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DOMINIQUE FARGUE\*\* SAMUEL MYERS EUROPEAN COUNSEL

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August 16, 1987 19 Av 5747

Mr. Jacob Stein 20 Jerusalem Avenue Hicksville, NY 11801

Dear Jack:

I have been in touch with the Gephardt people but like most campaign people it is very tough to pin them down. However, I will persist.

Fond regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl/

August 16, 1987 19 AV 5747

The Honorable Howard Baker Chief of Staff The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

It was very pleasant being with you and Mr. Carlucci this past Wednesday. Toward the end of the meeting, as you may recall, you urged me to give Judge Bork an opportunity to meet with the leadership of the Jewish community. Jack Stein has agreed to arrange for such a meeting and he will doubtlessly be in touch with William Ball to settle the details.

Many thanks to you for giving us so much time and the opportunity for an informal give and take discussion.

Corddal greetings.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CC: Mr. Jacob Stein

August 11, 1987 16 Av 5747

Mr. Malcolm I. Hoenlein Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Malcolm:

I have notice of your Presidents' Conference Mission to Israel in 1988. Unfortunately the dates are not too advantageous for me since I will be compelled to attend the Jewssh Agency Board of Governors sessions scheduled for February 11-18. As you can imagine, I simply cannot absent myself for three or four weeks.

We will be electing a new chairman of the Board come November at our Biennial. In all likelihood he will participate in the Mission. If not he, then I will Ask Al Vorspan, our senior viee-ppesident, to go this time round and to represent us.

With warmest regards and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

6C: Rabbi Daniel B. Syme Mr. Albert Vorspan

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Conference	OF PRESIDENTS

OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

wee

Morris B. Abram Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

July 28, 1987

#### PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE 1988 MISSION TO ISRAEL

The Planning Committee for the Presidents Conference 1988 Mission to Israel has recommended that it take place the week beginning February 28, 1988. This trip will be of special significance as we will join in celebrating the 40th anniversary of Israel's independence. The direction and scheduling were fully discussed. The official program should conclude by Wednesday. Participants may wish to stay for Purim (Wednesday March 3; March 4 in Jerusalem). The Committee also discussed various themes and formats for sessions.

As the Presidents Conference staff begins working on arrangements, the Committee is anxious to have your suggestions and ideas as to program, schedule, etc.

Please complete the enclosed form and return it to the Presidents Conference, 515 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10022 as soon as possible.

#### 515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 752-1616 • CABLE: COJOGRA

American Israel Public Affairs Committee American Gathering, Federation Jewish

Holocaust Surviv Holocaust Survivors American Jewish Congress American ORT Federation American Zionist Federation American Zionist Federation AMIT Women

Anti-Delamation League of B'nai B'rith Association of Refor America B'nai B'rith B'nai B'rith Women 8'nai Zion Central Conference of American Rabbis Emunah Women of America Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations

Hadassah Herut Zionists of America lewish Institute for National Security Affairs ish Labor Committee Jewish National Fund Jewish War Veterans of USA

Labor Zionist Alliance

National Conference on Soviet Jewry National Committee for Labor Iszael National Council of Jewish Women National Council of Young Israel National Federation of Temple 0001

Na'amat USA

nal Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

Rabbinical Assembly Rabbinical Council of America Religious Zionists of America Union of American Hebrew Congregations Union of Councils for Soviet Jews Union of Orthodox Jewish

Congregations of America United Synagogue of America

Women's American ORT Women's League for Conservative Judaism Women's League for Istael Workmen's Circle Work Zoonist Organization/American Section

06 80 -

Section Zionist Organization of America



Morris B. Abram Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

> So the Presidents Conference staff can begin working on arrangements, the Planning Committee for the 1988 Mission to Israel is interested in your input and suggestions as to programming, scheduling, etc. Please fill out the form below and return it to the Presidents Conference, 515 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10022 as quickly as possible.

1. Do you intend to participate in the 1988 Mission to Israel?

No

Yes No

Have you been on any previous Presidents Conference Missions to Israel? 2.

No Yes

3. Do you have a preference in terms of hotel? Should cost be a determinant?

Yes

Should the Mission be limited to Jerusalem - Tel Aviv? Is thre an area you 4. feel we should visit?

Yes No

5. Are there any specific subjects that you would like to see examined?

#### 515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 752-1616 • CABLE: COJOGRA

American Israel Public Alfairs

American Israel Public Alfairs Committee American Gathering, Federation Jewish Holocaus Survivors American Okor Federation American Zonist Federation American Zonist Federation American Zonist Youth Foundation AMIT Women

Association of Reform Zionials of America Final Brith Brail Brith Brail Brith Brail Brith Central Conference of America Emugah Yeomen of America Congregations Congregations

 
 Nariamat USA
 Rabbinical Assembly
 Women's American O&T

 Narional Conference on Soviet Jewry
 Rabbinical Assembly
 Women's American O&T

 Narional Committee for Labor Israel
 Rabbinical Council of America
 Women's League for Conservative

 National Council of towish Women
 Union of American Hebrew
 Women's League for Strael

 National Council of Young Israel
 Congregations
 Worken's League for Israel

 National Council of Young Israel
 Union of Councils for Soviel Jewish
 Worken's Commutation / American American Israel

 National Council of Young Israel
 Union of Orthodox Jewish
 Section

 National Council of Young Israel
 Congregations of America
 Section

 National Council of Young Israel
 Congregations of America
 Section
 Na'amat USA

Yes

Rabbinical Assembly Rabbinical Council of America Religious Zionists of America

Women's American ORT Women's League for Conservative Judaism Women's League for Israel

No

6. Are there any speakers you have found particularly enlightening and would recommend?

ł

7. Do you have general comments regarding programming or arrangements?



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1285 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER +212+373-3237 Jul 22, 1987 Den al Juant to flianch you for your excellent analysis and prescuptions on the issues discussed yesterday af SIS Park yerterdby allmitet M/m

## Conference of Presidents 13,23 Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

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TO: UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS Rabbi Alexander Schindler; Mr. Charles Rothschild, Jr.

FROM: Kenneth J. Bialkin

Your share of expenses of the Presidents Conference for the period April 1, 1986 through March 31, 1987 ..... \$ 6,000.00

Kindly remit.

7/31/88

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022

Morris B. Abram Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

February 12, 1987

#### MERICAN JEWISH

Enclosed is a copy of the Annual Report highlighting the activities of the Conference during the 15 month period ending June, 1986. The Conference has dedicated this report to the memory of its late executive vice chairman, Yehuda Hellman. It is also a tribute to the leadership provided by Kenneth J. Bialkin who served with distinction as chairman from 1984 to 1986.

This document is an historical record of this important period. A limited number of additional copies are available upon request from the Conference office.

Morris B. Abram Chairman

Malcolm Hoenlein Executive Director

# RRPORT

#### OF THE

## **Conference of Presidents** of Major American Jewish Organizations

For the Period April 1, 1985 - June 30, 1986

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 2-1616

#### **OFFICERS**

Chairman Kenneth J. Bialkin Executive Vice-Chairman Yehuda Hellman >

Howard M. Squadron

Nominations Committee

Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser

Committee on Scope

#### **Committee Chairmen**

Bernice Tannenbaum Budget & Finance Committee

Dr. Seymour Weisman Membership & Admissions Committee

#### Past Chairmen

Dr. Nahum Goldmann Philip M. Klutznick Label A. Katz Rabbi Irving Miller Lewis H. Weinstein Dr. Joachim Prinz Rabbi Herschel Schachter Dr. William A. Wexler Jacob Stein Rabbi Israel Miller Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Theodore R. Mann Howard M. Squadron Julius Berman March 1955—May 1959 May 1959—May 1960 May 1960—October 1961 October 1961—December 1963 December 1963—February 1965 February 1965—December 1967 December 1967—December 1969 December 1969—February 1972 February 1972—February 1974 February 1974—December 1975 January 1976—June 1978 July 1978—June 1980 July 1980—June 1984



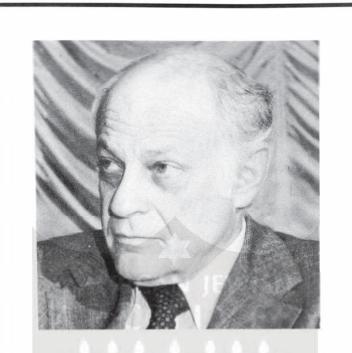
#### OF THE

## **Conference of Presidents** of Major American Jewish Organizations

For the Period April 1, 1985 — June 30, 1986

*Editor's Note:* This report covers a 15-month period — from April 1, 1985 through June 30, 1986. Future annual reports will cover the period July 1 through June 30, thus coinciding with the term of office of the Conference chairman.

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • PLaza 2-1616



### YEHUDA HELLMAN 1920 — 1986

Executive Vice Chairman of the Conference of Presidents from its founding in 1959 to his passing May 17, 1986

This report of the Conference of Presidents is dedicated to Yehuda Hellman's memory, in honor of the devotion he brought to its work and in recognition of his achievements in fashioning the Conference into an instrument that speaks for American Jewry to our government, to Israel and to the world. *Zichrono l'vracha*.



President Reagan and Kenneth J. Bialkin at White House briefing for the Presidents Conference. Center, Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State.

## INTRODUCTION

It WAS a tumultuous and anxiety-provoking period, marked by a rising tide of Arab terrorism directed against America no less than at Israel, by continuing frustration at the increased harassment of Soviet Jews and the almost total refusal of Soviet authorities to open their gates to the 400,000 Jews seeking to emigrate. There were accusations against Israel involving espionage and violations of American export laws, more U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia, an alarming drop in tourism to Israel from the United States — caused in large part by fear of Arab terrorism — and increased tension between various groups in Israel that deeply disturbed the American Jewish community.

Yet it was a period that also witnessed an ever-greater appreciation by the President and his Administration of the value of America's friendship with Israel. The warmth of that friendship was evidenced in many ways, including increased strategic cooperation between the American and Israeli military, the high personal regard that President Reagan and Prime Minister Peres showed for each other and the record amount of economic and military aid for Israel provided by the United States. The strength and closeness of the de facto American-Israel alliance were manifested too by the eagerness of both countries to regard the spy case as an aberration that should not be permitted to weaken the relationship between Washington and Jerusalem.

If America came under increasing attack by Arab terrorists who hijacked airliners and cruise ships and murdered American citizens aboard, it also struck back at terrorists by bombing the terrorist-controlled state of Libya, serving notice that it would retaliate against attack from any country found to be involved in anti-American terrorism.

If the Soviet Union continued to harass, intimidate, arrest and imprison Jewish activists, Hebrew



A highlight of 1986: Natan Sharansky, Soviet Jewish hero (second from left), after addressing the Presidents Conference. Left to right: Chairman Bialkin, Yehuda Hellman, Morris B. Abram.

teachers and others, the period under review also saw the release to U.S. authorities of Natan Sharansky, in a dramatic exchange on a bridge between East and West Berlin. There was no equivalence here: American Jews and Mr. Sharansky himself clearly understood that the USSR must permit tens of thousands of Jews to be repatriated to Israel and that the Kremlin could not appease world opinion by releasing even so renowned a hero of our time.

If the terrorist scare severely damaged Israel's economy, the period under review was also one that saw remarkable progress in reducing Israel's runaway inflation — at painful cost, to be sure, but resulting in less unemployment than had been feared.

If Saudi Arabia was permitted to buy advanced weapons from America, Congressional pressure was strong enough to eliminate the sale of Stinger missiles from an already-reduced package — and to discourage the Administration from introducing a proposal to sell sophisticated military equipment to Jordan in the absence of any announced decision by King Hussein to enter into direct peace talks with Israel. The King had appeared willing to come to the peace table, provided PLO chieftain Yasir Arafat approved; but Arafat vetoed the idea in February, and further progress toward peace was put on hold.

And if there was no change in the cold peace between Israel and Egypt, there were signs at midyear 1986 that Jerusalem and Cairo were moving closer toward agreement on the terms of an arbitration procedure to settle the thorny issue of Taba — and thus toward the return to his post of Egypt's ambassador to Israel.

For the Conference of Presidents, it was a year that saw the number of its constituent memberorganization rise to 40 and its influence grow as the acknowledged instrument of the organized Jewish community in setting policies on international Jewish concerns and taking action to defend the security and dignity of our fellow Jews abroad. But it was also a year that brought shock and grief as the Conference lost its founding executive vice-chairman, Yehuda Hellman, who collapsed and died while addressing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in St. Louis on May 17, 1986.

More than any other person, Yehuda Hellman personified the Presidents Conference and transformed it from an idea into a great platform for our community. He served the Conference as its director from its founding in 1959 until the day of his death. May his memory be for a blessing.

### ISRAEL AND THE DIASPORA— GAINS AND LOSSES

 $T^{\rm HE\ PERIOD\ under\ review\ began\ amid\ growing}$ Americans from many walks of life over plans announced by the White House for President Reagan to honor German soldiers killed during World War II.

When it was first announced that the President's proposed trip to West Germany would include a visit to the German military cemetery in Bitburg, protests by Jewish groups, veterans' organizations and others caused Presidential aides to reconsider. What especially stirred anger was that the President had several weeks earlier decided not to visit the former Nazi concentration camp at Dachau or a cemetery of Allied war dead. In a statement, Presidents Conference chairman Kenneth J. Bialkin termed the decision to visit the German cemetery but not Dachau "deeply offensive."

#### Honoring Ambassador Kirkpatrick

The issue was raised at a luncheon given by the Presidents Conference on April 19, 1985 to honor Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick on the completion of her service as the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. Among the 400 persons paying tribute at the luncheon to Mrs. Kirkpatrick were New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch; Linda Chavez, deputy assistant to President Reagan for public liaison; Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*; and Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the UN. Mr. Bialkin presided.

In responding to warm words of praise from Mr. Bialkin for her courageous defense of America's interests in the UN and her equally stout refusal to tolerate attacks against Israel, Mrs. Kirkpatrick said that anti-Semitism at the UN was "bold, unashamed, revolting." In the UN, she said, Israel was subjected to "incredibly vitriolic, bitter, hateful attacks. What is rejected is Israel itself — not its politics, but its existence."

Ambassador Kirkpatrick recalled that her relationship with Israel went back to her girlhood, when



Jeane J. Kirkpatrick holding Volume 1 of the Jewish Encyclopedia, a gift of the Presidents Conference, with Yehuda Hellman and Kenneth J. Bialkin.

church bells rang to celebrate the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948. "It seemed like the end of a long nightmare," she said, "marking not only the realization of age-old dreams and prophesies, but also the end of the nightmare of the Holocaust, the horror of war and genocide, and the birth of a new democracy."

Declaring that "the victimization of the Jewish people continues to this very day," Ambassador Kirkpatrick urged the organized Jewish community "to remind the world that something horrible happened and that it happened because people did not care enough, remember enough, struggle enough."

The outgoing UN ambassador appeared to criticize an earlier statement by President Reagan that most of the 2,000 German soldiers buried in Bitburg "were victims just as surely as the victims of the concentration camps." She told the luncheon guests: "We are not all equally victims.... We can never remember and learn enough of the horrors of the Holocaust."

The Presidents Conference presented Mrs. Kirkpatrick with a 13-volume set of the Encyclopedia Judaica and a citation lauding her for "extraordinary service to the cause of democracy and America-Israel relations."

In his own comments, Mr. Bialkin also deplored the President's remark comparing the Jewish victims of Nazism with German soldiers who died during World War II. Such an equation, Mr. Bialkin said, "diminishes the enormity and the significance of the Holocaust." He went on to say:

"This President, more than any other, has shown a deep, personal, sincere and emotional concern for the victims of the Holocaust, and an appreciation of its historical significance. These are bonds between us that are not easily shaken, for his support for Israel derives not only from his vision of the best interests of the U.S. but also from his appreciation of the burdens we have carried — and Israel's place as a refuge from oppression for Jews for all time."

#### The Bitburg Issue Heats Up

Five days later, Mr. Bialkin wrote directly to the President urging him not to visit Bitburg. "At a meeting of the Conference last evening," Mr. Bialkin wrote, "we heard reports of the strong views held throughout the nation, not only the anguish of the Jewish community but the deep concern of our fellow Americans of every persuasion. Mr. President, there is a strong public opinion, which we share, that your visit to that cemetery will be the wrong symbol to our fellow Americans, to our World War II allies and to the Germans themselves.

The letter to the President concluded: "Your own adult life has been marked by advocacy of decency, by reverence for the victims of the Holocaust and by your awareness of the importance of symbols and messages. We ask that you reconsider and find a better way to continue the search for peace, reconciliation and good feelings amongst men and women of all places."

The next day — April 25, 1985 — Mr. Bialkin led a delegation to the White House to raise the issue directly with three of the President's closest advisers — Donald Regan, chief of staff; Patrick J. Buchanan, director of communications; and Edward J. Rollins, a political consultant. Accompanying Mr. Bialkin were Morris Abram, Max Fisher, Richard Fox, Elie Wiesel and Gordon Zachs. At the meeting, the Jewish group strenuously urged again that the President not visit Bitburg, noting in part that while the Jewish community fully supported improving relations with the present West German government, the President must understand the hurt he would cause and the confusing signals he would be giving were he to honor the German dead of World War II by visiting the cemetery.

The meeting of the Presidents Conference to which Mr. Bialkin referred had heard a spontaneous outpouring of concern by the heads of member-organizations at the prospect that the President of the United States would place a wreath on the grave of Nazi soldiers. At that meeting plans were drawn for a series of silent vigils, rallies and other events should the President go through with his visit. The meeting, which was also attended by Greville Janner, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Jean-Paul Elkann, president of the Jewish Consistoire of France, heard reports from the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council that Jewish community groups across the country were planning to visit local U.S. military cemeteries on Sunday, May 5, the day President Reagan was scheduled to make his visit to Bitburg.

In Washington, it was reported, Arlington National Cemetery would be the scene of a vigil at 12 noon that day "to honor the heroism of those who perished in defense of freedom from Nazi tyranny" sponsored by the Washington Jewish Community Council and attended by leaders of the Jewish community from all parts of the country. The Presidents Conference helped coordinate this event, which took place with the participation of Catholic and Protestant church groups, labor unions, veterans organizations, civil rights groups and others.

A day later Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, telephoned the Presidents Conference to express his view that "the President and/or his staff made an honest mistake. I think the President should admit he was wrong — and I don't think it would be an indication of weakness for him to do so," Rev. Falwell said. "I have not talked to the President. He has not asked for my advice. I do recommend: recant, don't go."

Jerry Falwell was one of 43 prominent Americans from various ethnic and religious backgrounds, including Coretta Scott King and Lt. Gen. James Gavin, who signed a letter to President Reagan published as



News conference at 515 Park Avenue to protest President Reagan's proposed visit to Bitburg. At head of table, left to right: Richard Cohen, Kenneth J. Bialkin, Yehuda Hellman.

an advertisement in *The New York Times* on Sunday, May 5 — the day President Reagan visited Bitburg. The letter said in part:

"To honor the perpetrators of Nazi outrages is to dishonor the sacrifice of millions of American Allied soldiers who fought and died to liberate Europe from the Nazi death grip. And it mocks the suffering and death of millions of innocents, including six million Jews, who perished at Nazi hands." The advertisement was coordinated by the Conference of Presidents with the help of member agencies led by the NJCRAC.

Despite the storm of protest, which included a U.S. Senate resolution co-sponsored by 82 members, the President went through with his plan. Chairman Bialkin called the visit "most regrettable," adding:

"We also regret that the German government was grossly insensitive in suggesting the Bitburg visit, and then in refusing to a change in plan when U.S. public opinion reacted. At the same time, I was touched by the deep sincerity of the President's statements of concern, while in Germany, for the victims of Nazism, and by the commitment he expressed to the remembrance of the Holocaust and the lessons to be drawn from it." Mr. Bialkin's statement continued:

"We do not accuse the President of ill will; it was a failure to recognize how deeply we feel — and millions of other Americans as well — that led to the regrettable series of errors. He may have made a choice with which we disagree; yet in fairness we must state that the policies of his Administration have strengthened the safety and security of the State of Israel, and his understanding of the true nature of Arab political leadership has produced a sensible foreign policy in the Middle East. His commitment to the freedom of Jews living in the Soviet Union, his actions in behalf of Ethiopian Jewry, his sympathy for many of our community's concerns — all these must not and should not be either forgotten or overlooked.

"The Jewish community will forever remember the depths of man's inhumanity to man symbolized by the degradation of Nazism. But we do not dwell in the past. We live in the present, and our eyes are on the future — most particularly, the military security and economic strength of our country's friend and ally, Israel, and the defense of our fellow-Jews in the Soviet Union."

#### U.S. Strategy in the Middle East

The Administration's views on Israel and the Middle East were spelled out at a private briefing for members of the Presidents Conference by Attorney General Edwin L. Meese, former White House chief of staff and a close advisor of President Reagan, on June 7, 1985 in New York. Asserting that the security and military supremacy of Israel were the keystones of White House policy, he declared: "We will never endanger Israel's ability to defend itself. That is a firm commitment."

Mr. Meese said that the Administration's purpose was to protect the Middle East from Soviet incursion or domination by Soviet-oriented states and to promote peace negotiations "without sacrificing our relations with Israel." Discussing arms sales to Arab states, the Attorney General described United States policy as a "balancing act" between the need to maintain Israel's military superiority, on the one hand, and either providing weapons to moderate Arab states "with American strings attached" or forcing them to shop for arms in the USSR, "where we have no control or influence whatsoever."

He also expressed "the absolute commitment of the Administration to the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate and to express their religion and culture," stating that the Administration raised the issue "at every opportunity" and would continue to raise it "in every forum with the Soviets."

The Attorney General's remarks about arming "moderate" Arab states followed press reports that the White House was planning to propose substantial sales of sophisticated weapons to the Kingdom of Jordan. Responding to these reports, Mr. Bialkin wrote on May 31 to Secretary of State Shultz and again on June 7 to President Reagan. The letter to the White House followed a unanimous decision, reached at a Presidents Conference meeting the previous day, voicing "grave concern" that the Administration would ask Congress to approve the sale of a major arms supply to Jordan. Mr. Bialkin wrote to the President:

"In our judgment, such a sale would seriously imbalance the military equation in the Middle East and introduce an added measure of instability into the region. This imbalance would serve neither American interests nor Middle East peace.

"We of course agree that there is good reason to maintain positive relations between our country and the so-called moderate Arab nations and to encourage the peace process. But if your administration is indeed considering resuming arms sales to Jordan, it should do so not before King Hussein has entered into direct negotiations with Israel but only after such negotiations have shown positive results."

In his letter to the President, Mr. Bialkin noted further that selling sophisticated weapons to Jordan "will create special problems for Israel by placing an added financial burden on its economy that could severely threaten the chances of economic recovery. Because its traditional enemies are more heavily armed," the Presidents Conference chairman wrote, "Israel would be forced to take necessary steps to maintain its necessary qualitative edge. This means that it must acquire sufficient additional military strength to assure that any weapons sold to hostile Arab states would not seriously alter the military advantage that Israel requires.

"The tactical danger to Israel would be severely escalated if any arms package to Arab states includes sophisticated weaponry such as the advanced fighters Jordan has requested. The economic threat posed by the need to match Jordan's new arms could prove catastrophic.

"For these reasons, and also because arms sales to Jordan now, before it has agreed to direct talks with Israel, would send the wrong signal to the Arab states whose intransigent refusal to negotiate remains the chief obstacle to Middle East peace, we urge you to oppose any recommendation by your advisors calling for weapons sales to Jordan now."

Four days later *The New York Times* published on its op-ed page an article by Mr. Bialkin repeating these arguments and objecting also to a proposal by King Hussein for an international conference on the Middle East, to which the PLO, the Soviet Union and Syria would be invited. Mr. Bialkin said in part:

"Peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved until Israel's neighbors finally and irrevocably accept its existence, repudiate force of arms and come to the table without conditions. Nothing short of that will do."

Mr. Bialkin also questioned the apparent willingness

of the State Department to give serious consideration to a proposal by King Hussein for a meeting between the United States and a combined Jordanian-Palestinian delegation of uncertain composition. "It is hard to see the point of such talks," the Presidents Conference chairman said. "They might be appropriate if either the Jordanians or Palestinians had a dispute with the United States, but their dispute is with Israel and no useful discussion can take place without it."

#### The Flight of TWA 847

In mid-June of 1985, just minutes after taking off from Athens for Rome, TWA flight 847 was commandeered by two heavily-armed members of an Islamic terrorist group. Their purpose: to force Israel to release 766 Shi'ite prisoners held at the Atlit prison camp. In the hope of accomplishing this aim, the hijackers forced the plane to fly to Beirut and, after killing a U.S. Navy man aboard, spirited away the 39 remaining American passengers and singled out passengers with "Jewish-sounding" names, holding them separately.

In a statement assailing the Greek government for failing to enforce adequate security measures that could have prevented the terrorists from boarding the plane, the Presidents Conference declared: "We condemn all those governments, particularly Greece, that have welcomed terrorist leaders and treated them as heads of states, thus validating and encouraging terrorism everywhere." Chairman Bialkin continued:

"We express our revulsion at the racist philosophy that is the essence of Arab terrorism. These hijackers and killers — whether Shi'ite Moslems or PLO members — are not freedom fighters but gangsters motivated by hate. Arab Moslem terrorism must be destroyed lest it destroy the West. But Arab terrorism will never be eliminated as long as there are governments and politicians that receive and welcome their leaders."

Mr. Bialkin also sent a message to the chairman of TWA, L.E. Smart, requesting a meeting to learn "the full story of what took place so we can be reassured that the crew did not actively play a role in singling out the Jewish passengers." Such a meeting was held, at which the Presidents Conference was informed that flight attendants aboard the hijacked TWA jet in Beirut had tried but failed to dissuade the hijackers from separating passengers thought to be Jewish from the others.

The 39 Americans were held hostage somewhere in Beirut, placing enormous pressure on the United States to urge Israel to release the Shi'ite prisoners. But President Reagan declined to do so. For refusing to yield to these demands, the President was warmly praised by Mr. Bialkin, who declared in a telegram to the White House:

"We join all Americans in supporting your principled and determined refusal to yield to terrorist demands. We have confidence that our government is doing everything within its power to ensure that all of the hostages are returned safely home. There is only one course for our country to follow, and you have taken that course: to insist on the immediate release of every American held hostage. The hijacking, the murder of an American serviceman and the abduction of the passengers have posed a grave threat to the very integrity of American citizenship. If we should surrender now, other U.S. citizens will be the targets of Arab terrorism; every American passport-holder becomes a potential victim.

"We condemn not only the terrorists themselves but the governments of Iran, Syria and every other state that supplies and supports terrorism. These governments cannot escape responsibility for furnishing the arms, the money and the political backing that make it possible for Arab terrorists to bomb our embassy, destroy our Marine barracks and now to hijack an American airliner and kidnap its passengers. Our country cannot permit such states to avoid accountability for the crimes they have encouraged.

"Nor can we overlook the culpability of those governments that have welcomed terrorist leaders and treated them as heads of state, thus validating and encouraging terrorism everywhere. They too stand guilty today.

"The cruelty of the terrorists and the racism and hate that motivate them is further demonstrated by their ugly action in singling out passengers with so-called Jewish-sounding names and holding them separately. We know that you and all Americans share our pain over this vicious selection process, with its echoes of Auschwitz and the Holocaust.

"Finally, we express the view that the terrible events of the past several days re-emphasize the importance of Israel as our country's strong and reliable ally in the region, a nation whose democratic values are consistent with our own and which joins with us in rejecting any surrender to terrorist blackmail. This is a time for the United States and Israel to draw closer together in common refusal to buckle under to those who seek to humble America."

As the crisis continued, the Presidents Conference grew disturbed that, while U.S. policy ruled out negotiations or compromises with the hijackers — rejecting any link between the fate of the hostages and that of the Lebanese prisoners in Israeli hands — the signals given to the American people were mixed. On numerous occasions (Mr. Bialkin wrote later in a posthijacking report to members of the Conference), "representatives of the Administration pointedly stated that Israel was holding such prisoners in violation of the Geneva Convention, thereby implying that they should be released. This message was picked up and fostered public pressure on and criticism of Israel."

Mr. Bialkin expressed his concern in representations to the State Department and the National Security Council. While government officials with whom he spoke agreed that Israel should not release the prisoners in response to the hijackers' demands, the Administration did not clearly and publicly reject the criticism of Israel.

On June 25, 1985 Mr. Bialkin flew to Jerusalem to meet with Prime Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Shamir and others. With them he reviewed the situation and presented the view of the Administration as the Presidents Conference saw it. He reported that the United States was aware of Israel's willingness to coperate with Washington and was appreciative of Israel's difficult position.

After two nervewracking weeks and the release by Israel of 31 Shi'ites held in Atlit, all 39 hostages were freed. In a statement issued by Yehuda Hellman, the Presidents Conference declared: "We rejoice together with all Americans at the return of the TWA hijack victims, and we express our deep condolences to the family of the brutally-murdered U.S. Navy serviceman aboard. If there is any lesson to be learned it is that freedom-loving countries must stand together in the war against terrorism." The statement added:

"It seems clear that the hostage crisis, far from disturbing relations between Washington and Jerusalem, in fact drew them closer together in common refusal to surrender to terrorism."

From Israel Mr. Bialkin cabled President Reagan the congratulations of the Presidents Conference for "your strong leadership and wise policies. We particularly rejoice," Mr. Bialkin said, "in the determination you showed not to yield to the intimidation of terror and your resolve to fight terrorism wherever it appears....We extend our sincere appreciation and congratulations."

During this period Mr. Bialkin was re-elected to a second one-year term as chairman of the Conference of Presidents.

#### Terrorism and TV

The hostage crisis was a long and frustrating one, made worse by television news coverage that equated the hijack victims in Beirut with the Shi'ite detainees in Israel, whom Israel had already promised to return home - a promise that was fulfilled after the hostages had been freed. In a letter to the presidents of ABC, CBS and NBC News, Presidents Conference chairman Bialkin requested the opportunity to meet with each network's news chief to discuss hijack crisis coverage that strongly suggested Israel was acting at cross purposes with the United States by not taking steps to free the prisoners promptly. One disturbing effect of this coverage was an ABC News-Washington Post poll indicating that 42 percent of a sample of Americans agreed "that the U.S. should reduce its ties to Israel in order to lessen the acts of terrorism against us in the Middle East." Only 41 percent disagreed with this statement.

During the next several weeks, Mr. Bialkin, Mr.

Hellman and Richard Cohen, public relations consultant to the Presidents Conference, met with representatives of each of the news networks. The Presidents Conference representatives expressed the view that the networks, in their eagerness to provide the most immediate coverage of this harrowing event, did not in all cases convey essential facts or reflect a balance of opinion that would have permitted viewers more fully to understand the events they were witnessing. No news network reported that the spokesman for the hostages, (who was later criticized for expressing sympathy for the terrorists' cause), knew Arabic, lived in an Arab country and in fact did business with Arab oil-producers. On several occasions during which Amal spokesmen equated the hijack victims to the Shi'ite detainees in Israel, network TV correspondents failed to note that the Lebanese had been taken into custody because of hostile if not violent acts perpetrated against Israeli troops withdrawing from Lebanon; that before the hijacking, Israel had announced its intention to release the prisoners, and that nearly 300 of them had in fact already been released.

Perhaps more serious, the Presidents Conference told the TV news executives, too often the "experts" and commentators selected to interpret the hijacking appeared to divert attention from the lawlessness of the hijackers to the "culpability" of Israel. At the same time, the impression was conveyed that by refusing to agree to the terrorists' demands for the Lebanese prisoners in Israeli hands, Israel was guilty of hurting American interests, jeopardizing the fate of the American hostages and acting contrary to Washington's efforts to free the hijack victims.

The meetings were candid, the exchanges often blunt. None of the TV news executives admitted their coverage had been faulty or their choice of "experts" skewed. Nevertheless, the Presidents Conference representatives felt that they had succeeded in sensitizing the networks to the Jewish community's concerns — and to the fact that their coverage was being and would continue to be closely monitored. After the CBS network offered a transcript of its hostage-crisis coverage and asked for documentation of the criticism, a Presidents Conference staff study citing numerous instances of biased, misleading, incomplete or inaccurate coverage was furnished to the network.

#### MFN for Romania

On July 23 the Presidents Conference testified before the Senate subcommittee on international trade to support the continuation for another year of most-favorednation status for Romania. Jack J. Spitzer, former president of B'nai B'rith International, represented the Conference. He stated:

"Despite our disappointment with the current emigration picture, we strongly believe that Romania's MFN status is important to preserve. For one thing, MFN provides a significant framework for discussing emigration and for dealing with specific emigration cases. Over the years, we have found the Romanian government to be especially responsive on specific cases. It is leverage that we would not have were MFN to be terminated.

"MFN is also justified by the Romanian government's posture in the Eastern bloc. Rather than bringing its foreign policy in line with that of the Soviet Union, Romania has tended to make its foreign policy decisions on the basis of its own national interests and its perspectives on the world. Among the examples is the fact that Romania alone among Warsaw Pact countries maintains formal diplomatic and commercial ties with Israel. These ties, along with its ties with the Arab world, have enabled Romania to play a special role in advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East.

"From time to time, we have been deeply concerned about manifestations of anti-Semitism in Romania, particularly in published writings. However, we note with gratification that President Ceaucescu, in an address to the Romanian Party Congress last November and on two other public occasions since, has resolved to combat anti-Semitism. We welcome these public statements and hope they will serve to discourage manifestations of anti-Semitic expressions in the future."

#### A Warm Welcome, a Fond Farewell

Late in July, Thomas R. Pickering, the successor to Samuel Lewis as U.S. Ambassador to Israel, addressed a meeting of the Presidents Conference on the eve of his departure for Tel Aviv. Speaking of the U.S. role in the Middle East, Ambassador Pickering disclosed that the Administration was seeking to work out a "package deal" between Israel and Egypt that would return the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv and warm up the "cold peace' between the two countries. In a friendly meeting — his sole appearance before a U.S. Jewish group prior to his departure to Israel — Ambassador Pickering stated:

"Our main objective is to promote direct Arab-Israel talks. We are here to help, but we understand that the primary decisions must be made by the countries themselves."

Following the meeting, Mr. Bialkin praised Ambassador Pickering as a "wise and experienced diplomat, a warm friend of Israel and the Jewish people and a man who I believe will prove himself to be a worthy successor to his distinguished predecessor, Sam Lewis."

At a Presidents Conference reception a week later, Mr. Lewis was honored for his eight years of service as Washington's ambassador to Israel. Before an audience of 100 that included leaders of Israel's diplomatic corps in the United States, Ambassador Lewis and his wife, Sally, were hailed as "true friends of Israel who left an indelible mark on the Jewish peo-



Thomas R. Pickering, newly-appointed U.S. envoy to Israel, is introduced to Conference members by Kenneth J. Bialkin.

ple and the Jewish state, who won the affection and respect of all of Israel and the Jewish community."

In his impromptu response, Ambassador Lewis spoke of the "roller coaster relationship between Washington and Jerusalem — from love feasts to dramatic confrontation, from ceremonies of peace with Egypt to arguments over the war in Lebanon" — during his tour of duty. He added:

"Today I can say the relationship between Israel and the United States is stronger, more solid and more realistic than it has ever been before. Of course, there have been times when we differed sharply, as we will in the future. It is especially at such moments that you in the Conference of Presidents play so crucial a role, for you provide the essential connection among our government, the American Jewish community and the State of Israel.

"You are a participant in establishing the tone and often the content of that unique relationship. In presenting the views of the Jewish community to the Administration, in never hesitating to give us the benefit of your advice, you have proved an indispensible voice and are playing a vital role in building understanding between the United States and Israel."

That role was cited by Secretary of State Shultz, himself in responding to a Presidents Conference letter voicing concern over possible new arms sales to Jordan. Secretary of State Shultz wrote in part on July 1, 1985:

"In reaching any decisions we will be guided by our fundamental commitment to the security of Israel and the maintenance of its qualitative military superiority against potential threats in the region posed by any combination of adversaries. Any arms we would provide to other states in the Middle East will not adversely impact upon Israel's military and technological superiority. We are committed to a strong, secure Israel, because of our unique friendship and also because Israel must feel secure in order to take the steps necessary to achieve peace in the region.

"As this process moves forward I want to stay in close touch with you and other leaders of the American Jewish community. We need your understanding and support as we continue to do what we can to work with Israel and Jordan toward our common goal of peace."

#### Terror in Copenhagen

On July 28, 1985 Arab terrorists bombed the synagogue and Jewish old age home and the offices of an American airline in Copenhagen, Denmark. In a cable to the head of the Danish Jewish community. Mr. Bialkin expressed "shock and outrage at the cowardly terrorist attack," adding: "Our dismay over these brutish acts is tempered only by the relief we feel that no lives were lost. We applaud the Prime Minister and Minister of Justice for their unequivocal condemnation of these acts of violence. On behalf of the 39 national Jewish religious and secular organizations that make up the Conference, we give voice to the unity and solidarity we feel with you, along with our pravers for your safety and our hope that the perpetrators of these heinous deeds will be apprehended and punished."

#### Nairobi Women's Conference

At the end of July, in a telegram to Secretary of State Shultz, the Conference of Presidents hailed the results of the UN women's conference just ended in Nairobi, Kenya, and voiced appreciation to the U.S. delegation for "firm and dedicated leadership" in successfully opposing efforts there to condemn Zionism as a form of racism. Chairman Bialkin wrote:

"We extend our warmest congratulations and appreciation to you and to Maureen Reagan, the chairperson of our delegation to the United Nations End-of-the-Decade Women's Conference in Nairobi, Kenya. The firm and dedicated leadership demonstrated by our country's representatives, in accordance with the policy set by President Reagan and yourself, confirmed America's commitment to democratic values and to the support of our ally Israel.

"At the same time, these policies served significantly to make the Nairobi meeting itself a success by advancing the causes of peace, development and women's



Samuel Lewis, just retired as U.S. ambassador to Israel, is greeted at a reception in his honor by Yehuda Hellman.

rights while preventing further unjust attacks on Israel, Judaism and Zionism. We are gratified by the result and we salute all of those who helped to achieve it."

#### A Meeting With Secretary Shultz

On September 5 Mr. Bialkin conferred with Secretary of State Shultz at the State Department for over an hour. The meeting was in response to a Presidents Conference request of the previous week to discuss current developments in the Middle East and the up-coming summit meeting with the Soviet Union.

The Secretary, reviewing plans for President Reagan's meeting in Geneva with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, said he was distressed by the status of Soviet Jews and that he could not offer any prediction for improvement. He expressed some frustration in negotiating with the Soviets, noting that they deeply resented being accused of human-rights violations. He repeated his resolve to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry in his talks and expressed the hope that he could do so on a personal basis, which might have greater effect. He said, however, that he expected no change in Soviet policy in the near term.

Mr. Bialkin then reviewed for the Secretary briefly the meeting which he and Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, had held earlier that day with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. The Presidents Conference chairman told Mr. Shultz that he had informed Ambassador Dobrynin that the Soviet Jewry movement in the United States would become increasingly outspoken, aggressive and critical of the Soviet Union. Mr. Bialkin expressed to Secretary Shultz his view that the Jewish community's traditional policy of support for detente had not produced results and that a more effective approach at this time would be to become outspokenly critical of Soviet policies.

Secretary Shultz then raised the issue of Israel's economy, stating that he felt much better about the situation, that progress was being made although a great deal remained to be done, and that the leadership of Prime Minister Peres deserved praise. He also discussed briefly the report he had received from Max M. Fisher of Detroit, chairman of Operation Independence, the Jewish community's program to help strengthen Israel's economy.

Mr. Bialkin then brought up the problem of Arab-Israeli relations and the peace process. Voicing concern over reports that suggested Washington might be preparing to speak with the PLO, the Presidents Conference chairman reviewed the Jewish community's reasons for feeling that American efforts to bring the PLO into negotiations would be counter-productive. Any peace process that did not involve a genuine acceptance of Israel's legitimacy and direct negotiations, he argued, was doomed to failure.

Secretary Shultz replied that Administration policy

for the past 18 months had been to rely solely on the initiative of the parties to achieve direct negotiations. He said that King Hussein has responded to this policy in two ways: First, he had renewed relations with Egypt, contrary to the preference of the Arab world; second, he had said he was prepared to enter direct negotiations with Israel, recognizing that in doing so he would be forced to make concessions from the 1967 borders. Therefore, since the King was making concessions on behalf of Palestinians, he needed a "partner." The United States, Mr. Shultz said, was trying to develop the PLO as that partner. Egyptian-Israeli relations also needed strengthening, Secretary Shultz said, for their own sake and also to promote and extend the Arab-Israeli peace process.

The Secretary vigorously affirmed, however, that U.S. policy towards the PLO had not changed, that it was well-known, and that the Administration would not enter into discussions with the PLO except on its clearly expressed previously announced conditions: That any PLO acceptance of Israel's right to exist and of United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 must be clear and unequivocal.

#### The Wrong Sale

On September 19, 1985 the Conference of Presidents publicly called on the Administration to withdraw its proposed sale of arms to Jordan, asserting: "This is the wrong sale, at the wrong time, for the wrong reasons. The sale will not serve American interests, or the cause of Middle East peace, or the security of our country's friend and ally Israel."

In a statement, Mr. Bialkin declared: "We recognize of course that there is good reason to maintain positive relations between our country and the so-called moderate Arab nations. But Jordan is no moderate as long as it rejects direct negotiations with Israel. Selling arms to Jordan would only encourage King Hussein in his refusal to come to the peace table."

The Conference of Presidents statement, noting "King Hussein's insistence on an international conference that would include the Soviet Union," continued: "For some 30 years the USSR has sought a recognized role in the Middle East. Giving it a place at the peace table would catapult the Soviet Union into the Middle East, to the detriment of American interests."

Mr. Bialkin also warned that "a new arms race" would be set off in the region as the "inevitable result" of an American sale of advanced weapons to Jordan. "Israel," he said, "would be forced to take necessary steps to make certain that any weapons sold to a hostile state such as Jordan did not seriously alter the military advantage that Israel requires if it is to continue to deter Arab attack."

"To provide arms to Jordan would be to undercut our country's efforts in the region and send the wrong signal not only to Jordan but to all those Arab states that persist in their strategy of no negotiations, no recognition and no peace with Israel."

#### Meetings With Leaders of Poland and France

On September 18, Mr. Bialkin — accompanied by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Yehuda Hellman and Eli Zborowski, representing the American Federation of Polish Jews — met with Poland's Prime Minister Wojciek Jaruzelski and Workers Party Secretary Jozef Czyrek in New York. The Jewish leaders expressed concern over the continuing absence of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel, broken by Warsaw in 1967, and voiced hope that an improvement in relations would be forthcoming.

Chairman Bialkin also said the Presidents Conference was gratified by Poland's recent efforts to recognize the Jewish contribution to Polish life and culture over the centuries, both in preserving the Jewish past and in governmental attempts to meet the cultural and religious needs of today's Jewish community in Poland.

Six days later a Presidents Conference delegation met with the Foreign Minister of France, Roland Dumas, who was accompanied by the French ambassador to Washington. That discussion dealt principally with differences between the United States and France on attitudes toward the Middle East peace process and, specifically, the PLO. The French officials stressed that while their policy differed from that of the United States, their country's attitude toward Israel had become more balanced, friendly and favorable since President Mitterand had assumed office. They nevertheless held that the Palestinians did have a right to a homeland and even a state, although they pointed out that they had defined neither the character of such a state nor what kind of association it would have with its neighbors.

The Presidents Conference representatives expressed their concern and disagreement with this policy. They also reviewed the Jewish community's concerns regarding the human rights policies of the Soviet Union and urged that Foreign Minister Dumas ask President Mitterand to take the issue up with Premier Gorbachev during their forthcoming meeting. M. Dumas indicated that the French were supportive on the issue of Soviet Jewry and would do what they could although he was skeptical of any immediate progress outside of the context of improvement in U.S.-Soviet **relations**.

#### Foreign Minister Shamir Speaks

On September 26 Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's Foreign Minister and Vice Premier, addressed a meeting of the Presidents Conference, one day after three Israeli civilians had been murdered aboard a yacht in Larnaca, Cyprus. Mr. Shamir accused the PLO of responsibility for what he called "these cold-blooded and savage murders." The PLO perpetrated and stood



Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir addressing the Presidents Conference.

behind all recent acts of terror in Israel, Mr. Shamir stated, and Israel was united "in the vow that we will find a way to put an end to it. We will overcome it. We will overcome them."

Noting that Israel's Labor-Likud unity government had just marked its first anniversary, Mr. Shamir spoke of its "considerable achievements in the economic field and the Lebanon problem." While Israel's economy had not yet fully recovered, the Foreign Minister said, "we feel we are making progress." As for Lebanon, he said the situation was much better than last year when Israeli forces still occupied part of that country.

Despite differences in the national unity government, he continued, there was agreement on a number of principles, among them: no negotiations with the PLO, no Palestinian state, a strong commitment to the Camp David accords, readiness to negotiate with Jordan without preconditions, and rejection of negotiations with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. In addition, he said, the government was united in its opposition to an international conference to solve the Middle East conflict.

#### Terrorist War, War on Terrorism

On October 2, 1985 Israeli planes attacked PLO headquarters in Tunisia in retaliation for the terrorist attack on Israeli civilians in Cyprus one week earlier. The Presidents Conference praised as "courageous and proper" President Reagan's statement recognizing Israel's right of self-defense in the air strike against the PLO headquarters. In a telegram to the White House, Mr. Bialkin said: "While we all oppose violence, we also recognize the necessity of taking proper forceful action when peaceful means fail. You and Secretary Shultz have expressed this view and we support it." Anticipating the customary UN denunciation of Israel, the Presidents Conference statement urged the Administration "to veto any United Nations resolution which does not recognize Israel's right to protect its citizens."

However, the U.S. ambassador to the UN abstained on a Security Council resolution condemning Israel, which passed 14-0. Mr. Bialkin deplored the abstention, asserting that "terrorists everywhere will take heart at America's refusal to stand with Israel by vetoing the resolution. America's determination to resist Arab terrorism has been tested and found wanting," Mr. Bialkin said, adding:

"In failing to support Israel's act of self-defense against PLO headquarters, the Administration has raised questions about our country's willingness to seek out and punish those who attack and murder U.S. citizens such as the American diplomat William Buckley. American credibility has been shaken and the strength of America's commitment in the war against terrorism is now in question."

#### The Achille Lauro

The terrorist war against Israel and the Jewish people intensified less than a week after the UN resolution was adopted. On October 7, an arm of the PLO hijacked the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro in the Mediterranean and murdered a wheelchair-bound American Jewish passenger, Leon Klinghoffer of New York, by throwing him overboard. Three days later, when the ship's hijackers were permitted to go free after the passengers were released, Mr. Bialkin held a news conference in Washington assailing all such "gentlemen's agreements" and calling on the United States to begin taking a strong position not only toward terrorists but toward Arab countries that harbor and support them. In outlining the position of the Presidents Conference on dealing with terrorists, Mr. Bialkin stated:

"The brutal murder of still another American citizen — this time by the pro-Arafat Palestine Liberation Front — raises anew the question: Is the Western world impotent to respond to Arab terrorism?

"I do not believe our country or other democracies are helpless to punish those who hijack airliners, capture cruise ships, kidnap diplomats and blow up embassies. We require only the will to act.

"We must act to reject any deal with terrorists that gives them safe passage after they commit their crimes. In the case of the criminals of the Achille Lauro, we call on our government to demand that the terrorists be brought to justice by Italy, by Egypt or by the United States. Leaving them in the hands of the PLO, to which they belong, means reward — not punishment." The Presidents Conference leader stated further:

"We must insist that terrorist groups be refused admission to decent society. We recall that Yasir Arafat was received with honor by Pope John Paul II, by the governments of Spain, Greece and Italy, by the 'moderate' Arab governments of Egypt and Jordan. And we are outraged that two PLO representatives have been invited to London by Prime Minister Thatcher to meet with the British Foreign Secretary to discuss peace in the Middle East. One of those terrorists smuggled the explosives used in the 1969 terrorist bombing of a Jerusalem supermarket that left two shoppers dead and eight wounded.

[This meeting was cancelled by Foreign Secretary Howe when the PLO representatives refused a British request to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and to abjure terrorism.]

"Finally," Mr. Bialkin said, "we must as a nation take our stand with those who have had the courage to strike at terrorists, wherever they may be — and we must seek to emulate them.

"Strong words are effective only if they lead to strong action. As a nation, we can no longer permit those who murder Americans to make deals that guarantee their safe haven. The escape must be barred, the safe haven denied, the punishment swift and sure.

"Only then will terrorism be brought under control."

The following day Mr. Bialkin led a small delegation that met with Secretary of State Shultz in Washington. As they met, American jet fighters over the Mediterranean were intercepting an Egyptian plane carrying the four Achille Lauro hijackers — who had been released by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak — to freedom. The military action, which led to the capture of the terrorists and their arrest and trial by Italian authorities (except for their leader, Abu Abbas, who was unaccountably released by the Italian government) marked a new phase in America's response to terrorism. In a letter of congratulations to President Reagan as commander-in-chief, Mr. Bialkin wrote:

"Both you and Secretary of State Shultz have affirmed that the war against terrorism carries with it the necessity of striking vigorously against terrorists when they can be identified and where they can be found with some certainty; clearly this was the case here, as it also was in the Israeli raid on PLO headquarters in Tunisia. Others should no longer wonder just how prepared we are to effectively implement that policy."

In another letter — to Secretary of State Shultz — Mr. Bialkin wrote:

"The role of the PLO and particularly Yasir Arafat in the Achille Lauro affair should tell us something about our country's efforts to bring the PLO into the peace process. The time has come to cut loose from the PLO in all its branches, to brand them an international terrorist organization and to urge that peace be made without them. If the Palestinians really wish to join a peace process, they must come of their own accord by reason of the forces of politics and diplomacy that operate naturally upon them." Mr. Bialkin closed his letter to Secretary Shultz as he did in writing to President Reagan — by urging reconsideration of the proposed arms sale to Jordan. "By offering King Hussein arms now, without any movement by him toward accepting direct talks with Israel," he wrote, "we impede rather than advance progress toward peace."

#### **Blocking Arms for Jordan**

On October 21 President Reagan formally notified Congress that the Administration planned to sell \$1.5 to \$1.9 billion worth of highly sophisticated arms to Jordan, calling it "essential to the peace process." Ineluded in the proposed package were 40 F-20A Tiger Shark jets or 40 F-16Cs, plus 12 mobile Hawk surfaceto-air missile batteries, 108 shoulder-fired Stinger antiaircraft missile launchers, 200 Sidewinder air-to-air missile launchers, 32 M-3 Bradley tanks and equipment to transform Jordan's 14 fixed Hawk batteries into mobile batteries.

Two days later, Congress overwhelmingly passed a resolution postponing until March 1 any action on the proposed arms sale to Jordan. The resolution, said Mr. Bialkin in a comment to the press, "gives King Hussein valuable time to enter into direct negotiations with Israel aimed at a peace treaty between the two countries. Such direct talks would be a significant contribution toward peace and stability in the Middle East and therefore help remove objections in Congress to the arms sale."

Mr. Bialkin noted that 73 U.S. Senators had publicly declared their opposition to the proposed Administration weapons sale to Jordan under present conditions. "The four-month delay," he said, "now affords Jordan an historic opportunity to reverse its policy of rejection and negativism and come to the peace table with Israel." He added: "Recent events have proved again that the PLO is not a suitable participant in the search for Middle East peace. Israel has long known it. The American people have learned it. Now is the time for King Hussein to admit it, to repudiate the veto over his actions that he has given to Yasir Arafat and move at last toward peace with Israel."

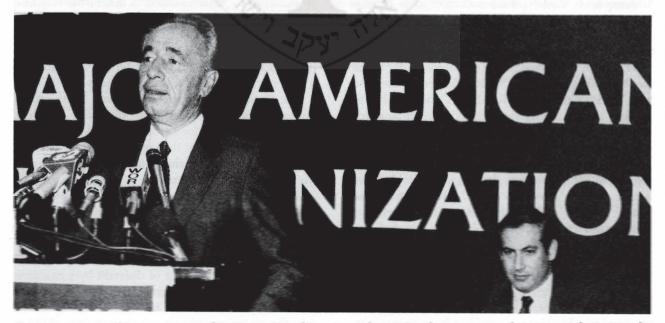
#### Q. and A. with Prime Minister Peres

On October 22, 1985, after addressing the UN General Assembly to announce his new seven-point initiative to reach peace with Jordan, Israel's new Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, took part in a question-andanswer session with the Presidents Conference at its offices in 515 Park Avenue.

Mr. Peres said that at his meeting with President Reagan and other Administration officials the previous week he had been received "very warmly," adding that relations between Israel and the United States had "never been better." The only point of disagreement in his Washington meetings, he said, concerned the Administration's proposed arms sale to Jordan. "Delivery of peace should precede delivery of weapons to Jordan," he said. Mr. Peres added that he had personally thanked President Reagan for the American airlift that had brought to Israel the thousands of Ethiopian Jews who had fled to the Sudan.

On his new peace proposal, the Israeli leader said he hoped that King Hussein of Jordan would "eventually understand perfectly well that without direct negotiations, we don't have a real start up."

The Israeli leader observed that relations between Jordan and the PLO might be waning, as indicated by the reported exchange of ambassadors between



Prime Minister Shimon Peres takes questions from Presidents Conference members. At right is Israel's UN Ambassador, Benjamin Netanyahu.



Jewish leaders crowd UN assembly hall, site of conference marking 10th anniversary of UN resolution equating Zionism with racism.

Syria and Jordan after a four-year freeze in diplomatic relations.

#### To Repudiate a Slander

November 10, 1985 marked the 10th anniversary of the passage by the UN's General Assembly of Resolution 3379 equating Zionism with racism. To repudiate that slander, Israel's Mission to the UN in cooperation with the President's Conference sponsored a "Conference on Israel, Zionism and the United Nations" at UN headquarters attended by more than 1,000 Jewish, Christian and civic leaders. Serving as co-chairmen were Kenneth J. Bialkin, Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the UN; and Senator Daniel P. Moynihan and Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, two former United States ambassadors to the world body. The Conference of Presidents served as the coordinating agency for the event, which was preceded by an outdoor rally at the Isaiah Wall, opposite the UN, coordinated by the New York Jewish Community Relations Council. The invitation to the conference, signed by Ambassador Netanyahu and Mr. Bialkin, spelled out its purpose:

"...to present the real meaning of Zionism, as dramatically illuminated most recently by the airlift to Israel of Ethiopian Jews. It is understandable," the invitation said, "that some would wish to ignore the date of November 10 and what it signifies: a betrayal of the principles on which the UN was founded and a critical moment in the worldwide propaganda campaign against the State of Israel. But to let this anniversary pass without notice would be wrong — and dangerous. The 'Zionism-Is-Racism' resolution was a formal endorsement of contemporary anti-Semitism practiced not by fringe groups but by governments. In the decade since its passage, this calumny against Zionism and the Jewish people has become the single most successful instance of the technique of the Big Lie since the time of the Nazis.

"We will meet to expose the lie and to assert our determination that the moral decline of the United Nations be reversed and the organization redirected to the original vision of its founders."

The highlight of the widely-covered conference was a message sent by President Reagan pledging his support "for the removal of this blot from the United Nations record." The President's message read: "Few events have so offended the American people as the 'Zionism Is Racism' resolution of November 10, 1975. It was as if all America stood to affirm the response of our chief delegate, Daniel Patrick Moynihan: 'The United States rises to declare before the General Assembly of the United Nations and before the world that it does not acknowledge, it will never abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act.'"

The President's message continued: "The United States, under the leadership of three different Presidents, has remained true to that pledge. Today I am proud to reaffirm that promise and, further, to pledge my support for the removal of this blot from the United Nations record."

President Chaim Herzog of Israel, who in 1975 was Israel's Ambassador to the UN, also sent a message to the conference, declaring, "The issue before the General Assembly was neither Israel nor Zionism. It was the continued existence of the UN, which had been dragged to its lowest point of discredit by a coalition of despots and racists. A great evil was done to the Jewish people at that time, but as in the past, so now too, the oppressors of our people pass into oblivion while we, the Jewish people, which has survived them

## The Zionism-Racism' Canard

#### By Kenneth J. Bialkin

en years ago today, the United Nations General Assembly, in one of its mindless flights from rational discourse, adopted the in-

famous canard that "Zionism is a form of racism." Attacks on Israel and on Zionism have consumed more time and attention of the United Nations and its various bodies than any other subject — more time than the problems of world hunger, poverty, genocide, human rights violations, the threat of nuclear war, terrorism or the fight against disease and social disorder.

Why the focus on Zionism and Israel? Of all the issues facing the conscience of the world, why this one? It is not enough to say that the Middle East is an important region, or that Jerusalem and the holy places are important to all peoples of the world. That would not explain the concentration of hostility, or the refusal of the nations of the region to address their differences with Israel through peaceful negotiation.

The attack on Zionism and Israel derives from a fundamental hostility to a Jewish presence in the Jews'ancient homeland. It is fueled above all

Kenneth J. Btalkin, a lawyer, is chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. He is a co-chairman of the conference on "Israel, Zionism and Racism," being held today at the United Nations. by anti-Jewish prejudice. The "Zionism is Racism" slogan is grounded in anti-Semitism and its propagation is itself a manifestation of racism.

The slogan's supporters have transformed a political issue — the dispute between Israel and its neighbors into an intensely emotional crusade against an entire people and religion.

The Arab states, with the exception of Egypt, refuse to accept the legitimacy of Israel or to resolve differences through negotiation. Their media and government spokesmen maintain a drumbeat of anti-Semitism, sometimes crude, sometimes subtle, that poisons the minds and inflames the passion of their peoples. Little free expression, debate or disagreement is permitted in these countries. With few exceptions, the small Jewish communities that remain in Arab nations live in fear of persecution.

Moreover, the anti-Semitism of the Arab world has spread beyond the Middle East, into the third world and the Soviet bloc, which, to its eternal discredit, lends its full weight to these calumnies.

The Soviet Union practices its brand of anti-Semitism with cat-like perversity. It torments those Jews who wish to live a Jewish life in the Soviet Union yet refuses to let them emigrate. Jews whose only "offense" is to ask to leave risk being sent to internal exile and labor camp. The authorities arrest teachers of the Hebrew language and contrive other, even flimsier charges to persecute Jewish activists. Jews live in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, and they are regularly denied decent jobs, housing opportunities and places in universities. The Soviet press criticizes Israel and Zionism in blatantly propagandistic tones. encouraging deceit, hypocrisy and passionate hatred.

This policy of harassing Jews yet refusing to permit them to emigrate is one of the most puzzling aspects of Soviet conduct. At once irrational and counterproductive, it violates the Helsinki agreement and embarrasses Soviet representatives wherever they go. For these reasons, it may be reasonable to expect some change in Soviet policy, but until that happens the Russians must expect to sufferthe scorn and ostracism of the free world.

Anti-Semitism is a negative force that saps the energy of the hater, clouds his mind, fouls his mouth and weakens his community. The campaign against Zionism has consumed its enemies and prevented them from progressing towards a better life for their people.

Why, then, can these enemies not face the reality of modern Zionism? Why can't they accept that the Jewish people have a right to live in peace and dignity in their ancient places and that the right-thinking peoples of the world will support them in that endeavor? Zionism provides a model for semocratic living that offers hope for progress to those who would accept it and provides a promise of good will and respect for those who respect it. It is not too late, even 10 years later, to stop living by slogans and slander. It is not too late for truth and recoaciliation. 

The New York Times - November 10, 1985

all, will survive the shameful exhibition in the UN and the proponents of the resolution."

Addressing the audience that filled the UN auditorium to capacity, Ambassador Vernon Walters, the Permanent U.S. Representative to the UN, said his mission "speaks out forcefully against the resolution and the evil it embodies, and will continue to do so as long as necessary."

In his own remarks, Senator Moynihan pointed out that in the decade since the resolution's adoption, there had been no serious study of the subject and the motives behind the thinking of the Soviets, the Arabs and the non-aligned nations that supported it. But he said the resolution could be expunged "with 10 years and tenacity."

Mrs. Kirkpatrick told the conference: "It is a short step from the proposition that Zionism is racism to the proposition that the State of Israel is based on aggression. In UN'language, the 'Zionism-Is-Racism' resolution declared open season on the State of Israel. Henceforth, Israel would be fair game for armed 'liberation.'"

Another speaker was Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader and chairman of the A. Philip Randolph In-



Leading the protest against the UN's "Żionism-Is-Racism" resolution: Benjamin Netanyahu, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Kenneth J. Bialkin.

stitute, who observed that the resolution "obscures the true nature of racism, and thus has impeded the fight against it. Those nations — including many African states which supported that obscene resolution — dealt a monstrous blow to themselves and to everyone oppressed by racist ideologies, particularly blacks who are brutalized by apartheid in South Africa," he said. Mr. Rustin thrilled the audience by concluding his remarks with the fervent singing of the black spiritual, "Let My People Go."

Alan L. Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, told the conference: "The fight against the 'Zionism-Is-Racism' equation is a fight for the dignity of the Jewish people, for the interests of the United States and for the soul and future of the United Nations. The United Nations was established to promote peace. When it is used as a weapon of political warfare, it not only injures those who are assaulted but also discourages and corrupts the moral commitment that is the mainstay of the organization's existence. The fight against the 'Zionism-is-racism' idea in the United Nations is a key element in the general fight against this corruption."

Conor Cruise O'Brien, former deputy chief of Ireland's Mission to the United Nations (and author of "The Siege,") struck an optimistic note. "Israel's position at the United Nations - as distinct from the General Assembly - is stronger than might appear," he said, adding: "Public opinion in the West generally came to see that there is a difference between the friendship of a regime as in Iraq and the friendship of a people as in Israel. One - the regime - can change overnight. A country that was formerly thought of as friendly - bang, it's gone, it's now very unfriendly indeed! That couldn't happen in the case of Israel, because it is not just a regime, it is the people of Israel, through its democratic government, which is friendly to the West. That led to a reassessment favorable to Israel and I think on the whole it has lasted."

The Rev. Benjamin Nunez, former ambassador of

Costa Rica to the United Nations, urged the conference to "continue fighting and strengthening your hearts for the sacred ideals and dreams of Zion. Nothing and nobody will be able to stop you" because it is not only your fight, it is the fight of all free men of good will. In your long history you have survived worse resolutions, and you will survive this one too. Don't lose your faith, your courage, your hope, in the decency of human beings."

Rahmin Eliezar, an Ethiopian Jew who emigrated to Israel and who is now secretary general of the National Council of Ethiopian Jews, told the conference: "I am an equal among equals, a Jew among fellow Jews. My life is proof that Zionism is not racism. Zionism is equality."

And Ambassador Netanyahu, after alluding to Israel's rescue of the black Jews of Ethiopia, observed: "The 'Zionism-Is-Racism' slander simply becomes too preposterous to tolerate."

At the outdoor rally preceding the conference, Presidents Conference chairman Bialkin presented a definition of Zionism that many in the audience would agree with.

"Zionism," he said "is the desire of Jews to live in peace and freedom in their ancient homeland. It holds no animosity to others; it threatens no one who would dwell in peace and friendship with it or alongside it. It provides a model from which others may come to learn that Zionism is freedom, Zionism is compassion, Zionism is brotherhood, Zionism is the restoration of human rights, Zionism is dignity, Zionism is against the subjugation of people, Zionism is the hand of peace that reaches out to be grasped, before it is too late." [The proceedings of the conference at the UN will be published.]

#### The Pollard Case

During the last week of November 1985, the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington announced the arrest of an American citizen on charges of espionage

## After the Israeli Spy Case

#### By Kenneth J. Bialkin

The arrest of Jonathan Jay Pollard, an American Government employee charged with selling unauthorized information to Israel, was a sobering and unpleasant event. Israel's American friends are sorry and even angry about what happened. Our support for Israel and its people will not change. Our belief in Israel's eccential mission and our pride in its achievements are not diminished, but Israel must not test that support by actions that may harm the United States.

Israel has apologized to the United States and has said that it is a violation of Israel's policy to engage in espionage in the United States. Jerusalem has stated its intention to investigate the breach of its policies, punish those who engaged in unauthorized conduct, terminate the unit involved in the activity and provide assistance to American investigators. The United States has accepted this apology and indicated that the friendship and mutual cooperation of the two allies will continue.

This is just as it should be. The two countries' fundamental relationships must remain intact. Their national and geopolitical objectives have not changed. Now, as before, there is no reason for conflict. Our common

Kenneth J. Bialkin, a lawyer, is chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. commitment to freedom and democratic values as well as our common resistance to terrorism, fundamentalist authoritarianism and the spread of Soviet hegemony provide a solid basis for the true friendship and moral support that each extends to the other. Israel can expect its extensive economic and military aid from the United States to continue, and the United States will continue to benefit from Israel's sharing of military and scientific intelligence.

Nevertheless, Israel's many American friends remain confused and shaken by recent events. They wonder why Israel would risk harming its relationships in the United States and are hopeful that Israel's leaders fully appreciate the importance of not permitting this kind of activity to be repeated.

Every nation has legitimate needs for intelligence — as much as it can get — and Israel has particularly pressing needs because it is a small nation surrounded by peoples who wish it harm. But even such need does not justify resorting to illegal and illegitimate conduct against a main friend. Actions that compromise United States security are simply not acceptable.

Unfortunately, there will be those who will use this episode for their own purposes — to undermine support for Israel and challenge American Jews. But the good sense of the American people must not be diverted by such efforts.

American Jews do not believe that their support for Israel and Zionism is in any way inconsistent with their , their countries.

commitment to America - and it is not.

Jews are second to none in their commitment to American society. After centuries of persecution in Europe and elsewhere, here in America they participate in the democratic process on an equal basis and enjoy a freedom and prosperity that was denied to them in many other lands. They have fought and died in all our wars. Thousands of Jews serve in the United States Government, including in the most trusted and sensitive services. Only the mischievous or the anti-Semitic would doubt that the loyalty and dedication of American Jews match that of other Americans.

What can be done to preserve good feeling between the two countries? The bruise will heal, but slowly and not without setbacks. The criminaljustice process remains to be served, and it may in itself produce strains involving the rights of defendants, prospective defendants and witnesses. Israel's willingness to permit American law enforcement personnel to meet with its inteiligence operatives to determine the nature and extent of their activities in this case is without precedent and is a further effort to make amends.

Both Israel and the United States are trying to handle the case with mutual good will and patience. The leaders on both sides have so far shown admirable restraint and understanding, and they must continue to do so. Only that way can they hope to protect both their national interests and the traditional friendship of their countries.

The New York Times — December 11, 1985

against the United States in behalf of Israel. His name was Jonathan Pollard, he was Jewish, and he was a government employee with access to secret Navy documents that he allegedly sold to the Government of Israel.

The news came as a shock to the American Jewish community as it did to the Presidents Conference. Responding to the event, Conference chairman Bialkin wrote an article for *The New York Times*, published on its op-ed page, that expressed the consensus view not only of the constituent members of the Conference but also of the great majority of American Jews. "Our support for Israel and its people will not change," he wrote. "Our belief in Israel's essential mission and our pride in its achievements are not diminished, but Israel must not test that support by actions that may harm the United States."

#### Another Terrorist Strike

Palestinian terrorism took a further toll on December 27, when a bomb explosion at the El Al Airlines checkin counter in Rome's international airport killed 18 people — including an American girl — and injured more than 100 others.

At a Sunday noon press conference two days later, Mr. Bialkin assailed "the Palestinian terrorist war against the traveling public," which he said "requires urgent action by the international community." He added: "It is not enough to say that the murderers should be brought to justice. They are only the tools, the fanatic fools who carry out the orders that are fashioned in Damascus, in Tripoli, in Amman, in Baghdad and in Tunis. It is the leaders and planners who must be brought to justice and called to account for their crimes against innocent civilians."

Mr. Bialkin then proposed the following actions:

 "Serve notice that support for the PLO and other Palestinian terror groups must end.

 "Diplomatic support must cease and the PLO observer delegation to the UN must be expelled and their offices in New York closed.

 "Countries that give sanctuary or free passage to known murderers must be warned that consequences will follow their act.

4) "Terrorist leaders must be extradited and brought to justice, damage suits by victims must be heard and enforced in courts of law, and victims compensated by the PLO.

5) "Diplomatic and economic sanctions must be taken against those countries that fail to cooperate in an international program to combat terrorism and deny sanctuary to leaders and followers of the PLO.

6) "World opinion must be mobilized against the deceit of Palestinian radicals who clothe their cause in the language of freedom and human rights but whose real message and cause is conquest and rejection of peaceful coexistence with Israel.

7) "We support Secretary of State Shultz in his rejection of any political justification for terrorist acts, and call upon the UN and the nations of the free world to develop a program of action that goes beyond the welcome words of condemnation of terrorism.

8) "Sadly, but necessarily, so long as the rule of law cannot cope with terrorism, the right and duty of national sovereignty and protection must be recognized to take action against those responsible for terrorist acts.

9) "Our Ambassador to the UN should call for an emergency session of the Security Council to censure Libya and Syria for their continuing support of terrorists in violation of recently-adopted General Assembly and Security Council resolutions."

On Christmas day the second of five Jewish hostages seized by Islamic terrorists earlier in the year was found slain in Beirut. The murder triggered a public appeal from the Presidents Conference, joining leaders of the Jewish communities of Britain and France, in calling for a halt to the massacre of Lebanese Jews "whose government has confessed its impotence to protect them."

The statement denounced "the taking of hostages and the systematic selection of Jewish victims," declaring: "It is no more acceptable today than earlier in this century that Jews should be murdered simply because they are Jews. This time other voices than ours must be raised in solemn protest. Today silence is a crime." The appeal, addressed "to the human conscience, to the leaders of religious groups and to governments," was signed by Kenneth J. Bialkin, Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews; and Theo Klein, president of CRIF (the Representative Council of French Jewry).

Mr. Bialkin also asked Secretary of State Shultz in a telegram on December 27 to seek UN intervention in halting "the systematic selection by terrorist gangs of Americans — and now Jews — as victims of kidnapping and murder."

Noting that on December 11 the UN General Assembly and on December 18 the Security Council had adopted resolutions condemning abduction, hostage-taking and other forms of terrorism, and had called for international cooperation to prevent, prosecute and punish all acts of hostage-taking, abduction and other forms of international terrorism, Mr. Bialkin said in his message: "You have eloquently expressed on numerous occasions your abhorrence of terrorism. We ask you now to seek the good offices of the UN to free all the remaining hostages and to halt the terrorists' unspeakable acts of violence. Now that the UN has spoken, we believe it is both timely and appropriate to demand international action, through the UN, in behalf of our fellow-Americans and our fellow-Jews."

#### 'Soviet Disinformation'

The new year 1986 began with a briefing to the Conference by Meir Rosenne, Israel's ambassador to the United States, on January 2.

Branding as "Soviet disinformation" reports that the USSR would renew diplomatic relations with Israel and reverse its policy toward Jewish emigration, Ambassador Rosenne said there had been "absolutely no change" in Moscow's attitude and policy toward Israel and the demand of Soviet Jews to be repatriated to Israel.

The Israeli envoy called the reports "part of a Kremlin propaganda effort, launched prior to the Geneva summit conference, to win sympathy for the Soviet cause." He added:

"The Soviet disinformation campaign has already had considerable success. Even worse, the leaders of the USSR may be convinced that they can get Ameri can credits and American technology without improving their treatment of Soviet Jews." He noted that 400 U.S. businessmen had recently visited Moscow for trade talks and that American banks had offered loans totalling \$400 million to the Soviets for the purchase of U.S. goods.

"Look at the propaganda value the Kremlin got out of the release of a dozen or so husbands and wives who had been separated from their spouses," Ambassador Rosenne said, adding: "The greater their propaganda success, the less likely it is that they will actually change their policy. Meanwhile, the situation for longtime Soviet Jewish refuseniks becomes increasingly grim as the gates remain shut and the pressure increases on Jews who seek actively to express their culture and religion."

#### A Chat With the Egyptian Ambassador

On January 6 Mr. Bialkin met privately with Abdel Raouf El-Reedy, Egypt's ambassador to the United States, at the ambassador's residence.

The meeting, held at Mr. El-Reedy's invitation, was a long and cordial one, in which the Egyptian envoy expressed the hope that his country and Israel would move toward closer and more understanding relations. If the Taba question were resolved through arbitration, Mr. El-Reedy said, he believed that the Egyptian ambassador would return to Israel. He added that Egypt remained strongly committed to peace and would resist any efforts to cool relations with Israel.

In a memorandum to the Conference reporting on his conversation, Mr. Bialkin said he had taken issue with the Egyptian ambassador's statement that Yasir Arafat had substantially agreed to recognition of Israel by accepting "all" UN resolutions on the Middle East.

On that same day in Washington, Mr. Bialkin held confidential talks with the White House chief of staff, Donald Regan (at which plans were set for a White House briefing for the Presidents Conference on March 5) and Judge William Webster, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (on issues affecting the Pollard case, the fight against international terrorism and charges by Arab groups in the U.S. of Jewish involvement in anti-Arab attacks in California and Washington, D.C.)

Later that day, Mr. Bialkin and Yehuda Hellman conferred with Michael Armacost, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, and Philip Wilcox, head of the Israeli desk at the State Department. In this conversation Mr. Armacost expressed his appreciation of the cooperation being provided by Israel in the Pollard affair. The Presidents Conference leaders also raised the proposed American arms sale to Jordan and the deteriorating situation confronting Jews in the Soviet Union. This visit was followed by a brief chat with Judge Abraham Sofaer, legal advisor to the State Department, on his recently-completed mission to Israel in connection with the Pollard matter.

#### Sanctions Against Libya

In mid-January President Reagan, in a nationwide address, announced the United States would invoke sanctions against Libya for its role in fomenting anti-American terrorist acts, including the bombing of a nightclub in West Berlin in which American servicemen were killed. In a statement, Mr. Bialkin supported the President's position, but added:

"While I applaud the President's action against Libya as a first step, countries like Jordan, Syria and Tunisia, which provide sanctuary, training and launching places for terror, must also come under some form of sanction. Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union, which finance the PLO, should also expect some kind of pressure. The danger of focusing on Libya alone is that it gives a sense of comfort and ease to the other malefactors. Sanctions against Libya, even if backed by the European allies, are by no means the answer to the problem.

"There must be absolutely no distinction between Abu Nidal and Yasir Arafat. Abu Nidal is part of a movement grounded in the Palestine National Covenant. To say that there is a difference between the two because Arafat missed the chance to carry out this action is to forget all the terror actions Arafat did initiate. Both men are part of a group that has to be stepped on."

#### Spain and Israel

That same week diplomatic relations — long awaited but never put into effect — were initiated between Israel and Spain. In a cabled message to His Royal Highness, Juan Carlos of Spain, the Presidents Conference declared on January 20:

"We welcome the news that Spain and Israel have formally established diplomatic relations. This is an act of historic dimensions for which we congratulate and compliment you and your Government. It is a symbolic renewal of a relationship that was interrupted almost 500 years ago and that should provide the basis for renewal of the friendship and mutual development of the Spanish people and the community of world Jewry."

(Four months earlier, at a seminar on Spanish-Israeli relations in Toledo, Spain, Mr. Bialkin had urged the Spanish government to reject Arab pressure and implement its announced intention to exchange ambassadors with Israel. "Spain can serve the cause of peace," he said, "by demonstrating again to the world that there is an inexorable movement towards an acceptance of peace and of Israel's right to exist.")

#### With Secretary Shultz

On January 15, 1986, Mr. Bialkin and Yehuda Hellman had a private meeting with Secretary of State Shultz to review a range of current issues, including American policy regarding Libya, U.S.-Soviet relations, Jewish emigration, the Jordan arms sale and other matters.

The two Presidents Conference leaders expressed the view that the announcement of American sanctions against Libya must be only the first step in a worldwide integrated effort to combat terrorism, and that unless efforts were made to cut off the PLO's funding and diplomatic support, anti-terrorist efforts would inevitably end in failure.

On Soviet Jewry, Secretary Shultz said that he had absolutely no basis to expect any change in Kremlin policy. Regarding arms to Jordan, the Secretary confirmed that the Administration still favored such sales. When Mr. Bialkin observed that the Syrian threat to Jordan appeared diminished as a result of recent diplomatic initiatives between the two countries, Mr. Shultz replied that King Hussein's move toward Damascus was one of desperation and weakness, reflecting disappointment in the West. The Secretary of State indicated that he wanted to give every opportunity for King Hussein to come to the peace table with Israel and that early legislative action against the arms sale might discourage such an initiative.

But King Hussein, under intense pressure from the PLO, failed to come to the peace table and on Feb. 4, 1986 the Administration withdrew its proposal to sell arms to Jordan. Chairman Bialkin welcomed the decision.

On the terrorist issue, Mr. Shultz indicated his disappointment at the response of America's European allies to President Reagan's call for sanctions against Libya, particularly that of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Mr. Bialkin said he would discuss with leaders of the Jewish community in Great Britain what might be done to encourage Mrs. Thatcher to modify her position that economic sanctions were ineffective and retaliation contrary to international law.

#### Meeting Admiral Poindexter

On February 4, 1986, Mr. Bialkin led a small delegation organized by the Conference of Presidents to meet with Admiral John Poindexter, the newlyappointed National Security Adviser to the President. Mr. Bialkin opened the discussion by recalling that Admiral Poindexter had been in charge of intercepting the Egyptian plane aboard which the Achille Lauro hijackers were attempting to escape. He voiced appreciation and congratulations for that effort.

The delegation's members then expressed concern about the continuing instability in Lebanon — the threat of a Christian massacre there and indications that the Reagan Administration appeared to accept the prospect of Syrian hegemony over Lebanon. The delegation also spoke of the stalemate in the Middle East peace process and the tactics of Jordan and Syria in that regard; Egyptian President Mubarak's refusal to enhance the normalization of relations with Israel; and the failure of nations other than United States and Israel to deal with the problem of international terrorism.

Admiral Poindexter observed that the Administration felt every avenue toward peace must be explored because it was important both to the United States and to the free world that peace be established in the Middle East. He said he recognized the different opinion of the Jewish community and also the fact that Israel was under severe financial pressures. On Egypt, Admiral Poindexter pointed to the threat of fundamentalism there, as in other parts of Arab world, and said President Mubarak had problems that should be appreciated. The United States, he suggested, could not tolerate the growth of extremism in the region. On Lebanon, he said the Administration did not accept the Syrian compact with the Lebanese militias but, because the situation was so confused, realistic choices were extremely limited.

#### Shcharansky Is Freed

**On February 11, the Soviet Union released Anatoly** Shcharansky after nine years of imprisonment and permitted the Jewish activist to emigrate to Israel. Jewish communities around the world rejoiced. Speaking for the Presidents Conference, Mr. Bialkin said: "Our joy at Anatoly Shcharansky's freedom is matched only by our gratitude to President Reagan and Secretary Shultz for their unremitting and ultimately successful efforts to win his release. Their commitment to the cause of Soviet Jewry merits our deepest appreciation." He continued:

"We pray that Mr. Shcharansky's departure for Israel will be the harbinger of better things to come from the Soviet Union: more visas for Jewish refuseniks who have waited, many of them, for up to 20 years to emigrate to Israel, including Iosif Begun and Ida Nudel; an end to the harassing and hounding of Jewish activists; and an opening of the gates for the hundreds of thousands who have requested and received invitations from Israel to join their families there.

"If the departure of Mr. Shcharansky signals a rethinking of the Soviet position on human rights, such a development would be warmly welcomed by all Americans. Until then, we will continue our efforts to call to world attention the consistent violations by the Soviet Union of the solemn commitments which it made in signing the Helsinki accords more than 10 years ago."

The Presidents Conference chairman also rejected the notion that the Shcharansky release might signify a broader change in Soviet policy towards Jews and thus soften American Jewish pressure on the USSR. "On the contrary," he said, "it shows there is hope only in keeping the pressure on the Soviets. They clearly have not changed their attitude on human rights."

At a Presidents Conference meeting celebrating Mr. Shcharansky's freedom, Arye Dulzin, chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive and of the Presidium of the World Council on Soviet Jewry, said: "The lesson of his release is that we should never give up our struggle and efforts to free the other Prisoners of Zion and help all other Soviet Jews seeking emigration to Israel."

Another speaker at the meeting was Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, who pointed out that Mr. Shcharansky's departure to the West was the result of "quiet diplomacy" by the Reagan Administration as well as the public campaign of protest in the United States and other lands. He called for "keeping up the pressure" to give the President the backing he needed when he negotiated with the Soviet Union. Congress should demand that the issue of Soviet Jewry be brought up at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting scheduled for later in 1986, Mr. Abram said.

#### White House Briefing

A special White House briefing for the Presidents Conference on March 5, 1986 brought together some 100 representatives of member organizations with top Administration officials headed by President Reagan.

The President opened his remarks with an appeal for support of his request for \$100 million "in aid to the democratic resistance forces in Nicaragua." He spoke of the "ties to terrorist groups in the Middle East" of the Sandinistas, which he said "go back more than a decade-and-a-half." Mr. Reagan added:

"Thomas Borge, Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior, was one of many Sandinista Communists to train in PLO camps in Lebanon and Syria and Libya. To quote Borge's own words: 'We say to our brother Arafat that Nicaragua is his land and the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas.' Yasir Arafat returned the compliment saying, 'The triumph of the Nicaraguans is the PLO's triumph.' Or listen to what the Sandinista communists say about Qaddafi whom they call 'our great friend.' Borge again: 'Our friendship with Libya is eternal. Libya is a people which, in accordance with our experience, has developed solidarity without frontiers.'

"Qaddafi, meanwhile, has been openly sending them millions of dollars of arms, because, he says, the Nicaraguan Communists fight with Libya. 'They fight America,' he put it, 'on its own ground.'"

The President continued: "The Sandinista Communists have matched their words with actions, joining the PLO in terrorist assaults in the Middle East, including the attempt to overthrow the Hussein Government and the hijacking of an El Al airliner. The Sandinista terrorist killed in the El Al hijacking, Patrick Arguayo Ryan, is revered as a hero by the Nicaraguan government. They even named a large power dam after him.

"The Nicaraguan Communists desecrated Managua's synagogue and drove the small Jewish community into exile. Isaac Stavisky, who was there, tells of the anti-Jewish Sandinista graffiti: 'Death to the Jewish pigs,' with red and black FSLN initials next to it, and 'Beware Sandinista justice.'"

Mr. Bialkin, in response, began by thanking the President for his role in winning freedom for Anatoly Shcharansky, which he said was due "primarily, if not exclusively — to the continued efforts of the United States in support of Avital Shcharansky and her movement, and the movement of all freedom-loving people. Anatoly Shcharansky is free," he said. "We thank you for that."

On Nicaragua, Mr. Bialkin said: "I do want to say that we admire your defense of freedom and your condemnation of terrorism. Your eloquent plea for the contras, to support freedom and democracy in Central America, to preserve the ability to maintain a decent and balanced society, to keep Central America in freedom's camp, has touched many of us and will find resonance in our community." He continued:

"As the chairman of the Conference of Presidents, I would lose my job if I said the whole Conference speaks as one in supporting you. But I do know from my own experience that while there may not be unanimity — there never is in a democracy and I assure you we're a democracy — I believe that the overwhelming sympathy and support of the American Jewish community rides with freedom, rides with the defense of those who wish to fight for their freedom and would support you in your interested and objective and principled effort in that end.

"We appreciate and support your strong condemnation of terrorism. Your support for the right to react to terrorist outrage is appreciated by all of us, as is your principled and moral and sentimental support for Israel. We know that the fight to repel terror, to defend Israel and to promote peace leads to concern and you know that we have a concern — about further arming Arab countries, even those who call themselves moderate who do not support the peace process. We recognize it's a complicated issue. We do urge that if arms are to be sold they should be sold only under circumstances where you have reasonable assurances and are fairly confident that the recipients of those arms will move in the direction of peace.

Mr. Bialkin continued:

"The time has come for the abandonment of the rejection of Israel. The Arab countries, including the moderates, stand on a rejectionist platform. We hope that with your effort and with the pressure and enticement that arms may involve, Mr. President, you can get them to move toward abandoning their rejection of Israel's right to exist and move toward negotiation.

"The principal barrier to peace is that rejection. The threat of assassination and terrorism is something we can't stand. Respectfully, we urge that the time has come in the Middle East for emphasis on economic development and on positive measures to live together. If Egypt and Jordan and Israel can develop a joint economic plan, that may bring peace faster than the sale of arms."

In a brief rejoinder, President Reagan said his Administration was "pledged to the fact that we will never allow Israel to lose its qualitative or quantitative edge by anything we do in that regard."

[Asked during a question-and-answer period later in the briefing about the President's statement, Assistant Secretary of State Richard W. Murphy said the pledge to keep Israel's "quantitative edge" did not apply to all Arab states but rather to those with whom Israel might be likely to come into direct conflict.] Also speaking at the briefing session were Alan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs; Assistant Secretary Murphy; Donald T. Regan, chief of staff to the president; Herbert Stein, senior fellow of the American Enterprise Institute; and Ambassador Robert B. Oakley, the State Department's counter-terrorism expert.

### On Foreign Travel

Late in March Senators Gary Hart (D., Colorado) and J. Bennett Johnston (D., Louisiana) postponed a 10-day trip to the Middle East after being cautioned by the Administration against traveling abroad. Senator Hart said Administration sources told him his trip to Egypt, Israel and Jordan would "divert limited security resources." Senator Johnston said the Defense Intelligence Agency "strongly advised" him to "cancel the trip to Israel for security reasons."

The Presidents Conference deplored that warning. "The interruption of foreign travel is exactly what terrorists want, and the surrender to terrorist threats gives them the victory they seek," Mr. Bialkin declared in a statement, adding:

"Our government acted wisely and properly in repelling Libyan attacks in the Gulf of Sidra. By crossing the so-called 'Line of Death,' American naval forces demonstrated how empty were Muammar Qaddafi's threats and how meaningless his rhetoric. Having achieved its purpose, the United States now foolishly dissipates that achievement by permitting itself to be intimidated by Qaddafi's incoherent promise of reprisals.

"Such surrender demonstrates a weakening of American resolve to resist terrorism. It is exactly the wrong signal to send to the world and to terrorists everywhere. We deeply regret the unwarranted action of the Government in discouraging Senators Hart and Johnston and other members of Congress from visiting Egypt, Israel and Jordan for fear of Libyan terrorist attacks. The policy of the Government should be reversed."

## Prime Minister Peres at the Conference

At a meeting with the Presidents Conference on April 3, after conferring with the President and high Administration officials in Washington, Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel warned that "the whole Middle East can burst into flames" unless the looming "economic catastrophe" in the region were averted. "The economic issue is becoming the most urgent issue in the Middle East," Mr. Peres asserted. The Prime Minister said that Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon were heading toward an economic disaster and that their foreign currency reserves were alarmingly low.

Emphasizing that economic stability in the region was necessary to create a positive atmosphere for a peace settlement, Mr. Peres said that in his talks in Washington he had discussed a "Marshall Plan" for the Middle East sponsored by the European countries and Japan. "I found the response in Washington to the plan positive and responsible," he told the Conference.

The Israeli leader expressed satisfaction with his visit and his talks with top Administration officials. The Administration, he said, was firmly behind Israel's efforts for economic recovery and economic independence, and had agreed to increase American purchases of Israeli goods and services. Washington was also receptive to Israel's request that the U.S. increase purchases in Israel for its forces in Europe, he noted.

"We have now reached such a good set of relationships between Israel and the U.S. that it is almost hard to imagine," Peres said. He described in glowing terms the warmth he encountered from President Reagan and from other U.S. officials. He praised Secretary of State Shultz in particular, calling him "an extraordinary human being and friend of Israel."

## America Bombs Libya

On the night of April 14, 1986 American warplanes launched a retaliatory raid on Libya for the bombing of a Berlin nightclub in which American servicemen were killed. In a telegram of support to President Reagan, Kenneth J. Bialkin declared:

"Your firm action against Libyan-sponsored terrorism should be supported and understood by all Americans and by friends of freedom and democracy everywhere. We appreciate that you are reluctant to use force, but there are circumstances when diplomacy and international cooperation are insufficent to deal with lawless and cynical conduct. Regrettably, the use of force has become necessary to punish terrorists.

"We support your policies in defense of freedom and in rejection of intimidation. Only when international terrorists are made to realize that they must pay for lawless conduct and are accountable for the consequences of their acts will there be a return to the rule of law. Until then, your efforts should be appreciated by all of us who understand the dangers of appeasement.

"We also express our appreciation to the government of the United Kingdom for its understanding and support, and wish to express our disappointment with the government of France, which has not yet come to recognize that international terrorism must be faced with determination."

In reply, the President wrote to express his thanks for the Conference's message of support, noting that while Americans were "slow to anger and reluctant to use force...our love of peace must never be mistaken for fear to act."

Three days later a young woman was arrested at London's Heathrow Airport after seeking to board an Israel-bound El Al jumbo jet with a large amount of plastic explosives concealed in her luggage. (Before the end of 1986 an Arab terrorist linked to Syria was found guilty of attempting to bomb the El Al airliner, and THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON May 22, 1986

Dear Mr. Bialkin:

I want to thank you for your message of support for our recent actions to counter and deter international terrorism.

Our response puts on notice those who openly advocate and carry out acts of violence against the United States. We Americans are slow to anger and reluctant to use force. By tradition and temperament, we seek to resolve even the most intractable conflicts by the steady application of diplomacy and reason. But where these fail, and a government targets this nation or its citizens for terror, our love of peace must never be mistaken for fear to act. We will do what is necessary, unilaterally or in concert with others, to defend our people and our way of life.

Again, thank you for this demonstration of love for America. It means a great deal to me, and even more to the fine men and women in our Armed Forces. God bless you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Rogon

Mr. Kenneth J. Bialkin
Chairman
Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

# How to Combat Terrorism

## By Kenneth J. Bialkin

One of the most fashionable criticisms of the new American policy of responding to terrorism with force is that it fails to address "the underlying cause" of terrorist violence. Underlying causes should certainly be treated whenever possible, but those who urge understanding as an alternative to a military response err in several respects.

First, we must not be diverted from dealing directly and swiftly with terrorists when they can be identified and found. Those who would divert attention from the assassin and bombthrower weaken international resolve to punish lawlessness and prevent a breakdown of world order. Just as we do not delay law enforcement in order first to understand the psychological deprivations that motivate criminals, so we must not delay our response to terrorism.

Second, while some who counsel examination of underlying causes may indeed be sincere, others who do so have a political agenda.

Consider those who suggest that international terrorism would go away if only some solution could be found to the Palestinian problem. They argue that less hatred would be directed at Americans if the United States were

Kenneth J. Bialkin, a lawyer, is chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. less supportive of Israel and more understanding of Arab concerns. It is an argument that misstates history and implicitly condones terrorism as a tool of international relations.

In fact, the United States has never given total support to Israeli policies. Instead, we have sought to maintain credibility and cordiality with both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. often to the frustration and despair of both. In 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982, American restraint prevented Israel from exploiting opportunities that might have given it a considerable advantage in future conflicts. Further, the United States' concern for its relationship with the Arabs has effectively prevented us from insisting that they accept Israel's right to exist in the Middle East.

The real reasons for terrorist anger at the West are much more complicated — rooted in Arab radicalism, religious fundamentalism, frustrated nationalism and xenophobic hatreds. A "solution" to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would do nothing to end the terrorism inspired by Shiite radicalism, the Iran-Iraq war or the East-West tensions in the Persian Gulf. More likely, such a solution would only reveal the vast disarray of the Arab world and accelerate the clash of religious and national differences.

Finally, those who argue for looking at underlying causes usually have the wrong causes in mind.

The common denominator of terrorism is the training and arming of terrorists — elaborate preparation that requires considerble sums of money. Who provides that money? We can trace it back. Most non-state terrorism can be attributed to one or another faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, or to other groups, such as the Red Brigades and the Baader-Meinhof gang, that it has trained and supported. P.L.O. funding, it is known, comes largely from Saudi Arabia — "insurance" extorted by the Palestinians — Libya and Syria, among other places.

Why is so much money required? Terrorists are rarely fanatic religious idealists intent on suicide. Quite the contrary, very few of those captured are suicidally inclined. Much more often, they are mercenaries or misguided youths who have been drugged or otherwise manipulated by guerrilla leaders. Cut off their funding, and terrorism will abate.

"Moderate" Arab states like Saudi Arabia must be convinced to stop their payments. America's friends and allies must deny political and economic support for those who countenance terrorism. The Soviet Union, which maintains cordial relations with Libya, Syria and the P.L.O., should be made to see that it too suffers from international terrorism, which freezes travel and commerce and destabilizes political relations.

Something must be done about the ambivalent reaction of these nations and groups — and of anyone else who does not appreciate the need to move forcefully against international terror. By their ambivalence, they contenance and even encourage terror. It is one underlying cause that we cannot afford to neglect.

The New York Times - May 11, 1986

Great Britain broke diplomatic relations with Damascus.)

On May 7 members of the Conference were given a unique opportunity for an open dialogue with the ambassador-designate to Egypt, Frank Wisner, before he took up his new post. At a luncheon, the career foreign-service officer pledged his efforts to strengthen the peace between Israel and Egypt while regenerating the peace process between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

### Rumors of War

Two days later, at a meeting with the Presidents Conference, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin used the occasion to strongly deny a spate of new reports that fighting might soon break out between Israel and Syria. The Israeli leader told the Conference: "The best war is the one that is prevented. We are not interested in escalating tension in the region but in deterring hostilities. We want President Assad to know that Israel is capable and ready to deal with terrorism and hostile action from Syria, but we seek no confrontation."

The Israeli Defense Minister rejected reports of imminent hostilities in the region, asserting: "Our policy is to cope with terrorism, but not to seek war." He told the Presidents Conference:

"President Assad has issued a public call to increase



Israel's Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, briefs the Presidents Conference. Seated: Kenneth J. Bialkin, Yehuda Hellman.

terrorism against Israel. The planning and preparation of the attempt to bomb an El Al plane bound for Israel from London on April 17 was carried out by a body that belongs to the Syrian intelligence establishment, and I have no doubt that the decision was taken not at the lowest levels. Nevertheless, it is our policy not to initiate any escalation of tension in the region."

Mr. Rabin said Arab terrorism could be "wiped out entirely" were it not for the support — financing, arms, diplomatic cover, safe houses and other assistance that terrorist groups receive from Iran, Libya, Syria, Saudi Arabia and others. As long as such support continues, he said, "Israel will remain the target of terrorism. I believe our people understand that and are prepared to live with it, as they have for 100 years."

#### Sharansky in New York

On the occasion of his first visit to the United States, Natan Sharansky (who had taken the Hebrew name to replace the Russian Anatoly) addressed the Conference of Presidents May 12 at an overflow meeting of more than 200 leaders of Jewish organizations and Soviet Jewry activists.

In introducing Mr. Sharansky to the gathering, Mr. Bialkin said in part: "We do not know why it is that the Soviets finally freed Natan Sharansky. We do know that for the last 10 years and more, his wife Avital conducted a campaign that teaches us a great and unforgettable lesson: In the struggle for rights and freedom, one never gives up, even when the outlook is utterly bleak, even when the world is against you, even when there is no place to turn. Avital and those who sustained her during that period never gave up. And we too will never give up.

"Natan Sharansky is now added to that list of men and women who have moved from prison to freedom. Having crossed the line, he speaks to those who struggle still and cry out for the freedom of all those still left behind: Vladimir Slepak, Iosif Begun, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Lifshitz and thousands of others.

"Our community is varied, but we are united in support of Soviet Jewry, in support of the freedom of our brothers and sisters to live as Jews and to be free to leave. As a united Jewish community, our message to our friends and brothers, to our representatives in the Congress, to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the world is simply this: There will be no yielding, no concessions, no interruption in the struggle in which we are engaged to free Soviet Jewry. We will not bow to those who want to repeal the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. We will make no unilateral concessions. And we will not cease until the Soviets move to release all of our Jewish brothers and sisters who yearn to be free."

Mr. Sharansky thanked the Jewish leaders for all their support on behalf of Soviet Jews. He declared: "Without your support, without your solidarity, we could never survive and hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews could never join their people in Israel."

He also stressed the importance of maintaining open pressure on the Soviets, adding: "For us Jews there is no choice." The USSR, he said, would "never open the doors for 400,000 Soviet Jews until the losses which they will have and the danger for them if they don't open the gates are greater than if they did permit the Jews to emigrate."

During a lively question-and-answer period that followed, Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, asked Mr. Sharansky for his views on the Jewish community's strategy of "demonstrations and tremendous pressure on the outside, and quiet diplomacy at the top." The Soviet Jewish hero replied:

"Of course I fully agree with it, but the President of the United States of America, like other political leaders, really must find a good balance between quiet diplomacy and open pressure. If we Jews start dividing our efforts between quiet diplomacy and open pressure, the Soviets will always have hope to deceive us. During my imprisonment I was told by my friends and I saw it in the press — that before the summit meeting with Gorbachev, our Jewish community became in some way divided. There were many voices. People went to Moscow and said, now we have very good signs and everything will be okay soon. Then many demonstrations were cancelled.

"This was a very serious mistake. President Reagan has the right to decide at what moment to stop his diplomacy, but we Jews do not have such options. I do hope we won't repeat this mistake before the next summit meeting. Yesterday, speaking at the reception by Mayor Koch, I said that 400,000 Soviet Jews are now in prison in the Soviet Union. Let 400,000 American Jews meet Mr. Gorbachev in Washington when he comes!"



A beaming Natan Sharansky accepts the applause of Conference members as he takes the podium at 515 Park Avenue. Seated left to right: Israel Consul-General Moshe Yegar, Morey Shapiro of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, Kenneth J. Bialkin, Yehuda Hellman and Morris B. Abram.

Mr. Sharansky concluded his message to the Jewish community representatives by declaring: "It's very important that the Soviets have no illusions, that they understand that we Jews, the American people and the American President will never sacrifice the interests of our brothers in Russia."

[An illustrated report on the meeting, containing Mr. Sharansky's statement, Mr. Bialkin's welcome and the question-and-answer session that followed, was later published by the Conference of Presidents.]

## Greeks Bearing Gifts

An invitation to travel to Greece as the guest of major Greek shippers, cruiseline owners and others was rejected by Presidents Conference chairman Bialkin in a letter dated May 21 to Andrew A. Manatos of Washington, a lawyer representing various Greek-American groups.

"While I would very much enjoy a visit to Greece," Mr. Bialkin wrote, "I am unfortunately unable to accept your kind invitation. The Government of Greece in recent years has followed a pattern of pro-PLO and anti-Israel activity which has distressed many of us who are friends of Israel and who have been concerned with attitudes which fail to appreciate the harm done by the PLO in so many ways."

While acknowledging that the Greek Government had recently shown "signs of greater balance and an inclination towards a warming of relations with Israel, especially in the area of tourism — a very positive development that I would very much encourage," Mr. Bialkin stated:

"However, until there has been some greater demonstration that this change in attitude reflects a conviction that the Greek Government wishes to reestablish the former friendship and cordiality that existed towards the State of Israel, it would not seem appropriate for those of us in the organized Jewish community to accept the hospitality of your clients at this time. I do want you to know that I very much appreciate the invitation and hope that it will be possible to accept it on another occasion."

## A New Chairman and Executive Director

On June 10 Morris B. Abram of New York, a lawyer and chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, was elected by acclamation to a one-year term as chairman of the Conference of Presidents effective July 1, 1986. He succeeded Kenneth J. Bialkin, who had served the customary two one-year terms. Mr. Abram, a former president of Brandeis University, resigned as vice-chairman of the United States Commission on Human Rights, to which he had been ap-





Morris B. Abram

Malcolm I. Hoenlein

pointed by President Reagan, upon his election as Presidents Conference chairman.

At the same meeting, the Presidents Conference voted unanimously to approve the appointment of Malcolm Hoenlein as executive director, succeeding the late Yehuda Hellman. Mr. Hoenlein came to the post after serving for nearly 10 years as executive director of the New York Jewish Community Relations Council, a position he had held since the organization was founded in 1976. Earlier he was the founding executive director of the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry.

#### On Keeping Jackson-Vanik

Shortly after Natan Sharansky's visit to the United States, some news media carried stories reporting that — as a gesture to the Soviet Union aimed at promoting trade and better relations — support was developing for repeal of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which denies most-favored-nation trade concessions and commercial credits to Communist [nonmarket] countries that deprive their citizens of the right to emigrate. Mr. Sharansky himself rejected this course of action.

To make clear that the Jewish community strongly supported retention of Jackson-Vanik, a joint statement was issued by the Conference of Presidents, National Conference on Soviet Jewry, Union of Councils of Soviet Jews, Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, Center for Russian Jewry (with the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry) and World Jewish Congress. The full statement — an unprecedented expression of unity by all the groups working for Soviet-Jewry — read:

"The Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which is known as the Freedom of Emigration Amendment to the Trade Reform Act (1974), reflects U.S. commitment to the fundamental principle of free emigration, a principle on which American society was built. The Amendment denies favorable trade status and commercial credit to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries that restrict emigration. The Amendment provides that its restrictions may be waived, year by year, if the President and Congress find that there is a significant change in these restrictive policies. The Amendment remains the clearest and most effective expression of that commitment as it pertains to the rights of Soviet Jews and others.

"The campaign for and passage of the Freedom of Emigration legislation was instrumental in the release of many tens of thousands of Soviet Jews. Frequent Soviet complaints about the Amendment demonstrate that it remains a key lever for future progress on behalf of these human rights.

"Jackson-Vanik imposes no limit or ceiling on U.S.-Soviet trade. Furthermore, any financial disadvantages the Soviets incur by reason of less favorable tariffs and lack of credits can be suspended by Presidential waiver, earned annually. The Amendment permits U.S. trade concessions to flow so long as the emigrants flow. Hence, Jackson-Vanik enshrines as law the flexibility that its opponents have argued can be achieved only through modification or repeal. It ensures a continuing incentive for the granting of emigration rights.

"Despite some well-publicized cases affording freedom to a small number of individuals, there has been no sign of any change in the repressive policies of the Soviet Union. In fact, emigration of Soviet Jews diminishes while persecution of Jewish cultural activists and would-be emigrants increases.

"We vigorously reiterate our support for the principles and the policies represented by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and affirm that we would strongly oppose any legislative effort to repeal or modify it. The Soviet Union must be shown that unless and until it has complied with the terms of the Amendment, U.S. policy will remain as it is. There is no room for unilateral gestures until the Soviets show that they are willing to abide by the rules protecting those human rights to which they gave their pledge at Helsinki. We look for significant changes, including major steps to resolve the refusenik and prisoner-of conscience issues, ending the present harassment of emigration applicants and study group participants and, of course, a very substantial climb in yearly levels of emigration as envisioned by Senator Jackson."

### MFN for Romania

While the Jackson-Vanik Amendment also applies to Romania, the Presidents Conference has over the past number of years supported the year-by-year waiver provision that permits Romania to enjoy mostfavored-nation status in its trade relations with the U.S. On June 10, Alfred H. Moses of Washington presented testimony to the Subcommittee on Trade of the House of Representatives in the name of the Conference of Presidents stating in part:

"Emigration procedures have been simplified, the waiting period for persons seeking passports to emigrate has been reduced and the backlog of applicants seeking passports to emigrate to Israel has decreased. As a result, over the last six years roughly 25 percent of the Romanian Jewish community has left for Israel."

For these reasons, he said, and despite "shortcomings in Romania's human rights policy and the burdens Romania continues to place on persons seeking to emigrate," the Presidents Conference favored granting a waiver under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Mr. Moses also noted that the number of permissions to emigrate was "down considerably this year," adding: "This troubles us. We communicated these concerns last week to the Romanian government through its ambassador in Washington and have received assurances that the numbers for June and the rest of the year will show an increase." He also noted that there were no restrictions against the free exercise of Jewish religious life in Romania, that a number of important synagogues had been restored under the leadership of Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen and that the Federation of Jewish Communities "maintains an extensive support system throughout Romania for the remaining, largely elderly, Jewish communities," including kosher kitchens, old age homes, and ritual baths. There is also religious instruction for children, he said.

Moreover, he added, "outcroppings of anti-Semitism that appeared in the government-controlled press a few years ago have not reappeared." The Presidents Conference representative concluded: "Admittedly the record is not all one-sided, but the alternative to extending most-favored-nation status is to snuff out the best means at our disposal to influence conditions in the country for the better."

[Later in the year, the Presidents Conference did not testify at Senate hearings on MFN for Romania as a signal of concern over continuing anti-Semitic incidents in Romania.]

## Arms for Saudi Arabia

Early in June the Administration-proposed arms sale to Saudi Arabia — minus the supply of Stinger missiles that had originally been part of the package — went before Congress. Strong and articulate Congressional opposition defeated the measure in both House and Senate but failed to override a Presidential veto. Commenting on President Reagan's narrow victory, Mr. Bialkin observed:

"The action of the Senate in sustaining by only one vote President Reagan's veto of the Saudi arms package sends a double message. To the rulers of Saudi Arabia, it says: stop funding Palestinian terrorism and start supporting our country's interests in the Middle East. To the President, it says: the time has come to demand that the Saudis play their long-promised role as a 'positive force' in promoting Arab-Israel peace and thus demonstrate that they are — as the Administration claims — Arab 'moderates.'

"Our country has been generous and patient with the regime in Riyadh. The hour is long passed for the Saudis to deliver on their promises to America."

#### Meetings in Israel

In mid-June Mr. Bialkin flew to Israel for meetings with key members of the Government, the American ambassador and a number of the country's business leaders. A major subject of discussion was the future of the Lavi project — the American-financed, madein-Israel jet fighter-bomber, about which serious differences had arisen between Washington and Jerusalem concerning costs. In a report to the Conference of Presidents, Mr. Bialkin expressed dismay at the evidence he saw and heard in Israel of heightening tensions among various groups.

On his return, Mr. Bialkin issued this statement commenting on the order by Interior Minister Peretz that the word "converted" be stamped on the identity card of any convert who immigrates to Israel: "The internecine struggle in Israel — now intensified by the mischievous and unacceptable order requiring the legending of Jews according to the quality of their Jewish origin — does serious harm to the unity of the Jewish people and thus threatens the support that Israel enjoys from every quarter of the Jewish world.

"Israel's friends everywhere are deeply disappointed by all those actions, whether from the left or from the right, that divide the Jewish community and that challenge the Jewish tradition of tolerance, understanding and respect for the rule of law."

On June 27, in a telegram to Prime Minister Peres, the Conference of Presidents expressed "unanimous support of your efforts to heal the alarming breach of unity among Israel's people." Mr. Bialkin released the text of a cable he had sent to the Israeli leader, following a meeting of the Presidents Conference, that declared:

"In behalf of the 40 constituent members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, I am sending you this message to express our unanimous support of your efforts to heal the alarming breach of unity among Israel's people, as manifested by recent outbreaks of violence — the burning of bus stops and the horrifying reprisals against synagogues and yeshivoth, desecrations that have shocked and appalled us all.

"We therefore applaud your efforts to foster a sense of *klal yisrael* and *ahavath yisrael* in the life of the Jewish community, and to condemn and isolate those forces, whether on the left or on the right, that divide the Jewish people and that challenge the Jewish tradition of tolerance, understanding and respect for the rule of law."

# **MISSION TO ISRAEL**

A 68-member delegation of the Presidents Conference — including presidents of member organizations, executive directors and spouses — arrived in Jerusalem on December 1, 1985 to begin an intensive series of meetings with Israel's top government officials and leading private citizens.

At a reception that evening, the group was warmly greeted by Dr. Yossi Beilin, secretary of the Government; Avraham Burg, advisor to the Prime Minister on diaspora affairs; Sholomo Gazit, director-general of the Jewish Agency; and Moshe Gilboa, director of the World Jewish Affairs division of the Foreign Ministry, who was instrumental in arranging the mission's agenda.

A surprise guest at the event was Thomas Pickering, who had taken up his new post as United States Ambassador to Israel just a month earlier. The ambassador greeted the mission by reporting that, following a cabinet meeting earlier that day, Prime Minister Peres had issued a statement apologizing to the U.S. in the case of Jonathan Pollard, an American Jewish civilian employee of the Navy Department identified as a spy who had sold American military secrets to Israel. Ambassador Pickering told the group that Secretary of State Shultz had immediately expressed his satisfaction with the apology, in which the Prime Minister declared that the episode was counter to Israeli policy and promised both to break up the unit responsible and punish those guilty of violating directives of the Israeli government.

#### The First Day

Mr. Peres was the first Israeli official to meet with the delegation the following morning in the Jerusalem Hilton. In a candid question-and-answer session, the Prime Minister told the mission that the Pollard case was a singular, isolated incident that had created an unfortunate and regrettable situation representing a breakdown of policy that would be investigated so that it was never repeated. Mr. Peres revealed for the first time that he had had a half-hour telephone conversation with Secretary of State George Shultz at 3:00 a.m. the previous morning during which the Pollard issue was discussed. Mr. Peres also said the political and strategic liaison between Israel and the United States was as strong as it had been before the incident occurred.

In response to questions, the Prime Minister then gave his views on a number of key issues affecting Israel. Despite the dispute over Taba and other problems, Egypt appeared eager to develop a warmer relationship with Israel, he said, but King Hussein continued to be vague and non-commital about coming to the peace table. Israel's main adversary, Mr. Peres said, was Syria, which was intent on derailing any efforts to set up direct peace negotiations between Jordan and Israel.

The Prime Minister also asked support of his proposal to declare a 10-year moratorium on the divisive issue of "Who Is a Jew" and efforts to amend the Law of Return. He spoke of the need to continue the struggle for the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel, emphasized the importance of strengthening Jewish education and urged the delegates to encourage every American Jew "to visit Israel at least once."

Discussing Israel's economy, Mr. Peres cited highly encouraging statistics showing a drop in the inflation index, reduction in the foreign trade deficit and relatively low unemployment. He gave credit for these successes to the people of Israel, who he said had paid



New York Times correspondent Thomas Friedman takes questions from members of the Conference mission to Israel. Standing: Howard M. Squadron, former Presidents Conference chairman.

for this progress at the cost of an average reduction in their real income of 25 percent. Mr. Peres was also unstinting in his praise of the United States for its assistance during difficult times.

Later that morning, David Kimche, director-general of the Foreign Ministry, and several of his colleagues conducted a confidential briefing for the mission in which he reported a "changing atmosphere between Israel and the Arab world. Today the emphasis is no longer that Israel will be thrown into the sea," he said. "There is, rather, a growing acceptance of the fact that Israel exists."

Following a luncheon that featured a lively exchange about the role of the news media in projecting Israel's image to the world with Thomas Friedman, Israeli bureau chief for The New York Times, and Ido Dissenchik, editor-in-chief of Ma'ariv, the delegation met with the Knesset Committee on Defense and Foreign Affairs. Abba Eban, chairman of the committee and a Labor Party leader, along with Dan Meridor of Likud and Yuval Ne'eman of Tehiya argued their parties' respective positions on the issue of the West Bank. Mr. Eban held that Israel must disengage itself from the Arab population of the West Bank and Gaza "in order to remain a Jewish state." Mr. Meridor and Dr. Ne'eman contended that Judea and Samaria were an integral and indivisible part of Israel and any territorial compromise would threaten the very survival of the nation.

Later that day, at a reception for the mission in his home, President Chaim Herzog expressed deep concern over what he called "the grave danger to the United States and to Israel posed by the racist doctrine enunciated by an individual who moved here from America" — an obvious reference to Knesset member Meir Kahane. The President declared: "Such beliefs negate Israeli democracy. It is difficult to understand support for such beliefs, which endanger security and



In the Knesset, left to right: Moshe Gilboa of Israel's Foreign Ministry, Kenneth J. Bialkin and Abba Eban.

the lives of Jews. How can we attack racism when the accusing finger can be pointed at us?"

The speakers that evening were Israel's Minister of Absorption, Yaacov Tsur, and the treasurer of the Jewish Agency, Akiva Levinsky. Both stressed the importance of *aliyah* from the West as well as from the Soviet Union and from North Yemen, Lebanon and Syria, where Jews were in danger. Mr. Levinsky conceded that Israel must improve its efforts to help new immigrants in practical terms, such as providing apartments and mortgages, "because what new immigrants find when they get here will determine in large part how many will follow."

### The Second Day

The second day of the mission opened with a breakfast meeting with Colonel Ephraim Sneh, head of Israel's civil administration in the West Bank, who reported that Palestinians under Israeli jurisdiction were actually becoming more moderate in their views and actions. Recent terrorist attacks - in Cyprus, Barcelona and on the Achille Lauro - had helped convince Palestinians living in Judea and Samaria understand that "terror is counterproductive to their aims," he said, noting: "These attacks have resulted in local Palestinians actually criticizing the PLO for the first time." Col. Sneh cautioned, however, that West Bank Palestinians, disappointed because Jordan had not been forthcoming in the peace process, were sinking into pessimism, despair and apathy that could readily be transformed into violence.

After the breakfast meeting, members of the mission visited Ariel, a Jewish settlement on the West Bank, where they received a delightful welcome from schoolchildren waving little paper flags of Israel and singing *Heveinu Shalom Aleichem*. Inside, the children and their teachers had prepared a charming program of Israeli songs for their American guests. On the bus back to the Jerusalem Hilton, more than one delegate expressed warm praise for what they described as "the continuity of pioneering tradition" represented by the settlers.

News reports of the visit drew criticism from Yossi

Sarid, a Citizens Right Movement member of the Knesset, who said the delegation's presence in Samaria "could only be interpreted as identification with settlers and settlements," and represented a "political statement." Chairman Bialkin defended the visit at a news conference the following day, asserting his conviction that "any Jew should have the right to settle anywhere in our biblical homeland, and any other Jew should have the right to visit him."

Before leaving for Ariel the Presidents Conferencce group had been briefed by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and General Ehud Barak, chief of Army Intelligence. Mr. Rabin stressed the fact that while Israel had been forced to cut its defense budget by \$650 million because of the economic crunch, the Arab nations had combined military budgets totalling \$29 billion. Gen. Barak had harsh words for the Arab arms build-up, especially by Syria. He reported that enlarged Syrian military forces were heavily equipped with the most modern Soviet tanks, aircraft, missilecarrying submarines and a variety of short- and longrange missiles.

General Moshe Levy, chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces, also discussed military affairs with the mission, pointing out that the redeployment of Syrian forces near the Golan Heights was causing grave concern in Israel. Gen. Levy also expressed his dismay at reductions in the defense budget, which he said endangered the country's future security.

At a dinner that evening, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir addressed the delegation. In discussing the stagnant peace process, Mr. Shamir stated: "We must not judge King Hussein by his statements to the media. The more we call on him to come to the peace table, the more he distances himself from us and allies himself with other Arab rulers." Mr. Shamir went on to note, however, that "the King is preventing direct attacks on us from Jordanian territory and is keeping a close watch on the PLO presence in his kingdom."

That night several hundred Jerusalemites joined the mission at a Presidents Conference-sponsored sym-



Visiting Ariel, Presidents Conference mission is greeted by flagwaving Israeli youngsters. Kenneth J. Bialkin leads the way, followed by Mayor Nachman Ron.



In Beit Hanassi, President Chaim Herzog greets Kenneth J. Bialkin.

posium on "Israel and American Jewry: Reciprocity and Responsibility." One participant - Moshe Arens, Minister Without Portfolio and former Ambassador to the U.S. - suggested that when differences arose between the American Jewish community and the Israeli community, the two should attempt to "meet halfway." But he argued that "when it's a matter of life and death for Israel and a matter of marginal interest for the U.S., you've got to defer to us because our necks are on the line." An American viewpoint was presented by Howard Squadron, a former chairman of the Presidents Conference, who contended that American Jews could not be expected to remain silent on issues of Israeli security and foreign policy at a time when they were often encouraged to intercede with the makers of U.S. public policy and public opinion in dealing with such issues.

Other participants in the lively discussion were Rabbi David Hartman, professor of philosophy at Hebrew University; Jacob Stein and Julius Berman, former chairmen of the Presidents Conference; Yehuda Ben-Meir, formerly Israel's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; David Sidorsky, professor of philosophy at Columbia University; and Simcha Dinitz, a member of the Knesset and former Ambassador to the U.S.

## The Third Day

The final day of the mission opened with a breakfast meeting with Teddy Kollek, the longtime Mayor of Jerusalem, who spoke in serious tones of the "increasing conflict over religious issues in the city, not between Jew and Arab but between Jew and Jew." Speaking about another issue confronting him — the strong opposition to the construction of a Mormon Center on Mount Scopus — Mr. Kollek commented: "The Mormons have been coming to Jerusalem for almost two decades, and there has never been a conversion." He also pointed out that there were more than 40 nonJewish organizations in Jerusalem and wondered aloud why anyone should be afraid of one more, especially since the Mormons had vowed not to proselytize. Several members of the Presidents Conference delegation took issue with the Mayor on the Mormon issue.

Officials playing key roles in Israel's belt-tightening program to strengthen its economy met with the mission on its final day. Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai, speaking of the austerity plan begun in the middle of the year, said at least 12 more months of sacrifice were needed to avoid a return to inflation. He expressed confidence that the Israeli people had the necessary courage and persistence. To reach the point of economic independence, which he thought could be achieved in five or six years, Minister Modai said Israel would have to "cut to the bone" — freezing prices, cutting salaries, reducing purchasing power, increasing exports while lowering imports and shifting workers from service occupations to industry.

Histadrut Secretary-General Israel Kessar said he was upset and worried by the high rate of unemployment (then 7 percent), even as he voiced general satisfaction with the "package deal" to rescue the economy. A different concern was articulated by Eli Hurvitz, president of the Israel Manufacturers Association, who stressed the need to deal simultaneously not only with inflation but also with Israel's budgetary and trade deficits.

Ariel Sharon, Minister of Industry and Trade, said his goal was to double Israel's exports. These now stood at \$6 billion a year, up from \$5.6 billion the previous year; he urged the delegates to spread the word back home that Israel was "a good place to do business."

The mission then enjoyed a change of pace by visiting Mevasseret Zion, the country's largest absorption



In Mevasseret Zion, newly-arrived Ethiopian youngsters greet the Conference mission. Standing between them: Julius Berman, former Presidents Conference chairman.

center, outside Jerusalem. There the delegates met with recent immigrants, many of them from Ethiopia, and exchanged gifts with a group of Ethiopian children. After accepting a gift from them in gratitude for American Jewish help, Julius Berman, immediate past chairman of the Presidents Conference, spoke for the group when he said: "We came here to be inspired, and indeed we were."

The final session of the mission was a panel discussion dealing with social issues facing Israel. In the opinion of Yitzhak Navon, Israel's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Culture, the widening schism between religious and non-religious Jews represented "the most serious element in the polarization of Israeli society." The Ashkenzi-Oriental gap was disappearing, he said, in part because of the 28 percent intermarriage rate between the two groups. Mr. Navon also spoke of Israel's Sephardim, such as the Moroccans, who he said tended to have large families in which many of the children drop out of school, become unemployable and get into trouble with the law. This situation, he said, was deteriorating, and carried with it a potential for violence.

Israel Katz, director of the Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, criticized the reduction in the country's social service budget as being self-destructive, and the cutback in education funds as a serious mistake, contending that it flew in the face of Israel's hope to become more reliant upon its own people. He noted that 40 percent of Israel's budget went to debt service, 21 percent to social services and another 20 percent to defense.

Another speaker was Meir Shitrit, mayor of the development town of Yavne, who spoke of the heavy concentration of poverty among Israel's Oriental-Sephardi population. Much of the blame, he said, could be attributed to the loss of "self-responsibility" resulting from Israel's welfare state system.

On the eve of their return home, the members of the mission attended a farewell reception given by Ambassador Pickering at his home in Herzlia. In a statement on behalf of the Presidents Conference mission, Mr. Bialkin said:

"We leave Jerusalem with a sense of heightened appreciation of the dedication of the Government and the people of Israel to peace, to friendship with the United States and to the continuing responsibility of returning to Zion all those Jews in the Soviet Union and other lands who seek desperately to reach these shores.

"As Americans, we are particularly gratified that the Government of Israel acted promptly and vigorously to underscore the policy of not engaging in espionage against the United States and to apologize for the regrettable violation of that policy that became publicly known only a few days before our arrival. We hope this unfortunate episode is now behind us, and that both countries will pursue their common interests in furthering democracy and freedom throughout the world.

"The commonality of those interests and values that has characterized the relationship of the United States and Israel in the past remains as strong as ever. We are confident that these ties will continue and grow.

"We return home strengthened in our commitment to the welfare of Israel and the unity of the Jewish people. The memories we take with us will serve as a continuing inspiration in our efforts to strengthen the bonds of friendship, of interest and of human aspiration that tie our own land, America, with the land of Israel."

## The Case of Kurt Waldheim

In the early spring of 1986, former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was a candidate in Austria's Presidential election when evidence linking him to Nazi war crimes was unearthed by the World Jewish Congress.

Documents made public by the WJC, as well as information provided by the Yugoslav and U.S. governments, revealed that the former U.N. official had lied about his wartime service with the German Army. As the weeks passed, more evidence came to light about Mr. Waldheim's involvement in the execution of Yugoslav partisans and the deportation to death camps of Greek Jews from Salonika.

Despite a stream of denials by Mr. Waldheim of complicity in the wartime events, the disclosures created an international furor and caused Israel to request the UN to turn over its War Crimes Commission files on the Austrian political leader to Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu; this request was granted.

In a letter to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Mr. Bialkin said the Presidents Conference was "gratified" that the documents would be made available to Israel. Later, as additional evidence regarding Mr. Waldheim's wartime role was discovered, the Conference urged Mr. Perez de Cuellar to make public all documents in the UN archives that would shed light on the charges.

Mr. Bialkin also wrote to Attorney General Edwin Meese urging the Department of Justice to place Mr. Waldheim on the "watch list" of persons barred from entering the United States. His letter stated: "There is no room in public life for concealment and deception by public figures, and any further delay in expressing our government's conclusions regarding Mr. Waldheim's activities during the war years and his efforts to conceal his true record would not seem warranted."

## Ambassador Netanyahu's Views

On May 15 Israel's Ambassador to the UN, Benjamin Netanyahu, in a briefing to the Presidents Conference, charged that the failure of the United Nations to make public its files on 25,500 persons charged with serious war crimes constituted "the greatest lapse in the 100-year history of international justice." There was no reason, Ambassador Netanyahu said, why the confidentiality of the archives must be protected.

"The files were turned over by the International War Crimes Commission when it completed its work late in 1948," he told the Conference. "Some bureaucrats at the UN then decided they must be kept from the public, with only governments having the right to see them — and even then, the governments that inspect the files must respect the rule of confidentiality. Neither the War Crimes Commission nor any of the World War II allies in the Commission ever suggested that access be barred to the public.

"This is an absurd situation, based on a 1949 internal UN memorandum that served to seal the vault on a huge dossier of war criminals. Israel is now demanding that the bureaucratic decision of more than a quarter-century ago be revoked and that the public, scholars, international organizations and bodies such as Yad Vashem be allowed full access to the files."

Ambassador Netanyahu disclosed that Yitzhak Arad, director of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, would meet with him and UN officials during the following week to discuss Israel's request to open the files and to seek further information on the 1,375 suspected war criminals whose files Israel had requested. "If the UN does not respond positively," he said, "I believe the damage to what is left of its credibility and prestige will be irreparable."

A week later, the Presidents Conference again wrote Attorney General Meese, again urging him to place Mr. Waldheim on the "watch list." Mr. Bialkin cited in his letter a 1948 UN War Crimes Commission report charging Waldheim with responsibility for the deaths of hostages held by the Nazis during World War II.

In Austria's run off election on June 8 — no candidate had received a majority in the first election on May 4 — Kurt Waldheim was the winner. The following day the Presidents Conference issued a statement asking Attorney General Meese to continue his investigation of Mr. Waldheim's Nazi record. The statement read:

"Austria's people, having chosen as their President a former Nazi who witnessed and reported on Nazi war crimes, and lied about it, must now accept the consequences of their lanentable decision. But there is no reason for our own country to discontinue its investigation of the charges against the newly-elected Austrian President. Indeed, it is more important than ever that the Attorney General determine, in accordance with all of the evidence available, what Mr. Waldheim did and what he knew."

One positive result of the Waldheim affair was an agreement by the UN to furnish Israel with a list of the 25,500 suspected Nazi war criminals in its archives and to provide the actual files on any on the list that Israel might request.

The agreement was disclosed by Israel's Justice Minister, Yitzhak Modai, at a meeting with the Presidents Conference on June 15. Mr. Modai reported that he had met with Mr. Perez de Cuellar "to end the 42 years of silence that surrounded the UN's files on Nazi war criminals." He said he had stressed to the Secretary General that Israel wanted the names made known "for the sake of the six million Jews slaughtered by the Nazis, not on behalf of Israel or of the Jewish people."

# YEHUDA HELLMAN

The Conference of Presidents suffered a tragic loss on May 17, 1986 with the sudden death of Yehuda Hellman, executive vice chairman of the Conference since its founding in 1959. Mr. Hellman, who was 66 years old, collapsed and died of a heart attack in St. Louis while addressing a meeting of the board of trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Two days later, at memorial services in New York, some 500 mourners heard a series of eulogies to the man who, in the words of one speaker, was the "foremost architect" of the Presidents Conference. The services were conducted by Rabbi Abraham Klausner of Yonkers, N.Y. Cantor Joseph Malovany of New York's Fifth Avenue Synagogue sang the *El Mole Rachamim*. Mr. Hellman is survived by his wife of 37 years, Aviva, a well-known novelist; a daughter, Dor-Lee Lebensart, of Jerusalem; a son, Jonathan, of Denver; and three grandchildren. Mr. Hellman was buried in the Mount of Olives cemetery in Jerusalem on May 22 after a funeral service at Jewish Agency headquarters in Israel's capital that was attended by hundreds. His son recited the *Kaddish*.

Yehuda Hellman was born in Riga, Latvia, the son of Jacob Hellman, one of the pre-eminent Zionist leaders of Europe. As a young man he went to Palestine, where he continued his education and became fluent in Hebrew. During World War II he attended the American University of Beirut, from which he graduated in 1945. During his years in Beirut, Mr. Hellman was once briefly jailed by militant Arabs who suspected he was a Zionist spy.

In 1946 he came to the United States, where he covered the United Nations as a newspaper correspondent and lectured widely until he helped Dr. Nahum Goldmann establish the Presidents Conference in 1959. During his 27 years of service with the organization, he worked closely with all 15 of its chairmen, beginning with Dr. Goldmann.

President Ronald Reagan, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and former Prime Minister Menachem Begin were among the dozens of government officials and Jewish leaders in America and Israel who paid tribute to Mr. Hellman.

Among those delivering eulogies at the memorial service in New York were Israel's UN Ambassador, Benjamin Netanyahu; Kenneth J. Bialkin, Presidents Conference chairman, and two former chairmen, Rabbis Israel Miller and Alexander Schindler; Richard Cohen, the spokesman for the Presidents Conference, who was Mr. Hellman's closest friend; and Mr. Hellman's son, Jonathan.

The Israeli consul general in New York, Moshe Yegar, read messages of condolence from Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "We will remember forever Yehuda's dedication, inspiration and Zionist zeal," Mr. Peres stated. A personal message to Mr. Hellman's wife, Aviva, was received from Mr. Begin, who expressed his "deep condolences" and said that Hellman had "devoted his life to the people of Israel and the security of its people."

Mr. Hellman's passing brought the business of the Presidents Conference to an abrupt halt, cancelling plans to meet with President Reagan in the White House. The President had reportedly planned to press Conference leaders to endorse his proposal to sell \$354 million in arms to Saudi Arabia. The proposed sale had been overwhelmingly rejected in both houses of Congress despite a decision by the Presidents Conference and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee not to fight the sale actively. The Administration had hoped to convince the Jewish leaders to encourage enough Senators to change their vote to sustain a Presidential veto. [The veto was ultimately sustained.]

At the memorial service Mr. Hellman was remembered as the leader who, more than any single figure, has been responsible for turning the Presidents Conference into an organization that speaks to the U.S. government and the world as the unified voice of organized American Jewry on issues relating to Israel and the Middle East.

Recalling that Yehuda Hellman has been "very selfeffacing," Mr. Bialkin said: "I don't think he realized the importance that others in the community attributed to what he accomplished. Yehuda was a unique and invaluable asset to the Jewish community. His depth of understanding and rich experience played a vital role in bringing the Conference to its present status as the pre-eminent voice of American Jewry on issues affecting the security and dignity of our fellow-Jews abroad."

Many speakers noted that in all his years with the Presidents Conference, Yehuda Hellman strove to give his chairmen the highest possible public profile, while he led the task of forging from among the diverse membership of the Presidents Conference the necessary American Jewish unity in dealing with a variety of Presidents and Administration officials.

"In years to come, Yehuda's role as the foremost architect of the Presidents Conference will be increasingly recognized," Richard Cohen said. "Yehuda was responsible for creating a marvelous vehicle that allowed us to speak to the leadership of America with one voice."

In a cable read at Mr. Hellman's funeral service in Jerusalem, President Reagan said the Presidents Conference "stands today as a monument to Yehuda Hellman's devotion to the Jewish people and to our American democracy."

At the funeral service in the courtyard of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, Yitzhak Shamir, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of Israel, was among those who delivered eulogies. Mr. Shamir expressed his "deep sorrow at Yehuda's passing," adding: "Yehuda Hellman dedicated his life and energy to the Jewish people and the State of Israel."

In a message read at the funeral, Chaim Herzog, Israel's President, called Mr. Hellman "the moving spirit" of the Presidents Conference, "with many achievements to his credit on behalf of Israel in the United States." Another message was received from Arye Dulzin, chairman of the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization. Other speakers included Dan Patir, former spokesman for Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Menachem Begin; Rabbi Richard Hirsch, a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency, and Dr. William Wexler, a former chairman of the Presidents Conference who now lives in Israel. In addition, scores of national Jewish organizations expressed their condolences.



## **PHOTO CREDITS**

Pages 2, 4, 11, 13, 15, 16, 27, 28 (top) - Alexander Archer

Page 3 - Wide World Photos

Page 5 - Yossi Melamed

Pages 7, 18 - David Karp

Page 28 - George Gardner (bottom left); Isaac Berez (bottom right)

Pages 31, 32, 33 - Courtesy, The Jewish Agency

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

American Israel Public Affairs Committee American Jewish Congress American Zionist Federation American Zionist Youth Foundation Amit Women Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith ARZA - Association of Reform Zionists of America B'nai B'rith B'nai B'rith Women Bnai Zion Central Conference of American Rabbis Council of Jewish Federations (observer) Emunah Women of America Hadassah Herut Zionists of America Jewish Labor Committee Jewish National Fund Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. IWB Labor Zionist Alliance Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Na'amat USA

National Committee for Labor Israel National Council of Jewish Women National Council of Young Israel National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods National Conference on Soviet Jewry National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council **Rabbinical Assembly** Rabbinical Council of America Union of American Hebrew Congregations Union of Councils for Soviet Jews Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America United Synagogue of America Women's American ORT Women's League for Conservative Judaism Women's League for Israel Workmen's Circle World Zionist Organization-American Section, Inc. Zionist Organization of America

This year, as in the past, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations enjoyed the cooperation, support and participation of all 40 of its constituent members. Without them the achievements recorded in this report would not have been possible. February 9, 1987 10 Shevat 5747

The Honorable Teddy Kollek Mayor of Jerusalem Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mayor Kollek:

Many thanks for your most gracious advance welcome to members of the Presidents' Conference mission to Israel. Alas, I shall not be able to join with this group for what I am certain will be a truly superb mission.

On my return from Israel some weeks back I had to head out to the West Coast and in a few days I will again be departing the U.S. for Jewish Agency and WZO Meetings in Israel. This is supposedly my "less frenetic" travel schedule. I had thought of joining the Conference Mission but received a most intriguing invitation to speak in Moscow...it had to be onroothene other and I have long been eager to travel to the USSR. I really could not say no to the invitation.

It is my fond hope our paths will cross a week or so hence when I am in Israel. It's always good to see you.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

ראש העיריה رئيس البلدية MAYOR OF JERUSALEM

> January 29, 1987 Tevet 28, 5747 Document 0499B

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Level & Cours fleer

I was pleased to learn that the Presidents Conference has chosen the topic, "The 20th Anniversary of the Reunification of Jerusalem," as the central theme for their forthcoming mission to Israel, and it gives me great pleasure to extend you a formal invitation to participate in the special events we have prepared for this occasion.

I look forward to welcoming you personally to Jerusalem, exploring the city together with you, sharing thoughts about what we have done and our plans for the future, and to hosting you at a special reception which will be held in your honor by the City of Jerusalem.

All of this, in addition to a full schedule of meetings with top government officials, leaders of Israeli society, highest level briefings and lively exchanges on vital issues.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely, Teddy Kollek



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January 21, 1987

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

Dear Alex:

I am so sorry that you are not going to be able to make the trip to Israel. I shall certainly miss you.

Meanwhile, I enclose a hand-written note sent yesterday to Cardinal O'Connor, which I hope creates a closure of the episode, except for the outstanding issue of recognition. That recognition has been highlighted, and I feel this is a gain.

All my best to you and Rhea.

Sincerely, Morris B. Abram

/vc

Enclosure

#### 1285 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS

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"NOT ADMITTED TO NEW YORK BAR. "CONSEIL JURIDIQUE IN FRANCE ONLY.

January Doth, 1987 your Eminence: Just a personal mate of thanks for your gracious reception of movel and my calleagues festerlay, and for the adlacation of much time to the descension I believe there has been a net gain from the trip and aftermath, particularly as issues have been edentified, clanfiel and where there are differences, these are hetter unders tool. One fact stands out and that is the misunderstanding generated in the Jeursk Community and elsewher as will, by the failure of the ratices to accord de jure verspintin of Draef, on this, your influence sourced with the curcumstance that theological positions no lorger ber this outcome, can be so helpful:

I know my calleagues were delighted with the outcame of yes tudap meeting and I lage that it will be only a way station towards a growing relationship, fruitfal to human concern at the jersonal and community tecros. with deep vergeet, I am Juncuely, Monul

January 5, 1987 4 Tevet 5747

Morris B. Abram, Esq. Presidents' Conference 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Morris:

Thank you for inviting me to serve on the planning committee for the upcoming Mission to Israel. Unfortunately, it will not be possible for me to attend the January 14 meeting as I will be on the West Coast.

I also want to let you know at this early date that it is unlikely I will be able to participate in the Mission this March. As you know, I was in Israel a few weeks back for the Agency meetings. I will be returning to Jerusalem in February for additional sessions of the WZO and the Agency and thus I cannot plan on a March trip on the heels of my critical meetings in February. I hope you understand why I cannot be with you in March and I do wish you all the best for a very meaningful and successful journey.

If you have a planning session at a time when I can attend, and if you feel my input will be helpful please do feel free to call upon me.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

## Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

December 31, 1986

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TO: PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE MISSION PLANNING COMMITTEE

FROM: MORRIS B. ABRAM

You are invited to serve on the planning committee for the Presidents Conference Mission to Israel. The first meeting will be on Wednesday, January 14th, 1987 at 9:00 am in the Penthouse at 515 Park Avenue, to discuss the draft program for the Mission in March of 1987. We will try to limit the number of meetings of the planning committee so we ask that you come prepared with specific suggestions and ideas.

We look forward to seeing you on January 14, 1987. Please call Susan Goldberg at 212-752-1616 and let us know if you will attend.



December 10, 1986 8 Kislev 5747

Mr. Harris Gilbert 14 Sandy Hill Road Westfield, NJo07090

Dear Harris:

I appreciate your having taken time from your family to attend the Sunday evenihggmeeting with the Deputy Minister of the Prime Minister's office. Edie shared with me your report, which was most helpful and I thank you very much. The information you shared it most helpful to me!

I'm glad you remained silent in the face of the posture of the ADL and Hadassah representatives! Oy.

With fonde regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

fearle yours

Harris Gilbert - re S nday meeting with Roni Milew, Deputy Minister of Prime Minister's office

Per Harris, a sort of half-meeting -came with a message and dodged all other questions beyond one line:

"At no time was Israel directly or Indirectly in touch with any money on the arms transfer--never -- American arms were sent in American planes to Ben Gurion where they were transferred to Israeli planes and then flown to Iran by American pilots, at no time was any money in Israeli hands."

## AMERICAN JEWISH

The meeting seemed to be in control of ADL and Hadassah reps and they seemed to have a better sense of history than others present.....but RM wasn't prepared to answer questions on anything, he dodged other than the above and it was noted that until September 85 U.S. arms -- from then to now....israeli stock....

Harris felt the underlying theme was:" we will be happy to lie for Israel but we want to know the truth." Certainly this from ADL and Hadassah....Harris had his person thoughts but remained silent...

He's going to Israel -- if anything you want him to do after you leave -- he gets there the next day, leave word.....

Ches Conf

Cequerio Abrees

CABLE

NOVEMBER 10, 1986

The HonorableGeorge Shultz Secretary of State Washington, D.C.

Rumors that you plan to resign are most disturbing. We are most admiring of you and have always had the utmost confidence in you. Recent events have not diminished our high regard one iota. Stay at work we need you.

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

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS PRESIDENT PRESIDENT B38 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

> October 2, 1986 28 Elul 5746

Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director <u>Conference of Presidents of Major American</u> Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Malcolm:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Ruth Popkin's letter objecting to the Hellman Fund. Since I am not the first best person to talk to Ruth, for a variety of reasons, I think that either you or Morris should write something along the following lines to Ruth:

"Dear Ruth:

"We have your letter of September 17 and, of course, we regret your decision even as we feel free to make the appeal that you reverse it.

"You are absolutely right that normally 'employee benefits should be worked out between the employing organization and the employee.' But in this case, the 'employing organizations' are in effect the memberorganizations of the Presidents Conference. Since the normal contributions of our organizations to the Conference of Presidents do not allow us to bear this added burden, we have no other choice but to turn to these organizations for a supplemental grant.

"Moreover, it must be noted that we, the 'employers,' did not pay Yehuda the salary which he deserved. He was dreadfully underpaid over the years, largely because he himself did not want to overburden the Conference budget. As a consequence, many debts accumulated which now have to be paid off which will dramatically reduce the pension benefit, especially once taxes are paid.

"These conditions are not likely to obtain in the future and accordingly, it is not at all likely that the continuing salary payments made to Mrs. Hellman 'set a very serious and dangerous precedent.'

"We understand your motivations and the earnestness of your concern, but in the light of what we know we , we plead with you and with Hadassah to go beyond the measure of the law to the realm where compassion abides. Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein Page -2-October 2, 1986

"You ought to know that most of our other organizations, knowing the facts as do now, have gone along with the request for a special grant."

These are just some rough ideas, Malcolm. You can phrase the letter in any way you decide and perhaps the letter should be followed up by a personal visit by someone. Again, as indicated, I am not really the right person, not that there was ever any personal animus between us but there has been in the past some friction between ARZA and Hadassah on an institutional level.

Of course, I will see Bernice Tanenbaum. Unfortunately, my present obligations did not give me an opportunity to do so as yet.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Morris Abram, Esq.

x.

October 2, 1986 28 Elul 5746

Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

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Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Morris Abram, Esq.

(212) 752-1616

## Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

Sept. 25, 1986

TO: ALEX SCHINDLER FROM: MALCOLM HOENLEIN

FYI



THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC.

50 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y.10019, (212)355-7900 Telex: HADASS 425191

September 17, 1986

Mr. Kenneth J. Bialkin Conference of President of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Ken:

Further to your letter to me concerning the plans for the Presidents Conference to make a one-time contribution of \$50,000 to Aviva Hellman as a death benefit, it was discussed by the Hadassah Executive Committee at its last meeting on September 11.

It was the unanimous opinion of the Executive that it would not be proper for Hadassah to participate in this effort, since it was felt that employee benefits should be worked out between the employing organization and the employee. The contribution to Mrs. Hellman sets a very serious and dangerous precedent. We, as an employer, seek to provide suitable and appropriate benefits to our employees. It is the wrong time when a death has occurred to try and establish benefits which did not exist under the regular terms of employment. This in no way reflects on our regard and esteem for Yehuda and his contribution to Jewish Organizations.

I am sorry that we cannot join you but I know you will understand our position.

Yours sincerely,

Ruth W. Popkin National President

cc: Mr. Morris Abram

הדסה

Founder Treasurer Henrietta Szold Deborah Kaplan President Secretary Ruth W. Popkin Rose Goldman

> **Recording Secretary** Naomi Gurin

Vice-Presidents Minam Driesman Mariorie G. Housen Carmela Kalmanson **Rosalie Schechter** Leah Silverstein

Honorary Vice-Presidents Judith Epstein Charlotte Jacobson Lola Kramarsky Frieda S. Lewis Rose E. Matzkin Lois Slott Dr. Minam Freund Rosenthal Rebecca Shulman Bernice S. Tannenbaum

Washington Representative Shirley Blumberg

> **Executive Director** Zmira Goodman

#### 345 PARK AVENUE

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 (212)
 644-8000

 TELECOPIER
 (212)
 644-8202

 RAPIFAX
 (212)
 355-0118

 TELEX WU 12-7831:
 WUI 666-843

 RANDOLPH E. PAUL
 (1946-1956)

 LOUIS S. WEISS
 (1927-1950)

 JOHN F. WHARTON
 (1927-1977)

ADRIAN W. DEWIND LLOYD K. GARRISON JAMES B. LEWIS MORDECAI ROCHLIN HOWARD A. SEITZ SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN JOHN C. TAYLOR, 3RD. COUNSEL

DOMINIQUE FARGUE\*\* SAMUEL MYERS EUROPEAN COUNSEL

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(212) 644-8654

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10154

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199. BOULEVARD SAINT GERMAIN 75007 PARIS, FRANCE TELEPHONE (33-1) 45 49.33.65 TELECOPIER (33-1) 42.22 64.38 TELEX 203178F

2008 TWO EXCHANGE SQUARE 8 CONNAUGHT PLACE, CENTRAL HONG KONG TELEPHONE (852) 5-220041 TELECOPIER (852) 123-4286 TELEX HX66208

September 23, 1986

MORRIS B. ABRAM NEALE M. ALBORT MARK H. ALCOTT DANIEL J. BELLER MARK A. BELNICK ALLAN BLUMSTEIN RICHARD S. BORISOFF JOHN F. BREGLIO DAVID C. BRODHEAD RICHARD J. BRONSTEIN JOSEFN E ELARY GEROME ALAN COHEN EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN JAMES M. DUBIN RICHARD A. ENGELMAN LESLIE GORDON FAGEN PETER L. FELCHER GEORGE P. FELLEMAN DERNARD FINKELSTEIN MITCHELL S. FISHMAN MAX GITTER RICHARD D. GOLDSTEIN BERNARD H. GREENE JAY GREENFIELD PETER R. HAJE ALBERT F. HAND SEYMOUR HERTZ JOSEFN S. ISEMAN ARTHUR KALISH LEWIS A. KAPLAN ARTHUR KALISH LEWIS A. KAPLAN STEVEN B. LANDERS ROBERT L. LAUFER WALTER F. LEINHARDT ARTHUR L JMAN MARTHUR L JMAN MARTHI LONDON BAYLESS MANNING JOHN F. MASSENGALE JOHN F. MCENROE COLLEEN MCMAHON ROBERT E. MONTGOMERY, JR. DONALD F. MOORE TOBYS. MYERSON PAUL J. NEWLON MATTHEW NIMETZ KEVIN J. OBRIEN LIONEL H. OLMER JOHN J. ONELL STUART LORAN MARC E. PERLMUTTER JAMES L. PURCELL LEGNARD V. GUIGLEY SIMON H. RIFKIND STUARY ROBINOWICHER STUARY ROBINOWICHER STUARY ROBINOWICS STULKEN B. ROSENFELD STEVEN B. ROSENFELD STEVEN B. SILVERS STEVEN SIMKIN ROBERT S. SMITH THEODORE C. SORENSEN GERALD D. STERN ALLEN L. THOMAS JUDITH R. THOYER JAY GORIS

\*MEMBER CONNECTICUT & DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BARS ONLY. \*\*CONSEIL JURIDIQUE IN FRANCE ONLY.

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

Dear Alex:

You certainly have had good success in raising money for the special Fund for Aviva Hellman -- but you followed the maxim of making your own pledge first and substantial, for which I thank you.

It was good to see you this morning.

Sincerely,

Abram

/vc

cc: Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein

## **Conference of Presidents** Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

May 23, 1986

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS TO: Rabbi Alexander Schindler; Charles Rothschild, Jr. FROM: Kenneth J. Bialkin Your share of expenses of the Presidents Conference for the period April 1, 1986 through March 31, 1987.....\$ 6,000.00 Pairl 6,000 AHC'2 Kindly remit. Sned are one wes. Where payments &

Will pay meno bill stating 7/

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

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

June 2, 1986 24 Iyar 5746

Morris B. Abram, Esq. 345 Park Avenue New York, NY 10154

Dear Morris:

) eng

Heartfelt congratulations on your impending election to the chair of the Presidents Conference. Your many gifts of heart and mind will enable you to add luster to the foremost place in American Jewish life.

<u>One word of caution</u>, do not allow yourself to be steam rolled into a quick decision on the director by choosing the most likely among those who happen to be available. A good deal of thought needs to be given to the choice and criteria established, e.g. the ability to create a communal consensus, Washington know how, etc. Israel perforce must be consulted. All this takes time and carethought.

An interim solution can readily be found to give you the time you need. Richard Cohen already works for the Conference and with slight inducement could supervise the New York operation. He is loyal and a workaholic. Hy Bookbinder, just retired from the AJC, could handle the Washington end for us and you know how well known and respected he is on both sides of the aisle. Few, if any doors are closed to him. The two of them could provide the needed strategic time bridge which you require for a more deliberative decision.

These are my thoughts. Morris, whatever way you shoose to go, you have my full hearted (oy) support. Mazal tov and thanks again for your note expressing yourcare and concern. The best always.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

MEMORANDUM

From

Edie

A 1

То

Copies

Subject

Date

6/2/86

No

wory

Alex is very concerned re candidate for Presidents' Conference directorship. He wants you to talk to Bernie Zlotowitz, Phil Hiat and Allen Kaplan -- and possibly David Mersky but I can tell you David berely knows the guy.

How did he do at NY CRC - etc. etc. -- Alex very concerned ... /.

124

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

och backwa

MEMORANDUM

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Date June 2, 1986

To Albert Vorspan; Rabbi Danieł B. Syme

Copies

From

Subject

I am still troubled about retention of Steve until September 1. Please check with Eric and Smitty before we do anything.

ve checked will both I that the whare simply putting n là Ur ply bus away the Un



Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 Alex is very concerned re candidate for Presidents' Conference directorship. He wants you to talk to Bernie Zlotowitz, Phil Hiat and Allen Kaplan -- and possibly David Mersky but I can tell you David berely knows the guy.

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Edie Al

6/2/86

## • • Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

KENNETH J. BIALKIN Chairman

May 20, 1986

TO: President and Executive Directors FROM: Kenneth J. Bialkin

This is to advise, as previously scheduled and announced, that we will hold the election of a new Chairman of the Presidents Conference on Monday, June 2, at 4:00 p.m. in the Penthouse at 515 Park Ave.

Please be sure that two authorized representatives of your organization are present to participate in the voting.

Please let us have the names of your delegates no later than Friday, May 30, so that appropriate security arrangements can be made.

### Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

Hold y work MP.

KENNETH J. BIALKIN Chairman

#### MEMORANDUM

TO: Conference Membership - Confidential - Not for Publication FROM: Kenneth J. Bialkin

RE: Meeting with Secretary of State George P. Shultz DATED: January 20, 1986

On January 15, 1986, Yehuda Hellman and I had a private meeting with the Secretary of State. We reviewed a range of current issues, including the U.S. policy regarding Libya, which we praised, U.S. Soviet relations, including Jewish emigration, the Jordan arms sale and other matters.

On the subject of terrorism we stated forcefully that while we totally supported U.S. policy regarding Libya, and the President's comments regarding the right to exercise self-defense against terrorist acts, we felt that the action against Libya is only the first step in a worldwide integrated effort to combat terrorism. I pointed out that unless efforts are made to cut off the funding and diplomatic support and recognition which the PLO presently obtains, any effort to resist terrorism would fail. I likened it to an effort to repair a punctured inner tube by patching only one of the punctures and not patching several of the other punctures in that tube; any effort to inflate the tube would necessarily fail. I pointed out our statement of December 29th on this subject which had been sent to him.

On Soviet Jewry we asked whether there was any basis for optimism regarding a change in attitude of the Soviets toward establishment of relations with Israel, Jewish emigration, or direct flights to Israel. The Secretary stated that, although he had seen press reports on these subjects, on the basis of his extensive contacts and inquiry, there was absolutely no basis for any optimism for expecting any change in Russian policies. He stated that while there might be a change in the offing, there is nothing from which to conclude that that is likely. On that basis we agreed that there we should be no change in our attitude toward the Soviets or in our policies until we see some change in theirs. I then brought up with him the question of the proposed termination of the present export restrictions on oil and gas equipment so far as sales to Russia are concerned. I told him that it was my view that permitting those restrictions to expire at this time would send the wrong message and that we should maintain the status quo as a signal that until the Russians show some change, we will not change. The Secretary indicated that he was aware of a difference of opinion on that subject, which I acknowledged except that I stated that I felt that the majority of our community

-2-

would support my request that no expiration be permitted at this time. He noted the comment but made no commitment.

Regarding arms sales to Jordan, he confirmed that the Administration still is in favor of such sales. When I pointed that the Syrian threat to Jordan seems be diminished as a result of recent diplomatic to initiatives, the Secretary commented that it might be that such a move by Hussein was a move of desperation out of weakness and reflected disappointment in the West. We both agreed that this is a subject we had discussed so often before that neither of us would repeat the many arguments on both sides of the question. The Secretary did, however, suggest that any legislative initiative being taken by the Congress to prevent arm sales to Jordan, which must be taken by March 1, if at all, be delayed as long as possible so as to permit the peace process to continue. He indicated that they wanted to give every opportunity for Hussein to come to the table and that early legislative action might discourage such an initiative (the Secretary was apparently referring to the new mission reported by Assistant Secretary, Richard Murphy, in his efforts to bring the same to the table). I indicated to the Secretary that we would be discussing this matter with our colleagues and that I could make no commitment in that regard.

Reverting to the terrorist issue, the Secretary was obviously unhappy at the response of our European

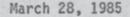
-3-

allies, particularly Mrs. Thatcher, and we agreed that we would discuss with our colleagues in the U.K. what might be done to encourage her to come off her position that economic sanctions are ineffective and that retaliation is contrary to international law. On the subject of international law, he indicated that he would be interested in more public support for the legal position taken by the State Department that retaliation against terrorists is lawful as a means of expressing self-defense. I told him we would pursue that issue.

KJB

KJB:ti

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Mr. Yehudah Hellman Conference of Presidents 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

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120.

Dear Yehudah:

Enclosed herewith is a UAHC check for \$120.00. This will cover reservations for Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler and Charles J. Rothschild, Jr. for the April 19 luncheon in honor of Ambassador Kirkpatrick.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller Assistant to the President Edith J. Miller

Fred Cohen

Per the enclosed mailgram please issue a check for \$120. to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. This will cover two reservations for the luncheon honoring US Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick on her retirement. Rabbi Schindler and Mr. Rothschild will attend for the UAHC.

Please let me have the check for traasmittal. .... soon as possible please.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS S GOLDB 515 PARK AVE NEW YORK NY 10022 18AM

4=0360298077 03/18/85 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYAB 2127521616 MGMB TDMT NEW YORK NY 173 03-18 0415P EST

RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER AND CHARLES ROTHSCHILD JR UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS 838 5 AVE NEW YORK NY 10021

PLEASE RESERVE THE DATE OF FRIDAY, APRIL 19 FOR A GALA LUNCHEON IN THE GRAND BALLROOM OF THE PIERRE AT WHICH THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS WILL HONOR JEANE KIRKPATRICK ON HER RETIREMENT AS AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS. WE KNOW YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES WILL WISH TO TAKE PART IN OUR TRIBUTE TO MRS KIRKPATRICK FOR HER DISTINGUISHED AND COURAGEOUS SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF OUR COUNTRY, ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES, AND WORLD PEACE.

Western Mailgram

EACH CONSTITUENT MEMBER ORGANIZATION IS ENTITLED TO SIX PLACES AT THE LUNCHEON AT \$60.00 EACH. BECAUSE WE EXPECT THERE WILL BE MANY REQUESTS FOR TICKETS, WE SUGGEST YOU SEND IN YOUR RESERVATIONS AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE BUT NOT LATER THAN APRIL 4 ACCOMPANIED BY/A CHECK IN PAYMENT FOR THE LUNCHEON.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AS WE EXPRESS OUR HIGH REGARD AND ADMIRATION FOR MRS KIRKPATRICK AND HER OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS.

KENNETH J. BIALKIN, CHAIRMAN CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS Em Mir ghave glig Coard With De

16:15 EST

MGMCOMP

Compose ale

December 17,1984

Edith J. Miller

Fred Cohen

Please let me have a check for \$20 payable to the Conference. Of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. This is the Union's contribution towards a gift for Julius Bernan, outgoing Chairman of the Conference.

Thanksyou.

## Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

December 12, 1984

TO: Presidents and Executive Directors

FROM:

Kenneth J. Bialkin and Yehuda Hellman

This is to confirm that the ceremony in honor of Julius Berman, our outgoing Chairman, will take place on Monday, December 17 at 10:30 a.m. in the Penthouse at 515 Park Avenue. May we suggest that you mail a check in the amount of \$20 made out to the Conference of Presidents, in order to help defray the cost of the award.

We would like to remind you that Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir will address the meeting following the ceremony. The meeting will last until 12:00 p.m.

# Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: CØJØGRA

MEMORANDUM

November 19, 1984

TO: Conference Membership

Confidential

FR: Kenneth J. Bialkin

This will serve as a brief report on various recent developments. The Conference has been quite busy in recent weeks. We have had meetings with Benjamin Netanyahu, the new Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations; Jean-Paul Elkann, President of the Consistoire of French Jewry; Israel Kessar, the Secretary-General of Histadrut; and Abba Eban, currently Chairman of the Knesset Committee on Defense and Foreign Affairs.

On November 8 a small group was the guest of Secretary Shultz for lunch at the Department of State in Washington. The meeting was held at our request and was part of the ongoing discussions which the Secretary has said he considers useful. Mr. Shultz was joined at the meeting by Peter Rodman, Deputy for Policy Planning; Al Raphael, Deputy to Assistant Secretary Murphy, who was in Syria; and Philip Wilcox, head of the Israel desk. Marshall Breger of the White House was also present.

We opened the meeting by congratulating the President and the Administration on the President's re-election and expressed our sincere wishes for the good health of the President and for success in his second term. We also told Secretary Shultz of our hope that he would continue as Secretary of State.

Regarding the Middle East, we urged that the basis for current policy be maintained -- namely, the realization that U.S. interests are best served by a close and friendly relationship with Israel, which is regarded as a friend and ally and a resource as well. We noted the unreliability of the "moderate" Arabs as partners and said we saw no need for the United States to seek out a mediating role in the peace process unless and until the Arab side was prepared to engage in face-to-face negotiations with Israel, which stands ready -- as always -- for such talks.

The Secretary stated that in his view it was necessary to maintain the momentum for peace. Like nature, diplomacy abhorred a vacuum. Unless efforts were made to advance the process, he felt, there might be some regression. Meanwhile, the U.S. and Israel were in close touch and the U.S. was keeping Israel fully informed on developments. He expected that this would continue.

Regarding the possible sale of U.S. arms to Arab states, Mr. Shultz reiterated the Administration view that the sale of arms to "our friends" in the region was an appropriate aspect of foreign policy. If this were not done, he said, Arab arms purchases would be made from other countries, possibly including the USSR. We responded by suggesting that in making any such sales the U.S. should avoid selling sophisticated lethal weapons that would create problems for Israel. We also noted that as increased arms were supplied to the Arabs, Israel's need to maintain its qualitative superiority would put a further heavy burden on its economy.

The Secretary noted that the United States was serving as a useful intermediary in current negotiations with Syria, with Israel's approval, and that U.S. diplomatic relations would likely be resumed with Iraq. He pointed to various hopeful signs in the region, noting that many Arab countries maintained positive relations with the United States despite the U.S. role in the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. He said it was significant that Jordan had recently renewed relations with Egypt.

Regarding the West Bank Secretary Shultz said that the U.S. was interested in improvements of the quality of life for Arabs living in the area. He expressed approval that Israel seemed to be moving in that direction.

We asked the Secretary for his reaction to the recently announced "package" adopted by Israel to solve its economic problems. Did he think it sufficient to provide assurance that U.S. aid would be forthcoming? The Secretary did not answer this question directly but the discussion that followed was revealing. He expressed the opinion that only Israel could solve its economic problems, particularly the problem of inflation. He pointed out that the shekel was no longer acceptable as a currency and said that Israel must deal with this problem directly. The U.S. was very sympathetic to Israel, he said, and will be there if it is needed. Secretary Shultz was particularly interested in programs for Israel's economic development and indicated that the U.S. would support such efforts, noting that a U.S. - Israel inter-governmental committee has been established and that this committee would be coordinating its efforts with the private sector as well. He also expressed the view that, despite its economic problems, Israel should not reduce its defense expenditures. He commented that the free trade zone recently approved by Congress and signed by the President, eliminating tariffs on U.S. - Israel trade, could be of great consequence in addressing Israel's economic problems.

In regard to terrorism, we congratulated Mr. Shultz for his recent speeches on that subject. We pointed out, however, that nothing had been said about Saudi Arabia and Libya as continuing sources of financing for world terrorism.

On U.S. foreign policy generally, the Secretary said current approaches would continue. Regarding U.S. relations with the Soviet Union, he believed a dialogue between the two countries would develop and, in that connection, the U.S. would continue to stress the issue of human rights. He also touched on matters concerning Central America and noted a general agreement that the U.S. should maintain its defenses at a very strong level.

The Secretary indicated that he was available to us and that he looked forward to our next meeting in the near future.



Gres Corf

August 6, 1984

Mr. Julius Berman Kay, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler 425 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Jullus:

When I returned from Israel I found your thoughtful note of July 13. There certainly was no need for you to thank any of us. It is we who are indebted to you for your fine leadership. You have every reason to be pleased and proud.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

KAYE, SCHOLER, FIERMAN, HAYS & HANDLER 425 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

July 13, 1984

Rabbi Alexander Schindler 6 River Lane Westport, CT 06880

Dear Alex:

I can't let my term as Chairman of the Presidents' Conference come to a close without expressing my personal gratitude and appreciation for your aid to, and confidence in, my stewardship.

Although it is still too early to make a meaningful assessment of our work over the past two years, whatever we were able to accomplish was due in large measure to leaders like you, who put your shoulders to the wheel and worked together to mold an appropriate consensus and permit the organized American Jewish Community to speak with one voice.

I trust our paths will cross in the future as we continue to work on behalf of our people. May we all go "from strength to strength."

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Julius Derman Julius Berman

JB/al

Rabbi Daniel B. Syme

Date Feb. 19, 1987

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From

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Mr. Al Vorspan, Mr. Arthur Grant

Copies

Subject

The meeting of Presidents of Large Congregations in Cincinnati made it abundantly clear that we will have to focus major programmatic and budgetary attention on synagogue management, even if that means diverting resources from other programs for a brief time.

MEMORANDUM

The fact that we will have to reexamine the MUM formula is frustrating, as it will involve time and effort on the part of many people whose energies could be used elsewhere. Still, there is no doubt in my mind that we must go through that process, simplify the MUM form, and come up with some way of verification of proper dues payment.

As far as synagogue management goes, there are a few major areas in which we must move with 'dispatch:

- 1. A Presidents' Newsletter.
- Provision for Movement wide property, liability and health insurance on a group basis.
- 3. The commissioning of different pieces of computer software that can be utilized in a temple setting. The group in St. Louis really did not care about the earnest attempts of the ADP Committee. They want a product, however modest, from the Union.
- 4. A new UAHC magazine on synagogue management, with substantive, professionally written articles on subjects relating to that constellation of difficulties which congregations are facing.

There is much more to discuss, but it's clear that the budget discussions this time around will involve the determination of those UAHC programs which may have to be "retired" in order to free dollars for a task which I believe is mandatory. The rumblings have been there for years. We saw the tangible results in St. Louis.

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

#### FOLLOW UP ON

#### LARGE CONGREGATIONS

#### CONFERENCE

### I. MUM

- A. Formula Review-Report at 1989 Biennial
- B. Strengthen compliance
- C. Simplify Form

#### II. SYNAGOGUE MANAGEMENT - DEPARTMENT

- A. Computer Software
- B. Liability, Health and Property Insurance

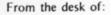
#### III. COMMUNICATIONS

- A. Presidents' Newsletter
- B. Yellow pages
- C. More manuals
- D. Visits from Regional Directors
- E. Orientations for new presidents

#### IV. REVIEW YELLOW BOOK

#### V. FREEZE NEW RABBI SALARIES

VI. STUDY CLOSING HUC CAMPUS





### RABBI DANIEL B. SYME

I thought the attached might be of interest to you. February 14, 1987

We Presidents of large UAHC congregations embrace and endorse the three major purposes of the UAHC:

- To do for all member congregations that which no one congregation can do alone.
- 2. To build a Reform Movement which embodies our ideas and philosophy.
- To enable us to take our place as a unified voice in the North American and world community of humankind.

At the same time, we feel the pain and frustration of rising budgets, inflation, insurance and other costs, which both threaten the continuity of our Temple programs and impair our ability to make our fair contribution to the Movement of which we wish to remain a vital part.

It is in that spirit of commitment and concern that we make the following recommendations to the UAHC Board of Trustees:

- That a new review of the MUM formula be undertaken, to determine a fair and equitable formula for dues, and a simplified submission form, with findings to be shared at the earliest possible time, but no later than the 1989 General Assemly.
- That a mechanism be established to assure equitable and verifiable compliance with both current and future formulas.
- 3. That Temple management be established as a major programmatic priority of the UAHC, adequately staffed and funded, with a charge of providing UAHC congregations with computer software, property, liability and health insurance programs, and other such national service as to enable temples to run more efficiently and in a businesslike manner.
- 4. That this conference of presidents meet on a regular, timely, and ongoing basis to review the program and budget of the UAHC, to offer input as to the

responsiveness of this program to our needs, and to serve as a think tank for both short and long term agendas as may properly come before us.

2.

5.

Finally, that a comprehensive review of the communications mechanisms of the UAHC be undertaken, so as to better educate and inform the constituency and render UAHC services more accessible and convenient.

We believe that these steps, once implemented will be good for us, healthy for the Movement, and above all assure our capacity to remain a creative impetus for Reform Judaism's growth and influence, now and in the future.



MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Daniel B. Syme

Date Feb. 23, 1987

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Mr. Charles J. Rothschild, Jr.

Copies

To

Subject

Marvin Novick called on Thursday to find out how things went in St. Louis. I briefed him fully on what transpired there. He has offerred to do whatever we want him to do in regard to the MUM recommendations of the group. He wants to be used, and I was somewhat relieved to hear that he was still available!



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# Congregation Shaare Emeth

11645 Ladue Road, St. Louis, Missouri 63141 • (314) 569-0010

February 17, 1987

AMS

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Charles Rothschild UAHC - Chairman of the Board 838 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10021

Dear Chuck,

Just wanted to drop you a note to share the positive feelings for this past weekend's conference for large congregations.

Throughout the weekend delegates and staff commented as to the health and candor of the sessions. I've enclosed a copy of my opening remarks in hopes you will be assured that our intent was and remains constructive and positive. Staff did participate as anticipated and their participation as opposed to their "presenting" was appreciated by all.

All but one recommendation passed unanimously. We are all anxious to receive and see responses to the recommendations. I am looking forward to the next conference in the fall.

B'Shalom,

ALICE DAVIS President

P.S. And I did indeed chuckle when I pressed Jack on his euphemistic description of me as one who keeps things stirred up. Feb. 14, 1987

Welcome! I am Alice Davis, Congregation Shaare Emeth. Jerry Brasch of United Hebrew Congregation and Lou Lobener of Temple Israel representing Merle Silverstein join me in applauding your commitment and courage to come to St. Louis in the dead of winter. (Merle got caught up in depositions in Phoenix)

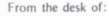
There are 58 of us here this weekend, 48 representing 29 congregations and 10 staff from UAHC , HUC and the CCAR. Our very presence is evidence that our concerns are serious and the presence of so many staff from the institutions which serve us is indeed evidence that they wish to serve us better.

All of us here received minutes from the conference in Cinncinnati last fall. Reading those minutes after this conference was convened served to affirm the necessity for such a meeting. The support of the Union in putting this together is much appreciated.

The purpose of this conference is to be positive and constructive in our efforts to more clearly indentify our difficulties with the areas on the agenda. Ladies and Gentlemen, these areas of concern pervade the minutes of the past 3 -4 meetings of this group. We are all leaders, it is time we shouldered our responsibility.

It was our intent when this meeting was called to engender constuctive and productive ideas that staff can take back to their institutions for consideration and action. And in addition that we conclude this conference with a resolution or two for presentation at the Biennial this fall in Chicago.

Everyone here should speak candidly - for without candor we place at risk the survival of our congregations and therefore our Union which in its constitution clearly states its purpose: to serve us.





### RABBI DANIEL B. SYME

I thought the attached might be of interest to you.

Temple Shaare Emeth FOUNDED 1867 11645 Ladue Road St. Louis. Missouri 63141

Office of the Rabbi JEFFREY B. STIFFMAN, PH.D.

February 18, 1987

Rabbi Daniel Syme UAHC 838 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10021

Dear Dan:

I heard by the grapevine that you were magnificent. I had a chance to speak with some of the presidents and some of my lay people--and they felt that the meeting ended up very, very positively.

I'm sorry that we didn't get more of a chance to talk--but please don't judge us by one leader.

Every Rabbi is entitled to problems and mistakes!

I hope that the next time you visit our medinah, it's for a happier and more pleasant purpose.

Incidentally, I just wanted you to know that the presentation that Alice made was not cleared with me or anybody on the Board. It was a personal statement.

Arlene joins me in sending our best.

Cordially,

JEFFFEY B. STIFFMAN

JBS/gs

The Congregation Emanu-El Arguello Boulevard and Lake Street San Francisco 94118

(415) 751-2535

February 17, 1987

Rabbi Daniel Syme, Vice President Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838-5th Avenue New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Syme,

The meeting of Large Congregation Presidents was an excellent forum for discussion. Hopefully, the resolutions passed by the group will bring meaningful action. Believe us, there is great concern.

In response to the request for a list of items of particular interest to our Congregation I list the following in order of importance:

1. Consideration of the MUM dues reduction.

2. Establishment of group insurance plan for Congregations in the areas of Property, Casualty, Liability, Director's and Officers Liability, Life Insurance for Senior Staff.

Thank you for your part in making our gathering so successful.

Sincerely yours, wheyman

Walter S. Newman President

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