jobs, peace and freedom. The Middle East section of the foreign policy paper, in particular, has been drafted and redrafted several times-getting shorter and more vague with each revision-in an effort to reach a consensus.

Some of those involved in drafting the various position papers said yesterday that some organizers intentionally sought to expand the scope of the march but recognized that some Jewish and black groups would oppose going beyond the traditional civil rights goals of 20 years ago.

"This is a new day and the issues are more complex," said Jack O'Dell of Operation PUSH, whose leader, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, is one of the co-chairs of the march. O'Dell said there had to be a multi-issue coalition because all the issues are related.

O'Dell said "it's not news" that blacks and Jews have split over U.S. Middle East policy, particularly since several black leaders have visited with Palestine Liberation Organization officials in recent years.

And he and others, including march coordinator Brazile, complained yesterday that many Jewish groups withheld support for the expanded march from the beginning yet worked behind the scenes to pressure march leaders to tone down or eliminate any statements on the Middle East.

James Zogby, executive director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, said yesterday that his group didn't originate the Middle East statements but did help draft compromise language for the position paper.

"We didn't write the callblacks wanted a Mideast posi-

tion," Zogby said. "And it smacks talk about foreign policy."

Zogby charged that key leaders of the march made concessions on the language and other march issues because some Jewish groups, specifically the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, threatened to pull out of the march, pressure labor groups to do the same and create bad publicity for the event in the media.

The UAHC declined to respond to Zogby's specific allegations yesterday. Rabbi David Saperstein, a codirector and counsel for the group's religious center, issued a statement saying the process of developing the position papers was "handled with integrity," resulted from an ongoing dialogue, and represented the coalition's viewpoints. Schindler, whose group represents 760 reform synagogues, said in a separate statement that he was "gratified" and "heartened" by the assurances from King and Fauntroy. "In that spirit I have accepted the invitation . . . to deliver the closing benediction," said Schindler, who urged other Jews to participate in the march, which is being held on a Saturday, "in whatever way they deem appropriate to their observance of the Sabbath."

Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, said yesterday, however, the letter to Schindler "doesn't really meet our broad objections. The organizers made a serious mistake when they moved away from the 1963 civil rights goals into complicated foreign policy questions." He said he might march as an individual, but that his group wouldn't back march policy statements it views as "too pro-Third World and anti-American."

But O'Dell argued yesterday that the success of the march "at. this point doesn't depend on any group that has not yet come on board . . . it's not a civil rights march, it's a march for jobs, peace and freedom, and that's who's marching."

of racism to say blacks shouldn't

THE WASHINGTON POST, SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1983

MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Date August 16, 1983

TO Members; UAHC Board of Trustees

Copies Executive Staff

Subject 'MARCH ON WASHINGTON'

Just to bring you up-to-date on the Washington Civil Rights March, I enclose herewith:

1/ a letter from the Civil Rights Presidium containing those assurances on the basis of which we determined to continue our endorsement of this event; and

2/ an article which I wrote explaining the Union's stance.

There is no doubt in my mind that we made the right decision here. No doubt there will be some incidents at the march itself -- a placard or two featuring anti-Israel slogans among the thousands that properly focus on the march goals, nonetheless featured by the media and juxtaposed with our endorsement -- resulting in some adverse publicity. But in the long run we will have served our and Israel's interests. And, above all, we will have been true to our convictions.

I thank you for your understanding and support.

Warm regards.

Encl.

P.S. You will be interested to learn that the American Jewish Congress has just announced that it will serve as a sponsor of the March and urge its members to participate.



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



Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969

Why the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Stayed in the March on Washington

By Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler President, UAHC

Responsible Jewish leadership means staying the course to defend Jewish interests until our point is won -- not taking the easy way out for a quick headline.

The 20th Anniversary March on Washington is a case in point. Because some persons associated with the March have views on Israel that are abhorrent to us, a conflict developed over the wording of the statement on achieving peace in the Middle East. Some Jewish groups walked away from the issue and publicly condemned the March. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations stayed in and fought to eliminate language in the statement that we deemed hostile to Israel.

We were successful. The organizers of the March responded to our concerns. And the civil rights movement did not fall, by default, into anti-Israel hands.

By remaining in the coalition, we were able not only to prevent any anti-Israel statement from being included in the program of the March but also to win assurances that "in the case where a divisive act or statment is made -- e.g., one that is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic or defamatory to any group in the coalition -- the co-chairs will publicly disavow such a statement, or act, as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and coalition."

Sensitive to our interests, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, co-chairperson of the March, and Walter Fauntroy, national director, also agreed that the policy statement on peace will contain "no specific strategy" for achieving peace -- another defeat for that small group in the March that sought to exploit its presence for anti-Israel purposes.

Which policy advances Jewish interests more -- the easy road of ranting against the March, or the more serious effort to protect Jewish interests by staying in? I am proud that the UAHC acted as it did, and that the Jewish community -- rather than turning its back on the great struggle for civil rights and human dignity -- will be represented in the Twentieth Anniversary March in accordance with the highest moral and ethical values of the Jewish tradition and in keeping with our devotion to Israel's cause.

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CO-CHAIRS

Ms. Asia Bennett American Friends Service Committee Ms. Judy Goldsmith National Organization

for Women Rev. Benjamin Hooks National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Mrs. Coretta Scott King

Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change

Dr. Joseph Lowery Southern Christian Leadership Conference Mr. Stevie Wonder

NATIONAL DIRECTOR Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy Member of Congress

CONVENERS

Senator James Abourezk American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee Ms. Bella Abzug Women USA

Bishop John H. Adams Congress of National Black Churches Bishop James Armstrong

National Council of Churches Mr. Harry Belafonte Mr. Clyde Bellecourt

American Indian Movement Ms. Donna Brazile U.S. Student Association Monorable John Conyers Member of Congress

Mr. Richard Deats Fellowship of Reconciliation

Mr. Murray Finley Amaigamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Ms. Mary Futrell National Education Association Monorable Robert Qarcia

Member of Congress Ms. Dorothy Height Mational Council of Negro Women

Rev. Jesse Jackson Operation PUSH Dr. T.J. Jemison National Baptist Convention of the

U.S.A. Mr. John Jacob National Urban League Mr. Cleveland Robinson District 65, United

Auto Workers Rabbi Alex Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations Mr. William Winpisinger International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

Ms. Addle Wyatt United Food and Commercial Workers International Union

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION FOR JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

1201 16th Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 467-6445

August 8, 1983

Rabbi David Sapperstein Union of American Hebrew Congregations 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Rabbi Sapperstein,

We appreciated the opportunity of discussing with you the concerns outlined in your letter of June 16, 1983, regarding Jewish participation in the Twentieth Anniversary March. Our meeting exemplified the belief of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that understanding and cooperation between people is best achieved through open and honest discussion.

We have since communicated with other co-chairs and conveners of the New Coalition of Conscience and we agree that the language of our policy papers will not be offensive to endorsers of this historic renewal. There is unanimous agreement among members of the coalition that peace in all parts of the world --South Africa, the Carribbean, Northern Ireland, Central America and the Middle East -- is our goal. While we have an accord on this goal, we understand and respect that within the coalition, members may differ on the strategies to achieve the goal. Therefore, as we previously expressed, we intend to highlight in our legislative and official policy statements the goal of peace. We will not articulate a specific strategy for achieveing it.

We will make every effort, including giving specific instructions to our marshalls, to ensure that placards and banners in the line of march are in keeping with the theme of Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

In the case where a divisive act or statement is made, e.g., one that is anti-Israel, anti-Semitic or defammatory to any group in the coalition, the co-chairs will publicly disavow such a statement or act as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and coalition. David Sapperstein Page 2

We understand that there have been discussions between you and a representative of the National Council of Churches regarding Jewish participation in an Interfaith Service on Friday, August 26th. We, along with other national leaders, look forward to this service and we will fully publicize it as a major component of the Twentieth Anniversary events.

It is clear to us who have shared experiences of oppression and discrimination, that forces exist to divide us. It is likely in these final days of preparation, that many disturbing rumors and allegations will surface. Therefore, we are strongly suggesting that we adhere to the following guidelines:

- . We will immediately contact one another regarding disturbing rumors and allegations.
- . We will assume that the only official statements of policy of the Twentieth Anniversary are those articulated by the co-chairpersons.

In the face of our greatest challenges, we must maintain our historical vision of equality and justice for all people. There is much reconciliation that must continue in order for us in the days ahead, to work together for the common vision and dream for all Americans. The Twentieth Anniversary March on Washington affords us an opportunity for reconciliation, for healing, for locking arms and for struggling together until the last battle is won and we can stand together and shout, "Free at last, free at last, Thank God Almighty, we're free at last."

We look forward to having you with us during the Twentieth Anniversary March and Celebration.

Sincerely,

alle Z. Faun

Honorable Walter E. Fauntry National Director Twentieth Anniversary March

On Behalf of:

Bishop James Armstrong Ms. Asia Bennett Mr. Tony Bonilla Ms. Judy Goldsmith Archbishop James Hickey Dr. Benjamin Hooks Caretta Scott King

Mrs. Coretta Scott King Co-Chairperson Twentieth Anniversary March

Rev. Jesse Jackson Dr. Joseph Lowery Mr. Stevie Wonder

CO-CHAIRS

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Mr. Harry Belafonte Mr. Clyde Bellecourt American Indian Movement Ms. Donna Brazile U.S. Student Association **Honorable John Conyers** Member of Congress Mr. Richard Deats Fellowship of Reconcillation Mr. Murray Finley Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO Ms. Mary Futrell **Mational** Education Association Monorable Robert Garcia Member of Congress Ms. Dorothy Height Mational Council of Negro Women Rev. Jesse Jackson **Operation PUSH** Dr. T.J. Jemison Mational Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. Mr. John Jacob National Urban League Hr. Cleveland Robinson District 65. United Auto Workers Rabbi Alex Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations Mr. William Winpisinger International Association

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Rev. Jesse Jackson Dr. Joseph Lowery Mr. Stevie Wonder Published by Jewish Telegraphic Agency / 165 West 46th Street / New York, New York 10036

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Friday, August 19, 1983

No. 158

ISRAEL ANGRY OVER U.S. CLAIM THAT E. JERUSALEM IS 'OCCUPIED TERRITORY' By David Landau

JERUSALEM, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Israel has responded angrily to the U.S. State Department's assertion yesterday that America has always regarded East Jerusalem as occupied territory.

"Jerusalem is one city, indivisible, the capital of the State of Israel," the Foreign Ministry spokesman declared here last night. "This is and will remain the status of Jerusalem," the spokesman added Mayor Teddy Kollek charged that the American comments could have "an unsettling effect on the life of the city."

The Foreign Ministry reaction cited at length a letter published in 1980 by Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations in which the envoy proved that U.S. policy towards Jerusalem changed in 1969, when the Nixon Administration came into office replacing Lyndon Johnson's Administration.

The letter was cited to refuté the State Department's assertion that American policy on Jerusalem had been "consistent for three decades."

Elements In Goldberg's Letter

Goldberg in his letter, which he wrote to The New York Times in 1980, pointed to significant differences between his own statements to the UN in 1967 and the statements of his successor in the Nixon Administration, Ambassador Charles Yost, in 1969.

"I never described Jerusalem as occupied territory," Goldberg averred. "Ambassador Yost did in July 1969 under instructions from President Nixon, and his statement represented a departure from the policy President Johnson and the Department of State pursued with respect to Jerusalem dur ing the period of my tenure."

ing the period of my tenure." Goldberg, one of the authors of UN Security Council Resolution 242, added that "Resolution 242 in no way refers to Jerusalem and this omission was deliberate." In a speech he made to the Council in July 1967, Goldberg recalled, "I made it clear that the status of Jerusalem should be negotiable and that the (1949) amistice lines dividing Jerusalem were no longer viable.

"In other words, Jerusalem was not to be divided again. This was a far cry from Ambassador Yost's statement that we conceive Jerusalem to be occupied territory"

In his 1980 letter, Goldberg also referred to a conversation between Jordan's King Hussein and top U.S. diplomat George Ball soon after the Six-Day War in which the King "recognized there must be flexibility on the question of Jerusalem and that there could be no return to the pre-June 1967 status,"

SPAIN MOVING TO IMPROVE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL By Edwin Eytan

PARIS, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- The Foreign Ministry of Spain announced today that Premier Felipe Gonzales has not yet decided whether to seek formal diplomatic ties with Israel but that Spain is already acting to improve its economic and cultural relations with the Jewish State.

His statement followed reports in the Spanish and Israeli press that the two countries are about to exchange diplomatic recognition and to exchange ambassadors. A report in the Israeli press said Israeli envoys in Madrid were already looking for a suitable building to house the future Embassy.

Spain is the only Western European country that has never recognized Israel despite the fact that since its admission to the European Economic Community (EEC) it has been under widespread pressure from its partners to align itself with the rest of the EEC member-states.

Gonzales' electoral victory was seen as giving Spain an additional push on the way to recognizing Israel. He had visited the Jewish State on several occasions as guest of the Labor Party. While he was in the opposition, Gonzales hinted that if he was elected, there would be an improvement in Spain's relations with Israel. A Spanish Socialist delegation, led by the party's chaiman, Ramon Rubnial, is currently in Israel to meet with government officials and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres.

Waiting For a Partial Pullback

The Spanish press said today that Gonzales is probably waiting for at least a partial Israeli pullback in Lebanon before announcing his decision. Diplomatic reports in the Spanish dailies also said Gonzales, who is a vice president of the Socialist International, would have preferred to exchange ambassadors with a Labor-led government in Israel.

Spain has traditionally close economic links with the Arab states and in 1982 imported \$4 billion worth of oil from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar and managed to sell them products for a near equivalent amount. Arab influence is traditionally strong in Madrid and the Spanish Socialists are, together with their Greek colleagues, the least influenced by the United States policies in the Middle East.

UAHC AND AJCONGRESS ENDORSE AUG. 27 MARCH ON WASHINGTON By Rifka Rosenwein

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 (JTA) -- Two major Jewis organizations have announced that they are endorsing the 20th anniversary celebration of Martin Luth er King's historic "I have a dream" speech, following talks held with the march leadership to ensure that the platform for the event would not include any anti-Israel position.

A spokesman for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) explained that the leadershi agreed to delete condemnation of United States Mi dle East policy in the final version of the official position papers for the August 27 commemorative March on Washington. He added that his group had also received assurances that the event itself would not allow for the expression of anti-Israel or anti-Semitic sentiment.

Because of these developments, announced at a press conference in Washington, the UAHC, which

had initiated negotiations after already endorsing the march, has "reconfirmed (its) commitment" to participate, according to a statement issued by Rabbi Alexander Schindler, UAHC president.

AJCongress Expresses Confidence

The American Jewish Congress, which had held off making a decision regarding its role in the march until the negotiations were completed, is joining the commemoration "despite serious initial reservations, (and despite) disagreement with a number of organizations who have joined as sponsors of the march," according to Henry Siegman, executive director of the AJCongress.

In a letter to Coretta Scott King, co-chairperson of the event, Siegman wrote: "We had the most serious reservations about joining as a sponsor of the 20th Anniversary March, precisely because its focus seemed to have diverged from the purposes of the march which it seeks to commemorate by including in its agenda a whole range of unrelated and divisive issues, including positions that are hostile to Israel and gratuitously adversarial towards this Administration."

The AJCongress decided to join in the march, however, "because of our complete and unqualified confidence in you and your colleagues and in the assurances that you have given us," Siegman said in the letter.

Other Jewish Groups Stand Pat

But other Jewish organizations that did not endorse the march because of similar objections to some of the rally's sponsors, parts of its original platform, and its scheduling for the Sabbath, have not reversed their decision.

A spokesman for the American Jewish Committee, one of those organizations, said "We appreciate the good faith efforts" on the part of the march leadership, but still consider it "a serious mistake to detract from the central theme" of civil rights by including such issues as nuclear disagnament, Central America and the Middle East in the march's agenda.

A spokesman for the World Zionist Organization-American Section, another organization that has not reversed its decision, agreed that the concessions made by the sponsors of the event were "good", but said that his organization was "not mollified, not appeased, nor seduced" by the revised platform.

He stressed that the changes did not affect the "careless" scheduling of the event for Saturday and the anti-Israel leanings of some of the rally's sponsors such as Rev. Jesse Jackson and former Senator James Abourezk, who is now chair man of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Respond To Concerns Of Jewish Groups

At the press conference in Washington, House Delegate Walter Fauntroy, who represents the District of Columbia, and is the national director of the march, said that the day chosen for the march was "the date closest to the August 28 date" of the original march.

He noted there were objections to the "broadening of concerns from (the areas of) jobs and freedom," to include opposition to the "escalating ams race and the advocacy of non-violent resolutions to conflicts around the world."

"Some Jewish organizations," he said, "believing that the call to peace might be interpreted as an attack on Israel, requested assurances that the legislative package to be agreed upon will not explicitly or implicitly call for cuts in the economic or military aid package to Israel."

Fauntroy and the rest of the march leadership, which includes Mrs. King, wife of the slain civil rights leader; Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, "responded to (the) concern" of the Jewish organizations, Fauntroy said. "It is not our intention to single out Israel," he

"It is not our intention to single out Israel," he said. "We worked on a revision of a proposed draft of the peace position paper so as not to appear to single out Israel for attack."

Among the reasons cited originally by many Jewish organizations for not endorsing the march was a clause in "A Call to the Nation" issued by the march organizers which said: "We oppose the militarization of internal conflict, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. ams exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected."

The wording of "A Call to the Nation" was not changed after it was released, nor was a revised Call issued. However, the rally's position papers did undergo revisions.

Changes In The Policy Papers

Early drafts of the position paper on the Middle East included a statement of "general opposition to present United States policy" in the Middle East. In a subsequent letter to the UAHC on behalf of the march leadership, Fauntroy and Mrs. King said that they now "intend to highlight in our legislative and official policy statements the goal of peace. We will not articulate an official strategy for achieving it."

The final version of the policy paper, released yesterday, states: "Among the organizations in our coalition, there are divergent views with regard to the efficacy of present United States policy in the Middle East ..., The United States should have policies which contribute to a just and lasting peace for the Palestinians, the Israelis, and all other people in the Middle East, and should encourage ongoing, constructive dialogue between these parties."

In regards to U.S. ams exports, the final version reads: "The United States should have a policy of generally reducing ams shipments throughout the world and of increasing the kind of economic and humanitarian aid that would foster peace, economic stability and progress for the peoples of the world."

Attempts To Allay Fears

The letter from Fauntroy and Mrs. King, which the UAHC passed on to the AJCongress, also tried to allay fears that the march would turn into an anti-Israel rally. "We will make every effort," they wrote, "including giving specific instructions to our marshalls, to insure that placards and banners in the line of the march are in keeping with the (march's) theme of jobs, peace

The letter further assured the UAHC that "in the case where a divisive act or statement is made -- e.g., one that is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic, or defamatory to any group in the coalition -- the co-chairs will publicly disavow such a statement or act as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and coalition."

Schindler said in his statement that in light of "the sensitivity expressed by the leaders of the 20th Anniversary March toward the concern of the Jewish community," he has accepted the invitation by the leadership to deliver the closing benediction for the march. Richard Cohen Associates / 30 East 60th Street / New York, NY 10022

Thought this material might be / of interest to you. Any comments would be most welcome.

Richard Cohen

Reform leader defends decision to stay in controversial march

dent of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, has defended his group's decision to participate in the controversial 20th Anniversary March on Washington as a way "to defend Jewish interest" and said its perseverance had brought significant concessions from the event's leaders.

"By remaining in the coalition," Schindler said, "we were able not only to prevent any anti-Israel statement from being included in the march policy statements but also to win assurances that 'in the case where a divisive act or statement is made - e.g., one that is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic or defamatory to any group in the coalition — the co-chairs will publicly disavow such a statement. . . . ' "

The Reform rabbi, who praised the "sensitivity expressed by the leaders of the 20th Anniversary March toward the concerns of the Jewish community," said he had accepted the organizers' invitation to deliver the closing benediction.

"In the tradition of our ancient prophets," he said, "I urge my fellow Jews to give expression to the Jewish commitment to the equality and dignity of all members of the human family by participating in the 20th Anniversary March in whatever way they deem appropriate."

The event, to be held Saturday, Aug. 27, commemorates Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1963 march on Washington for "jobs and freedom." The anniversary march has added "peace" to its stated goal, and differences over how to achieve peace have been among factors causing controversy.

Most Jewish groups have withheld or withdrawn support because, among other objections, they complained that march organizers had sanctioned an agenda critical of U.S. support for Israel and, as Rabbi

Schindler said, some "have views on Israel that are abhorrent to us."

Schindler said, however, he had been assured by Mrs. Coretta Scott King and the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, writing on behalf of all the march leadership, that they intended to stress the goal of peace without spelling out a specific way to achieve it.

This was interpreted as a decision to avoid discussing American foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East, as well as to refrain from pro-Arab and anti-Israeli pronouncements.

Fauntroy, the march's national director, and Mrs. King, co-chairperson, also assured Schindler that every effort would be

made, including "giving specific instructions to our marshals, to insure that placards and banners ... are in keeping with the theme of jobs, peace and freedom," the rabbi said.

The New Jewish Agenda, another group which is supporting the march, explained it joined a coalition of more than 600 groups because its basic aims "are worthy of our support as Jews and Americans." These include concern for the poor, homeless, unemployed and hungry, and Jews are included in all those groups, the Agenda said.

To participate in the coalition, it added. requires it to debate with other members on such issues as the Middle East.

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Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES, UNIONUAHC NEWS RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen (212) 758-6969 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations On UAHC Participation in the Twentieth Anniversary March on Washington

"I am pleased to reconfirm the commitment of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to participation in the events commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's historic March on Washington.

"We do so because we are committed to the struggle for civil rights and the spirit of coalition and cooperation forged by Dr. King.

"We are gratified by the assurances we have received from Mrs. Coretta Scott King, co-chairperson, and the Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy, national director of the Twentieth Anniversary March on behalf of Bishop James Armstrong, Ms. Asia Bennett, Tony Bonilla, Judy Goldsmith, Archbishop James Hickey, Dr. Benjamin Hooks, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Dr. Joseph Lowery and Stevie Wonder.

"These assurances acknowledge that while there is unanimous agreement that peace in all parts of the world is the goal, there may be differences among the chairmen and convenors in how to achieve the goal. The letter from Mrs. King and Mr. Fauntroy states: 'We intend to highlight in our legislative and official policy statements the goal of peace. We will not articulate a specific strategy for achieving it.'

"The assurances state further: 'We will make every effort, including giving specific instructions to our marshalls, to ensure that placards and banners in the line of march are in keeping the theme of jobs, peace and freedom.' 'We are especially gratified by the statement in the letter from Mrs. King and Mr. Fauntroy that, 'in the case where a divisive act or statement is made -- e.g., one that is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic or defamatory to any group in the coalition -the co-chairs will publicly disavow such a statement or act as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and coalition.'

"The sensitivity expressed by the leaders of the Twentieth Anniversary March toward the concerns of the Jewish community have greatly heartened us. In that spirit I have accepted the invitation of the Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization to deliver the closing benediction. In the tradition of our ancient prophets, I urge my fellow-Jews to give expression to the Jewish commitment to the equality and dignity of all members of the human family by participating in the Twentieth Anniversary March in whatever way they deem appropriate to their observance of the Sabbath. 8/12/83 X X X X AJP

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Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS -- CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES. UNIONUAHC

איחוד ליהדות מתקדמת באמריקה

| To: | UAHC Board of Trustees |
|----------|----------------------------------|
| From: | Harris Gilbert, Chairman |
| Date: | July 21, 1983 |
| Subject: | CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON WASHINGTON |

At the Rye meeting of the Board, Al Vorspan and I reported on a controversy emerging within the Jewish and civil rights communities regarding the weekend of events, including the planned August 27 March on Washington to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the celebrated Martin Luther King march of 1963. We promised to send you an update on developments. This memo will serve that function. The situation remains fluid and we are monitoring it very closely.

It is important to know that Alex Schindler is a leading convenor of the event, along with other key leaders from labor, religion and other segments of American life. The march generated some questions and controversy among various Jewish national agencies who were invited to participate.

Some were concerned that the march was scheduled for the Sabbath, that the "call" for the march went beyond the scope of civil rights in America and among the 20 convenors and 200 endorsers there were a few outspoken critics of Israel. Because of these concerns, many Jewish agencies have refused to endorse the march and, in the process, became disassociated with its major civil rights thrust.

Since we share these concerns, but were unwilling summarily to disassociate ourselves, we arranged a meeting with Coretta King and Rep. Walter Fauntroy, co-chairpersons of the march, to discuss the problem. We set forth the need to convey our concerns and to seek assurances that would address them. They included stipulations that the divisive issues of the Middle East would be kept out of these events, that there would be no call for reduced aid to Israel or any attack on Israel or Zionism. It was also agreed that if, despite these precautions, anti- Israel activities arose on the day of the march, the chairpersons and Alex Schindler will issue a public statement repudiating such irresponsible statements or activities.

The leadership clearly wants our presence. They recognize that a major controversy on Israel would alienate not only the Jewish participants, but also labor and public interest groups, and would be subject to extensive press criticism.

Chairman Harris Gilbert Director Albert Vorspan Associate Director Rabbi David Saperstein

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA Over the past month, Jewish organizations have been deciding how to react to the march. A number of local Jewish Community Councils are endorsing the commemorative events along with the UAHC. Most national Jewish agencies are not going to endorse the events. However, at the time this memo is being written, some agencies (including the American Jewish Congress) are still considering formal endorsement. The efforts of some groups to send out a joint letter, in the name of all national Jewish agencies, publicly criticizing the march, was rejected by the NJCRAC.

Many of the national agencies which are not participating themselves have expressed gratitude that we are involved, so that the Jewish community has some formal presence in these events, which reaffirm the national commitment to civil rights and equality. In addition, many of our traditional coalitional partners who are supporters of the weekend of events (such as organized labor and national civil rights groups, such as the NAACP) have pleaded with us to remain so as to work with them to prevent the manipulation of these events by the minority radical elements. We will continue to do so as long as the leadership abides by the agreements made and no anti-Israel activity takes place.

I am attaching an article by Al Vorspan, which describes the issue, as well as the dilemma confronting us on the United States Civil Rights Commission.

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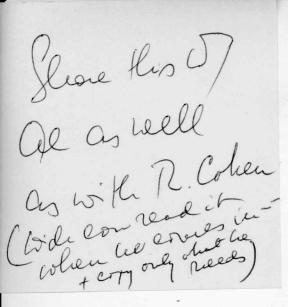
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1/ Interfaith Service ? of Deaker for Sar. Lincoln memorial

Letter to Doned & On Letterhead of Co. Chans-

Qe. Glease call D 8 - important 1-518-325-5793



The first memo which is enclosed is a confidential memo for you. It is not to be circulated or shown to anyone else. The second memo is a draft the public version which will be circulated to NJCRAC, other Jewish leaders as well as the leaders of some of the labor and public interest groups endorsing the March.

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MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi David Saperstein

Date August 1, 1983

To Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Mr. Al Vorspan, Mr. Harris Gilbert, Rabbi Joseph Glaser, Rabbi Randall Falk, and Mr. Robert Lipshutz Copies

Subject March on Washington

In the past week a number of major developments took place and culminated this past Saturday in Atlanta at a meeting involving a number of the principle March leaders. In attendance were, Walter Fauntroy, Coretta Scott King, Judy Goldsmith, Ben Hooks, Jack O'Dell (representing Jesse Jackson), Joseph Lowery and Asia Bennett. Since no member of the UAHC staff was able to attend, due to schedules and Shabbat, our positions were represented by Robert Lipshutz. Bob was the former Counsel to President Carter, is a member of the Temple in Atlanta and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress (which is still considering whether it will join us in endorsing the March). Everyone who attended the meeting felt that Bob did an admirable job in representing our views and effecting reasonable compromise.

The developments of the past week fall into 7 categories.

I. The Letter Regarding March Guarantees.

I received a response to my letter of June 16 regarding March Day guarantees (Enclosed find mine and a copy of theirs). It brings us along way towards firming up many of the precautions we felt we needed. In addition to the issues addressed in their letter, Coretta and Walter have spoken to each of the co-chairs (all of whom will speak at the March) and all of the convenors (who represent the major participating groups and include_ Jesse Jackson, Jim Abourezk and Joe Lowery). They all agreed not to interject the Middle East into the March, either in speeches and statements or on placards and signs. Thus, to take one example, the ADC's signs will read, "Arab-Americans support Jobs, Peace and Freedom."

II. Policy Paper on Peace/Foreign Policy

The second issue is the policy paper on Peace. (Each of the three areas: Jobs, Peace and Freedom, has both a "policy paper" and a section of the "legislative package." Enclosed is the latest draft of the legislative package as well as the "Jobs" and "Ereedom" policy paper. In addition, I am enclosing a copy of the draft of the Peace policy paper which was brought to the co-chairs on Saturday. The story of how that draft ever came to be reflects the lack of organization and oversights by the leadership evident in many aspects of the events. In fact, I spotted this draft two weeks ago, only one day before it was to be sent to the Planning council (a group comprised of one representative of each convening organization) for final adoption. When I brought the document to the attention of the co-chairs, (who had never seen it) they immediately withdrew it. As a result of the upheaval related to the document, they have passed a new

Religious Action Center

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036, 202/387-2800 Memo on the March August 1, 1983 page two

rule which stipulates that no March document can be released without the approval of the co-chairs. In dealing with these concerns, we were supported in our efforts by several key leaders of labor, public interest, and woman's groups, particularly Bella Abzug.

I had serious reservations with the document as a whole-even excluding the Mid-East problems. The tone was strident and confrontational; it was neither lucidly written nor aimed at galvanizing the mainstream support of the American people. The document was discussed in great length at the meeting this past weekend. A number of people agreed with our point regarding the tone and the entire document is being re-edited. As a result of the March leaders concern over the participation of the Jewish community, they spent a great deal of time working out the exact language of all references to the Middle East.

Bob and I had agreed that the best arrangement would be not to have a policy paper or if there were one, not to deal with the Middle East at all. The leaders, however, were committed to having policy papers and felt that it would be irresponsible not to include the Middle East. Although no formal votes were taken, it was Bob's impression that this view was the consensus of almost everyone there, and was espoused forcefully, even by people like Ben Hooks.

They then turned their attention to the substantive wording of the Middle East area. There are two places where the Middle East will come up in the final version of the paper. First, all of pages 12, 13 and the top of 14 have now been omitted. In its place, there will be a section which reads (please note it begins with the only sentence held over from the original draft i.e. the last sentence of the section on page 14):

"The Middle East is a barometer and acid test of our nation's foreign policy. The United States must take dynamic leadership in seeking political and diplomatic solutions to the conflicts in that region. Towards this end, the United States should have policies which contribute to a just and lasting peace for the Israelis, Palestinians and all other people in the Middle East."

Please note that throughout the substantive debate, several people, particularly Jack O'Dell of PUSH, sought to have much stronger language in the document. At certain points during discussion, Joe Lowery and Walter Fauntroy supported Jack's views. For example, in the second sentence it was suggested that there be language calling on the U.S. to use nonmilitary and non-violent means. Jack wanted to retain the call for arms limitations to the Middle East. In the third sentence it was suggested that reference should be made to "self-determination", "legitimate rights", or "a homeland". Eventually, however, the language agreed upon was the consensus view of everyone, albeit on Jack O'Dell's part, somewhat reluctantly, and only when the handwriting was on the wall. Coretta King and Asia Bennett of the American Friends Service Committee were particularly helpful. The sympathies of all the others lay generally with us and they were supportive where necessary.

There is a second area in which the language will touch on our concerns. This can be found on page 5 as an addition to the present language (which hopefully will be toned down). The addition will be: Memo on the March August 1, 1983 page 3

> "The United States government must enforce all of its laws throughout the world relating to the proliferation of nuclear arms and the control of arms exports. The U.S. should pursue a policy of generally reducing arms shipments throughout the world and increasing the kind of economic and humanitarian aid that would foster peace, economic stability and progress for the peoples of the world who have experienced many years of war and tension."

Please note that there is no reference to the Middle East explicitly in this. Furthermore, the legislative package does not call for cutting military (or economic aid) to Israel. This passage is a bit more problematic for us, but Bob felt it was the best that we could get. Judging from similar fights going on in IMPACT and other groups now, that is probably accurate.

I would have greatly preferred to have no references in the policy paper to the Middle East. The policy papers are intended to provide the theoretical basis for the legislative package. Since there is no reference to any of these issues in the legislative package, it seems to me that the "need" to include the language above is gratuitous. After all, there is no reference to the abortion issue in the Freedom paper despite the fact that all groups except the Catholics would support abortion rights. However, as stated above, Bob felt there was no support for dropping the issue altogether. After speaking to several people who were at the meeting I-must tell you that they believe they have put enormous time and energy into this issue; they feel they have been extremely understanding and flexible to our concerns and it is likely that my effort to go back for more compromises would be deeply resented. (If, however, this is acceptable to us, we might wish to ask them to include a statement on Soviet Jewry).

III. Jewish Speaker

We've been exploring several possibilities regarding who the Jewish speaker will be at the March itself. The possibilities include the appropriateness of Alex or Al participating on Saturday afternoon and the question of who a substitute should be if we decide that a UAHC person should not be involved. We need to wrap up this question by the weekend.

IV. The PLO

The PLO had requested to be formally invited to participate in the March or at least send an official representative. The co-chairs decided they would not extend such an invitation. Only two formal representatives from abroad will be invited to speak: one from West Germany to talk about peace; one from South Africa to talk about freedom.

V. Local Communities

Enclosed you will find a copy of the text of a local community's ad from Philadelphia. Obviously the reference to Lebanon is deeply troubling. The national leadership feels that it cannot control what local communities do but it has sent out a copy of its own (to be sent next week) which it has urged local groups to use. The leadership has made it clear that in cases like Philadelphia, where the statements go beyond the bounds of the national position, local communities cannot use the name of the National group Memo on the March August 1, 1983 page four

on those ads and must not imply national support for it.

VI. The Interfaith Service

The Religious Taskforce was seeking to have an interfaith service on Friday night, Aug. 26th. It turns out that no one who has been involved with over a month of planning was aware that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had scheduled a major rally at 8 p.m. that night, a rally coming at the end of their convention, which they wanted to be the focal point of all activity. The co-chairs will request the Religious Taskforce to move the interfaith event to Sunday. If that is not acceptable, they may propose to hold the service on Friday from 6:30 to 8 and so all could go to the rally.

We have asked them, no matter when they decide to hold the interfaith event, to hold it at a synagogue and allow that to be the formal Jewish involvement in the weekend of events. All the co-chairs agreed that would be a good idea and Annette Daum will ask the Interfaith Committee meeting in New York on Monday if that would be acceptable to them. We will have to ask Josh Haberman, or as a fallback, Stanley Rabinowitz, if they would allow their synagogues to be used for the interfaith event since that will determine whether we can in fact host it. They are both away on vacation but will be back this week.

The New Jewish Agenda is holding their own service on Friday night to which they are asking Jewish participants in the March to come. We will be holding our own at Washington Hebrew (if we go with the Friday night interfaith format), or at WHC or Gene Lipman's Temple Sinai (if we go for the Sun. interfaith event). I will try to persuade New Jewish Agenda to participate with us so that we don't compete but I'm not optimistic.

VII. Co-chairs

The list of the co-chairs includes Walter Fauntroy, Coretta Scott King, Judy Goldsmith, Ben Hooks, Stevie Wonder, Joseph Lowery, Asia Bennett, John Jacobs, Reverend James Armstrong (Pres. of NCC), Archbishop James Hickey (Washington, D.C.), Tony Bonilla (League of United Latin American Citizens), and Andy Young. It is likely they will ask Alex to join. Alex has indicated he will accept.

ADDENDUM

Annette Daum reported that the Religious Taskforce decided.1) that the service could not be held in a synagogue and 2) to end the interfaith service promptly at 8:00 p.m. in order to accomodate the SCLC. In Washington on July 26th in response to our concerns about Shabbat; they had previously agreed to move the starting time from 7:00 to 6:30 p.m. It is now clear from that meeting that the proposed service, especially with regard to music, liturgy, and speakers, will be gospel rather than interfaith in character. It is a service directed towards and primarily appropriate for Black Christians. The music will be entirely gospel, and the principal speaker will be Rev. Jesse Jackson (who as previously noted has publicly agreed not to mention the Middle East). Other speakers include Bill Howard and Avery Post. At present, the only planned Jewish Memo on the March August 1, 1983 page five

participation is a predetermined selection from the Torah which the Taskforce has invited Alex to read. We will make it clear we do not consider the service to be interfaith in character and will ask that the service not be considered as the interfaith event. Any Jewish participant would merely be a guest invited to read from the Torah. We are proceeding to plan our own Shabbat service at a local synagogue. In addition, we will explore the possibility of a real interfaith event on Sunday afternoon.

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August 27, 1983 .

Status Report #2 August .2, 1983

March Day Guarantees

Coretta Scott King and Walter Fauntroy have spoken to each of the cochairs (all of whom will be speaking at the March) and all of the convenors. They all agreed not to interject the Middle East into the March, either in speeches and statements or on placards and signs. They also agreed that if, despite previous precautions, any divisive statements occur during the March, the co-chairs will publicly disavow them as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and the coalition. We will be receiver a letter for the contract of the contract on these contains on these contains

Confidented

As a result of the upheaval-related to the document (see Status Report #1),) the co-chairs have passed a new rule which stipulates that no March document can be released without the approval of the co-chairs. Screened La Thek Co chang

The Peace/Foreign Policy paper was discussed at great length during the co-chair meeting this past weekend in Atlanta. A consensus agreement was reached regarding our point that the document was strident and confrontational in tone; the entire policy paper is now being re-edited. As a result of the March leaders concern of the Jewish community, they spent a great deal of time working out the exact language of all references to the Middle East.

There are two places where the Middle East will come up in the final version of the paper. First, all the sections we found problematic have now been omitted. In it's place, there will be a section which reads:

"The Middle East is a barometer and acid test of our nation's foreign policy. The United States must take dynamic leadership in seeking political and diplomatic solutions to the conflicts in that region. Towards this end, the United States should have policies which contribute to a just and lasting peace for the Israelis, Palestinians and all other peoples in the Middle East."

The second section will read:

"The United States government must enforce all of its laws throughout the world relating to the proliferation of nuclear arms and the control of arms exports. The U.S. should pursue a policy of generally reducing arms shipments throughout the world and increasing the kind of economic and humanitarian aid that would foster peace, economic stability and progress for the peoples of the world who have experienced many years of war and tension."

Please note that there is no reference to the Middle East explicitly in this

Memo on the March August 2, 1983 page two

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Furthermore, the legislative package does not call for cutting military (or economic aid) to Israel.

A Jewish Speaker

The leadership would like a Jewish speaker to address the March on Saturday afternoon. We are exploring several possibilities regarding who will speak. The possibilities include the appropriateness of Rabbi Alexander Schindler or Mr. Al Vorspan participating on Saturday afternoon and the question of who a substitute should be if we decide that a UAHC person should not be involved. We will wrap up this question by the weekend.

The PLO

The PLO had requested to be formally invited to participate in the event or at least send an official representative. The co-chairs decided they would not extend such an invitation. Only two formal representatives from abroad will be invited to speak: one from West Germany to talk about Peace; one from South Africa to talk about Freedom.

Local Communities

The text of a local community's ad from Philadelphia stated, "Nor should our resources be used to legitimize...the slaughter of the innocent in places like Lebanon or El Salvador." Obviously the reference to Lebanon is deeply troubling. The national leadership feels that it cannot control what local communities do but it has sent out a copy of its own ad which it has urged local groups to use. The leadership has made it clear that in cases like Philadelphia, where the statements go beyond the bounds of the national position, local communities cannot use the name of the National group on those ads and must not imply national support for it.

The Interfaith Service

On July 26, the Religious Taskforce, responding to our concerns, agreed to move the Interfaith Service from 7:00 to 6:30 p.m.and finish ky 8:00 PM

It has become clear that the planned service will be primarily gospel rather than interfaith in character. Only gospel music is planned and the proposed speaker is Reverend Jesse Jackson (who as previously noted has publicly agreed not to mention the Middle East). The Taskforce requested that Rabbi Schindler read a predetermined selection from the Torah. This would be the only Jewish aspect of the program.

Given the character of the service, we will ask that it not be called an interfaith service. Any Jewish participation will be in the form of a guest invited to read from the Torah.

We are proceeding to plan a Shabbat service tentatively scheduled at 8:30 p.m. at Washington Hebrew Congregation. We hope to have the New Jewish Agenda, which is currently planning its own Friday night service, join us. Memo on the March August 2, 1983 page three

Co-Chairs

The list of the co-chairs now includes: Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Ms. Judy Goldsmith, Mr. Ben Hooks, Mr. Stevie Wonder, Dr. Joseph Lowery, Ms. Asia Bennett, Mr. John Jacobs (National Urban League), Rev. James Armstrong (Pres. of National Council of Churches), Archbishop James Hickey (Archdiocese of Washington, D.C.), Mr. Tony Bonilla (League of United Latin American Citizens). and Mr. Andrew Young (Mayor of Atlanta). It is Likely they will ask Rabbi Schindler to join this group. He has indicated he will accept. August 29, 1983

Mr. Herman Bistrin 410 F Street Eureka, CA 95501

DeMarer

Dear Herman:

It was good hearing from you. Your letter arrived today, after my return from Washington and the march. I am happy to tell you that there were no unpleasant incidents, the program, the march, the spirit, all worked out beautifully. The only difficulty was the weather, and, of course, we have no say in regard to that. It was very hot and muggy in Washington. But other then the discomfort the day was truly beautiful.

We also had a wonderful Shabbat service at Temple Sinai. Coretta King and members of her family were in attendance, it was a very lovely, lovely Shabbat service.

With thanks for your support and for taking the time to share your thoughts and with all good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

meyer Bistrins inc

CORPORATE OFFICE

fhouttom 410 F STREET EUREKA, CALIFORNIA 95501 707-443-6787

August 24, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler U.A.H.C. 838 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I whole heartedly endorse you position on the August 27th March on Washington to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the celebrated Martin Luther King March of 1983. Undoubtedly, there will be some incidents that will be unpleasant, but all the positive aspects of our participation far outweigh any negatives that may come forth.

Though I live in a small and isolated community, with less than 75 Jewish families, it is important that our community be reminded of the historic mission that we have as Jews - to bring about a messianic age by not only words, but also by deeds.

Sincerely,

Herman Bistrin

pr/HB

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL WASHINGTON, D. C.

שגרירות ישראל ושינגמוז

25 August 1983

Dear Alex:

Thank you for your letter of August 22. I was delighted to see you and exchange views.

With regard to the March on Washington, however, I regret that I am not in a position to either support or oppose this event.

I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Warmest good wishes.

Sincerely,

- Romen

Meir Rosenne Ambassador

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

PCMM

August 22, 1983

The Honorable Naftali Lavie Consul General of Israel \$00 Second Avenue New York, NY 10017

Dear Naftali:

In the event you missed the August 19 JTA, I enclose herewith a very fine article on that August 27 March on Washington. It is a very godd review of what has transpired.

Events confirm the propriety of our decision to remain as participants in this March. We were instrumental in making some very important changes and indeed prevented a civil rights coalition from being coopted by third world legtweingers.

With warm regards and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

pemperot

August 22, 1983

Rabbi Alan M. Sokobin Congregation Shomer Emunim 6453 Sylvania Avenue Sylvania, Ohio 43560

Dear Alan:

In responding to your letter of August 18, let me note at the outset that the UAHC's determination to continue its commitment to remain in the 20th Anniversary March was as the result of discussion by our Board. From the very outset our Officers and Board members were not only given reports, they were consulted and they discussed the situation fully. It was their decision that we retain our commitment and that we meet with the convenors of the March to share our concerns and to seek to have the committee take action to make certain assurances were forthcoming in regard to these concerns. They were.

The enclosed materials widlgive you the background and bring you up-todate on what has transpired. We have kept the Board informed every step of the way and the latest mailing went out just last week.

Let me also note that we, as the UAHC, are not marching. We have not organized marchers, people will make their own decision as to the propriety of marching....!'m sure you will agree that is a personal option.

I will particpate in the program by giving the Benediction at the very end of the day. Needless to note with a long program I can't be sure of the exact time but it will be late enough in the afternoon for me to be comfortable about participating.

Alan, we of the Union feel strongly that civil rights is important and that we must be involved in coalitions; and we are. Thus, Black legislat tors continue to support us on Israel and Soviet Jewry to an extent even greater -- would you believe -- than Jewish congresspersons and Senators. We can't let a few bad Jacksons drive us out of that coalition.

With warm regards and best wishes for a Shona Tova, 1 am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. SChindler

THE TEMPLE - CONGREGATION SHOMER EMUNIM 6453 SYLVANIA AVENUE / SYLVANIA, OHIO 43560 (419) 885-3341

August 18, 1983 9 Elul, 5743

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

Dear Alex:

I was deeply upset and offended when I learned that the UAHC planned on participating in the Martin Luther King Memorial March on Washington on Saturday, August 27.

I wonder at the propriety of being the only Jewish organization which is willing to march on the Sabbath. You may well consider it a mitzvah to participate in a civil rights demonstration on Shabbat and, in other circumstances, I might well agree with you. Nonetheless, because the call for a new coalition has made a serious and sustained effort to include groups actively supporting the PLO and, no less, actively opposing Israel and its adherents, the UAHC along with all other Jewish institutions should keep itself arms-length from this observance.

I would be embarrassed to see the President of the UAHC on the same platform as Sen. James Aberesk and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. It would be demeaning to have the leadership of our movement sandwiched in between those who have gone to Libya for a payoff and those who have maligned us in the black community.

Sincerely,

AMS/jd

August 22, 1983

Mr. Jay W. Freedman, President Washington Hebrew Congregation Macomb St. at Massachusetts Ave., NW. Washington. D?C. 20036

Dear Jay:

cMarc

By now I am certain you have received Don Day's response to your letter of August 16. I trust it will serve to assuage some of the concerns expressed by members of your Board.

I am taking the liberty of sharing with you a recent mailing to the UAHC Board of Trustees. As you know, our Board of Trustees has been involved in the decision-making process in connection with out participation in the 20th Anniversary March. The enclosed is but another up-date which was sent to our Board and I believe it will be of interest to you.

With warm good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Leonard Abel Donald S. Day, Esq. Rabbi David Saperstein



WASHINGTON HEBREW CONGREGATION MACOMB STREET AT MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

Jay W. Freedman President

August 16, 1983

Donald S. Day, Esquire Saperston, Day, Lustig, Gallick Kirschner & Gaglione, P.C. 1500 Liberty Bank Bldg. Buffalo, New York 14202

Dear Don:

At last night's Board of Directors meeting at Washington Hebrew Congregation, there was a lengthy discussion concerning the UAHC's position with respect to the upcoming March on Washington in commemoration of the 1963 March.

Many members of our leadership were participants in the 1963 March, feel deeply committed to the aims of that event and believe that it is a moment worthy of commemoration. Nonetheless, many members of the Board have grave reservations about some of the directions this commemorative march has taken.

We are not unmindful of efforts the UAHC has undertaken to moderate what appeared to be anti-Israeli or anit-semitic planks in the stated platform of the organizers but the Board wanted me to express our concern not only with the decision to remain involved in the march but with the process by which that decision was reached. I know how difficult it is for any organization to be certain it accurately reflects the views of its members but between the decision on the march and the recent publicity over the appointments to the Civil Rights Commission, our Board has indicated that it wishes to know more abut the relations between the Union and its membership in the development of positions on public issues. I would appreciate learning whether other congregations have expressed similar concerns and whether the Houston convention will afford an opportunity to discuss this matter.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Ja Freedman

cc: Rabbi Alexander Schindler Rabbi David Saperstein Leonard Abel UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

August 19, 1983

Mr. Jay W. Freedman President Washington Hebrew Congregation Macomb Street at Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Jay:

Thank you for your letter of August 16th which I read with a great deal of interest.

I certainly can understand the concern which members of your Board have expressed with respect to the decision to remain affiliated with the upcoming March on Washington. Certainly, there is room for a difference of opinion on this matter and the leadership of the Union was very much aware of the problem and every effort was made to thoroughly explore both sides of the issue before a final direction was determined.

For your information, Alex Schindler and Al Vorspan gave a complete report on the proposed March and the problems associated with it at a meeting of the Union's Officers preceding the June Board Meeting. At the Board Meeting itself, Al Vorspan and Dave Saperstein gave an additional comprehensive report and received the complete support of the Board on the recommendation of the Officers that the Union remain associated with the March if its leadership could be assured by Mrs. King and the March's leadership that Jewish concerns would



UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Mr. Jay W. Freedman -2- August 19, 1983

be recognized and responded to in a sympathetic, understanding way. Both the Officers and the Board were aware of the meeting of the major Jewish organizations which preceded the Union Board Meeting and the risks attendant to our continued participation in the March. Nevertheless, it was felt that, even though there were certain risks attendant to the decision, that more could be accomplished by remaining with the responsible leadership of the March than withdrawing from it and risking a permanent breach between the Black and Jewish communities.

The long and the short of it, Jay, is that both the Officers and the full Board were consulted and the decision to proceed received their full support even though both the Officers and the Board recognized that we undoubtedly would be criticized by some segments of the Jewish community for our continued participation. Certainly we are sensitive to the possibility that, whatever precautions may be taken, the responsible Black leadership may not be able to control what is said from the rostrum. We hope nothing untoward will occur but after weighing all of the risks involved, it was felt that more was to be gained by remaining within the coalition than withdrawing from it and we simply will have to deal with the risk of the unexpected.

I recognize, of course, that this explanation may not fully satisfy the inquiring members of your Board as to the wisdom of the decision; hopefully, however, it will reassure you that the process followed was an appropriate one.

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Mr. Jay W. Freedman -3- August 19, 1983

As to your inquiry as to whether other Congregations have expressed similar concerns, I can only state to you that we have received many expressions and letters of support and understanding from within the Movement as to the decision which the Board took on this particular matter. I would be less than honest if I did not inform you that the mail and telephone response has not been unanimously supportive, however, Certainly the preponderance of our communications from our constituency has been supportive by a very wide margin.

I hope you will find this letter responsive to your inquiry, even if not totally satisfying.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Most cordially

/s/ Don Day

Donald S. Day

DSD/mdr

cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Rabbi David Saperstein Mr. Leonard Abel



838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021, (212) 249-0100

August 15, 1983

Rabbi Hillel Cohn Congregation Emanu El 3512 North "E" Street San Bernardino, CA 92405

Dear Hillel:

How nice of you to write to Harris in support of our position on the March on Washington. I know he will be pleased to hear from you, even as I was and as I know Al will be. We've been getting some "klep" on this one and knowing of the support from out there in congregation land is a boon to us all.

With fondest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

RABBI hillel cohn

Thouses my out always congregation emanu el / 3512 north 'E' street / san bernardino, calif. 92405

Dear Alex -

Attached is a copy of a letter to Harris Gilbert in which I express my approval and support of the stand taken by the UAHC regarding the March on Washington.

Your endorsement of the march as a convenor adds even greater luster to your already magnificent work.

Linda (whom I have yet to meet) and Rita join me in sending best wishes to you and yours,

RABBI HILLEL COHN CONGREGATION EMANU EL 3512 NORTH "E" STREET SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA 92405 (714) 886-4818

August 10, 1983

Mr. Harris Gilbert, Chairman Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism 838 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10021

Dear Harris:

I want to respond to the recent communication sent to me and other members of the Board of Trustees of the UAHC regarding the civil rights march on Washington. Unfortunately, I was unable to attend the meeting in Rye.

I commend and applaud the stand taken by the UAHC in endorsing the march. It is good to know that we are unafraid to carry out the mandate to pursue justice and to apply it even in uncomfortable situations. It makes me prouder than ever to be associated with the UAHC.

This is to let you know that I endorse your position. I have just finished preparing a sermon that I will be delivering this Shabbat on "The Limits of Pursuing Justice" based on the Torah text, "Justice, justive shall you pursue." The essence of the sermon is that we cannot back away from involvement in issue of pursuing justice just because we might be in association with some who do not share our commitments and concern for Israel. To do that would not only be dangerous; it would be an abandonment of our tradition.

Shalom,

Hillel Cohn Rabbi

cc: Rabbi Alexander Schindler Albert Vorspan August 15, 1983

Mr. Irving Schactman Unit T - Bldg. B 28 Morris Avenue Summit, NJ 07901

20 Maren

Dear Mr. Schachtman:

Martin Luther King was a bood friend of the Jewish people. Jews do not or should not forget. He was no anti-Semite. Neither is his wife.

The civil rights coalition is important to us. Thus Black legislators cobtinue to support us on Israel and Soviet Jewry to an extent even greater -- would you believe it -- than Jewish Congressmen and Senators. We can't let a few bad Jacksons drive us out of that coalition.

Be remaining in the coalition, we were able to stop antiisrael statements from appearing in the event's legislative packages. And we kept Aburezk and his gang from taking over the black movement.

In other words, which policy advances Jewish interests more? The easy road of ranting against the march, or the more serious effort to protect Jewish interests by staying in.

Your rude letter really doesn't deserve a reply, but at least you had the courage to add your name, and so I reply.

Admit it, you are a short-sighted person. Jewish leadership requires that we look beyond our noses and judge the long-tange consequences of our decisions.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

RVING SCHACTMAN UNIT T - BLDG. 8 --28 MORRIS AVENUE SUMMIT, N. J. 07901 Aug 1041983 Dear RABBI Schindler 6 LAd To See you ColeBRATING Dr. Kings 1963 March with A pimp Like Jesse Jackson Mr. Arapais FaiEnd. Then that other Bigot & ANTI - Semire J. A Bourezk who Spends 23 hours daily Setting up ANTI- ISRAEL TACTICS As To Judy Goldsmith She goes Where ever the medium will Talle her Ugly pin Ugly Picture. 1 Support Jaws & Isanel You many Continue To Support the peus Haters Anti-Senites & Bigois, STOP All do All IN my power To STOP All doNATIONS To the AMERICAN HEBREN CONGrogATIONS, Heil HiThea!! Thing Chartmans

CO-CHAIRS

Ms. Asia Bennett **American Friends** Service Committee Ms. Judy Goldsmith National Organization for Women Rev. Benjamin Hooks National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Mrs. Coretta Scott King Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change Dr. Joseph Lowery Southern Christian Leadership Conference Mr. Stevie Wonder

NATIONAL DIRECTOR Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy

Member of Congress

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Bishop John H. Adams Congress of National Black Churches Bishop James Armstrong National Council of Churches

Mr. Harry Belafonte Mr. Clyde Bellecourt American Indian Movement Ms. Donna Brazile U.S. Student Association

Honorable John Conyers Member of Congress

Mr. Richard Deats Fellowship of

Reconciliation Mr. Murray Finley

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO

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Negro Women Rev. Jesse Jackson Operation PUSH

Dr. T.J. Jemison National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A.

Mr. John Jacob National Urban League Mr. Cleveland Robinson District 65, United

Auto Workers Rabbi Alex Schindler Union of American

Hebrew Congregations Mr. William Winpisinger

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

Ms. Addie Wyatt United Food and Commercial Workers International Union TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 467-6445

) c March

MEMORANDUM

Administrative Committee National Planning Council & Representatives

FROM:

TO:

Walter E. Fauntroy WER National Director

SUBJECT: National Planning Council Meeting

DATE: August 4, 1983

Our final regular meeting of the National Planning Council will be held on Saturday, August 13, 1983, in Washington, D.C. The meeting will begin promptly at 10:00 a.m. in the Executive Board Room of the National Education Association, 1201 16th St. N.W.

The primary focus of the meeting will be on the following items:

National Mobilization

. Media and Communications

Legislative Platform and Issues Papers

. Logistics

Program for August 27th

There may be other items on the agenda, therefore, your attendance is vital.

We need your assistance on the August 16th Radiothon. Unity Broadcasting has agreed to broadcast live the Twentieth Anniversary March on Washington Radiothon to thousands of listeners of the popular "Night Talk" program.

- 5:00 a.m. There are many ways you can help make this, our last fundraising effort, a success:
 - . contact your local affiliates and friends and ask them to listen to the broadcast.
 - . call in during the radiothon and challenge others to meet your pledge.
 - . send your pledge for the radiothon in advance to the national office. We will announce it during the broadcast.

During the entire year, we have often quoted Dr. Martin Luther King's famous statement "Now is the Time". We need your continued support. If you have not sent in your last monthly financial contribution, then do so immediately.

Thank you for your support and I look forward to seeing you on August 13th.

ATTACHMENT

Tour schedule Logistics update Things-to-Do Checklist

P.S. Each Planning Council and Administrative Committee member will be sent a special invitation to march with the leadership contingent. Each member is entitled to submit the names of two other people within his or her organization who will also receive the special invitation. Would you submit those names to Carol Page in the National Office 202/467-6445 as soon as possible. For security reasons she will also need their social security number, phone number, place of birth and date of birth.

CO-CHAIRS

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Ms. Asia Bennett American Friends Service Committee Ms. Judy Goldsmith National Organization for Women Rev. Benjamin Hooks National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Mrs. Coretta Scott King Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change Dr. Joseph Lowery Southern Christian Leadership Conference Mr. Stevie Wonder

NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy Member of Congress

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American Indian Movement Ms. Donna Brazile U.S. Student Association Honorable John Conyers Member of Congress Mr. Richard Deats Fellowship of Reconciliation

Mr. Murray Finley Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Ms. Mary Futrell National Education Association Honorable Robert Garcia Member of Congress

Ms. Dorothy Height National Council of Negro Women

Rev. Jesse Jackson Operation PUSH Dr. T.J. Jemison National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A.

Mr. John Jacob National Urban League Mr. Cleveland Robinson District 65, United Auto Workers

Rabbi Alex Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations Mr. William Winpisinger International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers Ms. Addie Wyatt United Food and Commercial Workers International Union

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION FOR JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 467-6445

SUGGESTIONS FOR PARTICIPATION IN TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MARCH

- DEVELOP A PLAN OF ACTION FOR BRINGING YOUR DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON, D.C.
- WIDELY PUBLICIZE YOUR ENDORSEMENT AND PLAN OF ACTION AMONG YOUR AFFILIATES.
- SECURE (WHERE PRACTICAL) ENDORSEMENTS FROM YOUR STATE AND LOCAL AFFILIATES.
- ENCOURAGE LOCALS TO JOIN COALITIONS OF CONSCIENCE IN TARGET CITIES.
- PROVIDE NATIONAL OBSERVANCE OFFICE WITH YOUR LIST OF POTENTIAL LEADERS IN TARGET CITIES' AREA.
- TAKE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSISTING THE MOBILIZATION OF A TARGET CITY WHERE YOUR GROUP HAS ESPECIALLY STRONG LEADERSHIP.
- USE YOUR NATIONAL, STATE, AND COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK TO DISSEMINATE THE CALL TO ACTION, THE LEGISLATIVE GOALS, AS WELL AS NEWS ABOUT ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE MARCH.
- SECURE A CONTRIBUTION FROM YOUR ORGANIZATION TO HELP DEFRAY LOGISTICAL COSTS.
- VOLUNTEER FOR SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS IN TARGET CITIES OR WITH OTHER GROUPS ON TOUR TO PROMOTE THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON.
- WORK WITH NATIONAL OFFICE TO DEVELOP A SYSTEM FOR PARTICIPATION OF YOUR AFFILIATES IN THE SALE OF BUTTONS, POSTERS, AND OTHER PROMOTIONAL SALES ITEMS.
- WORK WITH THE NATIONAL OFFICE TO ENSURE THAT YOUR GROUP IS PROPERLY AND APPROPRIATELY REPRESENTED IN THE SOU-VENIR PROGRAM. (Send us the name of national officers expected to attend.)
- MAKE AVAILABLE YOUR DUPLICATION OR PRINTING FACILITIES FOR A SPECIFIED AMOUNT OF SERVICE OR PERIOD OF TIME.
- SECURE USE OF MAILING FACILITIES OR DONATE STAMPS.

Please call Ms. Louise Anderson at 1-800-638-6415 or (202) 467-6445 for more information.

CO-CHAIRS

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Union, AFL-CIO

Ms. Mary Futrell **National Education** Association Honorable Robert Garcia Member of Congress Ms. Dorothy Height National Council of Negro Women Rev. Jesse Jackson **Operation PUSH** Dr. T.J. Jemison National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A. Mr. John Jacob National Urban League Mr. Cleveland Robinson District 65, United Auto Workers Rabbi Alex Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations Mr. William Winpisinger International Association of Machinists and **Aerospace Workers** Ms. Addie Wyatt United Food and **Commercial Workers** International Union

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION FOR JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM 1201 16th Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 467-6445

August 2, 1983

LOGISTICS UPDATE

MARCH DATE: Saturday, August 27, 1983 PLACE : Washington, D.C.

ASSEMBLY POINT: Marchers will assemble at 8:00 a.m. on the Mall, bordered by 14th and 3rd Streets, N.W. The Mall is located directly between the Washington Monument and the U.S. Capitol. An inspirational program will feature artists/entertainers/selected speakers which will begin at 8:00 a.m. The actual March to the Lincoln Memorial will start 10:00 a.m.

ASSEMBLY COLOR CODE/LINE-UP: Matching balloons and colored signs will identify pre-assembly points for each contingent. Please take your group to the assigned area for line-up instructions.

Color

Maroon

Green

White Pink Yellow Purple Red Beige Blue Brown Orange Grey Black Contingent

I. Elected Officials Co-Chairpersons Convenors / Planning Council Other V.I.P.'s II. Civil Rights/ Hispanics III. Religious IV. Seniors/Elderly V. Labor VI. Students VII. Solidarity VIII. Peace IX. Women X. Gay/Lesbian XI. Environmental XII. Multi-Issue Groups XIII. Cities arranged by state

<u>MARCH ROUTE</u>: The March will begin on 14th Street at the Mall, proceeding north to Constitution Avenue, west on Constitution to 17th, and south on 17th to feed into the Lincoln Memorial grounds at the Reflecting Pool.

PROGRAM: The program for the March will begin at 1:00 p.m. at the Lincoln Memorial. At that time, major speeches on the theme of Jobs, Peace and Freedom will be delivered. TRANSPORTATION: Each bus should have a bus captain. This person should not be a marshall or have any other responsibilities that day. (S)he will be primarily responsible for directing the bus to the appropriate parking area and keeping track of all riders on the bus. Each captain will receive a Transportation Kit from the Transportation Office no later than August 15, 1983 if the information has been called into the National Office.

Buses will be parked away from the March area at outlying parking lots. These lots are served by subway and/or shuttle bus to get out of town participants to the assembly area on the Mall. It is imperative that all participating organizations sending bus delegations to the event contact us at once for parking reservations, if you have not already done so. Our phone number is (202) 347-5283. Specifically, we need to know:

Departure location(s). Name of organization and key person. Complete address and phone number of each bus captain. Number of buses coming to the event. Estimated day and time of arrival. Mode of transportation, other than bus (train, airplane, car pool, etc.).

Once we have received your specific request, we will assign you a parking location at either RFK Stadium, the Pentagon, or West Potomac Park, and send you a transportation instruction kit. Each bus may be expected to pay a \$10.00 parking fee to gain access to these parking locations. Additional city buses and subway cars will be used to handle inner city participants. The subway will operate at a reduced fare of 50¢ for one way and the HONOR SYSTEM will be used to collect fares on the subway.

HOUSING: Housing will be arranged for those attending the August 27th mobilization, if needed. Four types of accommodations will be available; a preference should be noted for either:

| | Category | Cost |
|----|---|-------------|
| 1. | Floor space (large facility for those with sleeping bags, blankets, etc.) | \$2 - \$5 |
| 2. | Private homes (may involve floor space or cots, etc.) | \$2 - \$10 |
| 3. | Campground outdoors | no charge |
| 4. | Hotel room (discount rates for double occupancy) | \$15 - \$40 |

Food will be the responsibility of individuals or groups attending. Accommodations will be coordinated with transportation logistics to minimize in-city travel time. Request for housing should be made by calling the March Housing Coordinator, Larry Weston at 202-347-5301. Be prepared to indicate city/state, name, and contact phone number, number of people needing housing, general type preferred, method of transportation (bus, car, train, etc.), date/time of arrival, and date of departure.

PROTOCOL FOR MARCHERS: WAYS TO BEAT THE HEAT

- 1. Dress in comfortable, light-colored clothing, but avoid stripping to a bare minimum outdoors because it exposes more skin to the sun.
- 2. Always wear a hat, sun visor or even carry an umbrella to keep the sun off your head.
- 3. While marching in the heat, a wet T-shirt, bandana or towel placed on the back, neck or shoulders provides extra cooling.
- 4. Avoid alcoholic drinks, including beer, as a means of replacing lost fluids. They cause your body to expel more fluids than you take in.
- 5. Keep a close watch on infants under age 1. A case of diarrhea or vomiting can quickly dehydrate an infant in such heat.
- 6. If on medications bring adequate supplies. Certain medications including tranquilizers, sedatives, antihistamines and diuretics (nerve, allergy or water pills) interfere

with the body's heat-control mechanisms. People on such medications should be careful.

- 7. If you have special health needs notify first aid command station on arrival.
- 8. Notify logistics if your delegation includes elderly, physically handicapped or hearing impaired.
- 9. Bring containers with adequate supplies of water.
- 10. The heat is particularly hard on the heart and circulatory system in general, and exertion aggravates the problem. The elderly in particular should avoid over-exertion.
- 11. Be sure that the food you bring is the kind that will not spoil (i.e. fresh fruits, vegetables, etc.)

Several thousand marshalls will be needed for the March on Washington to serve in the following areas: March route, First Aid, Staging Areas, Key Transportation Facilities, Emergency Passage Routes, Stages, etc. All individuals interested in marshalling will be asked to undergo training in these areas: Nonviolent Discipline, Communications/ Decision making, Team Coordination, Site-specific Duties, Emergency Procedures, March & Rally Logistics, Crowd Control/Facilitating, and Coordinating with other integral logistical components (police, park service, housing, transportation, sanitation, office operations, etc.)

KEEP WASHINGTON, D.C. CLEAN! Local coalitions are asked to designate four marshalls to staff the area before and after the March. Litter can be costly for such a national event. We will provide trash containers and other disposal units throughout the area.

FOR INFORMATION NOT COVERED ABOVE, CALL:

1-800-638-6415 (202) 467-6445 National Office " 347-5303 Logistics Office NAME OR ORGANIZATION/COALITION

Checklist

| Number of buses re | eserved | | A List | |
|--|-------------------------|--|-------------|----------------------|
| Cars | Trains _ | | _ Other | |
| Expected time of a | leparture | from your cit | У | |
| Expected time of a | arrival in | n Washington, | D.C. | |
| Name of Transporta | ation Coor | dinator | | |
| Media Coordinator | | | | |
| Number of Hotel ro | ooms neede | ed | <u>. 11</u> | |
| Will anyone needin the physically cha | allenged, | etc., travel | with your | coalition? |
| Specify what spec | ial arrang | gements are ne | eded | |
| | | | | |
| March for Jobs, Po | | | | |
| If yes, are they | willing to | o bring their | church bus | es? |
| | RE | TURN TO: | | |
| | 1201 1 Su Washing | Anniversary M 6th Street, NW ite 219 ton, D.C. 2003 | 7 86 | |
| | | | | |
| Office Use Only | | | | |
| Transportation: | Shuttle B | us | | Metro |
| Parking Lot | | | | <u>l fan de live</u> |
| Name of Marshals | <u></u> | <u> 1977 - 1987 - 1</u> | | |

Cities Prepare for March

novel modes of transportation. A trainload will head northbound from New Orleans, picking up participants in Mississippi, Alabama and other southern locations where the civil rights struggle was born.

A national caravan will leave Los Angeles on August 14, after gaining momentum and support at the Rose Bowl. A midwest caravan of disabled people will depart from Chicago on August 23, and their buses will stop in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Pittsburg and Baltimore.

Bicyclists from different regions--Minneapolis and New Haven-will begin rolling on August 23, while walkers representing an international delegation of African, Swedish and Norwegian women will trek the long journey from New York City.

The march has generated a determined grassroots "peoples campaign." Participants are financing travel expenses through cake sales, fish fries, and church raffles. Local coalitions are also utilizing "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" posters, buttons and pendants for fundraising.

U.S. Rep. Walter E. Fauntroy is National Director of the Twentieth Anniversary March. Co-Chairpersons include: Coretta Scott King, President, Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change; Dr. Joseph Lowery, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Judy Goldsmith, President, National Organization for Women; Asia Bennett, Director of the American Friends Service Committee; Rev. Jesse Jackson, President, Operation PUSH; Dr. Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, NAACP and renowned artist Stevie Wonder.

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RABBI A. SCHINDLER



STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE . 15 EAST 84TH STREET . NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028 . (212) 879-4500

WISH

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

D c Marce

August 4, 1983

CONGRES

Mrs. Coretta Scott King Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. King,

Our colleague and fellow officer, Robert J. Lipshutz, sent us a copy of your letter to Rabbi David Saperstein of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

We were gratified by the good will expressed in your letter and by your sensitivity to the issues that concern us and that have thus far kept a large number of Jewish organizations from joining as sponsors of the 20th Anniversary March.

As you undoubtedly know, the American Jewish Congress has very special reasons to wish not to be absent from sponsorship of this March. Those reasons have to do not only with our long-standing and abiding commitment to the civil rights agenda, but with our participation in Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on June 16, 1963, at which time Rabbi Joachim Prinz, who was then President of the American Jewish Congress, shared the podium with Dr. King.

It is for this reason that we were pleased to read in your letter to David Saperstein the following paragraph:

> In the case where a divisive act occurs or statement is made, such as one which is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic or defamatory of any group in the coalition, the co-chairs will publicly disavow them as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and of the coalition.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King

Page 2

We take this assurance to mean that if any of the formal speakers at the March were to depart from your instructions to avoid divisive issues, and were to call for the establishment of a Palestinian State, or recognition of the PLO, or for a reduction of arms specifically to Israel, one of the co-chairs would publicly disavow such statements from the podium as a violation of the spirit of the March and of the coalition.

In this connection we wish to call your attention to the enclosed material on the March issued by the 20th Anniversary Mobilization in Philadelphia. As you will see, they deplore "the slaughter of the innocents in places like Lebanon or El Salvador". We assume this is an example of the kind of violation we are speaking of, and that it will be publicly repudiated.

We hope the preceeding does not misconstrue the intent of your letter as we would like to propose to our Executive Committee that the American Jewish Congress formally endorse the 20th Anniversary March on June 16th.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I /am,

Sincerely, Henry Siegman

HS:jc Enc. August 2, 1983

Mr. Joseph Hochstein, Editor The Jewish Week 774 National Press Building Washington, D.C 20071

Dear Mr. Hochstein:

DCmard

Just a note to express my appreciation for your July 7, 1983 editorial "Making Coalitions Work."

Your comments are remarkably perceptive and wise. I congratulate you on a very sensible editorial. Your comments on the march on Washington were especially appreciated.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

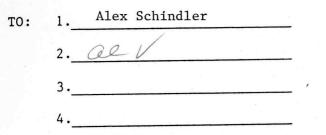
FROM: Richard Cohen

Please return Your action

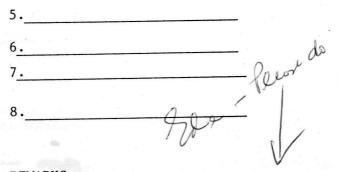
For your info

Let's discuss

Your files



July 27, 1983



REMARKS:

This is a remarkably wise, perceptive and sensible editorial on the importance of coalitions in general and the issue of the March on Washington coalition in particular. You might wish to send a note to Mr. Joseph Hochstein, Editor

> The Jewish Week 774 National Press Building Washington, D.C. 20071

> > · · · · · · · · · · · ·

New York City

JEWISH WEEK WASHINGTON, D. C. W-20,000

JUL - 7.83

Making coalitions work

Because America is a nation of minorities, coalitions play a large role in our public life. And Jews have a large stake in the coalition process.

But sometimes a coalition goes sour, and Jews must decide whether to abandon it or remain within it in the hope of influencing it for the better.

Two current cases are instructive. One is the "New Coalition of Conscience," which is planning an event next month to mark the 20th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington for civil rights. The Jewish War Veterans has withdrawn from the coalition, citing the presence of anti-Israel elements in the group.

In general, a coalition will exist to pursue a goal that is so important that members can set aside other differences to make common cause. In this case, the coalition leaders have failed to keep the coalition to its single purpose and, instead, have entangled the goal with other issues including the Middle East and American weapons supplies.

This violation of the single-issue principle of coalition behavior is accompanied by the involvement of people with an anti-Israel stance. That makes it difficult for a Jewish group to stay in such a coalition. Yet the Union of American Hebrew Congregations remains within the coalition; the UAHC is concerned that the Middle East issue can be manipulated but is also aware that anti-Israel purposes can be thwarted by a Jewish presence in the coalition.

Is it better to stay in, or get out? Since no single rule exists to answer such a question for all instances, each case requires a judgment about the coalition, its purposes, its members, and the Jewish stake in the issue. Since these judgments are seldom easy or simple, Jews need to be tolerant if not supportive of the decisions of community members who try to deal with this difficult process.

What Jews can expect from taking part in a coalition is, at the least, a chance to sensitize others in the coalition to the issues about which Jews care the most. In recent years, these have been Israel and Soviet Jewry, and the process has helped win support for Jewish positions while blunting the opposition. There are also pro-Israel coalitions in which Jews make common cause with evangelical Christians and others with whom we have important points of disagreement. These coalitions can have value, too.

One test of the value of Jewish involvement in next month's event will be whether its anti-Israel elements are subdued. No such question exists with regard to the other current example, a protest held last weekend against American involvement in Central America. There, no organized Jewish participation was evident, and anti-Israel demonstrators were prominent with signs and slogans attacking the Jewish state. Whatever position Jews take on Central America, they should have no hesitancy about condemning this diversion.

As to the overall question of whether Jews should continue to work through coalitions, or whether we should seek to go it alone by withdrawing into our distinct community, two points must be understood. One is that Jews are involved productively in many coalitions, on many issues. The other point is that we need the coalitions and they need us. Coalitions provide channels for promoting Jewish viewpoints to the general community, and, when effective, they make America a better place for all its citizens.

So have

August 1, 1983

Mrs. Mary S. Dagold, Secretary Temple Emanuel 3301 Milford Mill Road Baltimore, Maryland 21207

Dear Mrs. Dagold:

I believe that the enclosed memo from Harris Gilbert, Chairman of our Commission on Social Action will answer some of your concerns.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



Jemple Emanuel

Rabbi Gustav Buchdahl Cantor Alvin Donald

3301 Milford Mill Road

Alse lime corridon Gendender porteton Baltimore, Maryland 21207

Area Code 301 - 922-3642

July 23, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838 Fifth Avenue

Lear Habbi Schindler: The Board of Trustees of Temple Emanuel, acting on behalf of the congregation of Temple Emanuel, has directed me to write to you, expressing our chagrin at your decision to participate in the August 27th March on Washington. This March will take place on a Saturday and thus violates a long-standing U. A. H. C. policy eschewing participation in events that take place on the Sabbath. Furthermore, there are element tion.

of the Middle East.

Finally, we question the absence of any attempt to ascertain how the congregational constituencies of the U. A. H. C. would feel about supporting this March prior to your committing us to it.

We would welcome a timely response, particularly if it should lend understanding to your actions.

Yours truly, Mary S. Dagold

(Mrs.) Mary S. Dagold Corresponding Secretary for the Board of Trustees and Congregation of Temple Emanuel

Nofuter

4901 Howry Hardson Parkeray Burny, n. y., 10471 July 31, 1983.

Rabbe alexander M. Schindler Unim of Anewian Hebrein Chgregotions, 838 Fifth avenue New York N.G., 15001

Dear Robbilderidley

March

Thank your very much for your clear and destailed mover to my

letter questioning our participation with 76, Peace, and Freedom "mard,

Afound your little very cogen and embincing. After ready it carefully reassured we are doing The best thing. Thank youfn the trouble you took to clarify mythought. Sencerely your, Sam Latra (SAM LATHER)

July 21, 1983

Mr. Morton P. Meisner 190 N. Delaware Avenue N. Massapequa, NY 11758

Dear Mr. Meisner:

Thank you for your letter of July 13, with respect to the UAHC participation in the August March on Washington.

I am afraid that you are responding to a very one-sided and selective report. The issue is immensely complicated, but reduced¹² its essence the issues are these:

1/ The Jewish community played a major role in the original Martin Luther King march on Washington and it would be a major rupture in the relationships between Jewish groups and minority groups if there were no Jewish participation in the 20th anniversary.

2/ While there are some groups participating with whom we have differed with sharply on Israel and Middle East $p\dot{\Phi}$ licy, we are staying in in order to use all of our influence to make sure that there are no attacks upon Israel in conjunction with this march and that the Middle East be kept out of the entire proceedings as irrelevant to an American civil rights demonstration.

3/ We are using our influence in the selection of speakers to assure that there is sensitivity to Jewish concerns.

4/ We have used our influence to extend the event to the weekend, so that it would not be merely a march on the Sabbath, in which we could not participate.

5/ As a matter of fact, the leadership of the UAHC, including myself, have sat down in very tough and frank discussions with Coretta King, Walter Fauntroy and other leaders to set forth our concerns and to make it clear that if those concerns are not addressed, we will quietly disengage. Mr. Morton P. Meisner July 21, 1983 Page - 2 -

In our judgment, we have taken the most responsible posture to protect the interests of the Jewish community and not to leave the field to those who might wish us harm. Frankly, it is much easier to stand on the sidelines, but it does not help. Moreover, we continue to believe that it would be a tragedy for the Jewish community if there is a total rupture with black, Hispanic, women's and labor groups, who have joined in this undertaking, and we will do everything possible, despite the barrage of one-sided and simplistic criticisms, to carry out this responsibility.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

190 N. DELAWARE AVENUE N.MASSAPEQUA, N.Y. 11758 JULY 13, 1983

RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER PRESIDENT, UAHC 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

DEAR RABBI SCHINDLER,

AS A FORMER PRESIDENT OF TEMPLE JUDEA, MASSAPEQUA, N.Y. AND AN ACTIVE INVOLVED REFORM JEW, I AM OFFENDED BY THE POSITION TAKEN BY YOU AND THE UAHC IN RELATION TO THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCE OF THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON PLANNED FOR AUGUST 27, 1983. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT UAHC WILL PARTICIPATE IN A PROGRAM ALONG WITH SUPPORTERS OF THE PLO,THE CURRENT LEADER OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, THE PAX CHRISTE,SENATOR JAMES ABOURZEK AND OTHER GROUPS ESPOUSING THE SAME ANTI-ISRAEL POSITION.

TO FURTHER COMPOUND THIS ABOMINATION UAHC IS PARTICIPATING IN THIS TRAVESTY ON THE SABBATH.

AS A CONCERNED REFORM JEW, I BELIEVE OUR MOVEMENT MUST ENDORSE CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS, BUT WE MUST NOT LEND SUPPORT TO ANY MOVEMENT IN WHICH ANTI-JEWISH, ANTI ISRAEL GROUPS PARTICIPATE. TO CONTINUE TO LEND SUPPORT TO THE AUGUST 27TH EVENT IS TO COMMIT A DISSERVICE TO REFORM JEWS AND THE TOTAL JEWISH COMMUNITY.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

MORTON P. MEISNER

CC:N.Y. FEDERATION REFORM SYNAGOGUES



Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS - CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

איחור ליהדות מתקדמת באמריקה

| To: | UAHC Board of Trustees |
|----------|----------------------------------|
| From: | Harris Gilbert, Chairman |
| Date: | July 21, 1983 |
| Subject: | CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH ON WASHINGTON |

At the Rye meeting of the Board, Al Vorspan and I reported on a controversy emerging within the Jewish and civil rights communities regarding the weekend of events, including the planned August 27 March on Washington to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the celebrated Martin Luther King march of 1963. We promised to send you an update on developments. This memo will serve that function. The situation remains fluid and we are monitoring it very closely.

It is important to know that Alex Schindler is a leading convenor of the event, along with other key leaders from labor, religion and other segments of American life. The march generated some questions and controversy among various Jewish national agencies who were invited to participate.

Some were concerned that the march was scheduled for the Sabbath, that the "call" for the march went beyond the scope of civil rights in America and among the 20 convenors and 200 endorsers there were a few outspoken critics of Israel. Because of these concerns, many Jewish agencies have refused to endorse the march and, in the process, became disassociated with its major civil rights thrust.

Since we share these concerns, but were unwilling summarily to disassociate ourselves, we arranged a meeting with Coretta King and Rep. Walter Fauntroy, co-chairpersons of the march, to discuss the problem. We set forth the need to convey our concerns and to seek assurances that would address them. They included stipulations that the divisive issues of the Middle East would be kept out of these events, that there would be no call for reduced aid to Israel or any attack on Israel or Zionism. It was also agreed that if, despite these precautions, anti- Israel activities arose on the day of the march, the chairpersons and Alex Schindler will issue a public statement repudiating such irresponsible statements or activities.

The leadership clearly wants our presence. They recognize that a major controversy on Israel would alienate not only the Jewish participants, but also labor and public interest groups, and would be subject to extensive press criticism.

Chairman Harris Gilbert Director Albert Vorspan Associate Director Rabbi David Saperstein

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA Over the past month, Jewish organizations have been deciding how to react to the march. A number of local Jewish Community Councils are endorsing the commemorative events along with the UAHC. Most national Jewish agencies are not going to endorse the events. However, at the time this memo is being written, some agencies (including the American Jewish Congress) are still considering formal endorsement. The efforts of some groups to send out a joint letter, in the name of all national Jewish agencies, publicly criticizing the march, was rejected by the NJCRAC.

Many of the national agencies which are not participating themselves have expressed gratitude that we are involved, so that the Jewish community has some formal presence in these events, which reaffirm the national commitment to civil rights and equality. In addition, many of our traditional coalitional partners who are supporters of the weekend of events (such as organized labor and national civil rights groups, such as the NAACP) have pleaded with us to remain so as to work with them to prevent the manipulation of these events by the minority radical elements. We will continue to do so as long as the leadership abides by the agreements made and no anti-Israel activity takes place.

I am attaching an article by Al Vorspan, which describes the issue, as well as the dilemma confronting us on the United States Civil Rights Commission.

UAHC defends decision to join controversial march

By ALBERT VORSPAN

Blacks and Jews were once vital partners in America's liberal coalition. Their collaboration made the civil rights revolution possible. But in recent years liberalism has fallen on lean times and black-Jewish relations have been severely strained under the impact of controversies over affirmative action, Israel and the PLO, busing and a host of other divisive issues.

The black-Jewish coalition, apparently unraveling at the seams, appears to have held together in a number of local battles. There would not be black mayors in Chicago, Los Angeles and possibly even Philadelphia without Jewish voters who, in significant proportions, defied the law of political gravity which shaped the white ethnic vote backlashing in those cities.

So is the black-Jewish coalition a fading relic? Or, having survived the worst, is it now rebounding under the impetus of common concerns about the rise of hate groups and the dangers of social cutbacks and massive economic distress?

The answer may come in two current issues which have converged in a new black-Jewish crunch. The first is the question of Jewish participation in the upcoming. March on Washington, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the celebrated Martin Luther King march of 1963. The second is the bitter conflict over President Reagan's dismissal of three members of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and his effort to replace them with three of his own nominees.

Angry controversy

The March on Washington has already produced angry controversy within the Jewish community — controversy which was reflected in a one-sided and selective report in The Jewish Week of July 1. The report asserted that the March is in the control of "left-wing" elements and that all Jewish groups, except the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, have repudiated it.

The actual story is much more complex than that report suggests. Among the main supporters of the March are the AFL-CIO, the Urban League, the National Education Association, the United Auto Workers, the United Church of Christ and others, hardly the "leftist" phalanx that Walter Lewis worries about. While it is true that some groups — like the Southern Christian Leadership

The author is vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and director of its commission on social Action of Reform Judaism. He is also a noted author and lecturer. Conference — have been critical of Israel, the dilemma facing Jewish organizations was whether to stay in and to try to maintain the civil rights coalition or to withdraw and risk a rupture in already strained black-Jewish relations.

And there is a further dilemma. Can one exert more influence in defense of Israel and Jewish concerns from within or by abandoning the field to those who wish to exploit civil rights for Third World gains? Most national Jewish organizations chose to withdraw. The Jewish War Veterans, which had earlier endorsed the march, repudiated its stand.

The UAHC endorsed the march and has conducted tough and frank conversations with the march leadership, using its influence to assure that the Mideast is excluded from the agenda of the march, that the speakers be picked with sensitivity to Jewish concerns and that the leadership of the March repudiate publicly any effort by any groups to exploit the march for anti-Israel or anti-Jewish purposes. The leadership of the UAHC made clear that it seeks to strengthen Jewish-black cooperation, but that it would disengage from the march if it became clear that responsible and moderate groups could not control the dissident elements.

Jewish interests

Which policy advances Jewish interests more? Public Jewish attacks on the march, risking a black-Jewish confrontation as a media event? Or serious efforts to protect Jewish interests, while perservering in a good-faith effort to maintain decent relations with racial minority groups in America? Moreover, will Jewish groups ever again be able to be part of broad-based coalitions if we require a 100 percent certified kosher rating for every organization in the coalition? Are we painting ourselves into a corner of irrelevance in American life? And what interest does our splendid isolation serve?

The other current civil rights flap also reveals the growing split between Jews and civil rights groups — and within the Jewish community as well. The president has sought to purge the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and to replace three members with his nominees — one of whom is Morris Abram, distinguished Jewish leader. The response of the civil rights, women and Hispanic organizations has been powerful.

To them, the president's purge was a clear attack on the integrity and independence of the commission. Moreover, no president of the U.S. had ever before sought to pack or control the commission, thus politicizing a body which is designed to serve as an independent watchdog and conscience for the American people. It is quite clear, from the public reports of the commission, that it believes this administration has tried to dismantle the entire civil rights legal structure, undermine enforcement, provide tax benefits to racist schools and — in general — reverse the civil rights gains of the past 25 years. The UAHC joined the overwhelming majority of organizations of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in protesting this unprecedented assault on the commission.

Break with tradition

Shockingly, several major Jewish national bodies broke with their traditional allies in the Leadership Conference and supported the president's maneuver. The impact of this defection threatened the very survival of the Leadership Conference and posed the real danger of a black-Jewish split. In addition, it is folly for Jews to write off blacks, Hispanic, women, religious and other groups. The Black Caucus in Congress voted more unitedly against Awacs to Saudi Arabia than did Jewish legislators — and infinitely better than the new right, pro-Falwell senators the Jewish community has wooed so sycophantly.

So why did Jews support a president whom blacks and women regard as insensitive, if not hostile, to their deepest aspirations? Could it be that the "bait" of Morris Abram, an attractive choice, led Jewish agencies into the administration's trap? But one of the commissioners being purged is also Jewish — Rabbi Murray Saltzman of Baltimore. No, the national Jewish groups have justified their stand on nobler grounds — not mere support of one of our own, but because of the president's opposition to "reverse discrimination." How noble! It recalls the glory days when a national Jewish agency certified that Sen. Joseph McCarthy was not anti-Semitic. That he was cancerous to American liberty and the Bill of Rights was to them beside the point.

Now we have the bizarre scene of Jewish community relations agencies — who think of themselves as pro-civil rights — lining up in support of an unprecedented and morally repellent device by a president whose policies and rhetoric have profoundly alienated the civil rights community.

To have a friend, one must be a friend. An American Jewish community which expects allies to defend and support Israel and Soviet Jewry, must learn — once again to understand and empathize with the concerns of others as well. Coalitions, like friendships, are two-way things, and the future of the American Jewish community may be adversely affected by judgments being made in the summer of 1983.

here -Get me a dear Copy of this meno h Jolie & work . mitpuontes play S

Harris G, David S, Alex S, Annette D

Ryctow Helton, Viercha

To: BOARD OF TRUSTEES, UAHC From: HARRIS GILBERT, CHMN., CSA

Harris hadraft

May, 1963 At the Rye meeting of the Board, Al Vorspan and I reported on a controversy emerging within the Jewish community -- and in the civil rights community -- regarding the planned March on Washington to mark the 20th anniversary of the original Martin Luther King march. We promised to send you an update on developments. This memo will serve that function, at least up to now; the situation is fluid and most difficult to predict.

As you will recall, if you were present at the meeting, Rabbi Schindler is one of the leading endorsers of the march, along with the other key leaders from labor, religion and other segments of American life. The march generated some questions and controversy among various Jewish national agencies who were invited to participate.

Some of them were concerned that some of the signers had been critical of Israel; that the march was scheduled for the Sabbath; and that the Call for the march was rather politicized. Because of these concerns, many Jewish national bodies have not endorsed the march.

Because we share these concerns, we arranged a meeting with Coretta King and Rep. Walter Fauntroy, co-chairpersons of the march, to convey our concerns and to ask for assurances on a variety of matters, including a stipulation that the divisive issue of the Middle East would be kept out of the civil rights march, that placards would be monitored, that the speakers would be picked with some sensitivity to Jewish concerns and that - if any of these go awry - the chairpersons would issue a public statement repudiating any irresponsible statement. Rabbi Schindler, Rabbi Saperstein and I felt that the leadership took our concerns very seriously; that they are making an honest effort to meet our needs and that we will stay in the coalition if these assurances are gained; and that, if not, we will quietly disengage.

Incidentally, they want Alex to be a major speaker, probably on Sunday, as the events will continue through the weekend of August 27-29, so the Sabbath is not a problem.

We informed the NJCRAC of these discussions and the agencies agreed to withdraw the joint letter of rejection (of participation in the march) which had been planned. It is clear that many Jewish agencies and communities are grateful

DRAFT

that we -- alone among the Jewish groups -- are in there seeking to protect Jewish concerns and interests and also seeking to preserve - if possible - the coalitions of decency in the area of human rights and equality.

We'll keep you posted.

- 2 -

July 19, 1983

Mr. Samuel Latner 4901 Henry Hudson Parkway Bronx, New York 10471

Dear Mr. Latner:

I have just returned from overseas and found your letter of July 10 awaiting me. I am afraid that you are responding to a very one-sided and selective report on the Jobs, Peace and Freedom march in Washington. I have seen the article in the Jewish Week to which you refer and I must admit it does not do justice to the situation. The issue is immensely complicated, but reduced to its essence the issues are these:

1/ The Jewish community played a major role in the original Martin Luther King march on Washington and it would be a major rupture in the relationships between Jewish groups and minority groups if there were no Jewish participation in the 20th anniversary.

2/ While there are some groups participating with whom we have differed with sharply on Isreel and Middle East policy, we are staying in in order to use all of our influence to make sure that there are no attacks upon Israel in conjunction with this march and that the Middle East be kept out of the entire proceedings as irrelevant to an American civit rights demonstration.

3/ We are using our influence in the selection of speakers to assure that there is sensitivity to Jewish concerns.

4/ We have used our influence to extend the event to the weekend, so that it would not be merely a march on the Sabbath, in which we could not participate.

5/ As a matter of fact, the leadership of the UAHC, including myself, have sat down in very tough and frank discussions with Coretta King, Walter Fauntroy and other leaders to set forth our concerns and to make it clear that if those concerns are not addressed, we will quietly disengage. Mr. Samuel Latner July 19, 1983 Page - 2 -

In our judgment, we have taken the most responsible posture to protect the interests of the Jewish community and not to leave the field to those who might wish us harm. Frankly, it is much easier to stand on the sidelines, but it does not help. Moreover, we continue to believe that it would be a tragedy for the Jewish community if there is a total rupture with black, Hispanic, women's and labor groups, who have joined in this undertaking, and we will do everything possible, despite the barrage of one-sided and simplistic criticisms, to carry out this responsibility.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

4901 Henry Hudson Phiry. Burg N. J. 10471 July 10, 1983 Rabbi Alyarder Jahrstler, Presidert Unem of American Haben Congregations 838 Fifth are new Juiny, 10021, I must tay ital Dam greatly suprived to learn firm a reportion in Dewich week " of 7/1/85 HM guard che CAHE avil net weekbair fim ity 200 E Dear Rabbilth, annoing march renew eng the 1963 March m Washington this recent, bingeully a minds of "Job Peace Freiden." The article apparts that this march is taratis with anti-Israel, pur BLO, and Doviet Propogarda orutines." Jewish group has expressed "concern over the deviation from the theme of ewil & economic regation the 1963 march, to brigh go hay usus clouby

paralleling the anti-Irral stones of third would construe. The system of unti-mudean plogoes and anti- anena proturing is cited as anoite factor Dr. Jough Lowen, Learn SC.LC who have Morton at april OLD enferences is Sainy. Bayard Rustin agen nganger 7th 1963 annelges mor. Nov the Civil Regt Lealusty conformed. Aust Israil Lationa fromler U.S. Denath aboursek in going. Dervel agengations who donvertated ageny Doral gain noto Lebarm to reather the PLO are The articles gives many good reams for granz lover brad & opponents of the foreign proluis of the Dovert Anfine then rigger. assuming the article is true, I object stingly to your prever there till preveros the UAH alter Dana menter of the Reform morenet, a menter Tits engregatur it Cantud Agnagogu on New York Control Agnagogu on New York Downed appreciate anoply. Devery of the Latre (SAM LATHER)

Edith J. Miller

Albert Vorspan

Today's mail brought two complaints about the Union's participation in the August march. Obviously the Jewish Week article of July 1st will bring forth additional correspondence. I have written to the two people noting that Alex is out of the country and their letter will be brought to his attention on his return. We will, however, have to have a unified response for I am certain you'll be receiving some letters in this connection in addition to those being sent to Alex.

next 2 letters Walpen + Rolodner 1/acknowledged by me

2. Araft for you per als comment

July 7, 1983

FOR LETTERS ABOUT THE AUGUST MARCH (adapt it)

I am writing in response to your inquiry with respect to the UAHC participation in the August March on Washington.

I am afraid that you are responding to a very one-sided and selective report. The issue is immensely complicated, but reducing to its essence the issues are these:

1/ The Jewish community played a major role in the original Martin Luther King march on Washington and it would be a major rupture in the relationships between Jewish groups and minority groups if there wasked were no Jewish participation in the 20th anniversary.

2/ While there are some groups participating with whom we have differed with sharply on Israel and Middle East policy, we are stying in in order to use all of our influence to make sure that there are no attacks upon Israel in conjunction with this march and that the Middle East be kept out of the entire proceedings as irrelevant to an American civil rights demonstration.

3/ We are using our influence in the selection of speakers to assure that there is sensitivity to Jewish concerns.

4/ We have used our influence to extend the event to the weekend, so that it would have not be merely a march on the Sabbath, in which we could not participate.

5/ As a matter of fact, the leadership of the UAHC, including myself, have sat down in very tough and frank discussions with Coretta King, Walter Fauntroy and other leaders to set forth our concerns and to make it clear that if those concerns are not addressed, we will quietly disengage.

In our judgment, we have taken the most responsible posture to protect the interests of the Jewish community and not to leave the field to those who might wish us harm. Frankly, it is much easier to stand on the sidelines, but it does not help. Moreover, we continue to believe that it would be a tragedy for the Jewish community if there is a total rupture with black, Hispanic, women's and labor groups, who have joined in this undertaking, and we will do everything possible, despite the barrage of one-sided and simplistic criticisms, to carry out this responsibility. July 19, 1983

Dr. Solomon Colodner 280 9th Avenue New York, NY 10001

Dear Dr. Colodner:

The participation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in the August Washington march is a decision discussed thoroughly by the leadership of our movement. Our officers and Board examined the facts, discussed them at great length, and determined that we would remain as sponsors of the march. The desision was most certainly not a unilateral one on my part. What you should know is that the report which appeared in the Jewish Week, upon which you obviously based your own reaction, was very one-sided and selective in providing information. The issue is indeed complicated one, but let me share with you the essence of the issues as I see them:

1/ The Jewish community played a major role in the original Martin Luther King march on Washington and it would be a major rupture in the relationships between Jewish groups and minority groups if there were no Jewish participation in the 20th anniversary.

2/ While there are some groups participating with whom we have differed with sharply on Israel and Middle East policy, we are staying in in order to use all of our influence to make sure that there are no attacks upon Israel in conjunction with this march and that the Middle East be kept out of the entire proceedings as irrelevant to an American civil rights demonstration.

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Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

July 7, 1983

Dr. Solomon Colodner 280 9th Avenue New York, New York 10001

Dear Dr. Colodner:

Rabbi Schindler is out of the country and not due back at his desk until late July. Be assured your note of July 4, 1983 will be brought to his attention at that time.

Cordially,

Edith J. Miller Assistant to the President

MEMORANDUM



From: DR. SOLOMON COLODNER To: Kalebi alerande Schundlu Date: 7/4/ I worked with several Reform Organijations for more than a quarter of q century - as ten educated and lectuber. His incredible to note that you Refused to decline the meitation & participale Wit the Washington march to the Lincoln Manuar on Sabbath, any 27th, you chose to pin anti- derail goups and temonsteake your Solidarity with anti- Jewind granps when urge the U.S. A cert and A Istacl. your behavior, at cane fine, duplicated Such affirde - but I thought you becauge asther for or is only pure the force -do maintain your pendon & for a position of power in the PAHC ???? Your behavior as a growile?" lead of is affensive in Jaloan

July 19, 1983

Mr. Gerald Walpin 575 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Walpin:

Your letter in regard to the Jobs, Peace and Freedom March awaited me on my return. I am afraid that you are responding to a very one-sided and selective report. I have seen the article in the Jewish Week to which you refer and I must admit it does not do justice to the situation. The issue is immensely complicated, but reduced to its essence the issues are these:

1/ The Jewish community played a major role in the original Martin Luther King march on Washington and it would be a major rupture in the relationships between Jewish groups and minority groups if there were no Jewish participation in the 20th anniversary.

2/ While there are some groups participating with whom we have differed with sharply on Israel and Middle East policy, we are staying in in order to use all of our influence to make sure that there are no attacks upon Israel in conjunction with this march and that the Middle East be kept out of the entire proceedings as irrelevant to an American civil rights demonstration.

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In our judgment, we have taken the most responsible posture to protect the interests of the Jewish community and not to leave the field to those who might wish us harm. Frankly, it is much easier to stand on the sidelines, but it does Mr. Gerald Walpin July 19, 1983 Page - 2 -

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Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

July 7, 1983

Mr. Gerald Walpin 575 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Walpin:

Rabbi Schindler is out of the country and not due back at his desk until late July. Be assured your recent note to Rabbi Schindler will be brought to his attention at that time.

Cordially,

Edith J. Miller Assistant to the President GERALD WALPIN 575 Madison Avenue New York 10022

Rabbe Alexander Schendler Prendent, UAHC

Dear Rable Schudler . I unge you and UAHC to withdraw from the Jobs, Place and Freedom march. From the article with July 1st Jenna week, it affens clean that the march bears no relationship to the 1963 march and has be adopted by organizations and fersons who have viens totally inconsister with Jeven and Aracci Juryles

Very findy yours Secretiday

July 14, 1983

Rabbi Steven A. Moss B'nai Israel Reform Temple Post Office Box 158 Oakdale, New York 11769

Dear Rabbi Moss:

As Rabbi Schindler is out of the country and not due back until next week, I am taking the liberty of responding to your letter of July 11 so that you will have the requested information in advance of your July 21 Board of Trustees meeting.

The article by Walter K. Lewis in The Jewish Week is a very one-sided and selective report on the Jobs, Peace and Freedom march in Washington. The issue is a very complicated one and I am enclosing herewith an article by Albert Vorspan which I think you will find to be of interest. It will answer some of your questions.

As a matter of fact, the leadership of the Union including Rabbi Schindler, sat down in a very tough and frank discussion with Coretta King, Walter Fauntroy and other leaders of the march to set forth our concerns and to make it clear that if those concerns are not addressed, the UAHC will quietly disengage. In this connection the Union has used its influence to extend the event to a weekend, so that it would not merely be a march on the Sabbath in which we could not participate. The UAHC is also using its influence in the selection of speakers to assure that there is sensitivity to Jewish concerns.

The Jewish community played a major role in the original Martin Luther King march on Washington and it would be a major rupture in the relationships between Jewish groups and minority groups if there were no Jewish participation in the 20th anniversary. While there are some groups participating with whom we have differed sharply on Israel and Middle East policy, we are staying in in order to use all of our influence to make sure that there are no attacks upon Israel in conjunction with this march and that the Middle East be kept out of the entire proceedings as irrelevant to an American civil rights demonstration. Rabbi Steven A. Moss July 14, 1983 Page - 2 -

I hope that these comments together with Al's article will prove to be helpful to you.

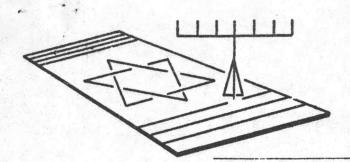
With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Edeth J. Miller Assistant to the President

Encl. cc: Rabbi David Saperstein

b



B'NAI ISRAEL REFORM TEMPLE

Idle Hour Blvd. & Biltmore Ave. Box 158 OAKDALE, NEW YORK 11769 (516) 589-8948

> July 11, 1983 Av 1, 5743

Rabbi Alexander Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838 Fifth Avenue New York

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

A member of my congregation showed me the attached article which was printed in the Jewish Week. After reading the article, I was as disturbed about its contents as was he.

I want to ask you as to the truth of the facts Mr. Lewis reported. Is this march "tainted by anti-Israel, pro-PLO and Soviet propaganda overtones"? If other Jewish organizations have pulled out of the march, then why haven't we? What is our reason for aligning ourselves with such a march?

I urge that you return an immediate reply to these questions, since this congregant intends to urge our congregation's immediate resignation from the UAHC at our Board of Trustees' meeting on July 21st.

Shalom. ren A. Moso Rabbi Steven A. Moss

c.c. Rabbi David Saperstein

Jewish groups facing dilemma on D.C. march

By WALTER K. LEWIS

Major Jewish organizations which supported the civil rights movement in the 1960s are faced with the problem of how to abstain discreetly from a 20th anniversary observance of the 1963 march on Washington that is tainted by anti-Israel, pro-PLO and Soviet propaganda overtones.

The event, the Jobs, Peace and Freedom March, is scheduled for the Lincoln Memorial on Aug. 27.

The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council - which represents 11 national organizations and 111 community councils - rejected a proposal that it formally decline the invitation, leaving Jewish groups to decide on their own.

Most of the largest Jewish groups backed the advisory council's leadership in an appeal to bow out but local councils opposed such a group action at a meeting last Monday.

The Jewish War Veterans, which had endorsed the event, has withdrawn its subport. National commander Stanley N Zwaik said that the event's declaration deals with issues unrelated to civil rights and distorts the original purposes of the commemoration." He added: "JWV does not and will not participate with people or organizations who are anti-Semitic."

It was learned that Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who is an endorser and whose organization is a sponsor, will not withdraw, nor will UAHC.

The New Jewish Agenda also plans to remain an endorser.

The agenda is a left-oriented group which has sided with the Palestinians on statehood, assailed the war in Lebanon and endorsed the Soviet position in the nuclear disarmament debate.

Consultations between Jewish and non-Jewish human rights groups and several sponsoring groups have been going on for some time. Jewish groups have expressed concern over the deviation from the theme of civil and economic rights of the 1963 march and a shift to foreign policy issues closely paralleling the anti-Israel stance of many Third World countries. The injection of anti-nuclear slogans and anti-American posturing is cited as another factor.

Close to King

Most major Jewish organizations had close ties to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. whose widow, Coretta, is listed as a cochairperson of the 1983 event. However, another co-chairperson is Dr. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who spoke in La Grange, Illinois in 1981 at a pro-PLO conference.

One of the sponsors of that meeting addressed by Lowery was Pax Christi, which a Lebanon invasion, of a congressional semigenerates pro-PLO sentiment in the American Christian community. The orgagust mobilization.

Bayard Rustin, who coordinated the original march in 1963, is not listed as a convener nor as an endorser. Nor is the Civil Rights Leadership Conference.

Leading the list of conveners is former : U.S. Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee; who was a leader of anti-Israel activity in the Senate and more recently at public meetings and rallies. He has participated in the mobilization's organizational meetings.

On June 6, the American-Arab Discrimination Committee, Mobilization for Survival, the U.S. Peace Council and Women for Racial and Economic Equality were among those who endorsed a demonstration at the Israel Consulate General in New York to mark the first anniversary of the invasion of Lebanon. They are among the endorsers and leaders of the Aug. 27 event. And, like the call for the march, they urged in their June 6 rally that there be "no U.S. military aid to the Middle East."

Several sponsors were in Prague last month at the Soviet-backed World Assembly on Peace, at which PLO chief Yassir Arafat received a standing ovation and delivered a strong anti-Israel speech.

Pro-Arabist is chief

Rep. Walter Fauntroy of the District of Columbia is not only a convener but is also the major domo of the 1983 event. He was the sponsor, early last summer after the nar for leading Arab propagandists.

Although the Communist Party U.S.A. nization is listed as a sponsor of the Au- is not listed officially as an endorser, its fronts, the U.S. Peace Council and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, are. The latter is headed by the Communist official, Angela Davis. The formers at its Philadelphia founding convention in 1979, called for U.S. recognition of the PLO, return of Israel to its pre-1967 borders and an end to U.S. arms for Israelaan * States marking

The Daily World, official organ of the Communist Party, has been prominently displaying articles on: "How to mobilize for Aug. 27 march on D.C." It is also planning to distribute 100,000 copies at the demonstration.

Jewish leaders are concerned over how a refusal to endorse will be perceived in the black community. Some non-Jewish orgahizations are also reassessing their roles. Some of them have already decided to let their initial contributions stand only as symbols of support. Trade unions, which comprised the bulk of the marching participants in 1963, are having economic hardships that may limit their presence.

Event on Sabbath The state of the second

The problem for Jewish organizations is complicated by the fact that Aug. 27 falls on the Sabbath.

Spokesmen for Jewish groups point out their concern that, while the call for participation cites human rights violations in South Africa, no mention is made of the Soviet Jewry plight, the Soviet war in Afghanistan or Cuban incursions in Central America. And while there is an expression of support for free trade unionism "everywhere," Poland's suppression of Solidarity is not mentioned.

The call for the march, while silent on Soviet arming of Syria or rebels in the Central America states: "We oppose the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected."

Edith J. Miller

REGIONAL DIRECTORS

Rabbis David Saperstein and Leonard A. Schoolman; Albert Vorspan; Theodore K. Broido

It occurs to me that you will be hearing from our constituency in regard to the UAHC participation in the Jobs, Peace and Freedom march in Washington. We have already received a great deal of correspondence as a result of a very one-sided and selective report by a Walter K. Lewis which appeared in The Jewish Week. The issue is a very complicated one which, as you may know, was discussed by the Officers and the Board of the UAHC. The decision to remain as sponsors of the march is one which was taken by our leadership.

Al Vorspan has written a very fine article on the march and I am enclosing a copy herewith so you will have the required information to respond to queries.

I pent a copy to Non

THE MARCH AND THE COMMISSION: TWO BLACK-JEWISH BATTLES

by Albert Vorspan

Blacks and Jews were once vital partners in America's liberal coalition. Their collaboration made the civil rights revolution possible. But in recent years liberalism has fallen on lean times and black-Jewish relations have been severely strained under the impact of controversies over affirmative action, Israel and the PLO, busing and a host of other divisive issues. The black-Jewish coalition, apparently unravelling at the seams, appears to have held together in a number of local battles. There would not be black mayors in Chicago, Los Angeles and possibly even Philadelphia without Jewish voters who, in significant proportions, defied the law of political gravity which shaped the white ethnic vote backlashing in those cities.

So is the black-Jewish coalition a fading relic? Or, having survived the worst, is it now rebounding under the impetus of common concerns about the rise of hate groups and the dangers of social cutbacks and massive economic distress?

The answer may come in two current issues which have converged in a new black-Jewish crunch. The first is the question of Jewish participation in the upcoming March on Washington, commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the celebrated Martin Luther King march of 1963. The second is the bitter conflict over President Reagan's dismissal of three members of the United States Civil Rights Commission and his effort to purge them with three of his own nominees.

The March on Washington has already produced angry controversy within the Jewish community -- controversy which was reflected in a one-sided and selective report in *The Jewish Week* of July 1. The report asserted that the March is in the control of "left-wing" elements and that all Jewish groups, except the UAHC, have repudiated it.

The actual story is much more complex than that report suggests. Among the main supporters of the March are the AFL-CIO, the Urban League, the National Education Association, the United Auto Workers, the United Church of Christ and others, hardly the "leftist phalanx" that Walter Lewis worries about. While it is true that some groups - like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference - have been critical of Israel, the dilemma facing Jewish organizations was whether to stay in and to try to maintain the liberal coalition or to withdraw and risk a rupture in already strained black-Jewish relations.

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And there is a further dilemma. Can one exert more influence in defense of Israel and Jewish concerns from within or by abandoning the field to those who wish to exploit civil rights for Third World gains? Most national Jewish organizations chose to withdraw. The Jewish War Veterans, which had earlier endorsed the March, repudiated its stand.

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The UAHC endorsed the March and has conducted tough and frank conversations with the March leadership, using its influence to assure that the mideast is excluded from the agenda of the March, that the speakers be picked with sensitivity to Jewish concerns and that the leadership of the March repudiate publicly any effort by any groups to exploit the March for anti-Israel or anti-Jewish purposes. The leadership of the UAHC made clear that it seeks to strengthen Jewish-black cooperation, but that it would disengage from the March if it became clear that responsible and moderate groups could not control the dissident elements.

Which policy advances Jewish interests more? Public Jewish attacks on the March, risking a black-Jewish confrontation as a media event? Or serious efforts to protect Jewish interests, while persevering in a good faith effort to maintain decent relations with racial minority groups in America? Moreover, will Jewish groups ever again be able to be part of broad-based coalitions if we require a one hundred percent certified kosher rating for every organization in the coalition? Are we painting ourselves into a corner of irrelevance in American life? And what interest does our splendid isolation serve?

The other current civil rights flap also reveals the growing split between Jews and the civil rights groups -- and within the Jewish community as well. President Reagan has sought to purge the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and to replace three members with his nominees -- one of whom is Morris Abram, distinguished Jewish leader. The response of the civil rights, women and Hispanic organizations has been powerful. To them, the Reagan purge was a clear attack on the integrity and independence of the Commission. Moreover, no president of the United States had ever before sought to pack or control the Commission, thus politicizing a body which is designed to serve as an independent watchdog and conscience for the American people. It is quite clear, from the public reports of the Commission, that it believes this administration has tried to dismantle the entire civil rights legal structure, undermine enforcement, provide tax benefits to racist schools and -- in general -- reverse the civil rights gains of the past twenty-five years. The UAHC joined the overwhelming majority of organizations of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in protesting this unprecedented assault on the Commission.

. . .

Shockingly, several major Jewish national bodies broke with their traditional allies in the Leadership Conference and supported President Reagan's maneuver. The impact of this defection threatened the very survival of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and posed the real danger of a black-Jewish rupture. In addition, it is folly for Jews to write off blacks, Hispanic, women, religious and other groups. The Black Caucus in Congress voted more unitedly against AWACs to Saudi Arabia than did Jewish legislators -- and infinitely better than the new right, pro-Falwell senators the Jewish community has wooed so sycophantly.

So why did Jews support a president whom blacks and women regard as insensitive, if not hostile, to their deepest aspirations? Could it be that the "bait" of Morris Abram, an attractive choice, led Jewish agencies into the administration's trap? But one of the commissioners being purged is also Jewish -- Rabbi Murray Saltzman of Baltimore. No, the national Jewish groups have justified their stand on nobler grounds -- not mere support of one of our old boys, but because of President Reagan's opposition to "reverse discrimination." How noble! It recalls the glory days when a national Jewish agency certified that Sen. Joseph McCarthy was not anti-Semitic. That he was cancerous to American liberty & the Bill of Rights was, to them, beside the point. Now we have the bizarre scene of Jewish community relations agencies - who think of themselves as pro-civil rights - lining up in support of an unprecedented and morally repellent device by a president whose policies and rhetoric have profoundly alientated the civil rights community. To have a friend, one must be a friend. An American Jewish community which expects allies to defend and support Israel and Soviet Jewry, must learn - once again - to understand and empathize with their concerns as well. Coalitions, like friendships, are two-way things, and the future of the American Jewish community may be adversely affected by judgments being made in the summer of 1983.