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WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

NEW MEMBER INSTITUTE
Lansdowne Conference Center
Leesburg, Virginia
July 23, 1992

MAJOR GOALS FOR THE CENTURY AHEAD

by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

Dear friends, colleagues, guests,

I come to you today, with a call to arms, to put before you what I conceive to be the major goals for the century ahead, knowing that you have the necessary time left in your lives to take giant steps toward the achievement of these goals.

Most of you, the students in this program, are third generation born in this country, and many are even fourth generation. You have the double blessing and advantage of a secure rootedness in your American identity, plus the strength of your Jewish identity created through exposure to Israel, the Holocaust, your education in Judaism, and your work in the community. Your grandparents struggled through their immigrant experience here, speaking and thinking with the accents of Eastern Europe, while modernizing their religious habits, and

gradually lessening their fears of the Gentile. Your parents, breathing a bit easier, could look beyond their immediate personal needs, and build the institutions of a Jewish polity - the synagogues, centers, federations and all others, while pouring major support into the Zionist state, which was their emotional response to the monstrous genocide in Europe.

Now your turn has come, and you are the first generation truly capable of peering into the century ahead, with no overburdening challenges from the past, no psychological insecurities, no fear of your minority status in this country, no crushing unfinished agenda. You are the sons and daughters of a proud heritage, with 3 1/2 centuries of unbroken existence on this continent and 3 1/2 millennia of continuity before that. Your mission to improve the world for the benefit of all humanity must always include the improvement of your own people as well.

Here are the major tasks of the century ahead, as I see them, gathered under three rubrics of peoplehood, nationhood and religion.

I. PEOPLEHOOD

A. Reverse the course of the headlong rush toward self-destruction among American Jewry, and to a lesser extent also, among other Jewries in the western world. The very

permissiveness of the freedom we so cherish in the U.S., compounded by indifference toward Judaism and assimilation into the majority secular culture, both of which tendencies stem from almost total ignorance of the history, literature, language, philosophy and religion of the Jewish people, have resulted in a sky-rocketing rate of intermarriage that is moving with the speed of locusts sweeping across a field and destroying everything in their path.

Have you heard of any remedies? Parents submit, sometimes heavy-heartedly, but no longer sit shiva, as though their child had died. Other parents even go so far as to put pressure on the rabbi to perform the intermarriage ceremony because they want at least that touch of Jewish authenticity, and most rabbis, including Reform don't want to do it. Still other parents demand that their rabbi co-officiate with a Christian clergyman. And all of this is accompanied by the plea that the Jewish partner be not further driven away as a result of rabbinical rejection. It is a terrifying dilemma for most rabbis.

The only remedial suggestion for adults who do intermarry is for the Jewish community to develop a clear policy regarding conversion, including that of new-born children. A vigorous outreach policy must be practiced in synagogues and all other communal institutions, welcoming the converts and their children. Synagogue membership must be graciously offered to converts, or

even to non-converted spouses who themselves do not wish to offend their original families by an act of conversion, but who are perfectly willing to have their children brought up and educated as Jews. Converts should be counted as full members of a minyan, called to the Torah for aliyot, bless the candles from the pulpit on a Friday evening.

All the above refers to adults who have taken the plunge, and intermarried. Preventive work must begin much earlier, when Jewish children are in their teens, in high school and most particularly during the college years. Great skill and ingenuity must be invested in Bar and Bat mitzvah classes, confirmation classes, summer camps and youth groups to explain the value of preserving the Jewish heritage and not destroying it by reckless behavior. We inoculate our children with various serums to protect them against deadly diseases. A run-away epidemic of intermarriage is a deadly disease.

The college campus is a desert barren of widespread or significant Jewish influence. With the exception of the work being done by a small number of charismatic rabbis (and even these are seriously under-funded) there is almost no programming widely attracting the almost half million Jewish college youth presently enrolled on American campuses. How shocking! The B'nai B'rith Hillel system exists in name, but that's about all. The once-powerful organization has increased in age and decreased

in virility. A new Hillel organization is sprouting. It needs volunteer leaders. The UJA and the organized Jewish Federations of America must nourish and fertilize the campuses of America. The CJF is now planning to address the problem. There is no domestic program more important. A radical approach is necessary. All of you must get involved in it.

Student activists themselves have been crying for attention for almost 25 years. As far back as 1969 at the General Assembly of the CJF in Boston, student leaders sought a hearing for their message that they were being neglected and warned that their abandonment by the establishment would result in dire consequences. Their prophecy was correct, for one of the factors leading to the tidal wave of intermarriage today has been the lack of a large-scale effort to create a strong sense of Jewish identity and loyalty among that most impressionable age group revolving through the campuses of America.

In 1989, at the GA in Cincinnati, twenty years later, the student leaders were still demanding the right to address the plenary session. It was granted. Their spokesman pleaded eloquently for financial and moral support. His battle-cry was "Let our people go...to Israel on student programs", and he announced the formation of the Student Struggle for North American Jewry, to fight assimilation on the campus. Theirs was

a take-off on the Student struggle for soviet Jewry, which was so effective.

What has been the result of all this knocking on the doors of the adult community? In the words of Josef Abramowitz, the now aging student leader, "We felt we had scored a major victory. Yet looking back on it, what did Jewish students really gain besides a platform for ten minutes? communal leaders didn't change the order of allocations; they didn't invite us to sit on their boards."

The Baltimore Jewish Times, a fine weekly newspaper, reporting on the GA held in Baltimore a few months ago, ended its article quoting Abramowitz: "The words are as applicable today as they were in Boston in 1969. The difference is that in Baltimore in 1991 there are fewer of us left to repeat them. And next year there will be even fewer."

And you, in this audience, exactly the parents most involved, both for the future of your children and the entire Jewish population, must interject your concern in a powerful manner to the federation hierarchy in your town.

Forget about the argument, sometimes offered, that even where there is a Hillel House, most kids don't go there. Creative programming will reach widely. Don't think

conventionally. Invent new ways to get their attention. This college age population is close to marriage. This is exactly the right time to give deep thought and innovation to the whole question of investing serious money and organization in the struggle against assimilation among the college population. The abandonment of Jewish students must cease.

Working backward, from adults to young adult college students, to teenagers, we come down to the elementary school and here there is no need to elaborate. All the research shows that a parochial school education provides the first and most effective foundation for a strong Jewish identity. In addition, a knowledge base is built into the child's memory which lasts well up into young adulthood. There is simply no comparison between a Day School education and a 1, 2, or 3-day supplementary few hours, both as to content and mood.

There are two arguments often given by parents against sending their children to day school, even after admitting that a much stronger Jewish consciousness will be developed: one is the expense (several thousand dollars per year, per child - and what if you have three kids?) and the second is the mediocre quality of many Day Schools. These arguments are valid and must be countered by equally valid solutions. Firstly, Day School tuition must be completely free for those who cannot afford it, and minimal (a few hundred dollars per family) for everyone else.

The community must fund its school system - and this takes serious attention to careful planning and new ideas. And secondly, the Jewish Day Schools in your towns must be as good as the best Country Day School, whether private or church-based. That should be your model - a lovely grassy campus, plenty of athletic fields, highest level of secular studies so the graduates can gain admission to the finest universities in the land, and full integration of the Jewish and secular subjects (French at 8 a.m., Hebrew at 9, Math at 10, Bible at 11, etc.). This school must include pre-K to 12, carefully divided into lower, middle and upper divisions.

All the above dealt with reversing the course of assimilation in the United States. Additional thoughts about peoplehood take us abroad.

B. Provide an infrastructure for the Jews who will remain in the former Soviet Republics, whose sense of Jewish consciousness was awakened in 1967, whose activists started a flood of emigration, a half-million of whom have already left, from 1971 till today, mainly for Israel, and some to the U.S., with more than that number still to come, but whose residual population in the ex-Soviet Union will be sizable. This population is now alert to its Jewish identity. Do we leave them alone, or do we help them develop organized communities with all the necessities? This multitude of Jews will either be drawn in

to a Jewish life - if there is an interesting, functioning group of cultural, social, religious and educational foci to attract them; or they will drift away after a time and lose their sense of uniqueness as quickly as they gained it. There is no doubt as to what our response must be. It may take a quarter century, but it is a miraculous opportunity to strengthen the global Jewish peoplehood. If 2000 communities were destroyed in the Shoah, perhaps we can build 200 new ones in the former Soviet Union which never existed before. It will be one of the glories of your generation, a piece of the American Golden Age if you take this on and succeed.

C. Assist French Jewry, nearly three-quarters of a million, the fourth largest in the world, to turn itself into a modern, organized, Jewish community, pro-Israel and linked to the rest of the Jewish world. French Jewry is layered. Its cross section would show an ancient element, hundred of years in residence, thoroughly cross-pollinated with Catholic spouses. By now this group is not large in number, but still very large in influence. Many of the older and most prestigious institutions, such as the Consistoire, are still dominated by this ancien regime. The second layer consists of East European Jews who migrated to France between the two world wars in this 20th century, bringing with them a strong tradition and a Zionist orientation. They are to be found today in the ranks of the Israel-oriented organizations. The third layer is Northern

African, largely Moroccan and Algerian Jews, who arrived in France in the late 1950's and 60's. They are still adjusting, many still struggling toward financial security. Some of their leaders are working toward a relationship with the earlier layer of Ashkenazim, and a very few are even challenging the Rothschilds for top leadership positions.

American Jewish communal leadership knows almost nothing about French Jewry. Study missions do not often go there - the French do not come here to learn our experience. Aside from the JDC, which has worked productively in France for a half-century, some few American organizations maintain skeleton staffs which report back to New York, but do not influence the character of or stimulate the growth of French communal life.

Without being officious or paternalistic the American Jewish polity has much to offer and should take the initiative, in the most tactful way, of developing a master plan, together with French leaders, for defining the areas in which we can be helpful.

II. NATIONHOOD

Support of Israel in every imaginable form, has been one of the laudable achievements of the American Jewish community, or at

least the 25% who really care and work at it. The support has welled-up from a deeply-felt love of the land and has requested nothing in return. The basic fact is that Israel, through its extraordinary performance in providing homes for millions of immigrants, while defending itself in six wars, achieving self-sufficiency in food and starting an amazing high-tech industrial potentiality, has provided a huge measure of pride to every Jew in the world. There could be no greater return than this.

Here are some things which the new government will address, in which we can assist:

1. Concentrate on the present and future absorption of the Russians into Israel, which may well take a decade. If the Israel government and we fail in the absorption task, thus deterring further immigration from the ex-Soviet Union, history will charge it and us with criminal liability.
2. Develop a free-market economy, through encouraging investments which will create jobs. This will cause a steady rise in the GNP and GDP, which in turn will raise the standard of living.
3. Encourage the government to hasten privatization. Selling the huge assets it possesses will provide a large cash infusion, plus continuous, additional tax revenue. More importantly, such

a move will swing the economy toward a capitalistic free market, which will unleash the forces needed for real growth.

4. Find ways to dissociate religion from politics; emphasize the necessity for religious pluralism, otherwise the heavy-handed monopoly of right-wing Orthodoxy will continue to alienate the majority of Israelis and Diaspora Jews alike; and most importantly, try to establish religion as an ethical force in society, just as the Biblical prophets pleaded millennia ago.

5. Reform the Electoral System

There are many proposals for reform. Let me not go into the details. The basic principle I wish to put before you is that making the government more responsive to the will of the people is a task in which we have an interest, and we should devise a process by which our input is made known.

6. Making the Country more Attractive

Diaspora Jewry - is the challenge of the 21st century. Now is the time to look ahead to the mass of Jews in the free west and they must be attracted to come. They will not be pushed to Israel by troubles in their home countries. They will be pulled to Israel if the conditions are right.

No one is dissatisfied with Israeli political democracy - it is marvelous in so many respects: free speech, assembly and press

-even in time of frequent war; a functioning court system, with immediate access to the Supreme Court itself, without going through a labyrinth of lower courts; a social welfare system for the weak, handicapped, unemployed. The countries of the second and third worlds don't come close even in their dreams to the freedom and social security which every Israeli takes for granted.

But for the potential pool of western olim, additional factors go into the definition of "attractive": the economy must be decentralized; free competition must provide annual growth sufficient to handle the increase of population; parliamentarians must be responsible to the district which elects them; the government must reform those systems which have led to its paralysis; and there must be civil marriage and divorce.

To make Israel more attractive economically, politically and socially should be one of the major objectives of our American Jewish community in the next quarter century - and the fact is that Israel herself will probably do most of the hard work toward that objective. We may only have to help with the cosmetics.

III. RELIGION

As a result of the Enlightenment and Emancipation which

began two centuries ago, the two millennial grip which Judaism held on the Jewish people has lessened. During the 19th century, rapid changes especially in the natural sciences, created intellectual turmoil, social confusion and an unaccustomed permissiveness, as Jews reached out to the cultures and opportunities now opening to them. New organizational forms of the ancient religion resulted. The modern denominations of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative, in that order, were born. Other turbulent forces included the new scientific research into Judaism, the new Zionist movement and the huge waves of migrations to America which depleted the Central and Eastern European heartland. All these convulsive changes altered previous mind-sets and patterns of ritual practice and synagogue attendance. In the hectic pursuit of a new, free life, with its thrust toward material advancement old habits of religious observance suffered. Within two generations, the hold of the Jewish religion on a great portion of the Jewish people weakened.

Then came the 20th century with its two catastrophic World Wars and the utterly inconceivable Shoah. This shook the faith of many who felt that God today had permitted the slaughter of even more millions of human beings than that God had drowned in the Biblical flood. The thought began to grow that if mankind was evil, so might God also be evil - or dead - or never existent in the first place - or not all-powerful. A limited God became a most credible modern theological possibility, if one wished to

avoid the ultimate rejection called atheism.

Thus - with weakened observance and diminished belief in God's power and presence - modern Jews have diminished their relationship to their religion. Synagogue membership remains high, for a variety of reasons, but is largely a dues-paying membership not a vigorously active one. There is a danger here. For religion was always one of the defining factors of our existence as a people. And if religion disappears from the daily life of Jews, the continuity of the peoplehood may be jeopardized. Instead of being allowed to wither and fossilize, religion must be revitalized, reinvigorated as a factor and force in our communal existence.

This represents a tremendous challenge. Your generation will have to do it. Take part in the governance of the rabbinical seminaries: influence the selection of candidates for the rabbinate as the Wexner Foundation is doing; help shape the curriculum so that the rabbis will better understand the laymen and the total communal structure. Take a creative role in changing the synagogue, so that it becomes an educational center instead of merely a praying and preaching place. This goal is not easy to accomplish, but its difficulty should not deter you from accepting the challenge. If you do not take part in this metamorphosis, I do not know who will.

And so we come to the end of this huge agenda regarding peoplehood, nationhood and religion which I have placed before you. It is so seminal, so determinative of the future of our faith and fellowship, so absolutely crucial, that you have the right to cry out and ask why I place such a burden upon you. The answer is quite simple. You were, are and will always remain a specially chosen group of men and women who accepted the proud designation of leadership. Such a title connotes obligations. You were selected to assume the highest order of duty and service and performance on behalf of your people, nation and faith.

I understand well that there are peaks and troughs in your ability to serve, your enthusiasm, your understanding of the complex issues at stake. And I understand that as the years roll on, there is bound to be some flagging, some lessening of tension, some boredom in the ranks even of leaders. But when all the challenges coalesce into one defining moment of history which is a clear crossroads toward success or failure, then all excuses must be put aside, and once again the fire bell clangs and you - the firepersons - must respond.

This is such a moment. The future shape of Israel hangs in the balance - she either becomes a model of the great and glorious society which the Biblical prophets envisioned, or she becomes just another small state offering no particular inspiration for its own citizens or mankind. The future of

millions of Russian Jews is at stake - they either are redeemed and successfully absorbed into the body politic of the renewed Jewish people, which rescues them personally and strengthens our whole people immeasurably, or they will drift back into the anonymous mass of the ex-Soviet republics and may be lost forever. And the future of our religion is at stake - it either assumes its place once again as a source of inspiration toward the making of a better world, or it withers away into the discard and we Jews will be left without a vision to guide us and an engine to drive us.

Create new instruments to deal with these goals. You will need to study the basic problems and determine courses of action:

1. A task force to create a superior parochial high school in your town.
2. A task force to create creative teen-age and young adult programs in your town.
3. A task force to create an inspiring center for Jewish life on the college campus in your town.

These three youth-oriented programs are part of the bulwark against the rampant raging force of intermarriage, which is overwhelming us.

Also:

4. A task force to re-invigorate and re-orient the synagogue as a source of adult education, for Jews by birth and Jews by conversion, in which area we must work much more vigorously.
5. A task force on creating a communal infrastructure for ex-Soviet Jews who will remain in the Commonwealth of Independent States.
6. A task force on strengthening French Jewry, which is terra incognita, since we know very little about it, and it is the fourth largest member of our family.
7. Lastly, and most precious of all, a task force on how to impact the future of Israel, that precious vessel. Challenge your elders, make revolutions, take over the authority. So long as these goals I lay before you are the worthy causes to which you pledge your lives, your honor and your fortune, they transcend all bureaucratic obstacles, they validate your impatience, they justify any revolution you wish to make in order to advance toward their fulfillment.

551 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022
212 355 6115
Fax 212 751 3739

Huntington Center Suite 3710
41 South High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614 464 2772

April 27, 1992

Attention: Consul-General Uri Savir

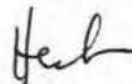
Dear Uri:

We wish to invite Ambassador Shoval to address the new members of The Wexner Heritage Foundation Seminar at dinner on July 22 at the Landsdowne Conference Center, which is near Dulles Airport outside Washington. The Ambassador is free to speak on whatever he thinks is of fundamental significance at that date.

We bring together 121 members plus their wives for a 5-day Institute on Basic Judaism, of which Israel is a most important component. The audience, all New Yorkers, is of the highest calibre - carefully selected, individually chosen. Among them will be some who will rise to become the very top leaders of the New York Jewish community. Average age: 40. Average number of degrees: 2. Orthodox 25%; remainder conservative and reform.

I don't know Ambassador Shoval personally, nor does Mr. Wexner. Can you discuss it with him? I don't want to send him a formal letter of invitation without his knowing who we are. Please advise best course of action.

Best regards,



Herbert A. Friedman

HAF/jf

P.S. If you were not leaving in June, this invitation would be addressed to you..

19. I. 92

Dear Ambassador Shovel-

May I express appreciation and thanks for your swift and agreeable response to our invitation. My assistant will establish the details with your aide-de-camp.

I thought it might be helpful to provide the enclosed document which describes the purpose and structure of our work. We are a very quiet program, preferring no publicity. Since we need not raise funds in order to function, nor do we seek applicants, we are pleased to maintain a low profile. Thus, most people have never heard of us.

It can be said, without boastfulness, that we are conducting the most intensive adult education system for the most carefully selected student body now existent in this country.

Thank you once more for accepting. We can speak once more regarding your choice of topic.

Sincerely,
Herbert Friedman

THE WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION WORKSHOP ASSIGNMENTS FOR

Ethical Wills

Thursday, July 23 - 5:15 - 6:45 PM

Rabbi Irwin Kula (Shenandoah)

Aaron, Andrea
Aschheim, Debbie
Belfer, Ben
Belfer, Michelle
Bressman, Amy B.
Corwin, Paul
Edell, Marsha
Edell, David
Friedman, David
Gontownik, Jerry
Harris, Carrie
Janvey, Rae
Kloch, Barbara
Linhart, Richard
Michel, Amy Goldberg
Pollack, Hugh
Schwartz, Jodi
Slifka, Virginia
Tsesarsky, Mark
Weiss, Robert A.

Rabbi Reuven Kimelman (Ballroom D)

Aaron, Andy
Aspis, Harold
Aspis, Sharon
Belzberg, Lisa
Brown, Robyn
Dicker, Shira
Esses, Barbara
Fuksman, Igor
Fuksman, Larisa
Goldman, Ari
Greenberg, Alex
Hauser, Mark
Hauser, Karen
Jesselson, Linda
Jesselson, Michael
Koppel, Steve
Maier, Bruce
Mitchell, David
Rose, Robert
Rose, Yvette
Schwarz, Jeffrey
Stern, Jeffrey
Stern, Susan
Wang, Dale
Wang, Peter
Zimet, Barbara
Zimet, Bob

Rabbi Ramie Arian (Kettering)

Adler, Karen
Astrow, Alan
Bernheim, Antonie
Chinn, Geoffrey
Diker, Valerie
Fadem, Steve
Galperin, Mikhail
Grossman, Marilyn
Grossman, Zev
Henner, Judith
Henner, Lester
Joseph, Lynn S.
Kranzler, Eli
Mann, Beth
Nash, Joshua
Nathanson, Jill
Rubin, Howard
Rubin, Nan
Shames, Katie
Shames, Michael
Swidler, Michael
Weiner, Ronald G.
Weiner, Vicki M.
Zahler, Eric
Zahler, Karen

Dr. Deborah Lipstadt (Boardroom)

Alexander, Nina
Alexander, Richard
Barest, Bonnie
Besdin, Daniel
Besdin, Fran
Cohen, Eta Gershen
Cohen, Steve B.
Dorkin, Allen
Dorkin, Madeleine
Feinberg, Lori A.
Gantz, Kim
Haberman, Seth
Heyman, Ronnie
Kasle, Annette
Levenfus, Gloria
Levenfus, Mark
Markowitz, Ellen
Nathan, David
Scher, Deborah Lafer
Scher, Howard
Shay, Scott
Shay, Susan
Temel, Charlie
Weinstein, Sarah

Rabbi Benjamin Blech (Rappahannock)

Alon, Michael
Baumgarten, Roberta
Bloch, Deboarh
Bloch, Fred
Cohen, Mark S.
Cohen, Roberta Weinstein
Douek, B.J.
Douek, Bunny
Fertig, Aaron
Fertig, Eileen
Gelles, Carol
Gelles, Steve
Halbfinger, Marty
Himmelfarb, Stuart
Kaufman, Martin
Kaufman, Shelley
Levin, Neil
Merkin, Lauren Korngold
Ostrow, Beth
Schuchman, Salem
Siegel, Seth

Dr. Ronald Brauner (Sarnoff)

Arnold, David
Becher, Michael
Becher, Ronnie
Boiarsky, Bob
Colvin, Geoffrey
Dweck, Jack B.
Dweck, Shari Koslowe
Fragin, Patrice
Golub, Ben
Hammerman, Caren
Hammerman, Hillel
Hirsch, David
Kekst, Carol
Lieberman, Mark
Merson, Vladimir
Plum, Bernie
Schulman, Robert A.
Shmuelovich, Svetlana
Sion, Gilles
Terlitsky, Leonard
Trachtenberg, Debra Richman
Wolff, John
Worenklein, Jay

Intro of Les Wexner

7/21/92

Extending man - interests ranging all over
the intellectual panorama

Largest retail women's apparel org. in the world
7 b. in sales - 85,000 employees - 4800 stores

But this is not the real measure of the man
He's only on one business band
Quiet, thoughtful, analytical, shy

Local - big gifts made in his house at times
United Way
Hill at OSU; Children's Hosp

National - Whitney Museum
Aspen Institute
Smithsonian Institute
Holocaust Museum in Washington

International - Israel is at core of his belief

Topics you suggested to Ambassador Shoval for his speech.

1. Repairing of Israel-U.S. relationship.
2. Possibilities for economic growth.
3. Integration of the Russian immigrant mass into the Israeli body politic.



ZALMAN SHOVAL

The Ambassador of Israel

Ambassador Shoval was born in 1930.

He served in the Foreign Ministry from 1955 to 1957, when he left government service and went into banking.

Since the late fifties, he has been active in the economic life of Israel, mainly in banking, finance and industry -- as well as in political and public affairs.

After his education in Tel Aviv, Mr. Shoval came to the United States for his undergraduate studies, obtaining a Bachelor's Degree in International Relations from the University of California at Berkeley. He then attended the Graduate Institute of International Studies at the University of Geneva in Switzerland, obtaining an advanced degree in Political Science and International Relations.

He was a member of the Knesset from 1970-1981, representing the independent RAFI party, set up by the late David Ben-Gurion, and was again elected in 1988 to the 12th Knesset on the LIKUD (RAFI-OMETZ) list, serving as a member of the Knesset Foreign and Security Affairs Committee and Economics Committee.

Mr. Shoval together with a number of friends, in 1977 founded the "Moshe Dayan Public Forum for Political and Social Questions", a non-partisan public affairs society.

In 1977 he served as a member of Israel's delegation to the U.N. General Assembly, and 3 years later represented the Knesset at the annual meeting of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. He also participated in several Knesset delegations abroad.

In April 1978, the late Moshe Dayan, then foreign minister, recalled Mr. Shoval to the foreign ministry, appointing him as Head of Israel's Foreign Information Activities -- a post in which he served until after the Camp David Conference and the signing of the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty.

Mr. Shoval holds the rank of Lt. Col. (res.) in the Israeli Army.

He has written numerous articles in Hebrew, English, French and German, on political, historical and economic topics, published in various Israeli and foreign newspapers and periodicals.

In 1983 he was among the founders of the "Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies" at Tel Aviv University and is currently a member of its Board of Trustees.

Mr. Shoval is married to Kena (nee Mayer) and they have three children, Michal, Yael, and Gideon.



Shoval

7/22/92

1. Special Opportunities

- A. Elections in Israel had little to do with "peace process," but displayed an "anti-incumbency" attitude. After 15 years of Likud, people (esp. younger) wanted a change.
- B. New Government will propose an ADMINISTRATIVE BODY for the West Bank.
- C. Peace Process - U.S. pressing Palestinians to make deal with Israelis, otherwise they might get less in future.
- D. Absorption of immigrants is main task of next few years. Numbers will be expected to increase as loan guarantee matter gets settled.
- E. Loan guarantees will probably get through Senate and even House, with Administration support. Investments will produce, after 3-4 years, an economic miracle. Our Russian manpower is incredibly high standard.
- F. Proposal of loan guarantees is: 20% housing; 30% infrastructure; 50% direct investments in industry + R&D. These funds will not be channelled into Govt Treasury but into financial institutions and then into various projects.

Apologia for Likud. No word that Labor government represents major change.
Platitudes, repeated old stuff, quite pedestrian. Tone indicated Israel was right and reasonable. Maybe just tired.

NEW MEMBER INSTITUTE
JULY 20 - 24, 1992
LANSDOWNE CONFERENCE RESORT
LEESBURG, VA.

Basic Judaism:

- Group 1 - Rabbi Benjamin Blech
- Group 2 - Dr. Ronald Brauner
- Group 3 - Rabbi Reuven Kimelman
- Group 4 - Rabbi Irwin Kula
- Group 5 - Rabbi Nathan Laufer
- Group 6 - Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Holidays: Rabbi Irving (Yitz) Greenberg

	Monday July 20	Tuesday July 21	Wednesday July 22	Thursday July 23	Friday July 24
morning	arrival luncheon w/ faculty introductions teachers speak - 5 minutes each 3 microphones different locations	Basic Judaism & Holidays II	Basic Judaism & Holidays III	Basic Judaism & Holidays IV	Basic Judaism & Holidays V
afternoon	Basic Judaism & Holidays I	Leadership Nathan Laufer 4:00 pm group intros 5-7:00 pm	Telushkin film 4:00 pm discussion 6-7:00 pm	H. Friedman 4:00 pm Ethical Wills 5:00 pm	depart after lunch
evening	barbeque w/ Wexner Russian classical quartet w/ sound system	dinner 7:30-9 pm <i>w/ Wexner</i>	dinner 7:30-9 pm	dinner at pool Safam? or Les & Benji?	as of 4/7/92

*Bandar?
Bronfman?*

6/7/92

DOUBLE E

Saudi Arabia's M

*At home
in two cultures,
Prince Bandar
bin Sultan is
both beguiling
salesman
and coldblooded
operator, all
in obedient
service to King
and country.*

BY
PATRICK E.
TYLER

PRINCE BANDAR BIN SULTAN, recovering from back surgery at a French mountain resort, was avoiding the telephone messages from Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d.

The American Secretary had just left Jidda where he had tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade King Fahd that Saudi Arabia should attend the Arab-Israeli peace conference that Baker was organizing in the wake of the Persian Gulf war. It wasn't that the King was saying no, he just wasn't saying yes.

In the midst of the meeting, Baker had dispatched an aide, Margaret Tutwiler, to telephone Bandar, the king's nephew and Ambassador to Washington.

"Top Gun," she said, flattering the fighter pilot turned diplomat, "things are really not going very well."

The Prince could only smile. A not insignificant part of his ego was

pleased that, in his absence, American-Saudi relations were foundering on the shoals of cultural misunderstanding and political difference that so often complicate dealings between the House of Saud and the American superpower.

"Don't push," he advised her. "Lay your request there, leave it on the table and just relax."

Bandar was stalling.

This was not the Western-oriented Prince of action, who six months earlier had helped maneuver Washington and Riyadh toward their joint

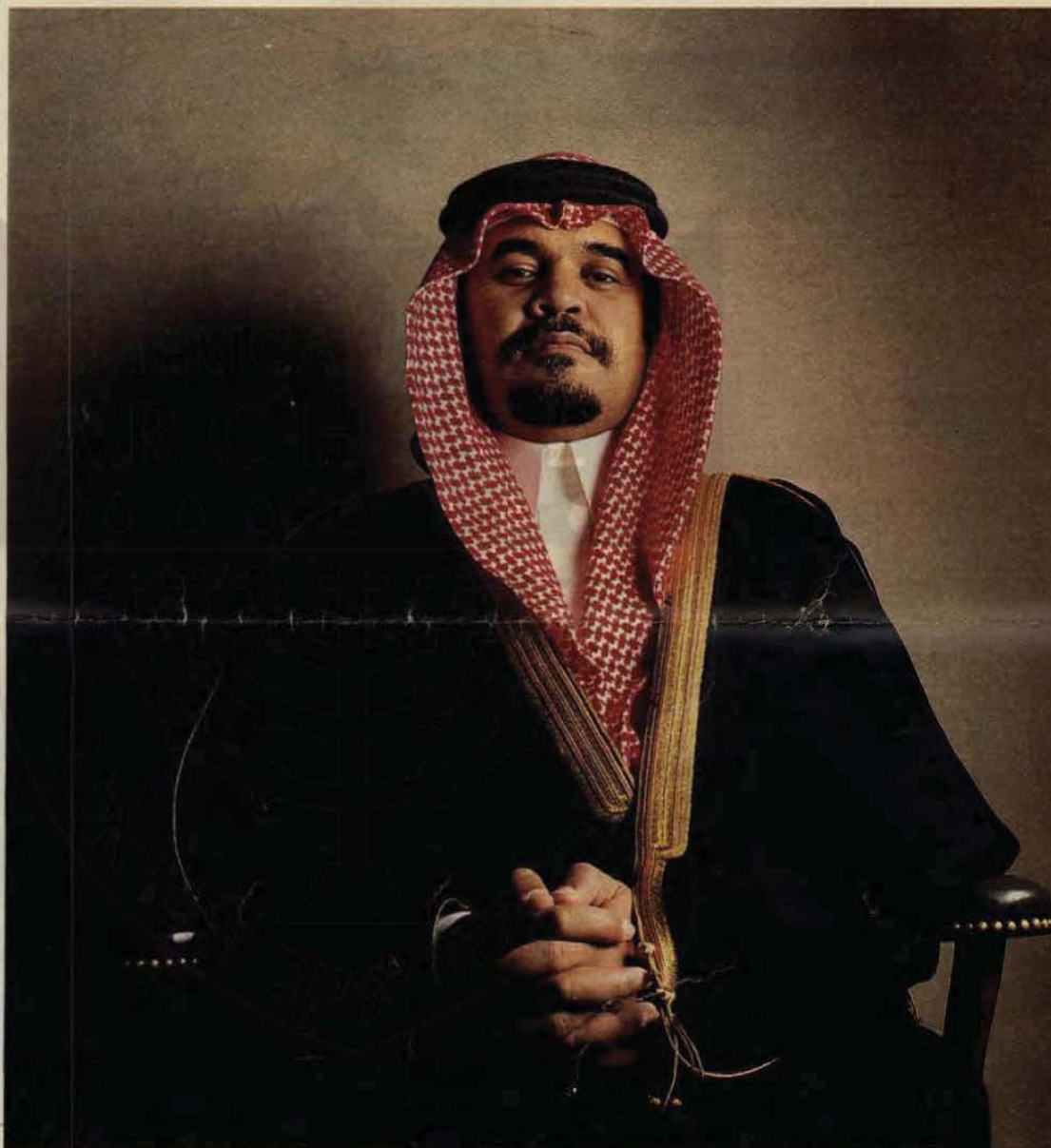
decision to go to war against Iraq. Instead, in this diplomatic go-round a little more than a year ago, Bandar revealed himself as the reclusive, calculating Saudi who was evading his American allies, distancing himself from the discomforting obligations Baker was trying to place at his doorstep.

Despite the close cooperation of the war, the Prince knew there was a deep well of reluctance within the royal family against getting directly involved in the postwar peace process, especially in support of the

Palestinians, whose leadership had all but sided with Saddam Hussein over his invasion of Kuwait and his threat to Saudi Arabia.

Bandar had not been able to make up his own mind on the risks of undertaking direct talks with Israel. Would it play into Hussein's hands, by making the Saudi Arabia once again look like the American Lassie? He didn't feel he could convince his elders unless he himself was convinced.

But the telephone would not stop ringing. Baker had left Saudi Arabia



Patrick E. Tyler is a correspondent in the Washington bureau of The New York Times.

XPOSURE

an in Washington



The Eastern Bandar is a Bedouin Prince who in the privacy of his home holds forth in the desert way.

The Western Bandar is a diplomatic insider who strides through the corridors of power in pin stripes.

and was now calling from his plane. Bandar was trying to remain unavailable.

"The Prince is in physiotherapy." "His Royal Highness is exercising."

Baker, determined to burn through these barriers, left a final message.

"Fine, tell his Royal Highness that in 40 minutes I will land in Jerusalem, and if he doesn't call by then, I will call him from Jerusalem, no problem."

The last thing the Prince wanted

was to take a call from the American Secretary of State on an open line in the heart of Israel.

When Baker came on the phone, he was at first solicitous of the Prince's health, but then got Texas blunt:

"Goddamn it, Bandar," he said, arguing that he was "busting my commoner's" behind for peace in the Middle East, while "you are sitting on your royal" behind in Megeve. "I need you here."

Ultimately, Baker's pressure forced the issue, and in the royal family skirmishing that followed

Bandar helped to nurture a consensus that brought Saudi Arabia to the negotiating table with Israel for the first time in history. And he did so over formidable resistance. Neither the Palestinians nor the Jordanians had stood up for Saudi Arabia in its darkest hour, Crown Prince Abdullah pointed out. Why should Saudi Arabia stand up for them now?

Bandar countered that expectations were running high in Washington, in Congress and among American Jews, some of whom had Bandar's private assurance that the war

would soften Saudi attitudes toward Israel. Bandar's own credibility was on the line.

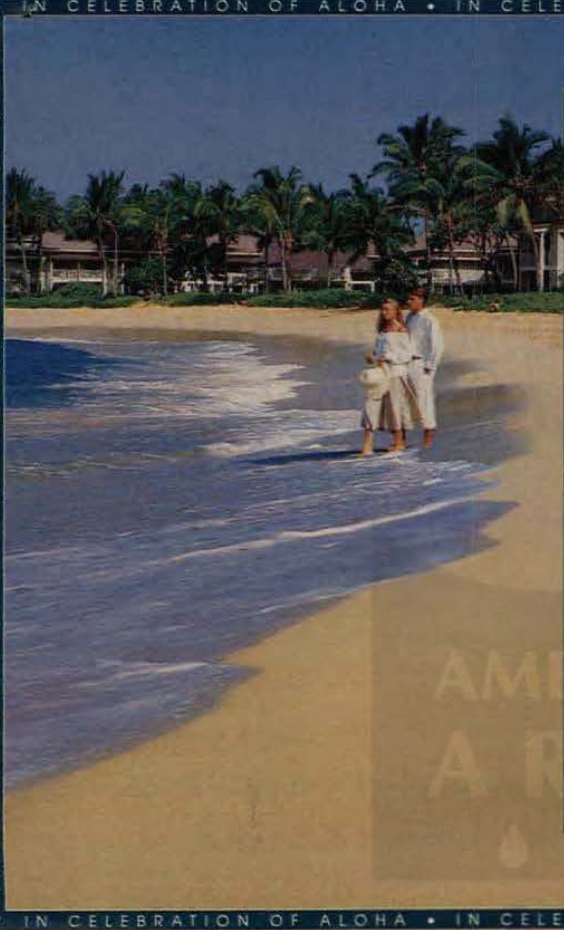
The Prince knew that his arguments were close to the thinking of King Fahd, and in the end the marriage of Saudi and American interests radiating out over five decades of cooperation carried the royal household. The King brought the Princes into line with a simple axiomatic statement: If anyone in the royal family could argue that Saudi Arabia should not pay this political i.o.u. to America, he would also have to argue that Saudi Arabia would never need the Americans in the future.

For Baker and President Bush, the 43-year-old Prince had turned a bad situation around; he had straddled the cultures, marshaling arguments that played to the King's predisposition.

He had delivered.

THOUGH HIS DIPLOMATIC TECHNIQUE is at times mystifying, his cocksureness disconcerting, Bandar has become an extraordinary figure on the cusp (Continued on page 76)

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SAUDI

(Continued from page 35)

of two cultures. He has shown a Western face to three American Presidents who needed Saudi cooperation not only to secure the flow of Persian Gulf oil, but to finance covert wars and propaganda campaigns against Soviet or Cuban forces in Asia, Africa and Central America. He has been the Western Bandar of charm and guile, who takes on the coloration of his environment, who is quick to accede to American requests for assistance and who sorts out the details later.

But there is also the Easterner at his core, the purely Saudi Bandar, who is not as well known in the West. He is the calculating Arab diplomat whose statecraft can be marked by breathtaking duplicity, whose family life is reclusive and whose cold-bloodedness — when the interests of the Saudi monarch demand it — has all the charm of a dagger in the cloak.

Given Saudi Arabia's strategic importance and vast oil wealth, any envoy from Riyadh is guaranteed player status on the Potomac. Still, Bandar, by dint of personality and royal connection, has played a far larger role than any of his predecessors. And, with the connivance of history, war and political intrigue, he has become more of an insider in American foreign policy than any other Middle Eastern envoy.

For example, in advance of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and at the request of Saddam Hussein, Fahd dispatched Bandar as a special emissary to hear the Iraqi leader's explanation of his threat: "We'll make the fire eat up half of Israel." Bandar returned to brief both President Bush and the British Prime Minister on Saddam's unsatisfactory answer. But also during the encounter, the Iraqi leader admitted something he had always denied: that he had sent five assassins to London in 1978 to kill Iraq's former Prime Minister, Abdul Razzak al-Naif. "When I am suspicious of a guy, I kill him," the Iraqi leader told the Prince. "I look in his eyes, and if I see it in his eyes, I kill him."

In early 1987, Iran-contra investigators discovered that Bandar had been the key Reagan White House

contact for funneling millions of Saudi dollars to the anti-Sandinista Nicaraguan rebels. At the center of the scandal, Bandar declined requests from a special prosecutor to explain his role. For the Saudis and for Bandar, it was just another anti-Communist joint venture hatched in secrecy with senior Reagan aides, part of the bonding of interests that has marked his tenure.

In 1985, after telling Secretary of State George P. Shultz that he was going to China to help stem the flow of Chinese arms to Iran, Bandar supervised the most brazenly duplicitous Saudi foreign policy venture of the decade. While in Beijing ostensibly to talk about arms control, he slipped away to negotiate the purchase of the largest medium-range ballistic missiles in the Middle East. After smuggling them into Saudi Arabia, where they were discovered by American spy satellites, he worked through secret White House channels to convince the Israelis to accept the missiles' presence.

This was the Eastern Bandar, pursuing his King's secret diplomacy and hoping not to get caught by the Americans. This was the same Prince who convinced the Reagan White House to share sensitive satellite intelligence with Iraq, a process that began in Bandar's living room during the Iran-Iraq war, and the same Prince who was forced to go to the State Department in 1986 and excuse his Government's transfer of American-made 2,000-pound bombs to Iraq as an oversight.

Unlike most Arab envoys in Washington who are foreign ministry technocrats, Bandar is an insider from the center of power; a scion of the patriarchal clan that united Saudi Arabia early in this century. He is the grandson of a King, Abdel Aziz, as well as the nephew of the current King. And he married Princess Haifa, a daughter of yet a third monarch, Faisal.

Despite his royal pedigree, his rise as a key go-between was an accident, one that Fahd exploited when he stumbled on the young Prince who had grown up an unremarkable outsider in his own family. From youth, Bandar's self-image is that of the family "frog," whose princely transformation in the royal house-

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hold is a story of luck and guile and matriarchal influence in a closed and male-dominated desert society.

Today, Bandar spends much of his time as an informal member of Baker's circle of advisers on Middle East peace. One afternoon this January, while lunching in the greenhouse room of his residence perched above the Potomac River, he explained to Dennis B. Ross, a Baker aide, how hard Saudi Arabia was working to keep Syria at the negotiating table with Israel.

Phone in one hand, cigar in the other, Bandar horse-traded for Ross's help in obtaining a visa to the United States for a senior official of the Palestine Liberation Organization. He then made arrangements to see Baker the next afternoon to plot against Saddam Hussein.

Bandar's current involvement in the anti-Hussein crusade remains murky, but he sees it as a life-and-death struggle for King Fahd, who continues to beam anti-Hussein propaganda into Iraq while tapping a network of Bedouin tribesmen who report on the impact of the broadcasts and about developments in Baghdad.

Last fall, Bandar pondered a scheme in which the C.I.A. would transfer its Stinger-missile supply line for the rebels in Afghanistan to the Kurds fighting Hussein's rule in northern Iraq. While some in the C.I.A. were enthusiastic, the State Department was not, given Turkey's paranoia about the Kurds. For the moment, Saudi and American planning has failed to drive Hussein from power, but Bandar and the other Princes in Riyadh continue to labor with desert patience.

Bandar's stature among Arab diplomats was evident in December, when Libya's Foreign Minister called him 12 times seeking advice how to evade United Nations sanctions over the downing of Pan Am Flight 103, alleged to be a Libyan intelligence operation.

Bandar's advice to Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi was, first, to claim that the downing of the jumbo jet over Lockerbie, Scotland, was unauthorized; second, to offer compensation to the families of victims, and, third, to quietly execute the "rogue" operatives who undertook the bombing.

On Washington's Embas-



Bandar with President Bush at the Middle East peace conference in Madrid last October. Under pressure from Secretary of State Baker, the Prince helped convince the Saudi royal family to negotiate with Israel for the first time in history.

sy Row, a number of Middle Eastern envoys have left their marks over the years, and Bandar has learned from them. He has courted Washington's power structure: the politicians, media barons and baronesses, the captains of American defense industries and even their union bosses.

When he moves through the salons of Georgetown or Capitol Hill, his security detachment circles discreetly on the perimeter. His favorite topics are politics and military hardware, and his social silhouette, both Western and Eastern, is ever punctuated with the Churchillian stogie that is part affectation, part vice.

His fighter pilot's trim has given way to the more rounded girth of a diplomat, but there is an animation to him that ignites conversation. Bandar greets acquaintances by throwing up his eyebrows like window shades. His body English is a dancer's and his metaphors are military: "My mind was racing at Mach 10." These all add to the razzle and dazzle of the public Bandar.

Henry Siegman, the executive director of the American Jewish Congress, has been carrying on a dialogue with Bandar for four years.

"He does not fall into the trap of arguing the old polemics" of the Arab-Israeli dispute, Siegman says. "He is a refreshingly different diplomat — nonideological, highly pragmatic — and he

gives you the impression that he is there to help cut the deal."

Frederick G. Dutton, a former Kennedy Administration aide and longtime adviser to Saudi Arabia, says of Bandar: "His primary characteristic is his ability to turn on — to be charming — and I don't think it's contrived. One of the things about Bandar is that he is an omnivorous learner. He desperately needs to talk to people because he learns in an oral tradition. That's why he's such a TV news junkie."

This trait betrays the Eastern Bandar, the Bedouin Prince who in the privacy of his home can be found wearing the traditional *thoub*, the white-cotton shift that runs all the way to his leather sandals; there with his wife and six children eating off TV trays in front of a bank of five television sets, Bandar watching the news and, in the oral tradition, holding forth to his children in the desert way about life and politics and religion.

WHEN BANDAR-SON-OF-Sultan, the literal translation of his name, entered the gilded world of the Saudi royal family on March 2, 1949, it was not through the front door, a fact that shaped his personality as no other event in his life.

The product of a union between the powerful Prince Sultan, brother of Fahd, and a commoner from Saudi Arabia's southernmost Asir Province, Bandar was born

an outsider in a royal family in which recognized offspring were the issue of royal intermarriage. Into this social no man's land, Bandar was born in a tent near Taif in the arid mountains near Mecca during one of the annual sojourns of old King Abdel Aziz and his caravan court.

Where his royal brothers and sisters were light-skinned, Bandar was dark, like his mother and the people of Asir, whose blood lines had mixed over the centuries with the Africans on the opposing shore of the Red Sea.

Bandar's early life was a study in pre-oil-boom austerity, and his future was anything but promising until the most powerful woman in the royal family and the favored wife of King Abdel Aziz, Hassa bint Ahmed al-Sudairi, brought him into her household to live as a young Prince.

In a society dominated by men, this revered Saudi grande dame who mothered seven Princes, including the current King, must have seen in the lost sheep of a grandson some trait that triggered her protective instincts. Her reaction was reminiscent of the protectiveness she extended to the late King Faisal as a boy, who, after his mother died, was pulled into "Aunt Hassa's" house.

"I grew up with my grandmother, and I learned most of my things from her," Bandar once explained. "She was a powerful woman and she would tell me things

about Fahd, about my father and all her sons that none of my brothers or cousins ever knew, because our father has never told us about what they did as kids: who did what to whom."

Dutton, who began working for the Saudis in 1974 when Faisal was on the throne, says that without Hassa's intervention more than 35 years ago Bandar might still be an outsider: "In fairness to Bandar, nature gave him a good mind, but who cultivated him, who brought him along? I think his grandmother probably saw a lonely little child, and I think Bandar undoubtedly beguiled his way into her good graces and into the family more broadly."

Growing up, Bandar had little or no relationship with his father, except to see him on weekends and to kiss his hand at family gatherings. "This taught me good and bitter lessons," he once said. "It taught me to have patience and to calculate."

There is a story of the 8-year-old Bandar learning that his father was sick. But due to Bandar's isolation, he could not visit his father's house without permission. With deep concern on his face, the boy asked a royal chauffeur about his father's condition and the driver reported the youth's turmoil.

Suddenly the boy was summoned to his father's bedroom, the first time in his life he had been there. There was the ailing Sultan, pulling the boy onto his bed, touched by his affection and returning it. When the adult Prince recalls the moment, the intensity of its meaning is apparent: "I felt like he gave me the whole world."

That bittersweet episode has never receded. In the psyche of Bandar, there is always some of the boy trying to overcome his deficit. He has projected this struggle into adulthood and onto the elders of the royal family, whose confidence and affection he seeks with a fighter pilot's concentration. In a sense, Bandar's superpatriotism, his devotion to Fahd and to his own sense of nationalism are an extension of his lifelong quest to belong.

AT 16, BANDAR YEARNED to fly the combat jets of the Royal Saudi Air Force and was sent off to the British Royal Air Force College at Cranwell, Lincolnshire, from which he graduated in

(Continued on page 80)

SAUDI

(Continued from page 77)

1969. He completed his flight training in San Antonio. The crash landing of his F-5 interceptor in 1977 gave him back problems that have plagued him ever since. But it did not deter him from reaching proficiency in the cockpit of the F-15, the ultimate status symbol for a Saudi fighter pilot.

The Saudi Air Force gave Bandar a chance to compete and excel in the royal family through hard work at a time when many young Princes were inclined to softer pursuits. As a young major, Bandar got his first big opportunity in the political realm when he was pulled into the lobbying effort Saudi Arabia waged in 1978 to purchase 60 F-15's for the squadrons Bandar hoped someday to lead.

Bandar told his associates that he would approach the F-15 sale just like an Air Force operation. "What is the threat?" he asked. "The threat is the Jewish lobby," he answered. "How do they work?" His questions were answered by the stable of advisers and lobbyists Saudi Arabia retained. Everything his opponents did in Congress, he tried to counter, and always in a pragmatic way.

Fahd instructed him to avoid the rancor of the Arab-Israeli dispute, so Bandar would say: "You want to talk about the Palestinians, you want to talk about the Middle East? I have nothing to do with that, I am a fighter pilot. I am telling you why we need this [F-15 sale] operationally, full stop."

Douglas Bloomfield, a former lobbyist for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, or Aipac, says that he met Bandar during the F-15 battle and has worked against him on many legislative issues relating to arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

"A lot of questions have been raised about how much he is a lone ranger, or a freelancer," operating beyond the instructions of his Government, Bloomfield says. "He has gotten in trouble. He has been recalled and told, 'You've gone too far.'"

"But I think Bandar is a daring personality. And

from my pro-Israel point of view, he has made a significant contribution to try to ease the tensions."

OUT OF THAT FIRST F-15 battle came the recognition in Riyadh and in the Carter White House that Bandar was an instinctive and effective salesman for Saudi Arabia. So it was in 1983, a year after King Fahd ascended to the throne, that he surprised many in his own realm by appointing an inexperienced nephew to Riyadh's most important ambassadorial posting in the world.

For the King, Bandar was a desperately needed diplomatic soldier in Washington at a time when a nimbus of trouble was gathering in the Middle East. In the face of Communist advances in the region and Muslim instability in Iran and Iraq, Saudi Arabia was seeking to invoke the security guarantees that American Administrations had pledged since Franklin Roosevelt's time. Riyadh watched nervously as Soviet- and Cuban-backed regimes encircled the oil-rich Arabian peninsula and the United States, in their view, did too little to stop the encroachment.

Though a neophyte to the ways of Washington, Bandar was unfailingly attentive to Fahd's agenda. He was a filter for ideas, an intelligence officer with access to the White House, State Department, Pentagon and C.I.A. for a King who craved intelligence. The Prince was capable of working himself into a frenzy when the King gave him a project and at times collapsed with nervous exhaustion when it was over.

"The only thing that I really am good for is Fahd, because I am a good sounding board for him," he has said. "He doesn't always do what I recommend. Sometimes I find out later that I was wrong, that I didn't know the whole picture. Or maybe he discovered I was right, and that gives him more confidence in me."

Bandar's full role in the anti-Communist crusade that produced the Iran-contra scandal will probably never be known. To this day, the elusive Prince may hold the key to a fuller understanding of events, especially the role or the knowledge of then Vice President Bush and other senior officials. But his silence is protected by diplomatic immunity, and if he is protecting any secrets from

the Reagan era, his currency is all the more precious in the Bush White House.

The first major joint venture was in Afghanistan, where the C.I.A. and Riyadh teamed up to fund Afghan guerrillas bleeding the Soviet invasion force. The late C.I.A. Director William J. Casey, in regular sojourns to the kingdom, built on this common cause that became known as the Reagan Doctrine, a willingness to challenge Communist insurgencies and roll back Moscow's gains anywhere they could be challenged. And Bandar was to be one of the instruments, a facilitator in the service of a King whose oil wealth was at the disposal of any American President who wanted to fight Communists.

The Prince got his orders from the King, often detailed and in writing, to work with the Reagan men or to complement their efforts, usually by channeling financial assistance to anti-Communist insurgents or propagandists.

Bandar handled projects he considered so sensitive that he could not take his work to the Saudi Embassy. That's why at least 30 briefcases with combination locks are strewn over one corner of his small office at the Ambassador's residence. Most contain the paper trail of royal secret missions: files, notes and royal instructions, all of them preserved as a single authoritative record known only to the King and his envoy. (One of the briefcases contains a small machine gun, part of the anti-assassination kit Bandar must live with).

WHILE WASHINGTON and Riyadh have worked in concert for more than 50 years, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the threat that represented to Saudi Arabia brought about an almost complete fusion of interests. Bandar was rampant as the salesman of the war option in Washington, calling on all his contacts in the American defense industry and in Congress to line up behind the President, who had given Bandar a personal assurance that "We're going to push that son of a bitch out of there."

By the time it was over, the Saudis had spent about \$50 billion to free Kuwait. But Saddam Hussein remained in power.

And as long as he did, the life-and-death struggle would continue between the Iraqi leader and Fahd, the King who brought the foreign armies to a Muslim land — a decisive step that the Iraqis likely would have dismissed as inconceivable, if they had considered the possibility at all.

If another C.I.A.-Saudi joint venture fails to dislodge Hussein, and Baker's Arab-Israeli peace initiative fails, Bandar and his elders will conclude once again that it is every man for himself in the region.

The Prince said as much last fall when he told a British newspaper that Saudi Arabia is likely to double or triple its defense spending if peace fails. And, if the United States is not willing to sell the F-15's, tanks and missiles that the kingdom will use to arm itself against an unstable future, Bandar will be on the road again to England or France or Beijing to help secure what the kingdom needs.

As a creature of the King, the Prince will stay in Washington as long as the monarch needs him, as long as he can continue to straddle the cultures effectively. If he stumbles, or is recalled for whatever reason, it is certain that Bandar will never again be the poor outsider, thanks to the largess of his father and the King, who have lavished financial rewards on Bandar, including a palatial home in Riyadh and a huge estate in Aspen, Colo.

Should the day come when Fahd no longer rules, and a new Saudi King calls for an accounting of Bandar's actions, the Prince has preserved a record — in the 30 briefcases — of his secret diplomacy. Whether he fades or continues to prosper depends on the client relationship with Fahd that is all-important. "Fahd is my only client," the Prince explains. "Crown Prince Abdullah, Prince Sultan, all of them, I love them, I respect them, I'll do anything for them. But Fahd comes first." ■

ANSWERS TO PUZZLES OF MAY 31, 1992

ADAMS STRIA
ROBERT SCHOOL
DECLARATION OF
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EXAM ABAA SAMP URNS HIE
SPLAC%NUCKS BIBLIOPHILE
SEINE EDILE TERNE EANED
LATE REDUX CLEAR REEDY

Some outspoken fans make this plea:
"Put Rose into the Hall of Fame, for Pete's sake!"

JEANNE R. FORMAN

5/27/92

Re: Edgar Bronfman

He will be out-of-town the week of July 19 and will be unable to participate in the New Member Institute.

However, he did find what we are doing most interesting and worthwhile and would be happy to participate some time in the future. Keep him in mind.

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PROGRAM

6/3/92

MONDAY, JULY 20, 1992

MEETING ROOM

10:00 - 11:45 pm	Registration	Lobby
12:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
12:45 pm	Welcome & Faculty Introductions Rabbi Ramie Arian Director of Programs	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Workshops ARE WE REALLY THE CHOSEN PEOPLE? Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer Sidley & Austin Dr. Deborah Lipstadt Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff A & B Conant Bacon Faulkner Kettering A & B Thurber
4:00 - 4:30 pm	Coffee Break	
4:30 - 6:30 pm	Plenary THE PILGRIMAGE FESTIVALS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
6:30 - 6:45 pm	Mincha Service Traditional Liberal	Ballroom C Ballroom D
7:45 pm	Barbecue Dinner	poolside or terrace (TBD)

9:15 - 9:30 pm	Ma'ariv Service Traditional Liberal	Ballroom C Ballroom D
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TUESDAY, JULY 21

7:00 - 7:30 am	Morning Services Traditional Liberal	Ballroom C Ballroom D
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7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Ballroom A
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8:15 -10:15 am	Workshops WHAT IS DISTINCTIVE ABOUT JEWISH ETHICS? Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer Sidley & Austin Dr. Deborah Lipstadt Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff A & B Conant Bacon Faulkner Kettering A & B Thurber
10:15 - 10:45 am	Coffee Break	
10:45 - 12:45 pm	Plenary RABBINIC HOLIDAYS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
1:00 - 2:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Free Time	
4:00 - 4:45 pm	Plenary WHAT DO WE MEAN BY LEADERSHIP? Rabbi Nathan Laufer Vice President	Ballroom B
4:45 - 5:00 pm	Coffee Break	

5:00 - 6:45 pm

Workshops
YOUR PERSONAL ODYSSEY TO
LEADERSHIP

Kekst

Rabbi Reuven Kimelman

Oakmont

Proskauer

Dr. Ronald Brauner

Massanutten

Seagram

Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Sarnoff

Sidley & Austin

Rabbi Irwin Kula

Shennendoah

Skadden

Rabbi Ramie Arian

Rappahannock

Wachtell

Rabbi Benjamin Blech

Kettering

6:45 - 7:00 pm

Mincha Service

Traditional

Liberal

Ballroom C

Ballroom D

7:30 - 8:30 pm

Dinner

Ballroom A

8:30 - 9:30 pm

Evening Program

Speaker: Mr. Leslie Wexner

Chairman

Ballroom A

9:30 - 9:45 pm

Ma'ariv Service

Ballroom C

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22

7:00 - 7:30 am

Services

Traditional

Liberal

Ballroom C

Ballroom D

7:00 - 8:00 am

Breakfast

Ballroom A

8:15 - 10:15 am	Workshops RITUAL: WHY DO WE NEED IT?	
	Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula	Sarnoff A & B
	Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman	Conant
	Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer	Bacon
	Sidley & Austin Dr. Deborah Lipstadt	Faulkner
	Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech	Kettering A & B
	Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Thurber
10:15 - 10:45 am	Coffee Break	
10:45 - 12:45 pm	Plenary CONTEMPORARY HOLIDAYS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
1:00 - 3:00 pm	Lunch Speaker: Ambassador Zalman Shoval Israeli Ambassador to the United States	Ballroom A
3:00 - 5:00 pm	Free Time	
5:00 - 6:30 pm	Film: The Quarrel	Ballroom B(?)
6:45 - 7:30 pm	Discussion Groups	
	7 Breakouts needed for this chairs in a circle for about 25 people (TBD)	
7:30 - 7:45 pm	Mincha Service	Ballroom C
8:00 - 9:15 pm	Dinner	Ballroom A
9:15 - 9:30 pm	Ma'ariv Service	Ballroom C

THURSDAY, JULY 23

6:45 - 7:30 am	Services Traditional Liberal	Ballroom C Ballroom D
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7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Ballroom A
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8:15 - 10:15 am	Workshops HOW IS JUDAISM A WAY OF LIFE? Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer Sidley & Austin Dr. Deborah Lipstadt Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff A & B Conant Bacon Faulkner Kettering A & B Thurber
10:15 - 10:45 am	Coffee Break	
10:45 - 12:45 pm	Plenary THE HIGH HOLIDAYS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
1:00 - 2:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Free Time	
4:00 - 5:00 pm	Plenary (Title needed _____) Rabbi Herbert Friedman President	Ballroom B
5:00 - 5:15 pm	Coffee Break	

5:15 - 6:45 pm

Workshops
JEWISH IDENTITY EXERCISES AND
ETHICAL WILLS

Faulkner

Conant

Bacon

Thurber

Kettering

Sarnoff

6:45 - 7:00 pm

Mincha Service

Ballroom C

7:30 - 8:30 pm

Poolside Dinner

8:30 - 10:00 pm

Musical Program
 "Songs of Israel & Jerusalem"

Poolside

10:00 - 10:15 pm

Ma'ariv Service

Ballroom C

FRIDAY, JULY 24

7:00 - 7:30 am

Services
 Traditional
 Liberal

Ballroom C

Ballroom D

7:00 - 8:00 am

Breakfast

Ballroom A

8:00 - 10:00 am

Workshops
IS ISRAEL CENTRAL TO THE
JEWISH PEOPLE?

Kekst
 Rabbi Irwin Kula

Sarnoff A & B

Proskauer
 Rabbi Reuven Kimelman

Conant

Seagram
 Rabbi Nathan Laufer

Bacon

Sidley & Austin
 Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Faulkner

Skadden
Rabbi Benjamin Blech

Kettering A & B

Wachtell
Dr. Ronald Brauner

Thurber

10:00 - 10:15 am

Coffee Break

10:15 - 12:15 pm

Plenary

SHABBAT

Rabbi Irving Greenberg

Ballroom B

12:15 - 12:45

Concluding Remarks

Rabbi Ramie Arian

Director of Programs

Ballroom B

Evaluations

12:45 - 1:45 pm

Lunch & Departures

Ballroom A



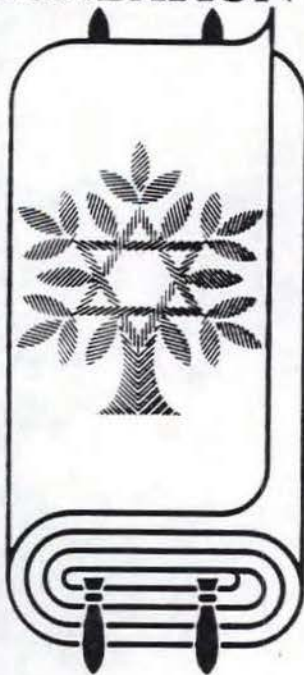
new members

1. Wexner (fax to Bruce) July 21
2. Bandor - write letter to Embassy
bcc to Siegmund
offer to drive home
3. Brumfman - via Singer July 22
255-5770
4. Shoval - via Uri Savir

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten signature]

FOUNDATION

THE WEXNER HERITAGE



FAX TRANSMITTAL

Date: May 11, 1992

Name of Person receiving this fax: Edgar Bronfman

Company: _____

Number of pages, including this cover sheet: 2

Sent by: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

Additional message (if any): _____

551 Madison Avenue
New York City 10022

telephone: 212/355-6115

fax: 212/751-3739

The Wexner Heritage Foundation

551 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022
212 355 8115
Fax 212 751 3739

Huntington Center Suite 3710
41 South High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614 464 2772

May 11, 1992

Mr. Edgar Bronfman
375 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10152

Dear Mr. Bronfman:

As you may already have learned from your son Matthew, the Wexner Heritage Foundation has been engaged for the past year in carefully selecting members for its New York seminar. We are delighted that Matthew was chosen and has agreed to join the group. Hundreds of men and women were nominated, and the number of those who made the final cut is 123.

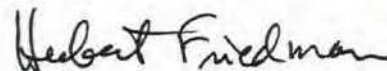
This group will start its work at a 5-day Retreat, July 20-24, at the Landsdowne Conference Center near Dulles Airport, in Virginia. They will study Basic Judaism four hours every morning, and other subjects such as Ethics and Leadership Roles in the afternoons.

Most important for them is to meet and hear from people who can serve as role models for them to emulate. They will meet Les Wexner, who will speak at dinner on July 20, and give them his personal philosophy as to why he sponsors this program. I would like them to hear from you as a New Yorker, talking to fellow New Yorkers and inspiring them as to what they can do to make their community a better place, Jewishly speaking. And then go forward to challenge them concerning what has to be done for Israel and Jews the world over, for this is the stage on which you operate. Give them a large sense of vision.

Would you be free to take this assignment on Tuesday or Wednesday evening, July 21 or 22, at dinner? And would you be willing to answer questions, as well?

Hoping you are free to accept, I am,

Sincerely yours,



(Rabbi) Herbert A. Friedman
President

HAF/jf

April 27, 1992

His Royal Highness Prince Bandar Bin Sultan
The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia
601 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Your Royal Highness:

I have the honor, in the name of our patron, Mr. Leslie Wexner, Chairman of The Limited, Inc., one of America's major business magnates, to invite you to address a seminar of The Wexner Heritage Foundation anytime during the week of July 20-24, 1992.

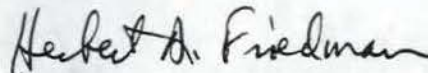
The seminar will be held at the Landsdowne Conference Center, near Dulles Airport. If it is more convenient for you, we shall be happy to transport the seminar members to your Embassy.

The seminar consists of 121 carefully selected individuals, about half of whom will be accompanied by spouses, so that the total group will comprise 200 persons. The profile of our average member is: American born; 40 years of age; possessor of two university degrees; free professional in occupation; presently holding a leadership position and some of them destined to become the very top leaders in the community. Each year we concentrate on a separate community, and this year the entire group is from New York. It is, therefore, the most important group we will ever deal with, and they represent the largest Jewish community in the world.

At this seminar we will study Basic Judaism, which launches a two-year course, during which we will also study Basic Islam. Israel is an important component of Judaism, and Your Royal Highness's remarks will be very valuable to our members.

Looking forward to your response, I am,

With great respect,



Herbert A. Friedman
President

HAF/jf

JULY 20 - 24, 1992
 LANSDOWNE CONFERENCE RESORT
 LEESBURG, VA.

Basic Judaism:

- Group 1 - Rabbi Benjamin Blech
- Group 2 - Dr. Ronald Brauner
- Group 3 - Rabbi Reuven Kimelman
- Group 4 - Rabbi Irwin Kula
- Group 5 - Rabbi Nathan Laufer
- Group 6 - Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Holidays: Rabbi Irving (Yitz) Greenberg

	Monday July 20	Tuesday July 21	Wednesday July 22	Thursday July 23	Friday July 24
morning <i>arr. 10-28</i>	arrival <i>12:30</i> luncheon w/ faculty introductions <i>1:15</i> teachers speak - 5 minutes each 3 microphones different locations	<i>8:30-10:30</i> Basic Judaism & Holidays II <i>11-1</i> <i>Lunch 1:15</i>	Basic Judaism & Holidays III	Basic Judaism & Holidays IV	Basic Judaism & Holidays V
afternoon	Basic Judaism & <i>2</i> Holidays I <i>4:30-6:30</i>	Leadership Nathan Laufer 4:00 pm group intros 5-7:00 pm	Telushkin film 4:00 pm discussion 6-7:00 pm	H. Friedman 4:00 pm Ethical Wills 5:00 pm	depart after lunch
evening	<i>7:45</i> barbeque w/ Wexner Russian classical quartet w/ sound system	dinner 7:30-9 pm <i>Shoval</i>	dinner 7:30-9 pm <i>Les?</i> <i>Burman</i>	dinner at pool Safam? or Les & Benji? <i>music</i>	as of 4/7/92

*Burman
Henry Siegman?*

HF
F-11
-NL

The Jewish World

Prince Bandar bin Sultan (c), Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the U.S., met with members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations on Monday. The prince, insisting he speaks for his country, expressed support for the peace process begun in Madrid and said that the question is no longer one of Israel's existence. Israel is part of the Middle East, he said. Jewish leaders present described the meeting as positive and possibly indicative of a breakthrough in future relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel.

Bandar is flanked here by Shoshana Cardin, chairwoman of the Presidents Conference, and the group's executive director, Malcolm Hoenlein.

DAVID KARP

AM
A



The Prince And The President

Did President Bush make a secret deal last year with Saudi Prince Bandar that sank Israel's loan guarantee request?

DOUGLAS DAVIS

Foreign Correspondent

The Bush administration decided to reject Israel's request for loan guarantees fully one year ago — not because of its objection to settlement activity but in exchange for a commitment from Saudi Arabia to "deliver" key Arab states to the negotiating table, according to a report in Israel this week.

It is understood that in April 1991, just one month after the end of the Gulf War, President Bush met with Saudi Arabia's Ambassador to Washington, Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan, and promised to turn down Israeli requests for loan guarantees if the Saudis would convince Syria and Jordan to join the peace process.

According to a report in the Hebrew-language daily, *Ma'ariv*, a full account of the highly sensitive and potentially explosive deal was transmitted to Jerusalem from the Israeli Embassy in Washington last weekend.

If the report is correct, the question of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip did not form part of the deal and no linkage was established between the loan guarantees, needed to absorb the wave of Soviet immigrants, and a settlement freeze.

Yet after months of cliffhanging, the Bush administration earlier this year provoked a crisis in relations with Jerusalem by turning down its formal request for a \$10 billion loan guarantee unless Israel halted all settlement activities.

It is now believed that after cutting a deal with the Saudis on the basis of loan guarantees-for-peace talks, Washington's overriding priority was to ensure it imposed terms for guarantees that no Israeli government would be able to accept.

To achieve this, the Bush administration is believed to



Prince Bandar: Kept his part of the bargain.

calculated triple strategy which added up to a total settlement freeze as the precondition for granting the loan guarantees:

First, it could cite America's longstanding opposition to Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and its stated belief that settlements were a "major obstacle to peace."

Second, it believed that confrontation with Israel on this issue would win sympathy, if not outright support, from at least some American Jewish leaders, as well as from a significant constituency of dovish Israelis.

Third, and most important of all, Washington was confident that its demand for a total settlement freeze was a condition that both Israel's present Likud government and a future, more compromising, Labor administration would be forced to reject.

To ensure the success of its strategy, said the sources, the administration not only demanded a total settlement freeze in the West Bank and Gaza Strip,

construction activity must cease in all areas of Jerusalem that were conquered from Jordan and officially incorporated into Israel 25 years ago.

Washington, they say, must have known at this point that its demands would be unacceptable not only to Yitzhak Shamir's Likud-led government, but also to any future Labor government, whether led by Shimon Peres or Yitzhak Rabin.

Sources note that the administration was quick to reject attempts by both United States and Israeli conciliators to reach a compromise that would overcome the obstacles and allow the Israelis to save face while simultaneously satisfying the demands of the administration.

Among these was a congressional proposal that would have handed Washington a virtual veto over Israeli activities in the territories, coupled with a clause that would have allowed Washington to pull the plug on the loan guaran-

tees any time it decided that Israel's conduct was "inappropriate."

When the administration rejected the proposal, said one source, Israeli officials privately concluded that Washington was, for the moment at least, not prepared to grant the loan guarantees at any price or under any circumstances.

The reported deal has demystified much of the confusion in Israel about why the administration was so adamant on the issue, even after the peace process had got off the ground and

The reported deal has demystified much of the confusion in Israel about why the administration was so adamant on this issue.

even after the administration was handed a fistful of compromises.

It explains why Washington assured Jerusalem after the Gulf War last March that it would not link loan guarantees to other issues, and then almost immediately embarked on a campaign to stall Israel's formal application for the guarantees.

It explains why the administration chose this occasion to break with precedent and create linkage for loan guarantees involving a strictly humanitarian issue, even though profound political differences had not previously inhibited approval of unconditional loan guarantees to such states as Iraq and Algeria.

It also explains why the administration did not embrace a compromise even when the delegates were safely seated in the Madrid conference hall and events had transcended fears that an overtly pro-Israeli tilt would derail the peace train.

One Israeli source, who spoke with sadness but not surprise of Washington's "duplicity" and "cynicism," noted ruefully that the report also explained one of the big surprises of the Madrid peace conference last October — the dramatic, unexpected arrival of Prince Bandar on the day the conference opened.

The Saudi prince, who is well-integrated into Washington's political circuit, played a vigorous behind-the-scenes role in the peace process, but his hands-on involvement surfaced in public only briefly, albeit decisively, in Madrid.

It was well known at the time that his unstinting efforts were responsible for breaking down the resistance of Syrian President Hafez Assad, who eventually relented and allowed his delegates to hold face-to-face talks with the Israelis after leaving them to cool their heels for 12 hours following the start of their scheduled meeting.

It may never be known what price the Saudi prince agreed to pay for coaxing the tough-minded, but supremely pragmatic, Syrian leader back from the brink, winning his compliance and taking the process another painful step forward.

Israeli officials, however, are now satisfied they know what Washington paid for Saudi Arabia agreement to exercise its "good offices" in promoting the peace talks.

A State Department spokesperson this week characterized the report as "garbage," and some pro-Israel lobbyists were skeptical. One noted that the theory "didn't hold up" because if Israel had agreed to freeze settlements, the administration would have been in an untenable position.

But even he noted that "there certainly appears to be an element of truth here," and that even if the deal between the president and the prince was not explicit, there may have been an understanding between them. □

COMMUNITY

NARAL Benefit

Maryland NARAL (the National Abortion Rights Action League) is hosting its Third Annual Evening of Chocolate on May 16. Restaurants, bakeries and caterers from Maryland will show off their most sumptuous chocolate desserts. The event is being held at the Kennedy Warren Ballroom, 3133 Connecticut Avenue, Washington D.C., 8 p.m. to midnight.

For more information, please contact the MD NARAL office, 565-4154.

Herbert A. Friedman

March 17, 1992

Mr. Laurence Tisch
CBS, Inc.
51 West 52nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

Dear Larry:

Just received word from your secretary that you would not be able to make the July appearance with the New York Seminar group's inaugural retreat.

I'm sorry about that, because you would have been perfect. The group will be studying for the next two years, so maybe we can find another opportunity for you to meet with them.

Best regards,

Heck

February 19, 1992

Mr. Laurence Tisch
CBS, Inc.
51 W. 52nd Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Larry:

As you may have heard, either from Tommy or Andy or through the grapevine, the Wexner Heritage Foundation seminar is coming to New York this July. We have spent the whole past year searching for the right people, and have finally settled on a group of 118 persons, in the age range of 35 - 43, with a few exceptions on both sides.


The program begins with a 5-day retreat, July 20 - 24, at a conference center near Dulles Airport in Virginia. The subject is BASIC JUDAISM, and we try to give the students an integrated overview of the religion, ethics, law, holidays, life-style and Israel. The faculty is superb, student enthusiasm is always high.

This group of carefully selected New Yorkers deserves to be addressed at the very beginning of their study by the best possible role model of Jewish leadership in New York. In my book, that is a team of you and Billie.

I would like to invite both of you to come, preferably on Monday, July 20, but any day that week would be acceptable, except Friday. Give the students a straightforward description of your personal feelings and beliefs; your sense of Jewish identity and loyalty; your reasons for contributing so substantially, in time as well as money, to both the Jewish and the general community. The students will receive a tremendous shot in the arm from seeing and hearing you and Billie in person.

I would like to have a short conversation in person, so that I can answer any questions you might have. I will call for an appointment.

Best regards,


Rabbi Herbert Friedman
President

bcc: Bruce Soll

February 19, 1992

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Best regards,


Rabbi Herbert Friedman
President

bcc: Bruce Soll

BIOGRAPHIES

Faculty

Rabbi Ramie Arian

Director of Programs, Wexner Heritage Foundation; former Director, North American Federation of Temple Youth (NFYT).

Rabbi Benjamin Blech

Professor of Talmud at Yeshiva University, Rabbi of Young Israel of Oceanside, New York. Author of Understanding Judaism and The Secrets of Hebrew Words.

Dr. Ronald Brauner

Founder and Director of The Foundation for Jewish Studies in Pittsburgh. Formerly, the Executive Director of the Hebrew Institute of Pittsburgh.

Rabbi Herbert Friedman

President, Wexner Heritage Foundation; former Executive Chairman, United Jewish Appeal; former President, American Friends of Tel Aviv University.

Rabbi Irving Greenberg

President and Co-founder of CLAL - The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership. Prominent scholar, thinker and author of The Jewish Way: Living the Holidays.

Rabbi Reuven Kimelman

Associate Professor of Talmud and Midrash at Brandeis University, Waltham, MA. and Chief Program Associate of CLAL - The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership.

Rabbi Irwin Kula

Director of Leadership Development at CLAL, the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership; former Rabbi of Congregation B'nai Amoona, St. Louis, MO.

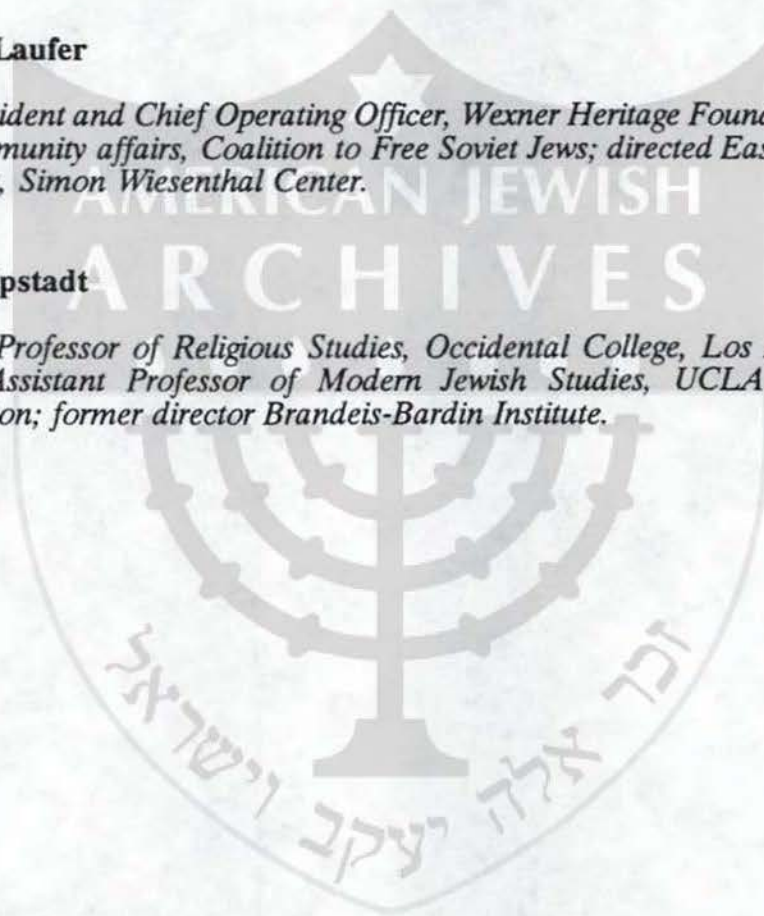
Biographies (continued)
Page Two

Rabbi Nathan Laufer

Vice President and Chief Operating Officer, Wexner Heritage Foundation; directed legal and community affairs, Coalition to Free Soviet Jews; directed East Coast educational programs, Simon Wiesenthal Center.

Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Adjunct Professor of Religious Studies, Occidental College, Los Angeles, California; former Assistant Professor of Modern Jewish Studies, UCLA and University of Washington; former director Brandeis-Bardin Institute.



1992 NEW MEMBER INSTITUTE
 LANSDOWNE CONFERENCE RESORT
 LEESBURG, VA.
 JULY 20 -24, 1992

*** ATTENDEES LIST**

Aaron, Andrea
 Aaron, Andy
 Adler, Karen
 Alexander, Nina
 Alexander, Richard
 Alon, Michael
 Alon, Susan
 Arian, Ramie
 Arnow, David
 Aschheim, Debbie
 Aspis, Harold
 Aspis, Sharon
 Astrow, Alan
 Barest, Bonnie
 Baron, Lori
 Baumgarten, Roberta
 Becher, Michael
 Becher, Ronnie
 Belfer, Ben
 Belfer, Michelle
 Belzberg, Lisa
 Bernheim, Antoine
 Besdin, Daniel
 Besdin, Fran
 Blech, Benjamin
 Blech, Elanie
 Bloch, Deborah
 Bloch, Fred
 Boiarsky, Bob
 Brauner, Marcia
 Brauner, Dr. Ronald
 Bressman, Amy B.
 Bronfman, Matthew
 Brown, Robyn
 Chinn, Geoffrey
 Cohen, Eta Gershen
 Cohen, Mark S.
 Cohen, Roberta Weinstein
 Cohen, Steve B.
 Colvin, Geoffrey
 Corwin, Paul
 Dicker, Shira

Skadden
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 Kekst
 Proskauer
 Seagram

Diker, Valerie
 Dorkin, Allen
 Dorkin, Madeleine
 Douek, B.J.
 Douek, Bunny
 Dweck, Jack B.
 Dweck, Shari Koslowe
 Edell, David
 Edell, Marsha
 Esses, Barbara
 Fadem, Steve
 Feinberg, Lori A.
 Fertig, Aaron
 Fertig, Eileen
 Fishbach, Gregory
 Fragin, Patrice
 Fragin, Gary
 Friedman, David
 Friedman, Herbert
 Forman, Jean
 Fuksman, Igor
 Fuksman, Larisa
 Galperin, Mikhail
 Gantz, Kim
 Gelles, Carol
 Gelles, Steve
 Goldman, Ari
 Golub, Ben
 Gontownik, Jerry
 Greenberg, Alex
 Greenberg, Irving
 Grimaldi, Eden
 Grossman, Marilyn
 Grossman, Zev
 Haberman, Seth
 Halbfinger, Marty
 Hammerman, Caren
 Hammerman, Hillel
 Harris, Carrie
 Hauser, Mark
 Hauser, Karen
 Henner, Judith
 Henner, Lester
 Heyman, Ronnie
 Himmelfarb, Stuart
 Hirsch, David
 Janvey, Rae
 Jesselson, Linda
 Jesselson, Michael
 Joseph, Lynn Schneider
 Kastle, Annette
 Kaufman, Martin

Proskauer
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Kaufman, Shelley
 Kekst, Carol
 Kimelman, Reuven
 Kimelman, Hava
 Kloch, Barbara
 Koppel, Lynette
 Koppel, Steve
 Kranzler, Elli
 Kula, Iwrin
 Kurzweil, Dana
 Laufer, Nathan
 Levenfus, Gloria
 Levenfus, Mark
 Levin, Neil
 Lieberman, Mark
 Linhart, Richard
 Lipstadt, Deborah
 Maier, Bruce
 Mann, Beth
 Markowitz, Ellen
 Mayrock, Isidore
 Merkin, Lauren Korngold
 Merson, Vladimir
 Michel, Amy Goldberg
 Michel, Randi
 Mitchell, David
 Nash, Joshua
 Nathan, Becky
 Nathan, David
 Nathanson, Jill
 Ostrow, Beth
 Ottonead, Pam
 Plum, Bernie
 Pollack, Hugh
 Pollack, Martha
 Ringler, Rachel
 Rose, Robert
 Rose, Yvette
 Rubin, Howard
 Rubin, Nan
 Scher, Deborah Lafer
 Scher, Howard
 Schuchman, Salem
 Schulman, Robert A.
 Schwartz, Jodi
 Schwarz, Jeffrey
 Shames, Katie
 Shames, Michael
 Shay, Scott
 Shay, Susan
 Shmuilovich, Svetlana
 Siegel, Seth

Skadden
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 Skadden



Sion, Gilles
 Slifka, Virginia
 Stern, Jeffrey
 Stern, Susan
 Swidler, Michael
 Temel, Charlie
 Terlitsky, Irina
 Terlitsky, Leonard
 Trachtenberg, Debra Richman
 Tsesarsky, Mark
 Wang, Dale
 Wang, Peter
 Weiner, Ronald G.
 Weiner, Vicki M.
 Weinstein, Sarah
 Weiss, Robert A.
 Wolff, John
 Worenklein, Jay
 Zahler, Eric
 Zahler, Karen
 Zimet, Barbara
 Zimet, Bob

Sidley & Austin
 Skadden
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 Skadden
 Skadden

* As of June 29, 1992



A NOTE ABOUT DENOMINATIONAL LABELLING OF SERVICES

Although it is the usual practice of the Wexner Heritage Foundation not to encourage "denominational" separation, services are given denominational labels in the Institute program for the sake of convenience.

Services labelled as *ORTHODOX* will follow the traditional format. There will be separate seating of men and women, with a mechitzah. Services will be conducted using Birnbaum's Daily Prayer Book. Orthodox services are offered three times daily.

Services labelled as *CONSERVATIVE* will follow the format that has come to be called "**TRADITIONAL-EGALITARIAN**". There will be mixed seating of men and women. Women will be counted in the minyan, and may participate in leading the services. Services will be conducted using the Siddur Sim Shalom. Although our past practice has been to offer Conservative services only when an Institute includes a Shabbat, at this Institute we have added them to the daily schedule at the request of several members. Daily Conservative services will continue to be conducted as long as a minyan is present.

It is our usual practice to offer *REFORM* services on Shabbat. Since there is no Shabbat during the course of this Institute, Reform services are not included in the program.

Of course, members are invited to participate in the services of their choosing, regardless of their personal denominational affiliation.

LANDSDOWNE CONFERENCE RESORT - LEESBURG, VIRGINIA

NAME	GROUP
------	-------

In order to improve our program for the coming year, we would appreciate your evaluation and comments. You may find the institute program helpful in recollecting your thoughts about each session.

I. Which two Basic Judaism sessions impacted on you the most? Why? Please respond based on what insights you gained from the sessions, how the sessions changed your perspective, and what you might do differently because of what you learned.

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

II. Which Holiday sessions stand out in your mind as having been particularly informative or enlightening? Do you now possess a deeper and more coherent understanding of "The Jewish Way?" Please elaborate.

Tuesday:

Wednesday:

Thursday:

IV. What other observations or comments do you wish to make regarding your first "Wexner Experience?"

Thank you for your patience and cooperation.

Dear Rabbi Friedman,

Welcome to Lanedowne!! I hope
your conference is successful and that
you enjoy your stay with us.

Please accept our apology for the
miscommunications during the sales and
Pre-Planning process. We hope to renew
the confidence necessary for a strong
future relationship.

Jack



LANSDOWNE
CONFERENCE RESORT

Conference Concierge
Fax # (703) 729-4111

Today's Date : 7/20/92 Time : 9:20 AM/PM

Transmitted To : RABBI MAURICE CORSON (c/o ALISON)

Company : WEXNER FOUNDATION

Fax Number : (614) 461-8276

Transmitted From : RABBI HERBERT FRIEDMAN

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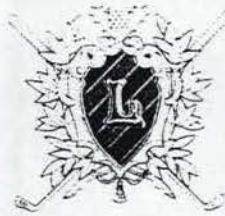
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LANSDOWNE

CONFERENCE RESORT

Conference Concierge
Fax # (703) 729-4111

Today's Date : 7/20/92 Time : 9:20 AM/PM

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Company : WEXNER FOUNDATION

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212 855 8115
Fax 212 751 3738

Huntington Center Synagogue
41 South High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43201
614 464 2772

M E M O R A N D U M

July 17, 1992

TO: RABBI MAURICE CORSON
FROM: RABBI HERBERT FRIEDMAN
RE: LINKING OUR CONSTITUENTS
CC: LESLIE H. WEXNER

I write to continue the conversation we began in Squaw Creek about ways to bring our members and your students together. As you know, I share your interest in building bridges between our respective constituencies, for their mutual benefit, in order that lay and professional leaders come to understand each other better.

You suggested that we hold concurrent institutes in Israel in late August, 1993. I promised to consult with my staff about the feasibility of that idea. I have done so, and we have come to the conclusion that it is not possible, for the following reasons:

- (1) Most of our members are parents of school aged children. The majority of these children are away at summer camp beginning in late June or early July. That makes July the ideal time for us to get the parents' undivided attention. That is why we have set our summer institute in July, staying away from parents' visiting weekend.
- (2) The children return from camp in middle to late August. Parents use the weeks that follow for child-centered, family vacations. It would not be possible for us to hold a summer institute at that time.
- (3) Traditionally, the UJA Young Leadership Cabinets (Men's and Women's) hold their retreats in August. We have many members who are on the Cabinets, and we have an agreement with UJA to avoid setting conflicting dates.

- (4) In Israel, our experience is that two hundred people is the maximum number for whom we can program effectively, without diluting the quality of the program. In the summer of 1993, we are already committed to programs for 11 groups, which means nearly 375 people, including spouses, faculty and staff. As it is, we will have to separate them into two institutes, each near full capacity. That will stretch our staff to its limit; I don't see how I can ask them to undertake more.
- (5) Our regular seminar program begins immediately after Labor Day, early in September. To hold the summer institute late in August would place too great a strain, both on our members, and on our staff.

Thus, our respective scheduling needs make it very hard to plan concurrent summer institutes. However, there are several potential points of contact that are possible. I make the following suggestions:

- (a) When Wexner Graduate Fellows are placed in professional positions (either as students or as graduate professionals) in any city where we have groups (either active or alumni), we can make instant connections. We will be delighted to arrange introductions with our members, who can offer both hospitality and physical assistance of many kinds.
- (b) In addition, such linkage with important lay leaders will immediately bring the young rabbi (educator, executive) into the larger communal world which our members and alumni inhabit -- i.e., Federation, J.C.C., other synagogues, and the like.
- (c) We can occasionally assist your alumni to find employment, since our members ask our advice, from time to time, regarding candidates for positions open in the various organizations to which they are close. We are a resource for them.
- (d) We will publish a complete directory of our members and alumni in the Fall of 1992. This directory, which contains thumbnail profiles of the communal activities of our members, can be distributed to your Fellows, to whom it can serve as a valuable resource.
- (e) Your Wexner Israel Fellows can be linked, both in Israel and the U.S., with our alumni, in several ways. Here are two:
 - (i) We can identify some of them whose expertise and access complements the program of our 1993 Summer Institute in Israel, and use them as a programmatic resource.

- (ii) If you could produce a mini-directory of your Israel Fellow alumni, it could be distributed to our members, who could utilize it as a resource whenever they go to Israel on any communal mission, regardless of the sponsoring agency.

As you can see, I've written these ideas in "shorthand". We ought to flesh them out, and add others to the list, next time our staffs get together.

Our programs are complementary, and there is everything to gain from finding mutually beneficial opportunities to bring our members together.



JULY 20 - 24, 1992
 LANSDOWNE CONFERENCE RESORT
 LEESBURG, VA.

Basic Judaism:

- Group 1 - Rabbi Benjamin Blech
- Group 2 - Dr. Ronald Brauner
- Group 3 - Rabbi Reuven Kimelman
- Group 4 - Rabbi Irwin Kula
- Group 5 - Rabbi Nathan Laufer
- Group 6 - Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Holidays: Rabbi Irving (Yitz) Greenberg

	Monday July 20	Tuesday July 21	Wednesday July 22	Thursday July 23	Friday July 24
morning	arrival luncheon w/ faculty introductions teachers speak - 5 minutes each 3 microphones different locations	Basic Judaism & Holidays II	Basic Judaism & Holidays III	Basic Judaism & Holidays IV	Basic Judaism & Holidays V
afternoon	Basic Judaism & Holidays I	Leadership Nathan Laufer 4:00 pm group intros 5-7:00 pm	Telushkin film 4:00 pm discussion 6-7:00 pm	H. Friedman 4:00 pm Ethical Wills 5:00 pm	depart after lunch
evening	barbeque w/ Wexner Russian classical quartet w/ sound system	dinner 7:30-9 pm	dinner 7:30-9 pm	dinner at pool Safam? or Les & Benji?	as of 4/7/92

SUMMER INSTITUTE
JULY 5 - 12, 1992
SQUAW CREEK, CALIFORNIA

	Sunday July 5	Monday July 6	Tuesday July 7	Wednesday July 8	Thursday July 9	Friday July 10	Saturday July 11	Sunday July 12
morning 8:15-12:45		class	class	class	class	class	Shabbat Services	Depart
afternoon 4:00-7:00	arrival register free	The Growing US/Israel Rift Steven Spiegel	The Russian Absorption: Success & Failures 1. Overview of Status of Olim 1990-'91 ----- 2. An Econom- ist's Per- spective: Amos Rubin 3. A Success Story: -----	FREE	The (450,000) Most Important Jews in America Intro: Rabbi Herbert Friedman Hillel Director: Jim Ponet Student -----	How to: Renew Resurrect Resusci- tate Rescue Revive Regener- ate American Jewish Life -Saperstein -Berman -Eisen		
evening 7:15 -	opening barbeque supper w/ music	Wexner graduation skits Nixon?	Speaker: Hirsch Goodman Nixon?	FREE	outdoor partici- patory light musical program	Speaker: Herbert Friedman	Concluding Speaker: Shoshana Cardin ? Elie Wiesel ? Saul Bellow ? George Schultz ?	as of 4/7/92

1992 NEW MEMBER INSTITUTE
LANSDOWNE CONFERENCE RESORT - LEESBURG, VA.
JULY 20 - 24, 1992

6/30/92

PROGRAM

MONDAY, JULY 20, 1992

MEETING ROOM

10:00 - 11:45 am	Registration	Lobby
12:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
12:45 - 1:45 pm	Welcome & Faculty Introductions Rabbi Ramie Arian Director of Programs	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Workshops ARE WE REALLY THE CHOSEN PEOPLE? Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula	Shenandoah
	Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman	Ballroom D
	Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer	Kettering
	Sidley Dr. Deborah Lipstadt	Boardroom
	Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech	Rappahannock
	Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff
4:00 - 4:30 pm	Coffee Break (3)	
4:30 - 6:30 pm	Plenary THE HIGH HOLY DAYS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
6:30 - 6:45 pm	Mincha Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten
7:45 - 9:15 pm	Barbecue	Poolside

9:15 - 9:30 pm	Ma'ariv Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten
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TUESDAY, JULY 21

7:00 - 7:30 am	Morning Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten
7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Ballroom A
8:15 - 10:15 am	Workshops WHAT IS DISTINCTIVE ABOUT JEWISH ETHICS? Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula	Shenandoah
	Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman	Ballroom D
	Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer	Kettering
	Sidley Dr. Deborah Lipstadt	Boardroom
	Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech	Rappahannock
	Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff
10:15 - 10:45 am	Coffee Break (5)	
10:45 - 12:45 pm	Plenary THE PILGRIMAGE FESTIVALS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
1:00 - 2:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Free Time	
4:00 - 4:45 pm	Plenary WHAT DO WE MEAN BY LEADERSHIP? Rabbi Nathan Laufer Vice President	Ballroom B

4:45 - 5:00 pm

Coffee Break (3)

5:00 - 6:45 pm

Workshops
**YOUR PERSONAL ODYSSEY TO
 LEADERSHIP**

Kekst

Rabbi Reuven Kimelman

Shenandoah

Proskauer

Dr. Ronald Brauner

Boardroom

Seagram

Dr. Deborah Lipstadt

Ballroom D

Sidley

Rabbi Irwin Kula

Sarnoff

Skadden

Rabbi Ramie Arian

Rappahannock

Wachtell

Rabbi Benjamin Blech

Kettering

6:45 - 7:00 pm

Mincha Services

Orthodox

Conservative

Ballroom C

Massanutten

7:15 - 8:30 pm

Dinner

Ballroom A

8:30 - 9:30 pm

Evening Program

Speaker: Mr. Leslie Wexner
 Chairman

Ballroom A

9:30 - 9:45 pm

Ma'ariv Services

Orthodox

Conservative

Ballroom C

Massanutten

9:30 - 10:30 pm

Social Hour

cocktails

Pre Function

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22

7:00 - 7:30 am	Morning Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten
7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Ballroom A
8:15 - 10:15 am	Workshops RITUAL: WHY DO WE NEED IT?	
	Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula	Shenandoah
	Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman	Ballroom D
	Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer	Kettering
	Sidley & Austin Dr. Deborah Lipstadt	Boardroom
	Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech	Rappahannock
	Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff
10:15 - 10:45 am	Coffee Break (3)	
10:45 - 12:45 pm	Plenary RABBINIC HOLIDAYS Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
1:00 - 2:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Free Time	
4:00 - 5:00 pm	ISRAEL'S CROSSROADS: DYNAMIC DANGERS AHEAD Speaker: Honorable Zalman Shoval Ambassador of Israel to the United States	Ballroom B
5:00 - 5:15 pm	Coffee Break (3)	

5:15 - 7:00 pm Film: The Quarrel Ballroom B

7:00 - 7:15 pm Mincha Services
Orthodox
Conservative Ballroom C
Massanutten

7:45 - 9:00 pm Dinner Ballroom A

9:00 - 9:15 pm Ma'ariv Services
Orthodox
Conservative Ballroom C
Massanutten

THURSDAY, JULY 23

6:45 - 7:30 am Morning Services
Orthodox
Conservative Ballroom C
Massanutten

7:00 - 8:00 am Breakfast Ballroom A

8:15 - 10:15 am Workshops
HOW IS JUDAISM A WAY OF LIFE?

Kekst
Rabbi Irwin Kula Shenandoah

Proskauer
Rabbi Reuven Kimelman Ballroom D

Seagram
Rabbi Nathan Laufer Kettering

Sidley & Austin
Dr. Deborah Lipstadt Boardroom

Skadden
Rabbi Benjamin Blech Rappahannock

Wachtell
Dr. Ronald Brauner Sarnoff

10:15 - 10:45 am Coffee Break (3)

10:45 - 12:45 pm Plenary
CONTEMPORARY HOLIDAYS
Rabbi Irving Greenberg Ballroom B

1:00 - 2:00 pm	Lunch	Ballroom A
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Free Time	
4:00 - 5:00 pm	Plenary MAJOR GOALS FOR THE CENTURY AHEAD Rabbi Herbert Friedman President	Ballroom B
5:00 - 5:15 pm	Coffee Break (3)	
5:15 - 6:45 pm	Workshops JEWISH IDENTITY EXERCISES AND ETHICAL WILLS	
	Rabbi Irwin Kula	Shenandoah
	Rabbi Reuven Kimelman	Ballroom D
	Rabbi Ramie Arian	Kettering
	Dr. Deborah Lipstadt	Boardroom
	Rabbi Benjamin Blech	Rappahannock
	Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff
6:45 - 7:00 pm	Mincha Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten
7:30 - 8:30 pm	Dinner	Terrace
8:30 - 10:00 pm	Musical Program "Songs of Israel & Jerusalem" Rabbi Lester Bronstein Cantor Benji Schiller	Lawnside
10:00 - 10:15 pm	Ma'ariv Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten
FRIDAY, JULY 24		
7:00 - 7:30 am	Morning Services Orthodox Conservative	Ballroom C Massanutten

7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Ballroom A
8:00 - 10:00 am	Workshops IS ISRAEL CENTRAL TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE?	
	Kekst Rabbi Irwin Kula	Shenandoah
	Proskauer Rabbi Reuven Kimelman	Ballroom D
	Seagram Rabbi Nathan Laufer	Kettering
	Sidley Dr. Deborah Lipstadt	Boardroom
	Skadden Rabbi Benjamin Blech	Rappahannock
	Wachtell Dr. Ronald Brauner	Sarnoff
10:00 - 10:15 am	Coffee Break (3)	
10:15 - 12:15 pm	Plenary SHABBAT Rabbi Irving Greenberg	Ballroom B
12:15 - 1:00 pm	Concluding Remarks Rabbi Ramie Arian Director of Programs	Ballroom B
	Evaluations	
1:00 - 1:45 pm	Buffet Lunch	Ballroom C & D
	Departures	

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

SUMMER INSTITUTE

Squaw Creek, California

Saturday Night, July 11, 1992

and Lonsdowne Conference
Leesburg, Va.
July 23, 1992

MAJOR GOALS FOR THE CENTURY AHEAD

by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

Dear friends, colleagues, guests,

I come to you today, with a call to arms, to put before you what I conceive to be the major goals for the century ahead, knowing that you have the necessary time left in your lives to take giant steps toward the achievement of these goals.

Most of you, the students in this program, are third generation born in this country, and many are even fourth generation. You have the double blessing ^{and} advantage of a secure rootedness in your American identity, plus the strength of your Jewish identity created through exposure to Israel, the Holocaust, your education in Judaism, and your work in the community. Your grandparents struggled through their immigrant experience here, speaking and thinking with the accents of Eastern Europe, while modernizing their religious habits, and gradually lessening their fears of the Gentile. Your parents, breathing a bit easier, could look beyond their immediate

personal needs, and build the institutions of a Jewish polity - the synagogues, centers, federations and all others, while pouring major support into the Zionist state, which was their emotional response to the monstrous genocide in Europe.

Now your turn has come, and you are the first generation truly capable of peering into the century ahead, with no overburdening challenges from the past, no psychological insecurities, no fear of your minority status in this country, no crushing unfinished agenda. You are the sons and daughters of a proud heritage, with 3 1/2 centuries of unbroken existence on this continent and 3 1/2 millennia of continuity before that. Your mission to improve the world for the benefit of all humanity must always include the improvement of your own people as well.

Here are the major tasks of the century ahead, as I see them, gathered under three rubrics of peoplehood, nationhood and religion.

I. PEOPLEHOOD

A. Reverse the course of the headlong rush toward self-destruction among American Jewry, and to a lesser extent also, among other Jewries in the western world. The very permissiveness of the freedom we so cherish in the U.S., compounded by indifference toward Judaism and assimilation into

the majority secular culture, both of which tendencies stem from almost total ignorance of the history, literature, language, philosophy and religion of the Jewish people, have resulted in a sky-rocketing rate of intermarriage that is moving with the speed of locusts sweeping across a field and destroying everything in their path.

Have you heard of any remedies? Parents submit, sometimes heavy-heartedly, but no longer sit shiva, as though their child had died. Other parents ^{even go so far as to} put pressure on the rabbi to perform the marriage ceremony because they want at least that touch of Jewish authenticity, and most rabbis, including Reform don't want to do it. Still other parents demand that their rabbi co-officiate with a Christian clergyman. And all of this is accompanied by the plea that the Jewish partner be not further driven away as a result of rabbinical rejection. It is a terrifying dilemma for most rabbis.

The only remedial suggestion for adults who do intermarry is for the Jewish community to develop a clear policy regarding conversion, including ^{that of} new-born children. A vigorous outreach policy must be practiced in synagogues and all other communal institutions, welcoming the converts and their children. Synagogue membership must be graciously offered to converts, or even to non-converted spouses who themselves do not wish to offend their original families by an act of conversion, but who

are ^{perfectly} ~~very~~ willing to have their children brought up and educated as Jews. Converts should be counted as full members of a minyan, called to the Torah for aliyot, bless the candles from the pulpit on a Friday evening.

All the above refers to adults who have taken the plunge, ^{and intermarriage} Preventive work must begin much earlier, when Jewish children are in their teens, in high school and most particularly during the college years. Great skill and ingenuity must be invested in Bar and Bat mitzvah classes, confirmation classes, summer camps and youth groups to explain the value of preserving the Jewish heritage and not destroying it by reckless behavior. We inoculate our children with various serums to protect them against deadly diseases. A run-away epidemic of intermarriage is a deadly disease.

*P. 6-8
for Lend Lease
version*

Cut from Lend Lease

You heard here two days ago that there is a new effort afoot to reinvigorate the work on the college campus. You ~~have~~ that plenary the loudest applause of the entire institute. That means you understand the need. The UJA and the organized Jewish federations of America must nourish and fertilize the campuses of America. The CJF is now planning to address the problem. There is no domestic program more important. A radical approach is necessary. all of you must get involved in it.

in their teens, in high school and most particularly during the college years. Great skill and ingenuity must be invested in Bar and Bat mitzvah classes, confirmation classes, summer camps and youth groups to explain the value of preserving the Jewish heritage and not destroying it by reckless behavior. We inoculate our children with various serums to protect them against deadly diseases. A run-away epidemic of intermarriage is a deadly disease.

P. 6-8
Insert for
Cut to
89.9
~~There is a new movement of set to~~ *Acinngood*
~~the work on~~
~~the college~~
~~campus.~~
The college campus is a desert barren of widespread or significant Jewish influence. With the exception of the work being done by a small number of charismatic rabbis (and even these are seriously under-funded) there is almost no programming widely attracting the almost half million Jewish college youth presently enrolled on American campuses. How shocking! The B'nai B'rith Hillel system exists in name, but that's about all. The once-powerful organization has increased in age and decreased in virility. The UJA and the organized Jewish federations of America must nourish and fertilize the campuses of America.

There is no domestic program more important. A radical approach is necessary. *All of you must get involved in this.*

to 89.9
Student activists themselves have been crying for attention for almost 25 years. As far back as 1969 at the General Assembly of the CJF in Boston, student leaders sought a hearing for their message that they were being neglected and warned that their

abandonment by the establishment would result in dire consequences. Their prophecy was correct, for one of the factors leading to the tidal wave of intermarriage today has been the lack of a large-scale effort to create a strong sense of Jewish identity and loyalty among that most impressionable age group. *revolving through the campuses of America.*

In 1989, at the GA in Cincinnati, twenty years later, the student leaders were still demanding the right to address the plenary session. It was granted. Their spokesman pleaded eloquently for financial and moral support. His battle-cry was "Let our people go...to Israel on student programs", and he announced the formation of the Student Struggle for North American Jewry, to fight assimilation on the campus. There was a take-off on the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, which was so effective.

What has been the result of all this knocking on the doors of the adult community? In the words of Josef Abramowitz, the now aging student leader, "We felt we had scored a major victory. Yet looking back on it, what did Jewish students really gain besides a platform for ten minutes? Communal leaders didn't change the order of allocations; they didn't invite us to sit on their boards."

The Baltimore Jewish Times, a fine weekly newspaper, reporting on the GA held in Baltimore a few months ago, ended its

article quoting Abramowitz: "The words are as applicable today as they were in Boston in 1969. The difference is that in Baltimore in 1991 there are fewer of us left to repeat them. And next year there will be even fewer."

And you, in this audience, exactly the parents most involved, both for the future of your children and the entire Jewish population, must interject your concern in a powerful manner to the federation hierarchy in your town.

Forget about the argument, sometimes offered, that even where there is a Hillel House, most kids don't go there. Creative programming will reach widely. Don't think conventionally. Invent new ways to get their attention. This college age population is close to marriage. This is exactly the right time to give deep thought and innovation to the whole question of investing serious money and organization in the struggle against assimilation among the college population. The abandonment of Jewish students must cease.

Working backward, from adults to young adult students, to teenagers, we come down to the elementary school and here there is no need to elaborate. All the research shows that a parochial school education provides the first and most effective foundation of a strong Jewish identity. In addition, a knowledge base is built into the child's memory which lasts well up into young

Working backward, from adults to young adult^{college} students, to teenagers, we come down to the elementary school and here there is no need to elaborate. All the research shows that a parochial school education provides the first and most effective foundation for a strong Jewish identity. In addition, a knowledge base is built into the child's memory which lasts well up into young adulthood. There is simply no comparison between a Day School education and a 1, 2, or 3-day supplementary few hours, both as to content and mood.

There are two arguments often given by parents against sending their children to day school, even after admitting that a much stronger Jewish consciousness will be developed: one is the expense (several thousand dollars per year, per child - and what if you have three kids?) and the second is the mediocre quality of many Day Schools. These arguments are valid and must be countered by equally valid solutions. Firstly, Day School tuition must be completely free for those who cannot afford it, and minimal (a few hundred dollars per family) for everyone else. The community must fund its school system - and this takes serious attention to careful planning and new ideas. And secondly, the Jewish Day Schools in your towns must be as good as the best Country Day School, whether private or church-based. That should be your model - a lovely grassy campus, plenty of athletic fields, highest level of secular studies so the graduates can gain admission to the finest universities in the

^{land} nation, and full integration of the Jewish and secular subjects (French at 8 a.m., Hebrew at 9, Math at 10, Bible at 11, etc.). This school must include pre-K to 12, carefully divided into lower, middle and upper divisions.

All ^{re} above dealt with reversing the course ^{of assimilation} in the United States. Additional thoughts about peoplehood take us abroad.

B. Provide an infrastructure for the Jews who will remain in the former Soviet Republics, whose sense of Jewish consciousness was awakened in 1967, whose activists started a flood of emigration, a half-million of whom have already left, ^{from 1967 till now} mainly for Israel, and some to the U.S., with more than that number still to come, but whose residual population in the ex-Soviet Union will be sizable. This population is now alert to its Jewish identity. Do we leave them alone, or do we help them develop organized communities with all the necessities? This multitude of Jews will either be drawn in ^{to a Jewish life} - if there is an interesting, functioning group of cultural, social, religious and educational foci to attract them; or they will drift away after a time and lose their sense of uniqueness as quickly as they gained it. There is no doubt as to what our response must be. It may take a quarter century, but it is a miraculous opportunity to strengthen the global Jewish peoplehood. If 2000 communities were destroyed in the Shoah, perhaps we can build 200 new ones in the former Soviet Union which never existed before. It will be

one of the glories of your generation, a piece of the American Golden Age if you take this on and succeed.

C. Assist French Jewry, nearly three-quarters of a million, the fourth largest in the world, to turn itself into a modern, organized, Jewish community, pro-Israel and linked to the rest of the Jewish world. French Jewry is layered. Its cross section would show an ancient element, hundred of years in residence, thoroughly cross-pollinated with Catholic spouses. By now this group is not large in number, but still very large in influence. Many of the older and most prestigious institutions, such as the Consistoire, are still dominated by this ancien regime. The second layer consists of East European Jews who migrated to France between the two world wars in this 20th century, bringing with them a strong tradition and a Zionist orientation. They are to be found today in the ranks of the Israel-oriented organizations. The third layer is Northern African, largely Moroccan and Algerian Jews, who arrived in France in the late 1950's and 60's. They are still adjusting, many still struggling toward financial security. Some of their leaders are working toward a relationship with the earlier layer of Ashkenazim, and a very few are even challenging the Rothschilds for top leadership positions.

American Jewish communal leadership knows almost nothing about French Jewry. Study missions do not often go there - the

French do not come here to learn our experience. Aside from the JDC, which has worked productively in France for a half-century, some few American organizations maintain skeleton staffs which report back to New York, but do not influence the character of or stimulate the growth of French communal life.

Without being officious or paternalistic the American Jewish polity has ~~have~~ much to offer and should take the initiative, in the most tactful way, of developing a master plan, together with ^{French} ~~their~~ leaders, for defining the areas in which we can be helpful.

II. NATIONHOOD

Support of Israel in every imaginable form, has been one of the laudable achievements of the American Jewish community, or at least the 25% who really care and work at it. The support has welled-up from a deeply-felt love of the land and has requested nothing in return. The basic fact is that Israel, through its extraordinary performance in providing homes for millions of immigrants, while defending itself in six wars, achieving self-sufficiency in food and starting an amazing high-tech industrial potentiality, has provided a huge measure of pride to every Jew in the world. There could be no greater return than this.

Here are some things which the new government will address,
in which we can ^{assist} ~~help~~:

1. ^{Concentrate on} ~~Helping~~ the present and future absorption of the Russians into Israel, which may well take a decade. If the Israel government ^{and we} fails in the absorption task, thus deterring further immigration from the ex-Soviet Union, history will charge it ^{and us} with criminal liability.
2. Develop a free-market economy, through encouraging investments which will create jobs. This will cause a steady rise in the GNP and GDP, which in turn raises ^{will} the standard of living.
3. Encourage the government to hasten privatization. Selling the huge assets it possesses will provide a large cash infusion, plus continuous, additional tax revenue. More importantly, such a move will swing the economy toward a capitalistic free market, which will unleash the forces needed for real growth.
4. Find ways to dissociate religion from politics; emphasize the necessity for religious pluralism, otherwise the heavy-handed monopoly of right-wing Orthodoxy will continue to alienate the majority of Israelis and Diaspora Jews alike; and most importantly, try to establish religion as an ethical force in society, just as the Biblical prophets pleaded millennia ago.

5. Reform the Electoral System

There are many proposals for reform. Let me not go into the details. The basic principle I wish to put before you is that making the government more responsive to the will of the people is a task in which we have an interest, and we should devise a process by which our input is made known.

6. Making the Country more Attractive

Diaspora Jewry - is the challenge of the 21st century. Now is the time to look ahead to the mass of Jews in the free west and they must be attracted to come. They will not be pushed to Israel by troubles in their home countries. They will be pulled to Israel if the conditions are right.

No one is dissatisfied with Israeli political democracy - it is marvelous in so many respects: free speech, assembly and press -even in time of frequent war; a functioning court system, with immediate access to the Supreme Court itself, without going through a labyrinth of lower courts; a social welfare system for the weak, handicapped, unemployed. ^{The country fine} ~~Almost the entire~~ second and third worlds don't come close even in their dreams to the freedom and ^{social} security which every Israeli takes for granted.

But for the potential pool of western olim, additional factors go into the definition of "attractive": The economy must be decentralized; free competition must provide annual growth

sufficient to handle the increase of population; parliamentarians must be responsible to the district which elects them; the government must reform those systems which have led to its paralysis; and there must be civil marriage and divorce.

To make Israel more attractive economically, politically and socially should be one of the major objectives of our American Jewish community in the next quarter century - and the fact is that Israel herself will probably do most of the hard work toward that objective. We may only have to help with the cosmetics.

III. RELIGION

As a result of the Enlightenment and Emancipation which began two centuries ago, the two-millennial grip which Judaism held on the Jewish people was lessened. During the 19th century, rapid changes especially in the natural sciences, created intellectual turmoil, social confusion and an unaccustomed permissiveness, as Jews reached out to the cultures and opportunities now opening to them. New organizational forms of the ancient religion resulted. The modern denominations of Reform, Orthodox and Conservative, in that order, were born. Other turbulent forces included the new scientific research into Judaism, the new Zionist movement and the huge waves of migrations to America which depleted the Central and Eastern European heartland. All these convulsive changes altered

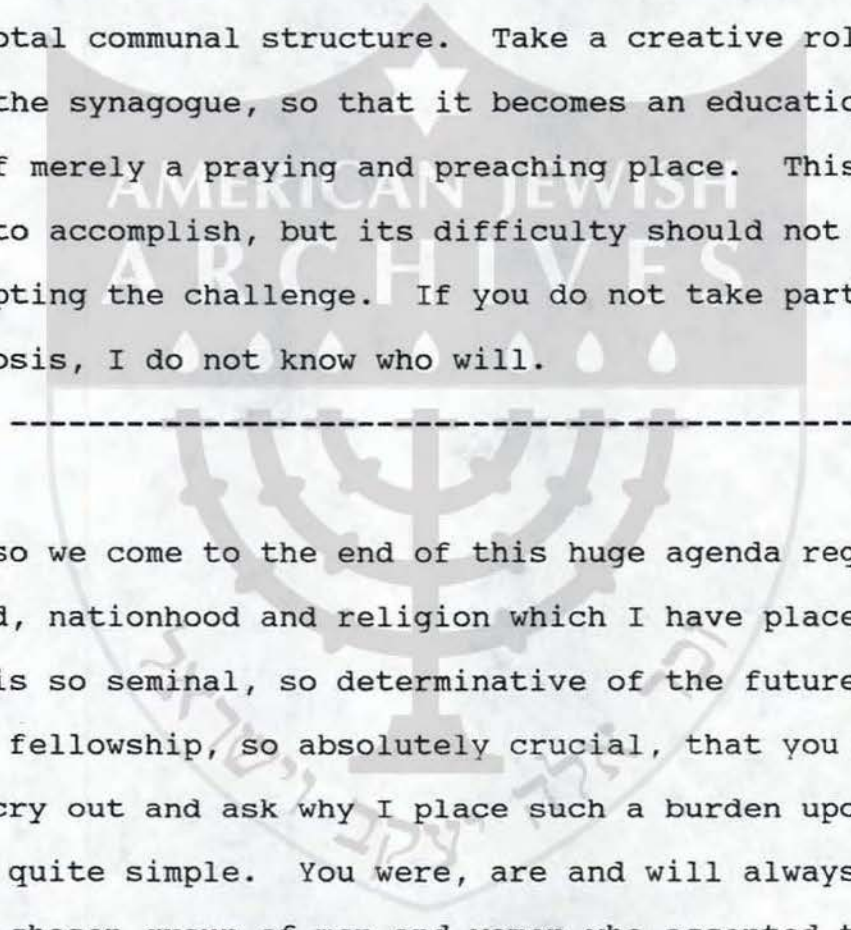
previous mind-sets and patterns of ritual practice and synagogue attendance. In the hectic pursuit of a new, free life, with its thrust toward material advancement old habits of religious observance suffered. Within two generations, the hold of the Jewish religion on a great portion of the Jewish people weakened.

Then came the 20th century with its two catastrophic World Wars and the utterly inconceivable Shoah. This shook the faith of many who felt that God had permitted the slaughter of even more millions of human beings than that ^{had} God drowned in the Biblical flood. The thought began to grow that if mankind was evil, so might God also be evil - or dead - or never existent in the first place - or not all-powerful. A limited God became the most credible ^{modern} theological possibility, if one wished to avoid the ultimate rejection called atheism.

Thus - with weakened observance and diminished belief in God's power and presence - modern Jews have diminished their relationship to their religion. Synagogue membership remains high, for a variety of reasons, but is largely a dues-paying membership not a vigorously active one. There is a danger here. For religion was always one of the defining factors of our existence as a people. And if religion disappears from the daily life of Jews, the continuity of the peoplehood may be jeopardized. Instead of being allowed to wither and fossilize, religion must be revitalized, reinvigorated as a factor and force

in our communal existence.

This represents a tremendous challenge. Your generation will have to do it. Take part in the governance of the rabbinical seminaries: influence the selection of candidates for the rabbinate as the Wexner Foundation is doing; help shape the curriculum so that the rabbis will better understand the laymen and the total communal structure. Take a creative role in changing the synagogue, so that it becomes an educational center instead of merely a praying and preaching place. This goal is not easy to accomplish, but its difficulty should not deter you from accepting the challenge. If you do not take part in this metamorphosis, I do not know who will.



And so we come to the end of this huge agenda regarding peoplehood, nationhood and religion which I have placed before you. It is so seminal, so determinative of the future of our faith and fellowship, so absolutely crucial, that you have the right to cry out and ask why I place such a burden upon you. The answer is quite simple. You were, are and will always remain a specially chosen group of men and women who accepted the proud designation of leadership. Such a title connotes obligations. You were selected to assume the highest order of duty and service and performance on behalf of your people, nation and faith.

I understand well that there are peaks and troughs in your

ability to serve, your enthusiasm, your understanding of the complex issues at stake. And I understand that as the years roll on, there is bound to be some flagging, some lessening of tension, some boredom in the ranks even of leaders. But when all the challenges coalesce into one defining moment of history which is a clear crossroads toward success or failure, then all excuses must be put aside, and once again the fire bell clangs and ^{you -} the firepersons-must respond.

This is such a moment. The future shape of Israel hangs in the balance - she either becomes a model of the great and glorious society which the Biblical prophets envisioned, or she becomes just another small state offering no particular inspiration for its own citizens or mankind. The future of millions of Russian Jews is at stake - they either are redeemed and successfully absorbed into the body politic of the renewed Jewish people, which rescues them personally and strengthens our whole people immeasurably, or they will drift back into the anonymous mass of the ex-Soviet republics and may be lost forever. And the future of our religion is at stake - it either assumes its place once again as a source of inspiration toward the making of a better world, or it withers away into the discard and we Jews will be left without a vision to guide us and an engine to drive us.

Create new instruments to deal with these goals. You will need ~~several task forces~~ to study the basic problems and determine courses of action:

1. A task force to create a superior parochial high school in your town.
2. A task force to create creative teen-age and young adult programs in your town.
3. A task force to create an inspiring center for Jewish life on the college campus in your town.

These three youth-oriented programs are part of the bulwark against the rampant raging force of intermarriage, which is overwhelming us.

Also:

4. A task force to re-invigorate and re-orient the synagogue as a source of adult education, for Jews by birth and Jews by conversion, in which area we must work much more vigorously.
5. A task force on creating a communal infrastructure for ex-Soviet Jews who will remain in the Commonwealth of

Independent States.

6. A task force on strengthening French Jewry, which is terra incognita, since we know very little about it, and it is the fourth largest member of our family.
7. Lastly, and most precious of all, a task force on how to impact the future of Israel, that precious vessel.

Challenge your elders, make revolutions, take over the authority. So long as these goals I lay before you are the worthy causes to which you pledge your lives, your honor and your fortune, they transcend all bureaucratic obstacles, they validate your impatience, they justify any revolution you wish to make in order to advance toward their fulfillment.

I have always believed in your capability to make history, and I continue to believe that you will always rise and respond when you feel the invisible tug of history pulling at your conscience. To arms - ladies and gentlemen - the future is in your hands. To arms - and may you succeed. To arms - and may you be blessed forever and ever.