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Jewish  
politics

# The Politics of American Jewry

MICHAEL CURTIS

Jews everywhere have long been subject to the dialectical tension between particularism and universalism, best exemplified in Hillel's maxim: "If I am not for myself who will be for me? But if I am for myself only, then what am I?" In modern America this tension continues in the self-declared Jewish attachment, disproportionately greater than that of any other white ethnic or religious group, to "liberal" principles in seeming contradiction to the community's increase in affluence, rise in occupational status, and more secure position in American society. In political terms this Jewish attachment is manifested in the continuing alignment of a considerable majority of the community with the Democratic party, the party, for Jews, of the New Deal and the urban immigrant.

The present condition of Jews in America and their political activism and disposition raises the questions of whether there is an inherent Jewish dedication to principles of social justice, compassion, and civic virtue, as Reinhold Niebuhr suggested, and why the success and relative security of the community has hardly affected its attitude to political issues.

In his brief, lucid, and cogently argued book, *The Utopian Dilemma: American Judaism and Public Policy*,\* Murray Friedman examines Jewry in post-war America in terms of traditional utopianism or romantic liberalism, and pragmatic realism. Why has Jewish political culture been so oriented to the ideological Left? Friedman suggests some answers: the heritage of biblical injunctions, as in Amos and Isaiah, against injustice; the tradition of *tsedaka*, the charitable righteousness that calls for aid to the poor; the advocacy of rational change to achieve legal equality and to end or minimize discrimination; the identification with liberalism because Jewish emancipation resulted from liberals of the Enlightenment.

Though Jewish law does not lead to any specific political consequences, Jewish history has emphasized community responsibility, charity, and welfare for poorer Jews. In modern societies, this communal charity has, in addition, extended to support of more general welfare and non-Jewish communal activity. But Friedman asks if a shift to the political Right is not now required in

America by the needs for order, openness, and freedom. This shift would emphasize particularistic, rather than universal, interests, and the need for national, ethnic self-identification.

Friedman defines the utopian dilemma as the desire to deal with politics and power as it should be rather than as it is. It is time to examine whether the public policies advocated by many Jewish organizations on economic and social issues, the welfare state and civil rights, are now appropriate.

Friedman's brief historical analysis closely follows that of Lucy Dawidowicz in her book *On Equal Terms*. In the golden age of American Jewry, from 1945 to the mid-60s, Jews moved up socially and economically in personal life, and were publicly prominent in movements for civil rights, social welfare, and international institutions, including the United Nations. In the following age of anxiety, the period of the last 20 years, divisive political issues—the race revolution, rising crime, desegregation, welfare reform, Vietnam, the bias in the U.N., strained American society.

The civil rights movement became more militant and blacks took over leadership roles. Racial tension increased, and the former cordiality between Jews and blacks was troubled by the struggle over community control of schools and low-cost housing, the differences over quotas for hiring and promotions, and a startling increase in black anti-Semitism, illustrated in 1984 by the language of Jesse Jackson and Minister Louis Farrakhan. Friedman sees welfare policies flawed as they encouraged dependence, not self-reliance. Social values deteriorated as individuals were not held responsible for their actions.

Yet Jews have continued to support welfare programs in spite of the need to restore values such as personal responsibility, civic virtue, and respect for legitimate authority. Most Jewish organizations accept abortion and oppose prayer and Bible reading in the schools, though the rise of "a new paganism" is disturbing. Many of these groups pay more attention to violations of human rights by Right-wing regimes associa-

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ted with the United States than to the defects of other regimes, and usually oppose military action or increased military spending, though there is an obvious connection between American military power and the security of Israel. On a number of issues the utopian dilemma means that real American Jewish interests are not served by Jewish idealism. Friedman concludes that a better balance should be established between universalism and particularism. Specifically, this entails a stronger national defense, and more support for regimes friendly to the U.S. Compassion and the welfare state are not enough for present policy: it is inappropriate to argue that defense expenditure must be reduced to allow more money for the poor. Nor should there be blanket approval of the concept of separation of church and state without recognition that this may sometimes be undesirable. Friedman admonishes those who ignore the fact that the strengthening of civil rights in the 1980s rests on economic growth and urban enterprise zones. Jews, disproportionately supporting programs to assist the disadvantaged and minorities, are still too prone to be nostalgic about their immigrant past.

For Friedman Jews have always been ambivalent about power, often making a virtue of powerlessness. But now, he believes, the situation is changing. An increasing number of Jews is, and a larger number should be, now aware of the realities of power, support a strong defense and national security, and question the growth of the welfare state and the desirability of busing and abortion. A better balance is emerging between concern for society as a whole, and a focus on what is good for the Jews.

Friedman's analysis is dispassionate in character, inviting rational dialogue on the present and future direction of politics among Jewry. Should the affluent Jewish community move away from its liberal stance, and will it do so? Will an increasing number of Jews vote for Republican candidates?

**W**hile caution in interpreting electoral behavior is always called for, recent studies do not indicate any significant change in Jewish voting or political opinions. Jews have disproportionately supported liberal political positions, including civil rights and the welfare state, and voted for Democratic candidates to a greater degree than have other white citizens. Since 1924 Jews have voted Democratic in all presidential elections by about 25 percent more than the electorate as a whole. Though in 1980, according to one survey, Jewish support for Reagan was only 10 points less than that of other white citizens, this apparent shift, due largely to a negative vote against Jimmy Carter, was reversed in 1984 and again in the 1986 congressional elections. In the 1984 presidential election, Reagan did worse than in 1980 among only two groups, Jews and the unemployed, getting 31-35 percent of the Jewish vote. Jews

remain the country's most liberal major white religious or ethnic group. Reagan did considerably worse among Jews than among non-Jewish voters of similar education and income. Exit polls in 1984 showed that two-thirds of all Jews earning over \$30,000 a year voted for Mondale, compared with one-third of all Americans earning the same amount.

In 1984 the fear of Christian fundamentalism with its call for the dominance of Christian values in American society and its attacks on "secular humanism" weighed more heavily than the prejudicial statements of Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan in Jewish voting decisions. Nevertheless, some shift to the Republicans has occurred. Preliminary studies of the 1986 Congressional elections show that 70 percent of the Jewish vote, as in 1984, went to the Democrats, a drop from the 82 percent of 1982.

All evidence suggests that Jews respond in contrary fashion to their economic and social status. In the 1970s, over 60 percent of college-educated Jews (and about 60 percent of Jews have attended college) described themselves as liberals, a far higher proportion than college-educated Protestants and Catholics (about 30 percent of non-Jews have attended college). Jews are more liberal than white non-Jews on the whole agenda of American politics, including state-supported welfare, civil rights, women's rights, civil liberties, and internationalism. Their voting pattern is affected less by issues of taxation and government spending than by those of anti-Semitism, quotas, school prayer, and the security of Israel.

Part of the explanation for Jewish voting, beyond attitudes on the specific empirical issues, is the lingering conception by many of Jewish marginality and, despite their present economic and social situation, the discomfort of Jews in the non-Jewish middle and upper class milieu. The Jewish opposition to fundamentalist Protestantism stems not only from the latter's dogmatic theology and attitude to social and cultural matters, but also from the religious Right's seeming intolerance and threat to the cultural pluralism with which the Jewish community feels safe. This opposition has been sufficiently intense to overcome any awareness of the strong support of Israel by Reverend Jerry Falwell and his colleagues.

Jews describe themselves as liberals by a 2-1 margin, a margin almost double that of non-Jews. The 1984 CBS News/*New York Times* exit poll found that 60 percent of Jews (over half of whom earn more than \$35,000 a year compared with less than a third of the general population) approved of an increase in federal spending on the poor compared with 40 percent of the general population. Similarly, the 1984 *Los Angeles Times* exit poll showed that 40 percent of Jews supported reductions in domestic items in the budget compared with 59 percent of the total. Jews approved raising taxes to support welfare programs, and reducing military expenditure to a

greater degree than other whites.

Surveys in the 1980s find that Jews are more likely than others to protect free speech and assembly, and to support tolerance for individual and group differences. Jews were the only white ethnic or religious group to support civilian police review boards in New York, to oppose the California referendum for changing the fair housing law, to vote in considerable proportion for black candidates for mayor in Chicago and Philadelphia, and strongly to support equal rights for women and homosexuals, and the right to abortion. They equally strongly oppose the evangelical intention to give religion a more prominent place in the public schools with prayers and the teaching of biblical creation.

In international affairs the Jewish attitude is more nuanced. The 1984 *L.A. Times* poll found that 59 percent of Jews, compared with 38 percent of the population, favored a nuclear weapons freeze, and 52 percent, compared with 38 percent of the population, supported a reduction in military spending. But the latter issue is, of course, complicated by Jewish support for Israel. Every poll shows that Jews approve by almost a 3-1 margin the position that the United States should maintain a strong military capacity in order to be a reliable military supplier for Israel.

**T**he role of Jews in American politics is unique in itself, let alone when considered in terms of its small percentage of the population. Jews exhibit greater interest and energy than others, vote in about double the proportion of the rest of the population, contribute about half the total funds going to the Democratic party and now a considerable amount to the Republicans, engage as activists to a disproportionate extent, and influence the intellectual political climate, mostly recently by neo-conservatism.

Jews are no longer poor or immigrants, attached to liberal positions in general and to the Democratic party in particular by economic considerations of class or by social and psychological marginality from an objective point of view. Even if one grants that the sense of marginality has lasted longer than warranted because of the Jews' historical pariah status, some explanation is still required for the political behavior of an affluent and highly educated community that seemingly runs counter to its class interests.

In recent years a number of writers, including Charles Liebman, Steven M. Cohen, Paul Ritterband, and Calvin Goldscheider, have reviewed some of the reasons given for Jewish attachment to liberalism. All of these reasons can be analytically challenged. The usually accepted argument that the Jewish religious tradition is universalistic, cosmopolitan, stressing communal and individual concerns for the welfare of others and the ideal of social justice, does not dispose of the fact that

ethnic particularism, nationalism, and political conservatism can also be found in traditional Judaism. Indeed, current voting studies show that Orthodox Jews are the least interested Jewish group in any application of *tsedaka* to the general population, oppose liberal positions on abortion, homosexuality, marriage, and divorce, strongly support religious schools, and voted 65-70 percent for Reagan in 1980 and 1984. The fact that the most observant Jews were also the most conservative and gave majority support to Reagan, while the least observant were the most liberal of all Jews, suggests that the liberalism of Jews may stem less from religious tradition and heritage than from secular radical and revolutionary ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries and from their political response to modernity.

It is sometimes held that the Jewish desire to change the status quo can be traced to the feeling that their achievements have been insufficiently regarded by society as a whole. But the economic, intellectual, and cultural contributions of Jews in present-day America appear to be well appreciated, if measured only in official rewards and cognition. Moreover, those Jews who feel most ethnically subordinate are also among the least liberal.

A third argument is the historical one that the political Right was opposed to emancipation, especially of Jews, and often favored the inculcation of Christian principles in social institutions. Jews thus owe their emancipation to the Enlightenment, to tolerant liberalism or concepts of socialist universalism, which have earned their support for integrating them in a more agreeable society. Again, there are problems with this argument. The first is that overt anti-Semitism has largely disappeared in the political Right except among the lunatic fringe, and the typical conservative resembles the typical Jew in income and occupational status. The second is the reality, slow to be perceived by many, that anti-Semitism, sometimes in a direct form and sometimes related to anti-Zionism, is now mainly found in the political Left, both nationally and internationally. Moreover, the pioneering studies of Edmund Silberner have led to a burgeoning literature indicating the strong presence of anti-Semitism in the socialist and Communist camp, including both Marx and Proudhon, and most recently political and literary figures in the Soviet Union.

In addition, the increase in anti-Semitism among blacks, especially the better educated, according to recent surveys, has troubled Jewish supporters of civil rights and those who felt that differences over social questions, such as quotas, could remain confined to the intellectual and political level. The sociological principle that prejudice declines with higher education appears not to have been proven in this case.

But in most issues the principle appears to hold. The high proportion of well-educated Jews and their significant occupational status have meant support for the

agenda of the new, cultural liberalism. Over 60 percent of college-educated Jews, compared with 43 percent of non-college-educated Jews, describe themselves as liberals. In a generally more educated population, liberalism has been more welcome, even chic, in realms such as those of academia and the media. Jews may often be in the forefront of this new politics, but behind them is a solid phalanx of non-Jews. At the same time opposition to cultural liberalism has been manifested by less well educated and lower status Jews, as also by Protestants and Catholics who are manual workers and not college-educated.

**I**s political change beginning to take shape among American Jewry? One cannot, of course, talk of Jews as a monolithic entity. The Republican party has increasingly attracted descendants of those German Jews who came to the United States before the wave from eastern Europe in the 1880s, and now attracts the Orthodox with their belief in religious schools, attachment to Israel, and hostility to the Soviet Union. Minimally observant Jews appear to be the most liberal, while the most secular and assimilated as well as the most observant, are among the most conservative.

One must also be careful about defining the key political terms. Jews may support more defense spending because of Israel, may be more concerned about violent crime and thus approve harsh punishment, and may continue to oppose quotas as a hiring principle, and still see themselves as liberals. If political labels are to be attached to individuals, what priority then ought to be given to the different elements of liberalism — political, economic, social, and cultural — which are not indivisibly linked? Nor are all the elements of liberalism invariably endorsed by one particular political party.

The general answer to the possibility of change in political identification depends on a number of factors. Jewish liberalism will continue, as Arthur Hertzberg suggests, if Jews are willing to act in disregard of economic interest when the cause seems just. The definition of justice thus becomes crucial — equality of opportunity or equality of results — and the application to actual cases would stem from that definition.

Much also depends on which candidates will lead the major parties and what priorities will be given to certain

issues; the direction of foreign policy; changing political positions in the non-Jewish world; and the impact of neo-conservatism.

A Democratic leader modeled on the greatly admired Hubert Humphrey would consolidate the Jewish vote; on the other hand, a Jesse Jackson or a Pat Robertson playing a prominent role in their parties would lead many to exit, all other things being equal. An increase in the neo-isolationism present in part of the Democratic party is likely to disturb those concerned for the security of Israel. Emphasis on the question of quotas, or affirmative action generally, in the 1987 Democratic-controlled Congress, or on school prayer and the control of abortion in the last two years of the Reagan administration, or in the Supreme Court, may be persuasive for some. More open support of Israel by Christian fundamentalists may lead Jews one way; more overt support for the Middle Eastern oil countries by business interests close to the Republican party may lead to the other. Will prosperous Jews still continue to feel more psychologically comfortable in the more diversified Democratic party with its urban, non-Anglo-Saxon constituents than in the Republican party, more akin economically, but dominated by a combination of rural, suburban, and middle-class Protestants? Are Jews, as Charles Liebman argues, more interested in integration and acceptance into American society, or in the values of Jewish group survival? The voice of neo-conservatism has been potent, but for limited numbers and with divided impact. United in commitment to political democracy, academic and intellectual tolerance, a strong foreign and military policy, suspicion of the Soviet Union, and attachment to Israel, the neo-conservatives have challenged some of the accepted wisdom about the welfare state and social policies. But they differ on voting habits and political dispositions, dividing in support for the major political parties.

The uncertainty about future Jewish political inclinations and party alignment is perhaps reflected in the present Congress. In the House of Representatives there are 29 Jewish Democrats compared with 4 Republicans; both of the two Jewish state governors are Democrats. But the 8 Jews in the Senate are evenly split between the two parties, a symbolic manifestation of the unresolved Jewish tension. If not now, when will American Jews decide upon their political ethos? ■

# JERUSALEM LETTER

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*Jews politics*

## HOW NEW YORK JEWS VOTE: MYTHS AND REALITIES

David M. Pollock

**Myth 1: All Jews Vote / Factors Affecting Turnout / Myth 2: Jews Always Vote Democratic / Myth 3: Jews Vote As A Bloc / Myth 4: Jews Are A Single-Issue Constituency / Myth 5: Jews Vote For Jews / Myth 6: There Are Too Few Jews To Make A Difference / Future Jewish Clout**

Among the many myths in popular circulation today are those which surround Jewish voting behavior in the United States. There are six common myths about the Jewish vote which do not bear up well under the scrutiny of research.

### Myth 1: All Jews Vote

Voting participation involves two components: the proportion of eligible voters who are registered to vote and the number of eligible voters who actually turn out on election day.

True, the proportion of Jews who are registered and do vote (as compared to the general population) is inordinately high. Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) figures indicate that at the beginning of 1984, three out of four eligible Jews in the New York metropolitan area were registered to vote. This compares favorably to the rest of the population of New York City who registered at a 50 percent rate.

However, the Jewish community cannot rest on its laurels. According to a 1983 JCRC study sponsored by the Scheuer Foundation, these statistics translated into 325,000 eligible Jews in the New York metropolitan area who were not registered to vote. Worse yet, four out of five of the unregistered Jews are under the age of 45.

During 1984, the JCRC mobilized its member agencies and other groups in New York in a major effort to increase the number of registered voters residing in 19 target New York state assembly districts in the metropolitan area. Jews represented a high proportion of the registered voters in each sample district.

A tracking of Board of Election registration figures between April, 1984 and April, 1985 disclosed a 9.8 percent increase in Jewish registration during that year. Some "yuppie" districts such as the Upper West Side of Manhattan showed a 33.6 percent increase in voter registration. Orthodox districts also showed major

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increases (e.g. Borough Park, +18.3 percent and Far Rockaway, +21.5 percent). The increase in Jewish voter registration in the five boroughs of New York City was estimated at between 85,000-90,000.

Registration is of no value if people do not vote. A study of the same 19 assembly districts indicates a slight absolute decrease in the Jewish voter turnout rate (68 percent in 1984 vs. 70 percent in 1982), but a rise in the total number of Jewish voters of 35,000-40,000. The 68 percent figure still represented a significant rise over the Jewish turnout rate in 1980, when less than half of New York City's eligible Jews (47 percent) voted.

#### Factors Affecting Turnout

This rise in voter participation was the result, at least in part, of a serious effort by the JCRC and others to increase Jewish turnout, but it must be noted that the presidential choices offered to the Jewish community in 1984 were certainly more palatable than in 1980. Walter Mondale, even with the "liability" of Jesse Jackson, was viewed much more positively than Jimmy Carter.

A reliable indicator of candidate satisfaction rather than party satisfaction can be found in the presidential primary elections. Carter was defeated 4:1 by Ted Kennedy in the 1980 New York presidential primary. Walter Mondale won the 1984 New York primary, with Gary Hart taking less than half (44 percent) of the Jewish vote.

Although Mondale was viewed more positively than Carter, he still had to deal with his association with Jesse Jackson. The National Exit Survey of the American Jewish Congress indicated that the votes of one out of three (34 percent) Jewish voters for Republican candidates in 1984 were strongly influenced by Jackson's campaign.

Even considering the Jackson factor, Mondale managed to consolidate most of the Carter and Anderson vote of 1980, and pick up some 1980 non-voters as well, according to precinct poll analyses by the JCRC. Reagan slightly increased his percentage of the New York Jewish vote, and also gained some 1980 non-voters. Even so, a third of the registered Jews did stay away from the polls, perhaps feeling that their vote would not make a difference in light of the "inevitable" landslide, or that they did not want to vote for either candidate.

The New York City mayoral primary of 1985 again demonstrated that the slippage of Jewish voting has been reversed. According to the NBC Exit Poll, close to one-third (32 percent) of the primary voters were Jewish, and the Jewish turnout rate (52.3 percent of the enrolled voters) was almost twice that of the non-Jewish rate. In the 1984 presidential primary, by comparison, Jews had comprised 26 percent of the primary voters.

#### Myth 2: Jews Always Vote Democratic

The JCRC Election Study indicated that in 1984, the New York City Jewish vote split 62:38 in favor of Mondale. NBC's New York State figure was 63:37. ABC reported a 70:30 split. In Massachusetts the split was 78:22. Yet although Mondale won the Jewish vote by a significant margin, he did not gain the plurality of many of his Democratic predecessors.

This vote represented another step in the steady erosion over the years of automatic Jewish identification with the Democratic party. Early survey data dealing with the Roosevelt years are unreliable, but most point to FDR garnering 90-95 percent of the Jewish vote. According to the Gallup Poll Index (November, 1972), Truman received 75 percent of the Jewish vote, Stevenson tallied 64 percent (1952) and 60 percent (1956), Kennedy received 82 percent, Johnson, 90 percent, and in 1976, Carter won 76 percent of the Jewish vote.

The JCRC Election Survey shows, however, that the pattern has not always been smooth. For example, although Humphrey did poll over 80 percent of the Jewish vote in 1968 in his race against Nixon, McGovern polled only 58 percent of the New York Jewish vote in 1972. It seems that a strong, sitting President who is known as a friend of Israel could gain a significant portion of that vote. The return of the Jewish vote to Carter and the Democrats in 1976 did not hold true in 1980. Then, 60 percent of the Jewish vote went to the Republican and Independent candidates - Reagan, 36 percent, and Anderson, 24 percent.

Jewish self-identification with the Democratic party also seems to be slowly eroding. ABC poll data indicate that 56 percent of Jews called themselves Democrats in 1980, but only 53 percent did so in 1984.

In New York, Jews have supported Republican candidates such as Jacob Javits for the

U.S. Senate, Nelson Rockefeller for Governor, and John Lindsay for mayor. A study of Jewish voting patterns in Westchester County shows considerable ticket splitting among Jewish voters. In 1985, the NBC Exit Poll of Democratic voters indicated that the favorable performance rating of Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato by Jews was significantly higher than that of non-Jews.

### **Myth 3: Jews Vote as a Bloc**

The aforementioned numbers indicate that Jews do not vote as a bloc. A close analysis of precinct data reveals that approximately one in four Jewish voters will consistently opt for conservative candidates, and approximately one in five can be labelled as a regular "swing voter," one who will readily change his/her vote based on candidates and issues. Similarly, ABC Poll data indicate that 16 percent of Jews call themselves Republican and 31 percent are Independent.

Two other phenomena bode for continued change in Jewish voting patterns. First, young Jews are becoming more conservative. Recent studies of entering college freshmen (see *Jewish College Freshmen - An Analysis of Three Studies* by Geraldine Rosenfeld of the American Jewish Committee) show that while these freshmen are more liberal than their non-Jewish peers, they are more conservative than their parents. This is borne out by Survey Research Center (University of Michigan) data that show that younger Jews are voting more conservatively, although not as regularly, than those of their parents' generation. In 1984, there emerged a Jewish "Yuppies for Reagan" that paralleled similar non-Jewish phenomena.

Second, the 1984 campaign focused attention on the Orthodox Jewish community, which currently comprises approximately 12 percent of the population in the New York metropolitan area. The Satmar Hassidic community of Williamsburg voted 4:1 in favor of President Reagan, and communities such as Kew Garden Hills and Borough Park voted 2:1 for the Republican ticket.

### **Myth 4: Jews are a Single Issue Constituency**

True, support for Israel among the American Jewish community is solid. Yet, in the 1984 Presidential race, Israel barely emerged as an issue.

Once both candidates were perceived as being strong supporters of Israel, the forum quickly shifted to other issues.

In its Exit Poll, ABC asked which issues were important to respondents in making their presidential choice. Interestingly, the option mentioned most often was "My candidate's stand on the nuclear weapons freeze (30 percent)," followed by "My candidate's stand on abortion (25 percent)," followed by "My candidate's stand on equal rights for women" and "the Reagan/Mondale debates (22 percent)."

One area in Brooklyn covered by the JCRC Election Study had an overwhelming majority of senior citizens. This area voted for Mondale 4:1. One might say that these voters had Social Security and Medicaid on their minds more than any other voter preference criterion.

Although the Jewish community's advocacy on behalf of Israel and Soviet Jewry are often perceived as particularly Jewish issues, the Jewish community often approaches these issues from a universalist standpoint. Soviet Jewry is not only an issue of Jews living under an oppressive regime, but one of basic human rights. As such, it is logical that the Jewish community is in the forefront of the fight to end apartheid in South Africa and of many other "decent" causes.

On the other hand, in ABC's Exit Poll, only one Jew in six mentioned "the Moral Majority's support of Ronald Reagan (17 percent)" as an important issue in their choice for president. Still, the majority of Jews do espouse many liberal positions which are diametrically opposed to those of the Moral Majority.

While looking at the data, one might posit that the key variable in Jewish voting behavior is that of individual freedom. There is a perception that when society starts to dictate issues of private morality, then it might also impose sanctions restricting the rights of minority groups, including Jews.

According to Steven M. Cohen, who conducted the study, *The Political Attitudes of American Jews, 1984*, for the American Jewish Committee, Jews still perceive themselves as "outsiders" in American society and, therefore, Jews identify with those who are left-of-center. 77 percent of Jews believe that anti-Semitism in America may become a serious problem. Of all

respondents, 35 percent believe that most or many conservatives are anti-Semitic, while only 7 percent of liberals are labelled as such. They perceive more danger from the right than from the left.

Jewish attitudes toward issues of individual freedom manifest themselves in interesting ways in this study. For example, although Jews are clearly troubled by the visibility of gays, they are pro-gay rights by 9:1. Similar splits are found on questions of abortion and equal rights for women, which are also issues of individual freedom. Both these issues are supported at a 9:1 rate in the Jewish community. However, it should not be assumed that Jews embrace the entire liberal agenda - Jews are in favor of capital punishment by 2:1.

Another facet of the personal freedom issue relates to church-state separation. While Jewish views on church-state issues are the inverse of the general population's, Jews are only 2:1 against tuition tax credits or silent meditation.

Perhaps one ~~explanation~~ for the comparatively lower status of the church-state issue in the collective Jewish mind is the comparatively lower status of religion itself within that psyche. According to the Religion in America Gallup Poll of March, 1984, only one in four Jews indicated that religion was "very important in their life." This answer is less than half of any other major group. Many in organized religion feel that Jewish efforts against school prayer, etc., are based on an anti-religion view, rather than as supporting religious freedom.

#### Myth 5: Jews Vote for Jews

As stated earlier, Jews vote on the basis of issues, and on their evaluation of the qualities of individual candidates. Rockefeller was able to attract a significant portion (and often the majority) of the Jewish community against Jewish opponents. Robert Wagner defeated a Jewish opponent in the Democratic mayoral primary (Arthur Levitt) and went on to victory over a Jewish Republican opponent (Louis Lefkowitz). In both races, Wagner carried the Jewish vote. In recent years in dozens of races, be it Moynihan vs. Abzug, Carey vs. Samuels, or Cuomo vs. Lehrman, Jews broke ethnic ranks and voted for the non-Jewish candidates in greater numbers than for their Jewish rival.

#### Myth 6: There are Too Few Jews to Make a Difference

The 1984 Reagan landslide was, most likely, a statistical aberration. Unless the fabled historic realignment among the nation's voters has taken place, results of future presidential elections are more likely to resemble those of 1980.

Reagan's 1980 plurality in New York was only 165,000. 90,000 of those votes can be identified as Jewish "shiffters" from 1976 Carter voters, in addition to the 100,000 Jewish votes for Anderson. Similar results occurred in Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania, all states with high Jewish populations. If Carter would have maintained his 1976 edge among the Jewish population in 1980, the results might have been different.

In New York, Jews comprise approximately 13 percent of the November electorate. Yet because of turnout patterns, they comprise up to 40 percent of the primary voters. In the foreseeable future, the primaries are where the ~~greatest Jewish electoral impact will be felt.~~

#### Future Jewish Clout

With more and more Jews voting in differing patterns, no party or candidate can take the Jewish vote for granted. A more realistic approach to Jewish political behavior should reveal targets of opportunity for both parties. The Jewish vote is up for grabs and this vote can make a difference for the foreseeable future.

Future Jewish clout will be felt in three arenas: the polling booth, political education (the direct lobbying of legislators by concerned constituents), and campaign contributions.

The Jewish population in the United States is shrinking and, without intervention, Jewish clout will ultimately decrease. Yet Jewish political power, if honed to perfection and used effectively, could and should achieve a net increase in the immediate future. And that, to answer the time-honored question, is good for the Jews.

\* \* \* \*

*David Pollock is the Assistant Executive Director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York.*

# Poll Finds Jews Are Tough Critics of Reagan

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.

American Jews remain one of the most Democratic groups in the American electorate and among the strongest critics of President Reagan, the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll has found.

The telephone poll of 1,449 adults, in which Jews were sampled at especially high rates, found that while other white Americans approved of Mr. Reagan's handling of his job by a margin of 53 percent to 37 percent, 61 percent of the disapproved of the President's performance and 29 percent ap-

The poll's margin of sampling error for all Americans was plus or minus three percentage points. For Jews it was plus or minus five points.

### Reagan's Popularity Improves

Over all, the survey taken April 5-8 found that Mr. Reagan's approval rating had a clear positive balance. Forty-nine percent of the public approved his handling of his job and 40 percent disapproved. In a March 28-29 Times/CBS News Poll, 45 percent approved and 43 percent disapproved.

However, Vice President Bush suffered a decline in his rating. Thirty-one percent of all surveyed had an un-

favorable view of Mr. Bush and 28 percent had a favorable view. This was down significantly from February, when Mr. Bush was viewed favorably by 32 percent and unfavorably by 19 percent.

Since 1972, Jews, long a backbone of the Democratic Party, have showed a growing openness to Republican Presidential candidates. President Carter received just 45 percent of the Jewish vote in 1980, with Mr. Reagan getting 39 percent and an independent candidate, John B. Anderson, 15 percent. In 1984, however, Walter F. Mondale received 67 percent of the Jewish vote.

Now 54 percent of the Jews registered to vote said they expected to cast their ballots for the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1988; only 12 percent said they would pick the Republican; other whites split nearly evenly, with 31 percent saying they expected to vote for the Democrat and 30 percent inclining toward the Republican.

### Jackson Viewed Unfavorably

But Jews, who were upset at expressions of anti-Semitism by the Rev. Jesse Jackson in his 1984 campaign for the Democratic nomination, continued to view him negatively: 54 percent had an unfavorable view of Mr. Jackson and 21 percent a favorable view.

Among other whites surveyed, 19 percent had a favorable view of Mr. Jackson and 41 percent an unfavorable

view. Blacks had an overwhelmingly favorable view of him.

Although many Jewish leaders have been critical of affirmative action programs, fearing they would lead to strict quotas, the survey found Jews sympathetic to giving preference in hiring or promotion to women, by 51 percent to 41 percent.

They were closely split, 48 percent to 45 percent, in favor of such programs for blacks. Jews were slightly more sympathetic than other whites to both forms of affirmative action, framed in terms of cases where there had been "job discrimination in the past."

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# Ten Military Rockets Found In Crates Near Supermarket

HAVERHILL, Mass., April 11 (AP) — Ten armed, camouflage-painted military rockets were found in wooden crates that sat unopened behind a supermarket for several weeks, the authorities said today.

The crates were found Friday by an employee of the De Moulas supermarket who was cleaning up behind the store, said Michael Lecourt, the store manager. There was no immediate indication as to how the rockets got there or to whom they belonged.

The rockets were being stored at state police barracks in Framingham pending an investigation.

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# Tzedek Society

November 12, 1986 10 Cheshvan, 5747

# CAPITOL LINE

*Jewish Politics*

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## AFTER THE ELECTION

# REAGAN REVOLUTION SLOWED: WHO WILL CHART THE NEW DIRECTION?

By Rabbi David Saperstein and Michael Berenbaum

The "Reagan Revolution" has been slowed, if not derailed, by the results of the 1986 election. As the **Religious Action Center** looks at its priority concerns in the 100th Congress, the future appears bright. Goals such as defeating Religious Right initiatives on school prayer, civil rights, and abortion; maintaining high levels of aid to Israel; strengthening programs for the elderly and poor; and intensifying Congressional efforts to reverse the nuclear arms race, will be easier to reach as we work within effective coalitions of moderate/liberal Democrats and Republicans.

Traveling more than 25,000 miles during the midterm election campaign with repeated visits to states such as North Carolina, Nevada, California and Florida, the President asked for a mandate for his policies. The American people rejected his plea and his policies though they continue to like him as a person. "The teflon President had teflon coattails," remarked one Washington political pundit.

Yet in this issueless, intensely personal campaign, few Democrats ran against the President or campaigned directly on national issues. Politics were local. Voter apathy was high, with less than 38% of eligible voters voting. In state after state, few people came to the polls to vote. So Democrats reassume leadership of the Senate, having neither a strong mandate for change nor having articulated a clear direction for the nation. *(continued on next page)*

*Rabbi David Saperstein is Co-Director and Counsel of the Religious Action Center. Dr. Michael Berenbaum is a senior consultant to the Religious Action Center.*

ton. The result: Gorton was defeated by former Carter cabinet member Brock Adams.

With the unabashed liberal Ted Kennedy at its fore, the Labor and Human Resources Committee should strongly attempt to reassert a compassionate domestic agenda. **Tzedek Society** founder Howard Metzbaum would have become chairman of the Senate Labor Committee had Kennedy chosen to chair the Judiciary Committee. The Democrats are in an awkward political position. On the one hand, they will clearly seek to restore some of the funding for social welfare programs cut in the past six years. This will, of course, exacerbate budget deficit problems. Yet on the other hand, Democrats are unlikely to raise taxes and leave themselves vulnerable to the President's charge that they are the "tax and spend, spend and tax party." Yet without additional revenue, it will be impossible to close the \$200 billion plus deficit. So the President will have to take some initiative—and some heat—if the U.S. is to avoid a crippling deficit. A spirit of bi-partisanship will be needed if the Congress is to address effectively the massive budget deficits.

#### Foreign Affairs.

Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia will replace retiring Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) as chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Nunn, a conservative Democrat, is widely regarded as the most knowledgeable senator on Military Affairs. Although Nunn has been generally supportive of the President's military buildup, he brings a strongly independent vision which has led him to be highly critical of Reagan's proposals at the recent summit as going too far even while he opposed the Strategic Defense Initiative as too expensive. He will certainly bring critically needed oversight to the massive Pentagon budget. The addition of moderate Democratic Senators will make it easier to reach a consensus with the House on how to constrain the administration's proposed nuclear buildup.

This is the most pro-Israel Congress in history. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will be headed by Democrat Claiborne Pell (RI) and the key subcommittee on the Middle East by liberal Maryland Senator Paul Sarbanes whose friendship for Israel is long and enduring. The other subcommittee that is vital to Israel's security is the Budget Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. This subcommittee will be headed by Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, whose record of support for Israel is unrivaled among his colleagues.

#### Presidential Politics.

Congress will also be the scene of Presidential politics as the campaign for 1988 began the day after the '86 elections ended. On the Republican side Bob Dole, George Bush and Jack Kemp will square off while Democrats Joe Biden, Bill Bradley, Sam Nunn and Rep. Richard Gephardt will use their newly strengthened

## CHRISTIAN RIGHT LOSES 64% OF ITS TARGETED RACES

By Glenn Stein

The 1986 Election marked a significant defeat for the Christian Right and signified its inability to shift the American people's commitment to traditional views of separation of Church and State. The dramatic results of this election will make it substantially more difficult for the Christian Right to push the 100th Congress to pass legislation in such areas as prayer in the public schools, abortion rights, or federal aid for parochial schools.

During the campaign, the **Religious Action Center** actively monitored the races across the country and alerted the Jewish community to the activities of the Christian Right. This educational program assisted Jewish communities in highlighting the improper introduction of religion into various campaigns, and, encouragingly, found that such abuses were overwhelmingly repudiated by the electorate.

In the 36 races for Senate, House and Governor seats specifically targeted by the Christian Right, it failed in 23. Their losses were considerable. Seven incumbents supported by the Christian Right (four in the Senate, one in the House and two governorships) lost their seats as did 16 others running as challengers for open seats. They ousted only one incumbent (Texas governor Mark White), claimed only one House open seat (Oklahoma—District 1) and maintained 11 incumbents (4 in the Senate and 7 in the House). In addition, Evan Mecham was the surprising winner of the Arizona governorship. Although not supported by the Christian Right, this avid John Bircher will likely be supportive of much of their agenda.

The only state where the Christian Right's gain was significant was in economically hard-pressed Texas where William Clements, who had a "Christian Liaison" on his campaign staff, ousted the incumbent governor. The Right also won five of the six Texas House races they targeted. One of the organizing strategies utilized in Texas was an "Oath and Covenant" sheet which delegates to primary conventions were asked to sign in order to prove they were the "right" Christians.

All three Jews targeted for defeat by the Christian Right (Mel Levine—CA, Larry Smith—FL, and Howard Wolpe—MI) were able to retain their seats in the House of Representatives by substantial margins. During the California campaign, Levine's opponent, Rob

Scribner, said God "called [him] to run for Congress in California's 27th District," charged that Levine was "diametrically opposed to nearly everything the Lord's Church stands for in this nation," and called on his supporters to help "link arms with us as we literally 'take territory' for our Lord Jesus Christ." In Florida, Smith's opponent, Mary Collins, said Smith's positions were "the antithesis of what the Christian community in the District would prefer." Wolpe, a perennial target of the right, also won handily.

### In the 36 races for Senate, House and Governor seats specifically targeted by the Christian Right, it failed in 23.

Other main Christian Right losses include:

- House incumbent William Cobey (R-NC) who was defeated by David Price. In a "Dear Christian Friend" campaign letter, Cobey described himself as "an ambassador for Christ" in Congress.
- Senate incumbent Paula Hawkins' (R-FL) who was defeated by Bob Graham. Hawkins' campaign was a priority for Rev. Jerry Falwell who also supported her in 1980.
- Senate incumbent James Broyhill (R-NC) who was defeated by Terry Sanford. Broyhill's "Christian Liaison" campaign staffer sent a mailing for campaign funds that urged support because "God's people must not sit idle while the battle rages. Please contact as many leaders of our persuasion in your county as possible."

Glenn Stein is Director of Congregation Relations at the Religious Action Center.

(continued on next page)

posts to position themselves for a presidential bid. Paul Laxalt was one of the losers of the evening. His hand-picked successor in Nevada, Jim Santini, lost handily to Harry Reid. Pat Robertson may have lost some ground in his presidential quest by the poor showing of the Christian right which lost some two-thirds of the elections they targeted. Gov. Mario Cuomo gained a record-breaking victory in New York, yet Cuomo was criticized for the brusque style of his campaign. Longshot presidential candidate Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts distinguished himself by winning almost 70% of the vote in Massachusetts. They as well as past and present governors George Deukmejian (California), Bruce Babbitt (Arizona), Pete du Pont (Delaware), Charles Robb (Virginia), former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson are considered likely presidential contenders.

#### Negative Campaigns.

1986 may long be remembered as the year of negative campaigns as in state after state candidates slung mud at each other in thirty-second spots. Clearly the American electorate was turned off by this campaign. Less than 38 percent of registered voters voted, the lowest figure in 50 years. Ironically this accentuated the value of "the get out the vote campaigns," a tactic that the Republicans had used so successfully in the past. Surprisingly, in this election, the efforts of the Democratic party and liberal bipartisan voter registration groups brought thousands of new voters to the polls, especially from minority communities including Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians. Preliminary results indicate that these efforts were decisive in a number of low population states such as North and South Dakota, as well as in California.

Although Democrats were outspent five to one, the campaign was outrageously expensive. More than \$20 million was spent in California and \$10 million in Florida. The average cost of a campaign probably exceeded \$5 million. Campaign reform should be a serious national concern.

The American people have proved their independence of party labels in the 1986 election. Southern states that sent Democratic Senators to Washington sent Republican Governors to their state capitals. In New York almost half of the people who voted for Mario Cuomo for Governor split their ticket and voted for Alfonse D'Amato for Senator. Candidates were chosen on their merits and neither party can claim the allegiance of the electorate.

The people have spoken. The revolution has been slowed. The Democrats have an opportunity to provide the nation with a vision and a sense of direction. The open question is who will lead the American people to define the agenda of the 1990s.

## 100TH CONGRESS: MOST PRO-ISRAEL IN HISTORY

By Michael Berenbaum

The pro-Israel community was jubilant after the election results were in. Once again, the American people have elected a decisively pro-Israel Congress. Israel continues to enjoy broad-based, bipartisan support from office holders and office seekers throughout the country. This is the first race in many years where not a single candidate ran on an explicitly anti-Israel platform. Even the shift in control between the Republicans and the Democrats will only enhance American support for Israel.

The key Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairmanship will fall to Claiborne Pell, whose friendship for Israel is deep and long-standing. Pell's father, Rep. Herbert Pell, introduced the concept "crime against humanity" in the early 1940s to describe the Nazi treatment of the Jews. His son has shared his concern for human rights for the Jewish community throughout his long career of public service.

Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) will replace Rudy Boschwitz as chair of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Mid-East. Like Boschwitz, Sarbanes has a long record of pro-Israel support. Daniel Inouye (D-HI) will head the Budget Committee key Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, which must approve of Foreign Aid support levels for Israel. For years, Inouye has been a staunch supporter of the Israel aid package. He had worked in close bipartisan cooperation with the equally pro-Israel Senator Robert Kasten (R-WI) during the years Kasten headed this committee. Kasten's narrow re-election victory ensures that the cooperative endeavors will continue.

The reelection of Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) ensures the presence for another six years of one of Israel's strongest friends. A leader of the AWACs fight and the battle to stop arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia, Cranston has also led the Senate struggle on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry. He first began his interest in Jewish affairs as a foreign correspondent in Hitler's Germany.

Two retiring Senators, Barry

Goldwater (R-AZ) and Charles Mathias (R-MD) have never been known for their support for Israel. So Barbara Mikulski's election in Maryland is a net gain for pro-Israel forces as is the election of John McCain in Arizona. In Alabama, Nevada, North Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia, friends of Israel have replaced incumbents whose support was shallow. The election of Tom Daschle and the defeat of Jim Abner in South Dakota means that pro-Israel forces have gained another vote in the Senate.

"The new Senators come to office with a strong record of support, with an interest in the issue and a desire to reach out to the Jewish community," said one pro-Israel lobbyist with evident satisfaction.

In the 100th Congress, the Senate Armed Services Committee is likely to play a more influential role in Middle East policy as the strategic US-Israel relationship deepens. Incoming chairman Sam Nunn of Georgia is a significant improvement over Barry Goldwater and a serious student of military policy. Over the past several years, he has grown closer to the American Jewish community and to Israel.

The scene in the House of Representatives remains stable where support for Israel is at an all-time high. Fourteen of the 44 members of the freshman class are considered strong friends of Israel. Among the rest there are none known to be opponents of aid to Israel.

*Dr. Michael Berenbaum is a senior fellow in residence at Religious Action Center.*

# PROSPECTS FOR CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN THE 100TH CONGRESS

By Kirk Bernstein

The November 4th elections substantially strengthened the wall between Church and State. Massachusetts voters defeated a referendum which would have approved state aid to parochial schools, and voters throughout the nation turned out to defeat two thirds of the New Right candidates in national races. The greatest boon for Church-State relations, however, is the transfer of power in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator Joe Biden of Delaware will replace Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who has presided over the Senate Judiciary Committee as Chairman for the past six years. Because the Judiciary Committee considers constitutional amendments and must consent to judicial nominations for the federal bench, it is the single most important committee for maintaining Church-State separation.

The Religious Action Center's success over the past decade in helping to defeat legislation which would undermine Church-State separation has been the result of a strong bipartisan coalition. When the Religious Action Center successfully lobbied against the Voluntary School Prayer Act of 1985, which sought to prohibit the United States Supreme Court and federal district courts from deciding cases which relate to voluntary prayer, Bible reading or religious meetings in public schools or public buildings, 38 Democrats, and 24 Republicans supported our position.

Democratic control of the Senate does not appear to have negative implications for the Equal Access Act, which passed the Senate in 1984 with widespread bipartisan support. The act makes it unlawful to deny equal access to school facilities to students in public secondary schools who wish to meet voluntarily for religious purposes.

On the state scene, voters in Massachusetts overwhelmingly rejected a referendum there which

would have weakened the state's constitutional prohibition on church-state entanglement, which is presently even stronger than the language in the U.S. Constitution. The referendum would have permitted state aid to parochial schools. Concurrently, however, voters in South Dakota accepted a referendum proposal to allow public schools to loan textbooks to private ones, thereby allowing the state to give financial assistance to parochial schools.

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**The American voters' veto of the candidates offered by the Christian right, whose leaders often apply religious tests to candidates, signifies the inability of that movement to erode the people's commitment to the separation of Church and State.**

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Finally, the defeat of the Christian right's candidates in 64 percent of its targeted races marks a significant victory for the separation of Church and State. The American voters' veto of the candidates offered by the Christian right, whose leaders often apply religious tests to candidates, signifies the inability of that movement to erode the people's commitment to the separation of Church and State.

*Kirk Bernstein is a Religious Action Center Eisenbrah intern responsible for work on South Africa and Church-State issues.*

## Jewish Members of Congress

### SENATE

The Jewish delegation in the Congress changed very little in the election.

There remains eight Jewish members of the Senate. They are:

Senator Rudy Boschwitz, R-MN

Senator Chic Hecht, R-NV

Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, D-NJ

Senator Carl M. Levin, D-MI

Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-OH

Senator Warren Rudman, R-NH

Senator Arlen Specter, R-PA

Senator Edward Zorinsky, D-NE

Senators Rudman and Specter won reelection.

Three Jewish candidates for Senator lost. They were Mark Green, D-NY, Ken Kramer, R-CO, Harriet Woods, D-MO.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

In the House there had been 30 members. Ben Cardin is the only Jewish freshman elected to Congress. Bobbi Fiedler (R-CA) and Ken Kramer (R-CO) did not run for reelection, instead entering Senate races. Fiedler lost in the primary and Kramer was narrowly defeated in the general election.

Four Jews lost in their election bid for a seat in the House. Bella Abzug, D-NY 20, Jim Cohen, D-CT 5, Marc Holtzman, R-PA 11, and Rosemary Pooler, D-NY 27.

At this time the 29 Jewish members of the House are:

Representative Gary L. Ackerman, D-NY 7

Representative Anthony C. Beilenson, D-CA 23

Representative Howard L. Berman, D-CA 26

Representative Barbara Boxer, D-CA 6

Representative Sala Burton, D-CA 5

Representative Ben Cardin, D-MD 3

Representative Ben Erdreich, D-AL 6

Representative Barney Frank, D-MA 4

Representative Martin Frost, D-TX 24

Representative Sam Gejdenson, D-CT 2

Representative Benjamin A. Gilman, R-NY 22

Representative Dan Glickman, D-KS 4

Representative Willis Gradison, Jr., R-OH 2

Representative Bill Green, R-NY 15

Representative Tom Lantos, D-CA 11

Representative William Lehman, D-FL 17

Representative Sander M. Levin, D-MI 17

Representative Mel Levine, D-CA 27

Representative John Miller, R-WA 1

Representative James H. Scheuer, D-NY 8

Representative Charles E. Schumer, D-NY 10

Representative Norman Sisisky, D-VA 4

Representative Larry Smith, D-FL 16

Representative Stephen J. Solarz, D-NY 13

Representative Henry A. Waxman, D-CA 24

Representative Ted S. Weiss, D-NY 17

Representative Howard Wolpe, D-MI 3

Representative Ron Wyden, D-OR 3

Representative Sidney R. Yates, D-IL 9

# ELECTION'S IMPACT ON CRITICAL ISSUES

## CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS REINVIGORATED BY VICTORY

By Beth Sperber

The outlook for both Judicial nominations and Civil Rights legislation is quite positive according to Civil Rights advocacy organizations. "For the past six years we have had the votes on Civil Rights legislation, but we have not had control of the process," said the director of a key Washington civil rights lobbying organization. He was smiling and contemplating a vacation in the lull between the election and the arrival of the 100th Congress in early January. He explained: "We have been able to get the votes we want but have been less successful in getting the bills out of committee and out onto the floor for votes. After the results of this election we will be able to get legislation through so the majority of votes we have held for all these years will make a substantial difference."

It is likely that the major legislative initiatives will focus on The Civil Rights Restoration Act which would overturn the Supreme Court's *Grove City College v. Bell* decision. That decision seriously weakened the civil rights protection of women, minorities, disabled persons and older Americans. It means that institutions may be allowed to discriminate in any program not receiving direct federal funding.

The largest impact on Civil Rights resulting from this election is likely to be in Judiciary appointments. With the shift in leadership of the Senate Judiciary Committee to Senator Biden, the chances of Reagan appointees being swiftly nominated and approved through the committee are slim. The Democrats now have the chance to withhold their consent by stalling nominations in committee, slowly and thoroughly investigating an appointee's background, and making it difficult for Reagan to fill in slots that might open in the Supreme Court. The presence of a Democratic majority may also shape the type of nominations that the President sends to the Senate.

Some analysts remember well the compromise between President Richard Nixon and the Democratically controlled Senate in

the early 1970s. Under that system, the Democrats and the President were allowed to nominate every other appointee, thus speeding up the process of nomination and approval by this trade-off agreement. The possible reinstatement of this type of agreement has been considered by many in the Civil Rights advocacy organizations.

In general, Civil Rights activists are heartened by the results of the election, believing that the majority they have held for years will now become a more effective majority.

*Beth Sperber is a Religious Action Center Eisendrath intern whose portfolio includes Black-Jewish Relations, Women's issues, civil rights and domestic economic justice.*

## DEMOCRATIC SENATE MORE LIKELY TO THWART REAGAN ON CENTRAL AMERICA

by Sarah Goldstein

Foreign policy analysts predict a net gain of two contra aid opponents in the new Democratic Senate, making a total of 48 Senators who oppose U.S. support for the Nicaraguan rebels' attempt to overthrow the Sandinista government. These additional votes against President Reagan's policy in Nicaragua could reverse the narrow Senate support given him for the \$100 million package last August.

Altogether, last Tuesday's election yielded three new opponents of contra aid and two supporters. Wyche Fowler of Georgia, Harry Reid of Nevada, and Tom Daschle of South Dakota all oppose contra aid. Each beat a challenger or replaced an incumbent who backed such aid: Mack Mattingly, Jim Santini, and Jim Abner, respectively. However, the loss of retiring Democratic Missouri Senator Thomas F. Eagleton's seat, which will be filled by conservative Kit Bond, cancels out one of the three gains. Defeated Sen. Paula Hawkins (R-FL) will be replaced by Gov. Bob Graham who is also a contra supporter.

Additionally, the replacement of Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) with Claiborne Pell (D-RI) as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will help tilt the balance away from the President's policy, as will the replacement of Robert J. Dole (R-KS) with Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) as majority leader. More subtle shifts in subcommittee chairmanships will also determine the thrust of Central American policy in both houses of Congress. Either Edward Zorinsky (D-NE) or Christopher Dodd (D-CT) is expected to replace Jesse Helms as chair of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If Dodd, an articulate opponent of contra aid, becomes chairman, the subcommittee would exercise its oversight role vigorously, beginning by holding hearings to determine the CIA's indirect role in supporting Nicaraguan rebels. In the House Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee, the loss of Michael Barnes (D-MD), a leading opponent of contra aid, could leave a vacuum for a less vocal or passionate leader.

Within several months after Congress convenes, they will have the opportunity to cancel \$40 million of the funds earmarked for aid to the contras. If they do so, the President would most likely veto the action, and a two-thirds vote would be required to override the veto. Although it is highly unlikely that contra aid opponents would be able to muster the necessary 66 votes, it is possible that the leadership would attempt to delay, filibuster, or in some other way thwart President Reagan's initiative.

## STATUS QUO LIKELY TO REMAIN IN ECONOMIC JUSTICE LEGISLATION

by Beth Sperber

"We may be able to get in to see those who make policy, but the policy isn't going to change much," one advocate for economic justice said resignedly. On the positive side, many of the new members of Congress and those incumbents who were reelected have a personal interest in bringing military spending and domestic human needs into some sort of balance. The funds for increases in social welfare spending would likely come from such redistribution of existing income.

While all government programs are more likely to be held accountable for the money they spend, Congress is unlikely to change the basic economic conditions of government or to reduce the deficit substantially. There is little expectation that Congress will repeal the Gramm-Rudman amendment or

push for increased government revenue unless the President initiates a call for enhanced revenues, a polite way of referring to a tax increase.

The Democratic leadership in the House and the Senate will be reluctant to be labeled as "the spend and tax, tax and spend Congress" and will not want to hand the Republicans an issue for the 1988 election. Although the key economic committees in the Senate will now come under Democratic control, their leadership will fall to conservative and moderate Democrats. Only the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee expects a major shakeup with Edward Kennedy (D-MA) replacing Orrin Hatch as chairman.

One aspect of the Reagan revolution has been to transfer to the local level primary responsibility for social services. Despite Republican losses in the Senate, they made sharp gains in state races. Republican governors will thus be in a position to shape government services for domestic human needs. This development does not bode well for the many domestic programs that must be implemented on the state level. Yet, because governors face real issues and have direct contact with those in need, they tend to be less ideological and more pragmatic in their approach to problems.

The defeat of Republican Senators in traditionally Republican farm states and the crisis in farm areas makes it likely that Congress will take significant initiatives in the agricultural sphere.

While generally positive about the election results, economic justice advocates are skeptical about movement in Congress in the two years before a presidential election. In the face of that election, Representatives and Senators will be less likely to stick their necks out for legislation for the poor which will cost the government money. The prediction is that they will move cautiously in this Congress on issues of economic justice.

## THE ELECTION'S IMPACT ON THE NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUE

By Anita M. Moss

As a campaign issue, nuclear disarmament failed to capture the attention of the electorate—even after the Reykjavik summit. But the issue had an important indirect impact. Peace activists were out in full force. Many became campaign volunteers and organizers. They spent long hours in the critical weeks before the election contacting and identifying voters, and getting supporters to the polls on election day. A number of analysts believe their "turn-out-the-vote" efforts made the difference in several close races.

As a result of this election, there should be a net gain in the Senate of three solid votes in favor of nuclear arms reductions. Six freshman senators were rated highly by nuclear arms control advocates: Tim Wirth (D-CO), Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Wyche Fowler (D-GA), Kent Conrad (D-ND), Thomas Daschle (D-SD) and Brock Adams (D-WA). But three retiring Senators—Gary Hart, Charles Mathias and Thomas Eagleton—had excellent records of support. This net gain should prove sufficient to cut back on the Reagan administration's Star Wars funding requests which were supported with narrow one vote margins in 1986.

The gains in Senate support this year, combined with those from 1984, give freeze and nuclear disarmament proponents an edge. However, to build a strong majority in the Senate, arms control advocates will clearly need to enlist the support of moderate Republicans.

The impact of the potential shift on votes may well be limited by the rise of Senator Sam Nunn to the chairmanship of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Nunn, who is more conservative than the mainstream of the Democratic Party on these issues, is an independent thinker with a comprehensive understanding of arms issues, and has often criticized the Pentagon. While he voted for SDI and is generally known as a hawk, he has deviated from the Administration on the details, scope and direction of its policy. He is reluctant to diminish U.S. reliance on nuclear deterrence without a guarantee of adequate conventional arms to counteract Soviet superiority. His overall record is mixed: he voted for chemical weapons, against a moratorium on anti-satellite weapons, but in favor of decreasing Star Wars funding by half a billion dollars. Nunn defies the easy conventions of Washington. He is expected to be a strong leader of the Committee and is well respected by his colleagues.

The slight Democratic gain in the House will likely strengthen the House's willingness to partake an activist role in countering the President's nuclear arms policy. In the last session the House voted five times to sharply restrict the President's programs. It voted to cut off funding for any weapons that could violate SALT II banned testing of Anti-Satellite weapons, sharply reduced Star Wars funding, cut all funding for chemical weapons and passed a Comprehensive Test Ban as long as the Soviets continued with theirs. Unless concrete progress is made in Geneva, the House will likely continue with its independent course on arms policy.

*Anita Moss is a Religious Action Center Etsendrath intern whose primary responsibility is to work on the Nuclear Arms Race.*

## PROSPECTS APPEAR PROMISING FOR PRO-CHOICE ADVOCATES

By Beth Sperber

Abortion rights activists are celebrating the November 4th elections, estimating a gain of approximately three pro-choice votes in the Senate and five to ten in the House. The present tally stands at 47 strong pro-choice votes in the Senate, 36 strongly anti-choice, and approximately 15 swing Senators. In the House, the tally stands at approximately 198 pro-choice members, 20 to 25 votes short of the necessary 218 majority. Retiring Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill was strongly pro-choice. His likely successor Texas Rep. Jim Wright is not. However, the likely candidates for majority and minority whips are more likely to be sympathetic to abortion rights than the past whips have been.

Pro-choice activists are cautiously optimistic about the prospects for the success of next year's legislative agenda. The House Judiciary Committee will continue to be solidly in favor of abortion rights and the Senate Judiciary Committee, under the leadership of Joe Biden (D-DE), may swing toward the pro-choice position. Abortion rights advocates expect the Senate to pass legislation allowing Medicaid funding for rape and incest survivors, although such a measure would be unlikely to pass the House.

The prospects for securing Medicaid funding for abortions do not appear favorable. Although the Senate Appropriations Committee might support such legislation, it would have little chance of surviving in that Committee's counterpart in the House. Representative Alan B. Mollohan (D-WV), currently the chair of the pro-life caucus, will likely be a strong conservative voice on the House Appropriations Committee where future pro-choice legislation may well be blocked before ever reaching the House floor.

Pro-choice organizations hailed November 4th as a victory on the state level as well. Abortion rights referenda appeared on the ballots of four states: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Oregon and Arkansas. The first three easily upheld the pro-choice stand. In Arkansas, where a clear defeat for pro-choice forces had been expected, the vote was so close that even an anti-choice win will be regarded by the pro-choice movement as a psychological victory for their cause.

Many abortion rights advocacy organizations contend that the November 4th results provide further evidence that the vast majority of Americans are pro-choice and will eventually influence Congress to move in that direction as well.

## JEWISH PACS

By Sarah Goldstein

In a campaign filled more with personal attacks, ideological broadsides, and blurred party identities than with substantive issues, it is no wonder that much of the American electorate had difficulty in selecting a candidate worthy of their support. That task was no less difficult for American Jews. The more than 70 pro-Israel political action committees (PACs) steered support in a definite direction toward friends of Israel, yet those friends included a number of incumbents whose views on Church-State issues, abortion, civil rights and arms control made many Jews uncomfortable.

The "rules" of single-issue PACs stipulate that in the case of two candidates equally pro-Israel, you give to the incumbent. Since more Republicans were up for election than Democrats, in 1985 pro-Israel PACs gave about 60 percent of their funds to Republicans and over 90 percent to incumbents. According to an influential *New Republic* article by Robert Kuttner published last May titled "Unholy Alliance: How Jewish PACs may save the Republican Senate," Jewish PACs supported pro-Israel Senate incumbent candidates such as Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), Robert Kasten (R-WI), and Paula Hawkins (R-FL), rather than Democratic challengers whose support for Israel was equally strong but whose positions on other issues such as prayer in the public schools was more in line with the Jewish community.

Kuttner admits that his thesis of pro-Israel PAC support for Republican candidates did not hold up in this year's Congressional campaign. While pro-Israel PAC money continued to go this year in higher percentages to Republicans than the 70-30 pro-Democratic Jewish vote indicated, only one of the 11 largest pro-Israel PACs contributed more money to Republicans than to Democrats, according to the Federal Election Commission. For example, National PAC (NATPAC), the largest pro-Israel PAC, contributed a million dollars as of the end of October, 59.6 percent of which went to the Democratic Senate candidates, according to Director Richard Altman in a telephone interview on the eve of the election. Furthermore, the largest single recipient of pro-Israel PAC money in the recent campaign was the staunch liberal Democrat Alan Cranston, who reportedly received over \$200,000.

Still, Kuttner's portrayal of the pro-Israel alliance with Republican incumbents continues to ring true. In New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Alaska, pro-Israel PACs backed D'Amato, Kasten, Arlen Specter (who is more moderate than the others), and Frank Murkowski respectively rather than Democratic challengers who might have expected to receive Jewish financial support based on issues of Jewish concern other than Israel.

According to Howard Kohr, deputy director of the pro-Republican National Jewish Coalition, Jews in general and pro-Israel activists in particular continue to move toward the Republicans out of frustration with liberal

## THE END OF THE REAGAN JUDICIAL REVOLUTION?

by Michael Berenbaum

"It is a formula for stalemate," said one Republican Senator dejectedly. Nowhere is the shift from Republican to Democratic leadership more pronounced than on the Senate Judiciary Committee. Outgoing Chairman Strom Thurmond, an arch conservative from South Carolina, is to be replaced by liberal Democrat Joseph Biden, Jr. as head of the committee that reviews Presidential nominations for the federal judiciary, including the Supreme Court.

During the six years of his presidency, Ronald Reagan has substantially reshaped the federal judiciary. He has nominated a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. With three more justices approaching 80 years of age, the President had expected to pack the Court with conservative nominees who would define the supreme law of the land well into the twenty-first century. The appointment of Scalia narrowed the pro-civil liberties vote on the court from 6-3 to 5-4. One more Reagan appointee may well undo 30 years of expansion of civil rights and civil liberties on issues like abortion, school prayer and affirmative action. Moreover, during his term, the President has nominated almost one-third of the members of the federal judiciary and over the next two years he expected to name hundreds more to the bench. As the 100th Congress convenes, there are 54 vacancies on the federal bench awaiting presidential nomination.

The shift from Thurmond to Biden is by no means an even trade. The Democrats will now control the Judiciary Committee by at least a 10 to 8 majority, having the power also

to hire staff and set the calendar. This control will be a marked change from early this fall when the Democratic minority staff could assign only one person to investigate the records of Justice Anthony Scalia. Now, the new Democratic majority will be able to discourage the President from nominating incompetent or highly partisan judges such as Daniel Manion, whom the Religious Action Center strongly opposed, if he hopes that they will be approved by a Democratic Senate. Indeed, during President Jimmy Carter's tenure, only 6% of his appointments received the ABA's lowest approval rating. 40% of President Reagan's appointments have received this rating as narrow ideological considerations became more important than judicial competence.

As one insider observed, "the Democrats will serve as a psychological block to the President's efforts to pack the court at every level. Reagan will have no difficulty getting thoroughly competent professional conservative nominees through the Senate, such as Justice John Stevens, a Nixon appointee, but the very presence of the Democrats will inhibit the choice of judges."

Democrats whose support for Israel is contingent upon their ability to reject other defense issues that may be attached to bills for Israel aid, such as aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Democratic activists find no contradictions in supporting aid to Israel while opposing aspects of our military and security assistance programs they regard as harmful to U.S. interests.

In fact, Kuttner's "unholy alliance" prompted some American Jewish leaders to abandon Jewish single-issue (Israel-focused only) PACs, and found PACs which would support candidates sympathetic to a wide range of issues traditionally of Jewish concern as well as Israel. MIPAC (Multi-Issue PAC) and the Fund for Freedom are two such groups that participated in this year's campaign. A state multi-issue PAC has begun in Michigan as well. MIPAC, which measures candidates on such domestic issues as civil rights and women's rights, as well as on Israel, gave 50 times more funds to Democratic candidates than to Republicans.

By most accounts, the most extraordinary PAC in the Jewish community is JAC (The Joint Action Committee) comprised of over 2000 Jewish women across the United States.

A single-issue PAC by definition, it is a multi-issue PAC in practice since it refuses to give money to any candidate who receives funding from the National Conservative PAC (NCPAC) or other right-wing PACs. More interestingly, it may be the only democratic PAC (with a small "d") of the over 4,000 PACs in the country, creating chapters and committees in local communities which, by majority vote, recommend candidates to the national committee. This PAC not only has empowered women to play an effective political role in what has traditionally been a male sphere of activity but has grown to be the Jewish community's second largest PAC, having distributed over \$300,000 in this election cycle.

American Jews have always been disproportionately active in the political process, mostly as liberals. The recent upsurge of Jewish pro-Israel PACs may not change that traditional liberal commitment of individual Jews, but it may well change the character of the Jewish institutions that politicians must consider when contemplating issues of interest to the American Jewish community.

*Sarah Goldstein is an Eisenrath intern working on Central American Affairs and International Human Rights at the Religious Action Center.*

# CHAI IMPACT

10 Heshvan 5747  
November 12, 1986

*Jews in public schools*

## CHAI/IMPACT ANALYSIS

### THE HAWKINS COUNTY TEXTBOOK CASE: AN ATTACK ON THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

a publication of the  
**RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER**  
OF REFORM JUDAISM

*The Religious Action Center  
pursues social justice and  
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mobilizing the American  
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serving as its advocate  
in the nation's capital*

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Temple Youth.*

On October 24, 1986, the US District Court for Greeneville, Tennessee ruled that students have the right to "opt out" of the part of the public school curriculum which offends their religious beliefs. The outcome of this case, *Bob Mozert et al. v. Hawkins County Public Schools et al.* could allow small groups of fundamentalist parents to exert great influence on curricula across the country. Its impact could potentially rend the fabric of the American system of public education.

However, although Church/State experts believe that the judge erred in ruling in favor of the fundamentalist plaintiffs, the children's parents raised genuine First Amendment concerns which the Jewish Community should not summarily dismiss.

#### BACKGROUND:

Sixty-one years after Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan clashed over the teaching of evolution in the famous "Scopes Monkey trial", religious fundamentalists are once again attacking the values of free inquiry and nonsectarianism in public education in states throughout the US. In 1925, John Scopes, a biology instructor, was convicted of the "crime" of teaching the theory of evolution to his high school students. Today, the fundamentalist agenda in Tennessee, Alabama, and elsewhere reflects an even more ambitious goal. It contemplates nothing less than the elimination from the public school curriculum of any reading material offensive to fundamentalist religious beliefs. Indeed, as one of the plaintiffs (all but one of whom withdrew their children from the public schools) indicated, this case is a first step in an effort to dismantle the public school system. Rev. Jerry Falwell's words might well be taken to heart by the plaintiffs: "I hope I live to see the day when, as in the early days of our country, we won't have any public schools. The churches will have taken them over again and Christians will be running them. What a happy day that will be!"

Fundamentalist groups have been actively pushing their agenda at every level of the educational, legislative, and judicial process. For example, in 1974, Texas fundamentalist textbook crusader Mel Gabler's organization persuaded the Texas Textbook Review Committee, the largest single purchaser of textbooks in the country, to consider only books that identified evolution as *just one theory* of human origin. Currently, a third of all high school biology texts do not mention evolution at all. Subjects such as Shakespeare, the Holocaust and religious pluralism receive scant attention in textbooks as a result of fundamentalist crusades.

The war waged by fundamentalists has escalated recently in the courts. In addition to the Tennessee case, a trial of potentially greater consequence is now underway in federal court in Mobile, Alabama. Fundamentalist plaintiffs there have charged that the Alabama public schools unconstitutionally promote the "religion of secular humanism". They have asked the federal courts to compel the schools to remove this "religion" from its curriculum. Books ranging from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* to *The Diary of Anne Frank* as well as courses on drug and alcohol-abuse prevention and health and sex education have been accused of perpetuating the religion of "secular humanism." Arguments on the case have been completed. A decision is expected soon.

In the Hawkins County textbook case, the fundamentalists won a significant victory. The implications of this case for the future of public education have yet to be fully assessed.

#### ISSUES:

At issue in the case is a First Amendment claim: the right to free exercise of religion. The Hawkins County Board of Education included a series of books published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston as *required* reading for its first through eighth grades. The plaintiffs allege that since this material offended the religious beliefs of both the students and their parents, it represented an infringement on their free exercise rights.

In assessing a claim to free exercise of religion, the courts apply a two-pronged test. They determine first whether a government act has in fact created a burden on the plaintiffs' free exercise of religion. If a burden is found, they balance the offense against the government's interests. If the government can show a "compelling governmental interest," then the courts will dismiss the "free exercise" claim.

The court found that forcing children to read books containing views anathema to their religious beliefs infringed on the students' free exercise of religion. In addition, the court held that there was no compelling state interest in using this particular set of books which would outweigh the cost to the students' first amendment rights.

Arguments for the court's decision:

1. The presumption that children should have the right not to be compelled to use materials or participate in activities which offend their religious beliefs is sound. Should, for example, the children of religious pacifists be forced to participate in gym activities in which children play mock war games? Clearly, Jewish children ought to have the right to be excused from singing in a concert of Christmas carols containing Christological assertions. With

similar logic, the Supreme Court has previously held that children whose religious beliefs dictate otherwise cannot be compelled to salute the flag.

2. The Court decision was very narrowly drawn. It applied to these particular books, in this particular community and explicitly did not apply to other situations so as to avoid affecting public education generally.

Arguments against the court's decision:

1. The judge's determination of the facts in Hawkins is questionable, even if the underlying logic of the decision is sound. The crucial issue for the case is whether the interests of the State of Tennessee in maintaining its standard elementary school reading curriculum are sufficiently compelling to outweigh the plaintiff's free exercise claims. A clear distinction should be drawn between Tennessee's interest in directing peripheral school activities, e.g. flag saluting and Christmas caroling--a weaker interest--and its interest in implementing its reading curriculum in elementary schools--a stronger one. It is a less weighty burden on the school to accommodate First Amendment rights in the flag saluting/Christmas caroling cases than the burden imposed in accommodating the plaintiffs' broadly drawn religious sensibilities. These beliefs require that children be allowed to "opt in and out" of the entire reading curriculum in the elementary school--a curriculum which is interwoven with almost every aspect of daily school life. The judge found, as a matter of fact, that in this situation "opting out" of the reading curriculum would not overly burden the school. This was the crucial determining factor in the judge's decision and will certainly be disputed in cases brought in other courts.

2. The government of a pluralist society has a clear and compelling interest in providing an orderly, broad, pluralistic and nonsectarian education. The government also has an interest in cultivating a tolerant and broad minded citizenry. Public education is the great melting pot of America, the time when children mix with students of varying viewpoints and beliefs, a time to study diverse ideas. To accept the court's view would transform the enriching diversity of the present day classroom into stifling homogeneity.

3. The government has another compelling interest, in maintaining the kind of orderly learning environment essential to a quality education. Permitting parents to select which classes their children will attend would gravely undermine the functioning of the nation's public schools. "Creationists" whose beliefs are inconsistent with material taught in the physical sciences could remove their students from those classes; Catholics could remove their children from classes teaching about the Reformation; Christian Scientists could ask that their children be exempt from courses describing the use of medical practitioners; and religiously motivated historical revisionists could ask that their children not be taught about the Holocaust. The result: students would constantly be shuttling in and out of classes according to the content of their beliefs. Such a system could grind public education to a halt.

4. Because the claim of religious offense was framed so broadly, the logic of the court's decision could be extended to deny a basic introduction to such subjects as economics, religious history and the physical sciences. According to testimony taken at the trial, for instance, material criticizing the free-enterprise system is unacceptable for presentation in the public schools, because "capitalism is ordained by God". Teaching about non-Protestant

religions was deemed offensive since it can "confuse". For the sake of the breadth of public education, the Tennessee ruling should not stand.

5. Despite its narrow ruling, the court's approach opens a Pandora's Box. If the decision stands, it could clog our courts, and intimidate school officials across the country who will be fearful of lawsuits bringing substantial penalties if they lose and exorbitant legal costs even if they win.

Tony Podesta, a lawyer and director of the Washington based *People for the American Way*, observed: "This ruling will open the door to further pressure by ultra-fundamentalist groups across the country to make the schools toe their sectarian line, and to create a new segregation based on sectarian beliefs within our public schools. We will look to the Appeals Court to reverse...[the] decision, and to rule that educational excellence rather than sectarian ideology is the only proper business of public education." Accommodating the demands of fundamentalist parents in cases like Hawkins could destroy the public school system as we know it.

#### ACTION SUGGESTIONS:

\*Vigorously oppose efforts in your communities to segregate public school classrooms according to religious beliefs.

\*Form monitoring groups to review the status of fundamentalist activity in the public schools.

\*Vigorously oppose efforts in your communities to allow the political/religious national campaign of fundamentalists to dictate the curriculum or censor the required material taught in the public school classroom.

\*Examine the legitimacy of the free exercise claims made by people in the community and seek ways to resolve them without disrupting public education.

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Copyright ©1987 The Jewish Press Inc. "Teach Me Thy Way, O Lord, That I May Walk In Thy Truth" Psalms 86:11

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## Report From Washington

By Morris J. Amitay

*Jewish  
philite*

The departure of Gov. Mario Cuomo from the Presidential sweepstakes, along with the reaction to the Tower Commission report, have further fueled speculation as to who will be President Reagan's successor in the White House in 1989.

For Israel's supporters, the unprecedented large number of candidates from both parties poses particular difficulties in determining where they have all been in terms of US-Israel relations and Middle East policy in the past. This furnishes important clues as to how they could be expected to act once they reach their cherished goal.

The field is somewhat smaller on the Republican side, with only three candidates considered "major" at this point — Vice President George Bush, Representative Jack Kemp and Senator Robert Dole. Because all the presidential candidates (with the exception of Jesse Jackson) can be expected to seek Jewish support, it would be useful to rank these three Republican hopefuls in order of attractiveness to pro-Israel activists.

Starting at the bottom would have to be Vice-President Bush. Undoubtedly, Bush, despite his lack of charisma, as far as governmental experience is concerned, has one of the strongest "resumes." He served as a two-term member in the House (failing in a 1970 Senate bid); Ambassador to the UN; Chairman of the Republican National Committee; Liaison Officer (before we had an official ambassador) to the People's Republic of China; and Director of the CIA. While it is difficult to identify any notable accomplishments associated with any of these positions — it is fair to say neither were there any major negatives. Bush, the son of former Connecticut Republican Senator Prescott Bush, went into the oil

business in Texas after serving as a Navy pilot in the Pacific in World War II.

Since becoming Vice-President, however, there have been a number of disturbing reports about Bush. Former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, for example, related how Bush had persuaded President Reagan to vote in the UN to condemn Israel's move into Lebanon. In 1984, New York Times columnist William Safire wrote that after Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, Bush "led the charge to punish Israel by withholding shipments of promised aircraft," and, that Bush has been a strong voice in urging the President to trust the "moderate" Arabs. During the Beirut airplane hijacking when he stated, "People held against international law should be released," and, that US policy was "to welcome the release of people illegally held hostage."

Most recently, according to the Tower Commission report, Bush expressed concern about the extent to which U.S. interests "were in the grip of the Israelis." These actions, more so than speeches to Jewish audiences, are certainly more indicative of a mind-set about Israel which should be a cause of concern to those who advocate closer US-Israel ties.

Dole, a Kansan who also served in World War II where he was severely wounded, was elected to the Senate in 1968 after five terms in the House.

Known for his acerbic wit, his early record shows that he usually voted against foreign aid bills containing needed assistance for Israel while taking strong pro-Israel stances on other issues. When the Republicans regained control of the White House and the Senate, he began to support Administrative foreign aid requests, but shifted his position on arms

sales to Arab countries. Although he has been active in promoting the US-Israel Free Trade Zone and in combatting terrorism, his vocal support for arms sales to Arab countries, (AWACS and others), and his more "even-handed" approach to Middle-East issues has created some dismay. Observers noted the difference in tone between his 1977 and 1984 addresses to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in Washington. In fact, the veteran Jerusalem Post columnist, Wolf Blitzer, reporting on Dole's 1984 speech, wrote that he had "bombed badly," and that "Dole received a clearly cool, if polite response."

In October, 1986, Dole addressed the conference of the National Association of Arab Americans — a group whose leaders often pushed a pro-PLO line — where he endorsed the sale of sophisticated US arms to Saudi Arabia.

Most recently, at a very small Congressional leadership meeting in Washington with Prime Minister Shamir, Dole is reported to have urged the Israeli leader not to oppose US arms sales to Arab "moderates."

Judged against Dole's overall record in the Congress, these actions since 1981 may not be considered by some as terribly relevant. The trend in recent years, unfortunately, has not been positive, and should give pause.

Standing alone on the top rung as far as friends of Israel are concerned is Representative Jack Kemp.

Kemp, a Congressman from Buffalo and a former professional football star, has mainly made his public mark with economic and tax initiatives. But, throughout his career and particularly since he became the senior Republican on the vital Foreign Operations Appropriation

Subcommittee, Kemp has been at the forefront of all pro-Israel initiatives in the Congress.

Kemp helped lead the successful fight in the House in 1981 to disapprove the sale of advanced AWACs aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Two years later, it was the Kemp-Long Amendment that authorized funds for the building of the Lavi aircraft in Israel, and last July, Kemp was invited to Israel to be the principal speaker at the roll-out of this superb attack plane. Behind the scenes, Kemp has been instrumental in gaining increases in aid levels for Israel on increasingly better terms. When some of Israel's friends ducked after Israel's destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the invasion of Lebanon — Kemp spoke out strongly in support.

But what makes Kemp such an unusual supporter of the Jewish State is his genuine enthusiasm for Israelis as a people. With many long-time Israeli and Jewish friends, he is considered to be one of the few "true believers" in Israel in the Congress. Kemp's consistent advocacy of Israel as a strategic asset to the United States has been particularly welcome since he does so when speaking before Jewish and non-Jewish groups alike. Kemp grew up in a Jewish suburb of Los Angeles, and has explained that his high school friends gave him a sense of what it is to be Jewish and what Israel and the Holocaust are all about. Kemp's wife, Joanne, has headed a Congressional wives' group in support of Soviet Jewry, sharing her husband's activism on this issue.

While the Democratic field is much more "bunched" in terms of differentiating between the various candidates' positions vis-a-vis Israel — the top three Republican contenders fit neatly into first, second and third place — with Kemp far out in front.

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*JF* Jewish politics

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Dear Friends,

My grandfather Simon Hirsh Aronson came from Russia to America in 1892, when he was 30,

Like so many of his generation, he arrived penniless. In Boston, he first worked as a peddler, selling door to door. To save money, he slept in the synagogue, and with these savings, he brought over the rest of our extended family one by one.

The core of his life was Judaism, and the heart of his Judaism was summarized in the Ethics of the Fathers in three ideas: Torah, work, and good deeds.

In time, he prospered and built a successful business. Still, the door to his house always remained open. The itinerant rabbi raising money for a Yeshiva, the stranger, the poor -- all found a place at his table and a bed in his home.

On Saturday nights, after the Sabbath, my grandfather played pinochle with his cronies from the synagogue, telling them: If you lose, you lose; but what you win goes to charity.

This man, who died long before I was born, whom I know only from the stories his children told me, is an inspiration to me.

As his grandson, I have to believe he was unique. I also know he wasn't alone. For his generation believed that the opportunities they found in America placed a special responsibility on them to help others realize the American dream as well.

It is to tend that vision of America, and to pass it on to my own grandchildren, that I am a part of the JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE.

The JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE works to sustain this heritage by helping other Americans to escape the cycle of poverty.

The Jewish community must be involved in the struggles of the poor, never forgetting that we came here penniless and endured our own poverty in the ghettos. Through a grantmaking program that gives a helping hand to people trying to build a better future, the JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE acts out Maimonides' admonition to 'Anticipate charity by preventing poverty.'

In its first two years, the Fund has made grants to some 20 groups in every region of the country. Here are some examples of its partnerships:

This year, JFJ is supporting the efforts of Navajo Indian farmers to raise crops in Arizona's Painted Desert, using the expertise of Israeli consultants.

In Passaic, New Jersey, JFJ supports a coalition of Hispanics, blacks, Asians and elderly Jews who are working together to reverse the decline of their aging neighborhood.

In Minnesota and Iowa, the Fund is assisting local organizations that work with family farmers to stop immediate foreclosures against farm land, livestock, and machinery.

In Apopka, Florida, the Fund assists the Florida Farmworker Association in its efforts to improve the living and working conditions of migrant workers.

In High Point, North Carolina, JFJ supports Women in the Workforce in its campaign to address the concerns of low-income working women, such as safety in the workplace.

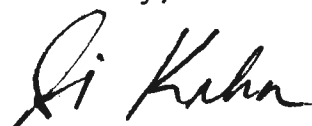
In these and other places across America, the JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE is helping people help themselves so that they, like my grandfather, Simon Hirsh Aronson, have a chance to realize the American dream.

The immigrant generation, who risked their lives to come to this country, gave us the chance for life. Through the JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE, we are giving back to America a little of what America gave them, in the spirit of Jewish charity and justice.

In these early years of the Fund, your contribution is especially critical, as we make our case to the Jewish community. The needs of America's poor are great, and we are being called upon to fund many more efforts by poor communities to better their circumstances.

I hope you and your family will join in this unique blending of our Jewish and American heritage. It's now our generation's task to tend that dream for all Americans.

Sincerely,



Si Kahn, Chair  
Jewish Fund for Justice

P.S. I know that if my grandfather were alive, he'd understand immediately and give generously. Won't you?

Jewish p.l.t.e

Newsletter

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- J. S. KAUFMAN
- R. KAUFMAN
- DAVID R. KOTOK
- MAURICE KRAINES
- LOUIS LECHENGER
- MARCEL LINDENBAUM
- ZEL E. LIPSEN
- SUSAN MEDALIE
- TED MEYERSON
- JOY MIDMAN
- LOUIS MORGAN
- NEIL NORRY
- E. F. PFEFFERMAN
- PAUL REISMAN
- LOUIS RESNICK
- FRANK RIDGE
- ROBERT RIESMAN
- MARVIN SCHAPIRO
- FRANK SCHOCHET
- CHARLES SCHUSTERMAN
- DAVID SCHWARTZ
- MAURY SELDIN
- JOSEPH SHALANT
- MARJORIE SHANE
- EUGENE SHUSMAN
- FRANK SILBEY
- LARRY SILK
- ABRAHAM SPIEGEL
- JACK J. SPITZER
- MARTIN STERENBUCH
- SAUL STERN
- ALFRED TAUBMAN
- HERBERT TENZER
- TEX WEINER
- HERBERT R. WEISSBERG
- LEONARD WELLER
- BERNARD S. WHITE
- DAVID WILSTEIN

NUMBER 30

APRIL/MAY 1987

COMPLETE 1988 SENATE RACES UPDATE

INCUMBENT

BACKGROUND

PROSPECTS/CHALLENGERS

ARIZONA

\*Dennis DECONCINI (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 57%-42%

On key For. Operat-  
ions Appropriations  
Subcte. Although  
mixed on foreign  
aid votes, a leading  
ally on Subcte. Also  
opposed US arms  
sales to Saudis and  
Jordan.

Potential challengers in-  
clude GOP Reps. Jim Kolbe  
and Bob Stump. Also AZ Atty.  
Gen. Bob Corbin weighing  
chances. Possible problem  
for DeConcini is '76 cam-  
paign promise to serve only  
two terms. But well-respect-  
ed DeConcini should win.

CALIFORNIA

Pete WILSON (R)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 52%-45%

Armed Svcs. Cte.  
member. Becoming  
more supportive. Op-  
posed arms sales  
and was among 24  
GOP Senators voting  
to override Presid-  
ent on Saudi arms  
sale.

Possible challenges by Dem.  
Rep. Bob Matsui, State Sec.  
March Fong Eu (already an-  
nounced), and Lt. Gov. Leo  
McCarthy. Matsui with excel-  
lent record of support. Re-  
cent polls show Wilson lead-  
ing all three with comfort-  
able margin. PAC will wait  
and see how race shapes up.

CONNECTICUT

\*Lowell WEICKER (R)  
Elected 1970  
Won in '82 - 50%-46%

Appropriations Cte.  
member. Excellent  
and consistent rec-  
ord of support. Op-  
poses all arms  
sales to hostile  
Arab states. Recent  
PAC lunch speaker.

Should win more easily than  
in '82 when challenged by  
Toby Moffett. Weicker popul-  
ar for independence and out-  
spokenness. No Congressional  
challenge likely from Dem.  
incumbents.

DELAWARE

\*William ROTH (R)  
Elected 1970  
Won in '82 - 55%-44%

On Select Intellig-  
ence Cte. Although  
didn't vote  
against President  
on most recent  
Saudi arms deal, has  
voted against F-15s  
in 1978 and AWACS  
in 1981. Mixed re-  
cord on foreign  
aid.

Roth looks safe, but is tak-  
ing no chances. Potential  
opponent is wealthy civic  
leader and Dem. activist Sam  
Beard (Dem. Rep. Tom Carper  
unlikely to go).

\* Denotes PAC contribution for '88 election.

INCUMBENTBACKGROUNDPROSPECTS/CHALLENGERSFLORIDA

Lawton CHILES (D)  
Elected 1970  
Won in '82 - 62%-38%

Budget Cte. Chrmn. and on Appropriations. Generally good on our issues, but not out front.

With GOP Rep. Connie Mack bowing out of race, unclear who could mount credible challenge. As in past Chiles will not take PAC contributions - or more than \$100 from individuals.

HAWAII

\*Spark MATSUNAGA (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 80%-17%

One of most consistent veteran friends in the Senate on arms sales and foreign aid issues.

Popular both with his colleagues and back home, Matsunaga's re-election bid should succeed handily. Still taking all visitors to DC from Hawaii to lunch.

INDIANA

~~Richard LUGAR (R)~~  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 54%-46%

The former chairman of the Foreign Relations Cte. had toed the Administration line on arms sales, but usually thoughtful on our issues.

No Dem. Rep. likely to give up House seat for very long odds race. PAC will wait and see what develops during next few months and will probably support Lugar.

MAINE

\*George MITCHELL (D)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 61%-39%

Excellent record of support in favor of foreign aid and against Saudi/Jordan arms deals. Gaining stature in Senate.

Mitchell potentially vulnerable. GOP Rep. Olympia Snow with fine record could mount viable challenge, but doubtful she will run against popular Mitchell.

MARYLAND

Paul SARBANES (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 64%-36%

Chrmn. of Near East For. Relations Subcte. A thoughtful leader on all issues of concern, with outstanding record of support.

Sarbanes off to a slow re-election campaign start. With no credible challengers announced or rumored to date, should be safe. As in past, PAC will support.

MASSACHUSETTS

\*Edward KENNEDY (D)  
Elected 1962  
Won in '82 - 58%-41%

Armd. Svcs. Cte. member. Consistent leader on our issues over long and distinguished career. ~~Persuas-~~ive advocate of closer US-Israel ties.

Despite almost legendary standing in Mass., GOP can be expected to mount well-financed challenge as in past.

MICHIGAN

\*Donald RIEGLE (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 58%-41%

Budget Cte. member. Consistently opposes arms sales to Israel's enemies, and supports foreign aid. A reliable and valued friend.

GOP has targeted Riegle, but has yet to come up with formidable challenger. Those mentioned include Peace Corps Dir. Loret Ruppe, State Senate Maj. Leader John Engler, and ex-astronaut Jack Lousma - who gave Sen. Carl Levin a close race in '84.

INCUMBENT

BACKGROUND

PROSPECTS/CHALLENGERS

MINNESOTA

Member Select Intelligence Cte. Courageous friend, voting against arms sales to Saudis/Jordan, and for foreign aid. Has been criticized for putting perspective on Pollard case.

Race promises to be a close one. Recent polls show Durenberger leading Atty. Gen. "Skip" Humphrey (son of Hubert) - who is hoping pull upset in '88 - by relatively slim margins.

\*David Durenberger (R)  
Elected 1978  
Won in '82 - 53%-47%

MISSISSIPPI

Chairman of Appropriations Cte. and dean of the Senate-revered by his colleagues. Very little interest in or support for our issues.

Stennis, who will be 86 in August, is still planning to run and will most probably win. House Minority Whip Trent Lott may run (mediocre record). Ex-White House aide Haley Barbour also interested. If Stennis retires possible Dems are Rep. Wayne Dowdy (helpful) and ex-Gov. Bill Waller.

John STENNIS (D)  
Elected in 1947  
Won in '82 - 64%-36%

MISSOURI

Budget Cte. member with fine record of support on issues of concern. Only ordained minister (Episcopal) in Senate. Well-respected by colleagues.

Rumors are that former Lt. Gov. Harriet Woods will mount third Senate bid. Wild card could be Dem. Rep. Dick Gephardt's presidential bid - could run for Senate if campaign falters early. PAC will support Danforth as in past.

John DANFORTH (R)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 51%-49%  
(over Harriet Woods)

MONTANA

Recent opposition to Saudi/Jordan arms sales brightens a decidedly lackluster record on issues of concern. Opposes foreign aid as matter of principle, and voted for AWACS.

Melcher's seat should be safe barring unforeseen circumstances. PAC will stay out of this one.

John MELCHER (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 55%-42%

NEBRASKA

Karnes has yet to demonstrate where he will be on our issues - but we should not hold our breaths. Faces serious re-election problems.

Former Dem. Gov. Robert Kerrey's interest in the Senate may be revived, and he is thought to be strongest contender. GOP Reps. Doug Bereuter with poor record and Hal Daub-visited Israel but so-so on our issues - weighing primary challenge. PAC will wait and see...

David KARNES (R)  
Appointed to fill late Sen. Zorinsky's seat.

NEVADA

On Select Intelligence Cte. Voted not to override Presidential veto of Saudi missile sale; did not sign resolution opposing sale of advanced weapons to Jordan. Has disappointed many previous supporters in Jewish community.

Considered most vulnerable Republican. Popular Dem. Gov. Richard Bryan who won with 70% in '86 being urged to run. PAC would support Bryan who could be expected to be positive on our issues.

Chic HECHT (R)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 50%-48%

INCUMBENT

BACKGROUND

PROSPECTS/CHALLENGERS

NEW JERSEY

\*Frank LAUTENBERG (D)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 51%-48%

Sits on crucial Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcte. Has become important Senate player, supporting foreign aid and opposing arms sales to Saudis/Jordan. PAC luncheon speaker.

With Governor Tom Kean(R) still saying he will not run, GOP now touting ex-West Point football star and Rhodes Scholar Pete Dawkins. As new face, could cause problems for Lautenberg.

NEW MEXICO

\*Jeff BINGAMAN (D)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 54%-46%

Member Armed Svcs. Cte. Consistently fine supporter on all issues of concern. Votes against arms sales to Israel's foes, and for foreign aid.

Some view Sen. Bingaman as vulnerable. Polls show GOP Rep. Joe Skeen, with decidedly poor record of support, as a credible, if yet unannounced, challenger.

NEW YORK

\*Daniel MOYNIHAN (D)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 65%-34%

An outstanding record of support, which should be enhanced by his recent move to the Foreign Relations Committee.

Despite some grumblings from extreme left wing of party, Moynihan should be safe from any primary or general election challenges. Republicans casting about for a candidate.

NORTH DAKOTA

\*Quentin BURDICK (D)  
Elected 1960  
Won in '82 - 57%-41%

Appropriations Cte. member and new Chrmn. of Environment and Public Works Cte. Mixed record but much better in recent years. Opposed all arms sales to Saudis/Jordan and considered reliable on issues of concern.

78-year old Burdick seeking to preempt primary challenge by Rep. Byron Dorgan with good record. Polls show Burdick losing to Dorgan but Dem. leadership hoping to avoid divisive primary. Talk of ex-Sen. Mark Andrews entering race for GOP.

OHIO

\*Howard METZENBAUM (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 57%-41%

A leader on all issues of concern, with a superior record of involvement. A valued friend in the Senate ~~ate with close ties to our~~ community.

"Metz" could face a real threat from moderate GOP Cleveland Mayor George Voinovich. However, many in State GOP said to favor more conservative Rep. Bob McEwen with poor record. Metzenbaum probably better off running against McEwen.

PENNSYLVANIA

\*John HEINZ (R)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 59%-39%

Consistently favors foreign aid and opposes arms sales. A down-the-line supporter.

Heinz is popular at home and should be safe. Nothing new on Dem. Pittsburgh Mayor Richard Caliguiri, said to be interested in challenging.

INCUMBENT

RHODE ISLAND

John CHAFFEE (R)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 51%-49%

TENNESSEE

\*Jim SASSER (D)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 62%-38%

TEXAS

Lloyd BENSTEN (D)  
Elected 1970  
Won in '82 - 59%-41%

UTAH

Orrin HATCH (R)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 58%-41%

VERMONT

Robert STAFFORD (R)  
Elected 1972  
Won in '82 - 50%-47%

VIRGINIA

Paul TRIBLE (R)  
Elected 1982  
Won in '82 - 51%-49%

BACKGROUND

Negative attitude on our issues in general, and has supported arms sales to Saudis. Does support foreign aid.

Appropriations Cte. member. Excellent record of support on all issues of concern.

Select Intelligence Cte. member and Chrmn. of Finance Cte. Inconsistent on foreign aid, but voted against AWACS. Flip-flopped on most recent Saudi arms vote: reasoning unknown.

Select Intelligence Cte. member. Supported AWACS and all Saudi arms deals, and is generally not supportive of our issues.

Generally supportive of foreign aid but did not sign on resolution to disapprove Jordan arms deal. Also voted for AWACS.

Foreign Relations Cte. member. Increasingly supportive of foreign aid and other issues of concern after largely negative record in House.

PROSPECTS/CHALLENGERS

Veteran Chaffee could be upset in heavily Democratic RI. Dem. Lt. Gov. Richard Licht, Jewish, nephew of former governor, considering a challenge. Chaffee had a scare in '82, and this race could attract attention.

Sasser's only potential challenger to date is ex-Gov. Lamar Alexander, who has yet to announce.

Bensten is very safe with few potential serious challengers. PAC has supported Bensten in past, but will wait and see.

Some talk of possible seat on Supreme Court - but GOP unlikely to risk loss of seat in '88. Only Dem. with good shot is ex-Gov. Scott Matheson who was 8% ahead of Hatch in poll with out even announcing candidacy. PAC would support Matheson.

Final word on expected retirement not out until summer. GOP Rep.-at-large Jim Jeffords with poor record is raising funds. Ex-Gov. Richard Snelling (R) will not go. Dems may run (Jewish) Gov. Madeline Kunin in what would be a close race.

Trible's only real challenge would come from Dem. ex-Gov. Charles Robb, who has sights set on spot on a national ticket. Dem. Rep. Rick Boucher probably won't give up safe House seat. If Robb doesn't run Dem. activist Ron Dozoretz (Jewish) has inside track-but a long shot. PAC will support Trible.

INCUMBENT

BACKGROUND

PROSPECTS/CHALLENGERS

WASHINGTON

Daniel EVANS (R)  
Elected 1983  
(special election to  
fill "Scoop" Jackson's  
seat)  
Won in '83 - 55%-45%

With Mac Mathias gone,  
Evans is most negative  
member of Foreign Relat-  
ions Cte. Has supported  
various unhelpful amend-  
ments, and arms sales to  
Saudis/Jordan.

Rumors still around that  
Evans might retire. Dem. Reps.  
Bonker, Lowry, Dicks, and Swift  
all interested - but will  
"think twice" if Evans stays  
in race.

WEST VIRGINIA

\*Robert BYRD (D)  
Elected 1958  
Won in '82 - 69%-31%

As Majority Leader again,  
continues to compile mix-  
ed record. Opposes foreign  
aid as a rule, but also op-  
poses arms sales.

Byrd's seat should be safe,  
though he may relinquish his  
leadership post after '88.  
PAC has supported Byrd in  
past.

WISCONSIN

William PROXMIRE (D)  
Elected 1957  
Won in '82 - 57%-43%

Appropriations Cte. memb-  
er. Opposes foreign aid on  
principle. Votes against  
arms sales to Saudis and  
Jordan.

A legend in Wisconsin, "Prox"  
never has funding problems  
since he raises and spends  
nothing to be re-elected. PAC  
can only give moral support  
to this sure winner.

WYOMING

Malcolm WALLOP (R)  
Elected 1976  
Won in '82 - 57%-43%

Generally negative, part-  
icularly on foreign aid -  
has supported all Arab  
arms sales.

Wallop should be very safe  
unless credible opponent  
such as ex-Dem. Gov. Ed  
Herschler challenges. PAC  
will wait and see.

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How incumbents will fare in the Jewish Community in 1988 -  
(partial list)

De Concini - 2 *yes*

Wilson - Some support

Weiker - Strong support

Roth - Will get support

Chiles - Overwhelming support *100- soft support*

Matusunaga - Overwhelming support

Lugar - Considered to have mixed but is also seen as a shoe-in

Mitchell - Overwhelming support

Sarbanes - Overwhelming support

Kennedy - Overwhelming support

Reigle - Overwhelming support

Durenburger - Overwhelming support

Stennis - Could be support of opponent, depending on who it is

Danforth - Seen as shoe-in

Melcher - ? *who cares about him*

Zorinsky's replacement - ? - carries 13.5b.

Hecht - Will need help of National Jewish Coalition

Lautenberg - Overwhelming support *powerful*

Bingaman - ?

Moynihan - Overwhelming support

Burdick - ? *n's bad - Congress opponent will get average*

Metzenbaum - More than overwhelming support

Heinz - Some support *no problem.*

Chafee - Seen as having mixed record

*to party and bit - Leach*

Sasser - Alexander could get some support

Bentson - Strong support

Stafford - ?

Tribble - Will get support

Evans - <sup>award?</sup> Seen as an enemy *pick D*

Byrd -

Proximire - Will get money even if there is no real contest

Wallop - Zero

preference of him

**SENATORS WHOSE TERMS EXPIRE IN 1988**

State	Senator	Party	Vote % in last election	Notes
<del>AZ</del>	<del>DeCONCINI</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>57%</del>	
<del>CA</del>	<del>WILSON</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>52%</del>	will get some - with help
<del>CT</del>	<del>WEICKER</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>50%</del>	will get support
<del>DE</del>	<del>ROTH</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>55%</del>	will get support
<del>FL</del>	<del>CHILES</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>62%</del>	speaks for some
<del>HI</del>	<del>MATSUNAGA</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>80%</del>	in good
<del>IN</del>	<del>LUGAR</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>54%</del>	will help
<del>ME</del>	<del>MITCHELL</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>61%</del>	
<del>MD</del>	<del>SARBANES</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>64%</del>	
<del>MA</del>	<del>KENNEDY</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>61%</del>	
<del>MI</del>	<del>RIEGLE</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>58%</del>	
<del>MN</del>	<del>DURENBERGER</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>53%</del>	
<del>MS</del>	<del>STENNIS</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>64%</del>	
<del>MO</del>	<del>DANFORTH</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>51%</del>	
<del>MT</del>	<del>MELCHER</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>55%</del>	
<del>NE</del>	<del>ZORINSKY</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>67%</del>	
<del>NV</del>	<del>HECHT</del>	<del>(R)</del>	<del>50%</del>	only if coalition puts it on
<del>NJ</del>	<del>LAUTENBERG</del>	<del>(D)</del>	<del>51%</del>	Don't know
	NM	BINGAMAN	(D)	54%
	NY	MOYNIHAN	(D)	65%
	ND	BURDICK	(D)	63%
	OH	METZENBAUM	(D)	57%
	PA	HEINZ	(R)	59%
	RI	CHAFEE	(R)	51%
	TN	SASSER	(D)	62%
	TX	BENTSEN	(D)	59%
	UT	HATCH	(R)	58%
	VT	STAFFORD	(R)	50%
	VA	TRIBBLE	(R)	51%
	WA	EVANS	(R)	56%
	WV	BYRD	(D)	69%
	WI	PROXMIRE	(D)	64%
	WY	WALLOP	(R)	57%

Voting record 33 seats up (19D; 14R)

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# THE Queens JEWISH WEEK



## Jet set

Delivery of six F-16s to Israel in the presence of a Jewish delegation from the U.S. is seen as a symbol that ties between the two remain strong.



Photos/Debbie Cooper

U.S. Air Force Maj. Tris Sevdny of Sumter, S.C., delivers one of six F-16Cs to an Israeli air force base. He watches as another F-16C pulls up. With him, from left, are Rabbis Israel Friedman, Religious Zionists of America, Jack Stern, Central Conference of American Rabbis and Benjamin Wallfish, Rabbinical Council of America. Behind them is Malcolm Hoenlein of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

# U.S.-Israel link is 'solid,' delegation is told

By SHELDON ENGELMAYER

JERUSALEM — The United States and Israel went out of their way last week to assure a delegation of American Jewish organizational leaders meeting here that no permanent damage has been done to the close relationship that exists between the two countries. Such damage has been feared in the wake of Israel's involvement in the Iran arms scandal and the case of Jonathan Jay Pollard, sentenced recently to life imprisonment for selling to Israel U.S. intelligence secrets on the strengths and strategies of the Arab forces arrayed against it.

The United States, for its part, offered its reassurances in words and deeds to the annual delegation of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

The words began at the opening reception for the Presidents' Conference on March 24. The United States has closer relations with Israel than with any other country "bar none," the delegates were told by U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, who purposely made the trip from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Despite the "disagreements" which from time to time crop up in relations between the two countries, Pickering added, relations between Israel and the United States have a very stable foundation.

Pickering repeated these sentiments at a Saturday night reception for the Presidents' Conference which he and his wife hosted at their official residence in Herzliya. "The basis of this friendship [between the United States and Israel is] ... important to us," the ambassador said, "and that is why we try to deal with them as friends."

The ambassador made it a point to appear at the reception wearing a blue tie covered with a series of small Israeli and U.S. flags joined together at their poles.

On March 25, U.S. Secretary of the Army John Marsh ar-



Photo/Debbie Cooper

Glad to be on the ground again, Capt. John Sengstaken, of Woodbury, L.I., sits atop the F-16C he flew from Fort Worth, Texas, to the Ramat David airbase in northern Israel. The jet was one of six the United States delivered to Israel last week.

rived in Israel. The Pollard spy scandal, he said, was "small" when set against the "overall strength of the alliance that we have."

"The main thing is to keep [the affair] in proper perspective," Marsh said, echoing the words spoken in previous days by the Presidents' Conference chairman, Morris Abram, and its executive director, Malcolm Hoenlein. "I

predict that in the long run what's going to really count is the strength that we will continue to [add] to this very old alliance," Marsh added.

As part of the deeds, Ambassador Pickering sent his personal car and driver to Jerusalem to bring Abram and Hoenlein to a dinner in Tel Aviv hosted in Marsh's honor.

The most dramatic deed, however, was the delivery of six F-16C fighter jets purchased by Israel at a cost of approximately \$18 million each. The jets, manufactured by the General Dynamics Corp., were scheduled for delivery sometime during late March and early April. The Jewish Week has learned, however, that the Pentagon decided to make delivery during the Presidents' Conference visit to Israel and persuaded the Israelis to allow conference delegates to be present at the airbase when the fighters arrived from Fort Worth, Texas.

The delegates were flown on an Israeli Hercules transport, similar to the type of plane used in the July 1976 Entebbe rescue mission, from a Tel Aviv airstrip to the Ramat David air force base, Israel's northernmost. There, they watched as U.S. Air Force personnel piloting the jets from Fort Worth put on a brief air show before following their Israeli escort planes to the base.

Once on the ground, the admittedly tired pilots nevertheless mingled with the conference delegates, shaking hands and talking about their plans for spending some leave time in Israel before returning to the United States.

On hand, too, was Lt. Col. Richard Krueger, the embassy's special air defense attache.

"These events are special moments for the United States Air Force, where we deliver one of our top-of-the-line fighter aircraft to one of our longtime allies here in the Middle East, Israel," Krueger said in greeting the conference delegates. In all, he said, 75 F-16Cs and F-16Ds are being deliv-

(Continued on page 14)

# Link

(Continued from page 3)

ered to Israel through 1988. The first three arrived in February.

Krueger added that he had served at the Tel Aviv embassy for "about a year and a half — and I've certainly enjoyed my tour here in Israel and I have another year and a half left."

"My job is to assist Israeli defense industries in selling their products to the Department of Defense," Krueger went on. "In fiscal year 1986, Israeli industries did over \$200 million worth of business with the Department of Defense. And since I've been here that's gone from \$100 million to \$200 million. ... Israeli industries are really learning how to how to sell their products in the United States and they've become very effective and they are going to become even more effective, I think, in the future."

The Israelis, too, sought to emphasize that the strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel will not be adversely affected by recent events.

"Allow me to say that, on the part of the government of the United States, especially on the part of the Department of Defense, even though no one tries to ignore or to take a great detached [attitude] to this incident [the Pollard case], all the relations, whatever was agreed — visits, exercises — are going as they were planned," Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin was quoted as saying during one closed-door briefing to the Presidents' Conference delegates. "There is no interruption in all the activities within the framework of the strategic cooperation between our two countries."

"I believe that the people in the United States — and, no doubt, those who are involved in this part of our cooperation — realize it serves our mutual interests — our mutual interests in preventing war in the region, in coping with terrorism ... [and] the peace process."

Similar statements reportedly were made in briefings by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, among others.

As the week-long series of meetings progressed, the state of relations between Israel and the Jews of the United States also became an issue. Early in the week, a number of articles appeared in the Israeli media criticizing American Jews for what some see as an attempt to tell Israel how to run its affairs.

All of the Israeli leaders who met with delegation insisted that there was no rift in relations with American Jewry and that their opinions and input are welcome.

"We are always listening to the voice of our Jewish friends in the United States," Shamir is said to have told one closed-door session. "We are very sensitive. Of course, we don't always agree. You don't agree always [among yourselves]. But always we have this feeling of solidarity. We are speaking as members of one family ... and even if we don't agree, we have to understand each other. But it has to be our ambition to agree with each other. We have to have a unity of

minds in order to have a unity of action."

"Don't hesitate to tell us what you think," Peres told the delegates during another session, "but please understand us and our own special responsibilities."

Simcha Dinitz, a Knesset member who at one time was Israel's ambassador to Washington, said the idea that American Jewish money should be seen in Israel but American Jewish voices should not be heard was "a ridiculous notion."

There were many areas where Israel and diaspora Jewry could and should form a consensus policy, he said, such as the Soviet Jewry problem. There are other areas, however, where the input of American Jewry is important, such as in security matters, "but please understand that in those areas, the final decisions must be left up to us alone," Dinitz said.

On one issue, the talks between the U.S. Jewish delegation and the Israelis broke up with little hope of an early resolution — the problem of Soviet Jews leaving the USSR on Israeli visas and then asking the United States to grant them refugee status once they arrive in Vienna.

At one point, conference chairman Abram said that the denial of refugee status to Soviet Jews which Israel has requested is not the will of the American Jewish community."

It brought back memories, he said, of the S.S. St. Louis, a refugee ship that sailed the northern and southern hemispheres during World War II trying fruitlessly to unload its human cargo of German Jews. "This is the feeling today, despite the fact that Israel exists with its gates wide open," he said.

Nevertheless, Abram said, Israel had done a service by raising the question with the U.S. administration "because the problem needs to be addressed and forces us to consider how the needs of the drop-outs can be achieved."

Israeli leaders mentioned the dropout problem during conference sessions almost as often as they did the Pollard case.

Minister of Absorption Ya'acov Tsur, for example, warned the American Jewish leaders that if "neshira" (dropping out) continues, "the gates of the Soviet Union will be slammed shut again."

Tsur reiterated Israel's request that the United States abolish the refugee status automatically given Jews who emigrate from the USSR and called for the establishment of direct flights from the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries to Israel. That would eliminate the transit station in Vienna where Soviet Jews have the choice of going to Israel or to the West.

Even Israel's president, Chaim Herzog, voiced concern over the neshira problem. He told the delegates of his tour of duty as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations. A top Soviet official there, Herzog said, told him that emigration would cease if too many Soviet Jews opted for the United States after arriving in Vienna.

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Tim Boxer travels with the Stars in The Jewish Week

George F. Will

300/194

## The Cardinal's Alibi

The Jews are, it seems, John Cardinal O'Connor's cross to bear. They do not understand how grateful they should be for how grateful he feels toward them. They did not comprehend the "tremendous compliment"—his words—he was paying them when he said the Holocaust "may be an enormous gift that Judaism has given the world."

Jews probably feel that in that case it was better to receive than to give. Not being steeped in what O'Connor calls his "theology of suffering" (suffering they understand; the theological coating of it is opaque), Jews may wonder if the slaughter of six million Catholics would be interpreted as an enormous gift to the world. Even if the "theology of suffering" makes sense to people within the closed circle of such theorizing, surely the cardinal should understand how offensive it sounds to persons who are outside that circle and who once were within the barbed wire of Auschwitz.

New York's wandering cardinal has called for creation of a Palestinian

homeland. He has not said where; he is not a detail man. He says he "can't talk intelligently about diplomatic relations," but he says that making peace in the Middle East is part of his vocation.

Israel invited O'Connor, and on the eve of his visit the Vatican ordered him to cancel appointments he had made to meet with Israeli officials in their Jerusalem offices. Instead, he met the prime minister and president in their Jerusalem homes. But the president's home is in the building with his office. O'Connor said he "would be terribly disturbed if I were visiting an office."

The 19-year division of Jerusalem was an accident of the 1948 armistice in the Arab war to strangle the state of Israel in its cradle. It has now been more than 19 years since the eastern portion of Jerusalem was liberated from Jordanian occupation.

During Jordanian occupation, when Jewish gravestones were used to pave roads, Christian churches were not allowed to renovate or buy property.

Only since 1967 has there been free access to religious sites.

Most nations, including the United States, do not recognize Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem, yet they extend full diplomatic recognition to Israel. The Vatican has never given Israel diplomatic recognition. Behind that fact, and beneath the comic casuistry about when-is-an-office-not-an-office, lurks something sinister.

It is reasonable to suspect that the Vatican is discomfited by the regathering of the Jewish people in their own state. The fact of Israel, without reference to the question of Jerusalem, challenges the hoary myth of Jewish "punishment" for "rejecting" Jesus.

The Vatican favors some "internationalizing" of Jerusalem. It is not clear what that means. God may be in the details; the Vatican is not into details.

Actually, Vatican preferences are simply uninteresting. The Vatican should be told that Jerusalem is none of its business. The Vatican lost whatever moral standing it had on the

issue when, in 1982, the pope received Yasser Arafat, head of a terrorist organization that denies Israel's right to exist.

The fact that Pope Paul VI received Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and Pope John Paul II received Prime Minister Shimon Peres testifies only to Vatican realism: the Vatican recognizes that Israel exists. The rest of Vatican policy suggests that the Vatican resents that existence.

O'Connor says he does not "know what the church did or did not do" during the Holocaust. He has a duty to know. The most charitable description of what the church did is damning enough: the Vatican thought it could husband its moral authority by remaining neutral, which meant keeping quiet. But Vatican power in politics inheres in words and gestures. Regarding Israel, Vatican gestures are loudly wrong.

It is an American scandal that the U.S. Embassy is not in Jerusalem. Today the U.S. government stands convicted of cringing appeasement of Iran, a nation implacably hostile to

American values. Now would be a good time for the U.S. government to stop appeasing Arab opinion about Jerusalem. It is time to move the U.S. Embassy not just to Jerusalem but to the eastern portion that was liberated in 1967 and has now been well-governed by Israel longer than it was occupied by Jordan. Moving the embassy would end the pretense that the unity of Israel's capital is negotiable and would underscore the perversity of Vatican policy.

O'Connor said that Jewish criticism endangers the "fruits" (unspecified) of his trip and "makes it difficult for me to move further toward peace." Perhaps that was just an example of the now commonplace megalomania of the contemporary cleric who thinks solutions to problems elude secular leaders because secular leaders lack the clerics' . . . what? Certainly not humility.

The main fault here is not with the cardinal but with the political policy of the church of which he is a mere prince. Israelis have heard his alibi before: he was only obeying orders.

Jewish politics

*William F. Buckley Jr.*

# The Cardinal

Was 257

## Ambushed

Cardinal John O'Connor of New York is good and sore at the Jewish organizations that denounced his conduct abroad even before he had stepped out of the airplane returning to New York. Fifty-three weighty Jewish organizations, including the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, the United Jewish Appeal and the Zionist Organization of America spoke through the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Its spokesman was Morris B. Abram, a distinguished and sensitive gentleman who should have known better.

Background: Cardinal O'Connor was asked, by the same folk who are now jumping on him, to visit Israel. Why? They wished to invoke the good offices of the Catholic Church ("good offices" is a technical term, used in diplomatic parlance to describe organizations—the Red Cross would be an example—that might succeed in negotiating between hostile parties to bring on a rapprochement) to enhance an understanding of the major causes of continuing friction in the Middle East. Those three issues, as specified by the censorious Jewish organizations, were the status of Jerusalem, the plight of Palestinian refugees and the response to the Nazi Holocaust. The statement said that respecting all three, the cardinal had left his critics "disquieted and distressed."

Now everyone knows that there was a diplomatic slip-up at the beginning. It had to do with the cardinal's inattention to the delicate point of where exactly the meetings were to take place. It did not occur to him (as it would not have occurred to anyone not a professional diplomat) that there was a grave symbolic difference between meeting Israel's leaders in Tel Aviv (which the United States, and most of the rest of the world, recognizes as the capital of Israel) and in Jerusalem (which Israel proclaims as its capital). The Vatican sharply reminded the cardinal of the difference, the cardinal complied with the Vatican's instructions, and his Israeli hosts, taking vociferous offense, announced that they would therefore not greet the cardinal as theretofore planned. The cardinal did the correct thing (he regretted the misunderstanding), but he also did the gracious thing (he put all the blame for the misunderstanding on his own shoulders).

But before reaching Jerusalem, the cardinal visited the Palestinian refugee camps and spoke compassionately about the plight of the refugees. If there is anyone who can visit those camps without expressing sadness over them, that man's heart is made of ice. But the Jewish protesters elected to interpret

the cardinal's sentiments as an indiscriminate criticism of Israeli policies (the cardinal in fact had claimed that the plight of the refugees was a joint responsibility of the Israeli and the Arab communities).

On visiting Jerusalem, the cardinal met with Israel's president and foreign minister. This was managed by one of those useful inanities of diplomacy: as far as the cardinal was concerned, he was visiting the dignitaries in their homes; as far as the dignitaries were concerned,

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*"The cardinal did . . . the gracious thing (he put all the blame for the misunderstanding on his own shoulders)."*

the cardinal was visiting them in their offices.

How is this possible? Whee! Their homes and their offices are in the same building; sometimes a house is also a home.

Finally, on visiting the Holocaust Museum, the cardinal, intensely moved by this great chamber memorializing human horror, remarked that perhaps that Holocaust "may be an enormous gift that Judaism has given the world." The critics found this statement "disturbing and painful." The cardinal replied that if that is so, "then it demeans my entire theology because mine is a theology of suffering." The painful end of Christ on the cross is, by Christian doctrine, the greatest gift ever bestowed on humankind, and if Morris Abram doesn't know that (he does; he knows practically everything), somebody should send him a Christian catechism before he invites the next Christian cleric to the Holocaust Museum.

The distressing aspect of the whole thing is that it is now made to look like a diplomatic ambush: an American cardinal invited to Israel to make Israeli propaganda—concerning the plight of the Palestinians, the locus of Israel's capital and a total secularization of the Jewish sacrifice. Thank God for Nathan Perlmutter, the steady-minded head of the Anti-Defamation League, who declined to sign that careless denunciation of the cardinal on the grounds that it was unwarranted.

Morris Abram was quick to explain, after the damage had been done, that "Cardinal O'Connor is a friend, a powerful voice against anti-Semitism. . . . We did not censure the cardinal." Well, I am censuring Morris Abram, an old friend for whom I have great respect.

# Presbyterian Church to Cease Investing in Military Firms

By Marjorie Hyer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

*Jews p. 2, 4, 5*

The Presbyterian Church, as a part of its denominational commitment to world peace, has banished 22 of the country's most profitable corporations from its investment portfolios because of the companies' involvement in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other military paraphernalia.

At stake immediately is \$2.4 billion in funds held nationally by the Board of Pensions and the Presbyterian Foundation. In addition, the church's 81 Presbyterian-related institutions of higher education and more than 200 regional presbyteries and synods, with investment funds totaling more than \$1 billion, also are strongly urged to follow the national criteria.

The guidelines are not binding on the church's 11,572 local congregations.

"These guidelines help the church put its money where its mouth is" in its quest for peace, said the Rev. Daniel Thomas of Princeton Theological Seminary, head of the church's Committee on Mission Responsibility Through Investment.

"We not only proclaim peace from our pulpits, but we invest in peace through our portfolios," he said.

On the proscribed list for church investment are such blue-chip firms as General Dynamics, General Electric, Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, Lockheed, Raytheon, Rockwell International and Grumman.

The investment guidelines and current list of blacklisted corporations, issued last month, are part of the 3 million-member denomination's growing concern over the perils of nuclear holocaust and its long-range commitment to initiatives on behalf of peace.

## PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH GUIDELINES FOR INVESTMENT

"It shall be the policy of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church not to invest in common stocks of corporations:

- a. That are among the 10 leading military contractors (measured as dollar volume of military contracts in the most recent year).
- b. That are among the 100 leading military contractors and are dependent on military contracts for more than 25 percent of their sales (measured as the average ratio of military contracts to sales in the most recent three-year period).
- c. That make the key nuclear components for nuclear warheads."

— Adopted by the 194th General Assembly (1982)

## CORPORATIONS AFFECTED

1986 UPDATE OF PUBLIC CORPORATIONS THAT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH CANNOT INVEST IN BECAUSE OF MILITARY RELATED INVESTMENT GUIDELINES

COMPANY	DOLLAR VOLUME IN MILLIONS	QUALIFYING GUIDELINE
Boeing	\$6,458	Top 10; Dependency
Computer Sciences	269	Dependency
Du Pont	232	Nuclear
E-Systems	369	Dependency
Eaton	923	Dependency
FMC	831	Dependency
Gencorp (General Tire & Rubber)	566	Dependency
General Dynamics	7,439	Top 10; Dependency
General Electric	5,890	Top 10
Grumman	2,732	Top 10; Dependency
Litton Industries	1,528	Dependency
Lockheed	5,082	Top 10; Dependency
Martin Marietta	2,717	Dependency
McDonnell Douglas	8,857	Top 10; Dependency
Monsanto	N/A	Nuclear
Northrop	1,194	Nuclear
Raytheon	2,998	Top 10; Dependency
Rockwell	6,264	Top 10; Dependency; Nuclear
Sanders Assoc. (acquired by Lockheed in July 1986)	467	Dependency
Singer	752	Dependency
Sperry (acquired by Burroughs Corp. in 1986)	1,628	Dependency
Textron (Bell Helicopters)	1,919	Dependency
Todd Shipyards	267	Dependency
United Technologies	3,905	Top 10

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

## VICTIMS OF A C.I.A. CONSPIRACY?

It was more than 20 years ago, but Ralph W. E. Cox Jr. says the memory of how his company was forced out of business still rankles.

Mr. Cox's company, U.S. Overseas Airlines, was one of 15 small airlines that failed in the early 1960's — victims, he says, of a conspiracy by the C.I.A., which had recently acquired Southern Air.

"They wiped us out," said Mr. Cox, who now, at 71, manages a camping ground in Cape May, N.J., a few miles from the Cape May County Airport, home base for his old carrier. "We continued to try to operate. We couldn't conceive that our Government would do things like that. We were grounded Sept. 24, 1964, and forced into bankruptcy two years later. We didn't know until 10 years later what had really happened."

What happened, Mr. Cox and others say, is that \$250 million of Military Air Transport contracts were diverted from their companies to Southern Air and five other airlines that learned of the secret link between C.I.A. and Southern Air and, in a quiet blackmail, demanded the military contracts as their price for keeping quiet about the connection.

The C.I.A. will not discuss it. "We never discuss matters of this kind," said Sharon Foster, a C.I.A. spokesman. But the agency's role in the airlines' failure came to light in Government documents obtained through Freedom of Information Act requests by Mr. Cox and others, and in 1976-77 testimony before the Senate Small Business Committee. The documents show that business was diverted to Southern Air and five other carriers al-



The New York Times/Clyde H. Farnsworth

Ralph Cox, Jr.

leged to know about its C.I.A. connection.

Mr. Cox, a World War II Navy pilot, says his company earned \$11.6 million in 1960, before the C.I.A. interfered. He and operators of the other failed airlines charge that the C.I.A. deprived them of their right to compete by conspiring with officials of the Government agencies that gave out the transport contracts, and with airlines that knew the secret.

Led by Mr. Cox, Richard D. Neumann of the defunct California Air Charter Inc. and Amos Heacock, head of the defunct Air Transport Associates, the former airline operators have spent years fighting their cause. They have filed suit in several Federal courts — claiming damages of \$540 million — written formal letters of complaint to the C.I.A., and petitioned the Civil Aeronautics Board. But their claims have all been rejected. While they still feel victimized, the former airline operators have given up the battle. "It costs too damned much to fight the Government," said Mr. Neumann, who is now back in the aviation business in California. "They can put 200 attorneys against you and tie you up for 10 years. We don't have those resources."

### CIA ... CONTINUED

has represented such clients as the American Bar Association, the American Automobile Association, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints — provided slots for covert C.I.A. agents in Washington and in the firm's offices in Mexico City, Kuala Lumpur and the Hague, until the firm's cover was blown in 1973. E. Howard Hunt Jr., a C.I.A. operative convicted of conspiracy after the Watergate break-in, was at one time a writer in the Washington office.

Another firm that helped the agency in this way, according to Congressional sources, was Bishop, Baldwin, Rewald, Dillingham & Wong, a Honolulu investment firm that was involved in a securities fraud case. After the firm declared bankruptcy in July 1983, court documents showed that the C.I.A. had paid \$2,700 of its phone bills. The C.I.A. acknowledged that it had a "slight" involvement.

Three C.I.A. agents were among

the investors who lost \$22 million in the collapse: Jack Kindschi, a former head of the Honolulu office, J. Rardin, his successor, and R. Richardson, a covert agent. Despite these investments, which violated C.I.A. policy and earned reprimands for the agents, Congressional investigators concluded that Bishop Baldwin was used only as an address for covert agents and was not a C.I.A. money-laundering proprietary as Ronald R. Rewald, the firm's president, alleged.

Other court records, from Australia, suggest that the C.I.A. was involved in international banking as part of its money-moving operations. Nugan Hand, a Sydney investment bank, was founded in 1973 by an Australian, Frank Nugan, and an American, Michael Hand.

After it failed in 1980 Mr. Nugan was found shot dead and Mr. Hand vanished. A Sydney police report said Mr. Hand had business dealings in the late 1960's and early 1970's with the

C.I.A.-controlled Air America and the C.I.A.-connected Continental Air Service, creating a "strong inference that Hand's intelligence activity was with the C.I.A." It continued, "There is some evidence to suggest that Hand retained his U.S. intelligence ties through the 1970's and into the 1980's."

The bank — which astoundingly had increased its assets to \$1 billion from \$1 million in three years — employed a large number of retired American military and intelligence officers, and its legal adviser was former C.I.A. director William E. Colby. Mr. Colby's business card was the only thing found in Mr. Nugan's pockets when his body was discovered. The C.I.A. denied any involvement with the bank, but senior intelligence analysts here said that whether or not it had formal C.I.A. links, the company performed important financial services for the agency. ■

# UPDATE

Multi-call  
wash if they  
have noticed  
in US based  
trials in Soviet Union

NATIONAL  
IMPACT



November-December 1986

Justice  
politics

## Congress Overrides Veto — Passes Sanctions

The Republican controlled Senate stood firm against their President and voted 78-21 to override his veto of legislation imposing new sanctions on the South African government. The Senate action, which followed the House vote to override the President's veto (318-83), includes:

- A ban on new U.S. loans and investments in South Africa,
- A prohibition on importing South African coal, steel, iron, uranium, textiles and agricultural products,
- A halt to direct air links between South Africa and the U.S.

President Reagan has stated he deeply regrets the Congressional action but will uphold and enforce the sanctions, as will his newly appointed black ambassador, Edward Perkins.

The October vote brought more phone calls into U.S. Senate offices than had previously happened in South African history. The responses from constituents was almost as high as it was on contra aid in June. Aides to Senators Kassebaum (R-KS), Bingaman (D-MN), Weicker (R-CT), Wilson (R-CA), and Lugar (R-IN) stated that the senators were surprised by the volume and intensity of the constituent effort. "Church people who called supporting sanctions were well informed and genuinely concerned about the people of South Africa," said one aide.

Anti-apartheid lobbyists, though jubilant about this vote, are certain that it is only one step in a long struggle. Next year will bring even stronger sanctions legislation to Congress, as well as economic aid to nations neighboring South Africa. And we will probably see another vote on aid to UNITA, the Jonas Savimbi led/South African backed guerrilla force trying to overthrow the Angolan government.

— Sally Timmel  
Church Women United

## Reagan Signs Superfund

Superfund has completed its slow struggle through Congress. The hazardous waste cleanup bill (HR 2005) passed by wide margins in the House (386-27) and Senate (88-8) but ran into the President's veto threat the last days of the session. Eventually Mr. Reagan succumbed to pressure from Congress and environmental groups and signed the measure on October 17.

The Administration had threatened to veto HR 2005 because its cost was too high (\$3 billion over the President's

request), it taxed imported oil at a higher rate than domestic oil, and it imposed a broad-based tax on business (many of which are non-polluters). But after receiving a letter of assurance from Senator Dole (signed by more than 40 senators) promising not to raise the rate of the broad-based tax and not to divert 'Superfund' money to any other programs, and taking into account Congress' intention of staying in session long enough to override a veto or prevent a 'pocket veto,' Mr. Reagan softened his opposition. Major provisions of the bill are:

1. A five-fold increase (\$8.5 billion) for dump site cleanup.
2. EPA must begin work at 375 new sites within five years.
3. Cleanups must meet the most stringent federal standards.
4. Permanent cleanup methods are to be stressed (i.e. detoxifying wastes rather than burying them in landfills).
5. Industry is required to provide local communities information on everyday toxic releases as well as on the chemicals used and dumped.
6. A reform of the statute of limitations, which will give victims of hazardous waste dumping a longer time to take their case to court.
7. A requirement that EPA and the states allow public participation in the selection of remedial actions.
8. An 'Environmental Restoration Program' to be established within the Department of Defense to clean up military sites.
9. Penalties provided for civil and criminal violations.

— Maria Paz Artaza  
United Methodist Board of Church and Society

### BRIEFING '87

IMPACT invites you to come to Washington, D.C. on March 22-25, 1987 for our 15th Briefing on Issues Before Congress. The three-day event features speeches by members of Congress and other national leaders. There will also be workshops, state meetings, denominational meetings and the opportunity to lobby Congress, all with the goal of educating ourselves and making an impact.

Registration is open until December 20 for the first 100 IMPACT members who send in the fee of \$120 (payable to the IMPACT Education Fund) with their name, address, phone number and denominational affiliation. For more information call IMPACT at (202) 544-8636.

# Religious Community Effort Key to Immigration Bill, but Salvadoran Deportations Continue

For the first time in the six-year legislative process, the religious community actively endorsed an immigration bill. On September 25, the National Council of Churches, U.S. Catholic Conference, American Jewish Committee and the Lutheran Council sent to Congress a letter supporting the House version of the reform bill. While some House gains were diluted or deleted in conference committee, the religious community remained supportive and had much to do with fashioning a workable compromise.

In the early days of the debate, the legislation ran contrary to religious community policies. First, the bills made it illegal to employ an undocumented worker in the U.S. and included penalties against employers hiring such workers. This created concern about the potential for employment discrimination against "foreign looking" applicants.

Second, the early bills contained restrictions on the ability of persons applying for asylum.

Third, the initial bills proposed a rigid curtailment against persons immigrating here for purposes of family reunification. The religious community has underscored the continuing importance of retaining family unity as a cornerstone of U.S. immigration laws and policies.

Finally, the prior legislation also allowed for the mass importation of foreign agricultural workers for temporary periods. Such programs in the past resulted in the wholesale abuse of such workers, as well as the displacement of already disadvantaged American agricultural workers. Accordingly, the religious community lodged a strong protest against the inclusion of agricultural labor questions—and particularly ones of such a problematic character—in an immigration reform bill.

Over time, and with much door-to-door advocacy, the church community succeeded in chipping away at many of these problems. First, a cadre of members of Congress became convinced that restrictions on family reunion were inappropriate to the reform bill. Agreements were reached to revisit this question separately in another context.

Similarly, on the issue of asylum restrictions, agreements were reached with members of Congress that this issue, too, should be addressed independently. Thus, when the House and Senate introduced their immigration bills at the start of the 99th Congress, to the credit of the religious community, neither of these two issues—family reunion or asylum—was included.

Major progress was made on the

sanctions after three years, and permitted their rapid repeal if warranted.

With these matters addressed, the religious community stated in 1985 that resolution of the difficult agricultural question could lead to support for the legislation by religious leaders. Over the course of this summer, encouraging agreements were reached on the agricultural worker question. The compromises developed were supported by farmworker groups and



question of discrimination arising from employer sanctions. Religious leaders joined Hispanic and civil liberties groups and labor unions in support of a new mechanism designed specifically to redress employment discrimination sparked by the fear of employer sanctions. Additionally, the legislation this time contained a requirement for a study of the effects of employer sanctions and for Congress to review the

showed realistic hope of being able to protect the workers who were brought in. With these arrangements in place religious leaders were then able to support the agricultural worker compromise.

However, as the legislation moved along, the churches found it necessary to add to their list of considerations the urgent question of protecting from deportation certain refugees from

# The Contra War Escalates

## *Are We Starting Another Vietnam?*

Central America fearful of returning to conditions of civil war. Separate legislation pending on this subject, sponsored by Rep. Moakley (D-MA) and Sen. DeConcini (D-AZ), was moving along well in the House, but faring poorly in the Senate. It became clear, if the urgent Moakley-DeConcini legislation was to gain enactment this year, that it be attached as an amendment to another bill likely to gain enactment. The immigration bill was the only available candidate.

When the immigration bill came before the House, the Moakley-DeConcini provision was amended to the immigration reform bill by a dramatic 199-197 vote. With this vote, all the major concerns of religious leaders had been addressed in one form or another.

But in the conference committee between the House and Senate some things changed, though many of the basic outlines of the bill the religious community endorsed were still there. Legalization, discrimination protections, and protective agricultural worker programs remained, although some provisions in these areas were weakened. Most disappointing, however, was the deletion of the protections for Central American refugees. The Administration indicated that it would veto the immigration bill if these protections were contained. However, even on this issue we were not left empty handed. Major promises were made by congressional leaders to allow the Moakley-DeConcini bill to move forward early in the next Congress.

The major contribution of the religious community was not to the bill's passage but to its character. At key points in the bill's legislative life, religious leaders stepped in to delineate with great clarity and specificity formulas for acceptable immigration policy. At times, joining in coalition with other groups, the religious community influenced the handful of congressional votes necessary to make the difference between benign and harmful provisions in the bill as it journeyed onward toward enactment.

— Michael Myers  
Church World Service

President Ronald Reagan has finally signed the bill which appropriates \$100 million to aid the Nicaraguan "contras." (The delay in getting the bill to the President was caused by Congressional disagreements that had nothing to do with contra aid.)

The money will soon start flowing to the guerrillas at their Honduran camps, and the death rates will rise correspondingly, not only among contras and Nicaraguan soldiers, but also civilians. Sen. Dave Durenberger (R-MN), chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, has been quoted as saying that the American people should be very clear about what is happening. "This is Vietnam again," Durenberger said.

The \$100 million from the U.S. is an appropriation for death and dismemberment. It is a shameful new chapter in our history, which should be cut off soon. We have already been treated to obfuscation and cover-ups about the CIA's role in supplying contra troops inside Nicaragua. We have already read about the contras torturing and murdering civilian health workers and agriculturalists in order to weaken the allegiance of the Nicaraguan people to their government. We have seen that Nicaragua cannot be any real threat to the U.S. or its allies, and we have witnessed U.S. efforts to block a Central American peace treaty.

Will religious people in this country stand up and say that this is wrong? Will people of faith take a stand against the moral outrage of funding the contras? I believe we will.

— Robert Tiller  
American Baptist Churches

## *Spending, CIA Authority Are Issues*

An omnibus spending bill (H.J. Res. 738), passed by Congress on the way to adjournment, has provided the President's request for \$100 million to the contras; \$70 million in direct military and \$30 million in non-military aid.

Significantly, Congressional action has legitimized the CIA role in the Central American war. A 1985 intelligence authorization (PL 99-169) had banned the CIA from giving direct aid to the contras, except for intelligence information, advice and communication equipment. But the CIA, using a legal loophole, has been providing aid to the contras estimated at more than \$100 million. They have done this by "loaning" helicopters, trucks and other services to the contras, while retaining actual title to the equipment. (This "lend-lease" arrangement is still intact. Estimates are that this form of aid will reach \$400 million in 1987.)

The October 5 downing by the Nicaraguan military of a transport plane carrying contra supplies, the documents discovered on the plane and the statements of the sole surviving crewman, Eugene Hasenfus, all point to continuing CIA involvement, with ties that reach high into the Administration, even to Vice-President Bush.

~~Now, even more than before, the true level of funding and the actions of the CIA~~ are at issue. The direct aid approved by Congress is \$100 million for 1987. But the figure will be much higher, if all costs of the U.S. effort to overthrow the Nicaraguan government are included. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) has estimated that our current annual cost is \$1 billion. Other estimates are even higher, as they seek to include the military buildup in Honduras (and related operations of the CIA) as well as the other military, intelligence and diplomatic activity.

Related to the contra war is the military buildup in Honduras. As a part of that buildup, in 1986, nine thousand National Guard members from 18 states will have had training exercises there. Several state governors, including those from Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Texas, and Vermont, either vetoed or expressed reluctance for their National Guard troops to train in Honduras. Rep. Montgomery (D-MS) successfully attached an amendment to the 1987 Defense Authorization Act that limits the power of a governor to prevent overseas training exercises "on the basis of the location, purpose, type, or schedule of active duty training." The governors voted unanimous opposition to the Montgomery amendment. It is generally assumed that the provision will soon be tested in the courts.

— Leland Wilson  
Church of the Brethren

# On the Slippery Slope

Several major arms control provisions passed by the House in August and included in the FY 1987 Defense Authorization bill were dropped or drastically diluted by the cave-in of House conferees in negotiations with their Senate counterparts. Under strong White House pressure not to undercut President Reagan at the surprise mini-summit as well as internal urgings to adjourn for the campaign trail, House conferees and Congress missed a big opportunity to provide an alternative to the Administration's failed arms control policies. Approved by the Conference Committee and incorporated into the continuing resolution are:

1. **ASATs.** The anti-satellite testing moratorium against targets in space was approved for one more year.
2. **SALT II.** Instead of requiring U.S. compliance with SALT II, the bill now contains a non-binding expression of Congressional support for U.S. observance of SALT II.
3. **Nuclear Weapons Testing.** In place of the House mandated one-year moratorium on nuclear testing, the President now promises to submit the 1974 Threshold Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty to the Senate for resolutions of ratification by early 1987. Either pact will permit new nuclear weapons development.
4. **Chemical Weapons.** The House approved one-year ban on producing binary nerve gas weapons was weakened to allow the purchase of 155mm nerve gas artillery shells. And \$35 million was voted for production of the Bigeye nerve gas aerial bomb after October 1, 1987.
5. **SDI.** The Strategic Defense Initiative received \$3.53 billion or roughly two-thirds of what the President had requested. The House had approved \$3.1 billion and the Senate \$3.96 billion.

The 99th Congress also approved \$1.5 billion for another Trident submarine and \$1.4 billion for first-strike capable Trident II (D-5) nuclear missiles. Even with the reversals allowed by the Conference Committee, 1986 will be known as a year when arms control proponents made progress in delivering their message to an arms racing Administration.

— Robert Alpern  
Unitarian Universalist Association

## Funding for 1987

## Foreign Aid Cut

In the FY 87 continuing resolution passed by Congress, the foreign aid budget of roughly \$12.5 billion is about \$1 billion less than last year's total and \$2.6 billion less than President Reagan's request. Deep cuts were expected but what finally emerged was the best that could have been hoped for: military and security aid took the lion's share of the cuts, while the total available for humanitarian and development assistance remained roughly the same as in FY 86.

While still a disproportionate share of total U.S. foreign aid, **military assistance** was reduced by 14 percent. Some 85 percent of this aid goes to five countries: Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Greece, and Pakistan.

**Economic Support Fund** aid came in \$353 million above the House figure but \$91 million below last year's total of \$3.64 billion. Within this category of aid, Israel and Egypt received 57 percent of the total, \$1.2 billion and \$815 million, respectively. Some \$200 million was set aside for additional economic aid to the Philippines.

Within the development assistance category, **multilateral programs** were hardest hit. Contributions to the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank and Fund were reduced by about half; all told, international financial institutions lost nearly \$200 million.

In holding roughly even overall, **bilateral development programs** fared better than multilateral ones, and in receiving selected increases, humanitarian aid programs fared better still. Agency for International Development (AID) functional accounts—for agriculture, health, population, and other activities—suffered modest reductions, while the Inter-American and African Development Foundations and the Peace Corps received modest increases over last year. In a big gain, the Child Survival Fund received \$75 million, three times last year's sum.

— Lynne Jones  
Interfaith Action for Economic Justice

## Low Income Programs Up

Before adjournment, the 99th Congress reversed a four-year trend and provided increases for several low income domestic programs as part of the \$576 billion FY 87 continuing resolution.

One of the most important initiatives, the School Lunch and Child Nutrition Act (HR 7), restores about \$100 million to a variety of child nutrition programs, including the special supplemental feeding program for women, infants and children (WIC). It also provides for increased funding in the school breakfast program, subsidies to improve nutritional quality, and a special milk program for kindergarten children.

The continuing resolution meets the needs of elderly and unemployed citizens by allocating additional money in budget authority and outlays to meet requirements that states provide Medicaid coverage to pregnant women, infants, and elderly individuals whose income is below the federal poverty threshold. However, Congress approved additional changes for Medicare that may limit access to adequate health services, including a \$520 limit on hospital deductibles.

Under a veto threat from the Reagan Administration, Congress rejected a proposal that would have required states to extend welfare benefits to two-parent unemployed families. Presently, only 24 states and the District of Columbia extend benefits to such families. In the other states, if two parents are present, benefits are denied, irrespective of the economic status of the family. Interfaith Action for Economic Justice has always supported the extension of welfare benefits to two-parent families, arguing that this policy is essential to assure that two-parent families are provided income while one parent is unemployed.

— Patricia A. Tyson  
Interfaith Action for Economic Justice

IMPACT is a legislative information network sponsored by the national agencies of twenty-three Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish groups. National IMPACT monitors legislation before the U.S. Congress under these priorities: Halt the Arms Race, Secure Economic Justice and Protect Human Rights. State IMPACT affiliates provide legislative information about state issues. IMPACT Policy Board Chair, Ralph Watkins; National Director, Craig Biddle III; Publications Editor, Richard Houston.

The national membership fee is \$15.00. State IMPACT membership is also available, in these states: AL, CA, CO, CT, FL, IA, IL, IN, MI, MN, MO, NJ, NY, OH, OK, OR, PA, TX, WI, WV. Contact National IMPACT for more information. Persons interested in joining the IMPACT network should send to the address below the following: appropriate membership fee, name, address, and phone number, and denominational faith/group affiliation.



**The Washington Institute for Near East Policy**

**Annual Policy Conference**

*U.S. Policy in the Middle East:  
"Preventing the Erosion of Influence"*

*September 19-21, 1986*

**Conference Report**

**Program**

**List of Participants**

**The Washington Institute for Near East Policy**

**Conference Report**

\* \* \*

*U.S. Policy in the Middle East:  
"Preventing the Erosion of Influence"*

*September 19-21, 1986*

In its First Policy Conference, The Washington Institute brought together top-ranking policymakers, diplomats, scholars and political leaders from America and abroad for a wide-ranging examination of the state of U.S. interests in the Middle East. Set on the grounds of the Aspen Institute at Wye Plantation in Queenstown, Maryland, the conference enabled these foreign policy professionals and The Institute's Board of Trustees to come to grips with the issues confronting American policy.

**Friday night, September 19, 1986**

Former Vice President Walter Mondale opened the conference with an address on the need for the intense personal involvement on the highest political level if the United States were to achieve success in the Middle East peace process.

Mr. Mondale outlined several reasons for singling out the Middle East as a region in which standard diplomatic efforts would be insufficient to produce results in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. He called for a system of diplomatic engagement that incorporated special presidential envoys as well as the active participation of the President himself at the appropriate moment in the peace process. Also, Mr. Mondale criticized the Reagan Administration for failing to take advantage of an opening in the peace process during the past two years.

His remarks provoked a lively exchange with several members of the Reagan Administration concerning the proper function of professional diplomats in Mideast peacemaking and the appropriate timing for presidential involvement. They argued that the conditions were not yet right for such activism, because the parties to the conflict had not demonstrated sufficient willingness to enter negotiations.

**Saturday, September 20, 1986**

Threats to peace, deterrence and regional stability were the focus of both Saturday panels. In the morning, various components of Syrian political and military strategy were examined, particularly the possibility of an Israeli-Syrian confrontation. Later in the day, the conference analyzed the principal threats to domestic security of Arab states, with particular attention to the political implications of economic recession in the Middle East.

Several important observations were made during the morning's panel regarding the Syrian threat to peace. First, there was general agreement that Syria's continual progress toward achieving strategic parity in preparation for war was systematically eroding Israel's deterrent. Second, participants reaffirmed the portrait of Hafiz al-Asad as a pragmatic and cautious leader but one ready to seize the first opportunity to go to war. Third, it was suggested that the possibility of war is in fact enhanced by the demographic composition of the Syrian regime, in that the ruling Alawite minority must rely much more than the Sunni Muslim majority on its anti-Israel credentials in its search for political legitimacy.

Fourth, both superpowers appear to be caught between conflicting regional goals. On the one hand, the Soviet Union wants to avoid war, confrontation and a humiliating defeat for East bloc materiel, but it cannot afford the political tensions that would result from trying to rein in a regime that is a linchpin to Moscow's Mideast policies; on the other hand, the United States wants to prevent a war but is unwilling to concede to Syria a veto over the peace process as the price for regional peace.

Fifth, it was argued that all sides considered the status quo strategically tolerable, but that an Israel-Syrian war might introduce fluidity in the peace process by driving home the costs of continued conflict. Only in the immediate post-war period, then, would the peace process regain its urgency.

Former Secretary of State Alexander Haig addressed the conference after lunch and offered a formula for Middle East peacemaking that contrasted with Mr. Mondale's. The premise of Mr. Haig's argument was that the United States should not engage the peace process with greater vigor than the parties themselves, and that the United States would in fact be squandering valuable diplomatic resources if it sought peace when the local parties were themselves ambivalent. On other issues, Mr. Haig warned of the dire consequences of an outright Iraqi military and political collapse, urged a stronger U.S. assertion of maritime rights in the Persian Gulf, and outlined stringent conditions for any Soviet participation in a Middle East peace conference.

That afternoon, the conference looked at domestic threats to stability in Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. While it was argued that the immediate danger of fundamentalist Islam to regime stability may be on the wane, all participants agreed that economic recession and/or an Iranian breakthrough in the Gulf would boost the likelihood of fundamentalist-based domestic unrest. Most of the discussion concerned the security implications of the continuing deterioration of Arab economies, with particular reference to American strategic interests in Egypt.

**Sunday, September 21, 1986**

After an entire day devoted to the darker side of Middle East politics, Sunday morning was reserved for an exploration of ways to expand the peace process. Representatives of the American, Israeli and Egyptian governments were surprisingly uniform in their agreement on the need to bolster the Egyptian-Israeli bilateral relationship as the first step in any effort to expand the peace to other Arab partners. Also, there was surprisingly little debate regarding the proposed international conference, with few -- if any --

participants arguing that the international conference route holds the best chance for a comprehensive resolution of the regional conflict.

Discussion revolved around several basic issues: whether to expect the "next Sadat" to come from Israel or from an Arab country (or whether to expect one at all); whether the existence of a status quo tolerable to too many actors in the region reduces the incentive for risk-taking toward peace; and whether enough is being done to cultivate the "peace constituencies" in Israel and the neighboring Arab states.

A consensus did emerge among the conference participants that the next stage in the ongoing peace process would undoubtedly differ in both tone and substance from previous high-profile summit meetings, treaties and territorial exchanges. Rather, peacemaking had become much more of an incremental process of movement towards a situation that would enable diplomacy to complete the task in the future. In that light, for example, emphasis had shifted away from overt diplomatic success to the more subtle Jordanian-PLO battle for influence in the West Bank, with most participants agreeing that Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians needed quiet encouragement in this process.

## PROGRAM

### Friday, September 19:

- 5:00-7:00 pm: Arrival  
6:30-7:30 pm: Drinks  
7:30-9:00 pm: Dinner

After dinner, we will adjourn to the Conference Room for an address by  
WALTER MONDALE:

"The U.S. and the Middle East, a Policy-Maker's Overview"

- 9:30-11:00 pm: Informal Discussion

### Saturday, September 20:

#### 9:00-10:30 am: SESSION ONE: THE THREAT OF WAR

Dennis Ross (National Security Council)  
*Soviet-Syrian Relations*  
Itamar Rabinovich (Dayan Center)  
*Hafez el-Assad*  
Shai Feldman (Jaffee Center)  
*Syria-Israel Military Balance*  
Harvey Sicherman (Washington Institute)  
*U.S.-Syrian Relations*

- 10:30-11:00 am: Coffee Break  
11:00-12:30 pm: Small Group Discussion on "The Threat of War"  
12:30-1:30 pm: Lunch

After lunch we will adjourn to the Conference Room for an address by  
ALEXANDER HAIG:

"U.S. Policy and the Middle East: The Fourth Option"

#### 2:30-4:00 pm: SESSION TWO: THREATS TO REGIME STABILITY

Daniel Pipes (Foreign Policy Research Institute)  
*Islamic Fundamentalism*  
Howard Teicher (National Security Council)  
*The Iranian Threat*  
Paul Jabber (Council on Foreign Relations)  
*Egypt*  
Yossi Olmert (Dayan Center)  
*Syria and Lebanon*  
Robert Satloff (Washington Institute)  
*Jordan*

**Saturday, September 20 -- continued**

- 4:00-5:30 pm: Small Group Discussion on "Internal Threats."  
5:30-7:00 pm: Break  
7:00-7:30 pm: Drinks  
7:30-9:00 pm: Dinner  
9:00-11:00 pm: Informal Discussion

**Sunday, September 21:**

- 9:30-11:00 am: **SESSION THREE: PREVENTING WAR,  
WIDENING THE PEACE**

Arnold Raphel (Near East Affairs, State Department)  
Hanan Bar-On (Israeli Foreign Ministry)  
Tahsin Basheer (Counsellor to the President, Egypt)  
Martin Indyk (Washington Institute)

- 11:00-11:15 am: Coffee Break  
11:15-12:30 pm: Concluding Discussion - SAMUEL LEWIS  
12:30-2:00 pm: Lunch and final remarks

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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Jewish pol. fasc

Noah, Genesis tells us, was "a man righteous in his generations." The contrast, small yet inescapable, is with figures such as Abraham and Moses. They are described as simply "righteous"—models for all time, not just corrupt epochs like the one in which Noah distinguished himself. One sign of the difference, say the rabbis, is in how each responded to the news that God was going to destroy large groups of sinners. Immediately, Abraham and Moses started arguing with the Lord on behalf of the Sodomites and the golden-calf-worshipping Israelites, respectively. But Noah, informed that God planned to destroy the entire world, dutifully gathered in the animal pairs and saved himself.

As I departed New York for Jerry Falwell's Armageddon prophecy conference in Israel last winter, I felt myself about to enter a world in which Noah was the model. The Jerusalem conference, with its dire predictions of worldwide conflagration, was to be the centerpiece of a 10-day tour of Israel organized by the Moral Majority leader. Joining him would be more than 800 Christians come to learn about the violent endtime to be centered in Israel just before Christ's second coming and the theology promising safe escape from just this cataclysm.

In the days that followed, I would not announce myself as a Jew to my fellow pilgrims. To anyone curious about the clear Semitic cast of my face, I would acknowledge being of "Jewish family background." But on this trip I sought Robert Burns's elusive ideal—"to see ourselves as others see us"—with a group whose often insensitive remarks about Jews have combined with vocal support for Israel to add a new twist to the difficult history between Christians and Jews. I would seek to understand how they saw Jews—and other groups as well—in the context of the prophecies they anxiously await as the ultimate justification of their beliefs.

I would learn much. One speaker invited by Falwell would refer to Jews as Christ killers while exhorting

his audience to support the State of Israel. Others would denounce ecumenical cooperation as a tool of the Antichrist. But over and above this, I would discover during 10 days in Israel with these pilgrims some glimmer of the power and sweep of the conservative Christian idea alive today. More surprisingly, I would learn much about Judaism as well.

I feel scant intimation of all this as we land at Lod Airport. Emerging from customs into the luminous Middle East sun, we sweep past the crowds of Israelis, with whom I identify, to join the Christian pilgrims on Bus Number Nine of Jerry Falwell's "Israel '85" tour.

It is the fundamentalist leader's 15th trip to Israel and bigger than any of the previous Falwell Holy Land excursions. To it have flocked numerous elderly from heartland states such as Oklahoma and Nebraska, on the trip of their lives. At \$1,400 for 10 days, including air fare, first class hotels, meals and guided tours, the package is an excellent bargain. A sprinkling of younger families has also come, as has Tom Landry, chief coach of the Dallas Cowboys, and his wife.

And there are many others. Sitting down to breakfast the first morning in Tel Aviv, I meet Janice—an irrepressibly vivacious Pentacostalist, one of a handful of blacks on the tour.

Janice, it turns out, stands out among the tour participants for more than her hue. Married to a Chinese man with two daughters and living in New York's Chinatown, Janice's life experience is infused with a pluralism few on the tour, including me, can boast of. As an employee at a Jewish nursing home in Brooklyn's heavily Orthodox neighborhood of Boro Park, she knows many Jews in her daily life as well.

Janice was raised Catholic before coming to Pentacostalism, a brand of hyper-experiential Christianity whose emotionalism and talking in tongues is scorned by many fundamentalists, somewhat as the *mitnagdim* rejected Chassidism. But now, over a huge Israeli breakfast of eggs, fruits, salad and rolls, Janice acknowledges being unsure of her faith commitment.

Looking around her, she says, it seems like Christians have "no real faith, especially in each other." The implicit assumption here surprises me; my impression of Christianity is of a religion in which the central spiritual unit is the individual and the focus is on one's personal relationship with Christ as the source of absolute meaning. Relations between people, I assume, are seen as emerging directly from that.

But working with the Jews had affected Janice, she tells me, and one factor in her decision to come to Israel was her desire to "study Judaism."

From her Boro Park experience, Janice is deeply impressed with how "Jews close down on Saturday, no matter what."

"Christians used to do the same on Sunday, but they sure don't anymore," she says. "It's like no one cares."

Janice evinces the utter fascination with Jews that I would find among many less familiar with them than she. Reflecting on her Boro Park experiences, she remarks almost mystically, "It seems like they've got this real strong thing going with God, like they never lost it. Christians had it, but they don't anymore."

The fundamentalist style of both discourse and prayer is oddly passive; they perform, you watch. Even after the lengthy, complex lectures in Jerusalem, there is no time for questions. And in the revival segment, except when the uncommitted are invited to come forward and give their lives to Christ—a private act publicly taken—the sermonizing is all one way, bereft of preacher-audience exchange or collective audience action. More than 800 people are together here, but the spiritual meaning seems entirely between each individual and his personal God. Little stress, in a spiritual context, on what they can do as a community.

Falwell, acting as master of ceremonies, introduces the preachers and a series of noted speakers on Armageddon theology.

Actually, Armageddon—the final, violent battle between the forces of good and evil that fundamentalists believe will climax the period just be-

Larry Cohler is a staff writer for the Long Island Jewish World.

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fore Christ's second coming—is but one of the topics they will cover. The battle, prophesied to take place in Israel, will be preceded by an elaborate scenario of political developments, explain the fundamentalist leaders, who base their views primarily on interpretations of Ezekiel, Daniel and Revelations.

They interpret current political developments in the Middle East and around the world as indications that the climactic time is not far off, imparting an air of awesome, exciting imminence to their subject. Above all, they point repeatedly to a restored Israel as the crucial harbinger of impending endtime.

Dr. John Walvoord, president of the Dallas Theological Seminary and the first speaker Falwell brings on, depicts today's ecumenical movement as a tool of the Antichrist in this prophetic scenario.

According to Walvoord, there will arise in the near future a 10-nation alliance that will represent a continuation of the ancient Roman Empire. At its head will be a leader who will impose a seven-year peace treaty on Israel and its enemies in the Middle East. But half-way through the treaty period, this leader—the Antichrist—will proclaim himself world dictator and demand worship at the site of a rebuilt Jerusalem Temple as head of a world church government.

The world ecumenical movement, with its many mainline, nonborn-again Christians, is the precursor of this evil world church government, Walvoord maintains. Come the endtime, it will join with the world Communist movement in the service of the Antichrist.

Walvoord stresses the endtime's imminence: "In the 20th century, this world church movement has emerged; it's here."

Politically, he adds, the structure required for the emergence of the Antichrist can be seen in the United Nations, an institution he sets in the context of historical pretenders to world rule, such as Napoleon and Hitler.

The rise of the Antichrist will spark "a time of unprecedented tribulation," Walvoord says—the Great

Tribulation. It will see the massive martyrdom of Jews and gentiles opposing this dictator, along with numerous natural disasters. Fully half the world's population will be destroyed.

But true, born-again Christians will escape all of this, he emphasizes. The modern rebirth of Israel, which portends the coming of the endtime, also portends the "rapture" of all who are true Christians before this period starts. That is, quite suddenly, and probably soon, all real Christians, dead and living, will ascend to heaven to be with Christ. They will thereby be spared this period of disasters and oppressions and will return with Christ at the climax of the Battle of Armageddon. There, Christ will render judgment and initiate a 1,000-year reign of perfect peace and justice.

We have just sailed on the Sea of Galilee and are sitting down, in view of its shores, to a restaurant meal of St. Peter's fish. Across from me is Albert, a quiet, distinguished fellow who tells me that he is from Dwight, Illinois.

Dwight, Illinois, rings a bell, and I ask him whether there isn't a ruckus there over a nuclear waste storage site. "Yes," he replies, and rouses aloud: "Those wastes are dangerous for two million years afterwards, aren't they?"

"Does that bother you?" I ask him.

"If I weren't a Christian it would," he says promptly. "Oh, government should take care of it and if I were afraid of dying, it would bother me. But it's in the Lord's hands."

Wanda, a sharp, sandy-haired young woman in the unlikely business of selling lingerie, takes exception from her seat nearby. "I worry about radiation's mutagenic properties when it comes to children," she says firmly. She then goes on to express her concern on a range of other environmental issues, such as acid rain and its destruction of forests and lakes in her native New England.

Something in her words, beyond their specific politics, salves me after three days of living in this world in which all matters are pre-screened through Christian filters. I have been reminded repeatedly these last days

of my year in *yeshiva*, another world of total meaning where disparate experience is siphoned through one transcendental funnel.

Unlike the world of the *yeshiva*, however, this world seems to grant the sanctity of intrinsic meaning only to matters arising from the relationship between an individual and his or her God—issues of personal piety and morality. Wanda's uniqueness lies in her instinctive involvement in matters outside the personal, in the responsibility she clearly feels for *collective* redemption.

Earlier, Janice had told me she'd first gotten involved with the Moral Majority because she liked how "Jerry Falwell stood up against abortion." Avoiding direct engagement then, I commented that I was more impressed with the Catholics. Unlike Falwell, their stand for a "seamless garment" ethic did not stop with abortion, I said. It went on to include concerns of nuclear war, violence and poverty in Central America and economic inequality in our own country.

To my surprise, Janice was silent. In fact, she physically drew back from the table. Finally, she said, almost grudgingly, "Well, you do what you can. But for believing Christians, you know, it doesn't make any difference in the end. You can read Revelations and look at what's going on in the world now; we're *living* it."

Fundamentalism is probably the perfect religion for the Reagan era, representing as it does the privatization of redemption. Janice was moved to action on abortion—surely a moral issue, but one resolved, law or no law, by each individual pregnant woman. The nuclear arms race, the struggle in Central America, poverty and racism at home—activism on these addresses collective redemption; more complicated, less assured, and like Abraham's faith, often requiring the courage to challenge God on behalf of flawed, unsaved humankind. Fundamentalism's seeming hostility to collective redemption was implicit in Rev. Walvoord's scholarly discourse, with its fatalistic assessment of non-fundamentalist Christianity,

When Moshe speaks of the possibility of peace through eventual territorial compromise with the Palestinians, the immediate response of the Illinois farmer sitting behind me is, "He doesn't have his Scripture right there."

ecumenicism and international cooperation.

All this is underlined passionately by Falwell's second speaker, the Reverend Jack Wyrzten, director of Word of Life Ministries in Scroon Lake, NY. Introduced laudingly by Falwell, Wyrzten bluntly lambasts all manner of inter-religious and international cooperation. With fierce emotion, he decries these as evil in the light of prophecy.

"Before our very eyes," he preaches with reference to the Anti-christ's 10-nation alliance, "we're seeing the Common Market being formed—the United States of Europe. The revival of the Roman Empire is being formed before our very eyes today." (I cannot resist wondering how the admission of Spain and Portugal to the market will affect this analysis.)

As for inter-denominational cooperation, Wyrzten tells his audience: "Every time you hear of the ecumenical movement, you ought to look at that as a curse word. Ecclesiastical government . . . world church . . . the ecumenical movement . . . At the end of the seven-year Tribulation period, the Lord will come and smash the whole dirty business to pieces!"

Wyrzten goes on to denounce liberal, mainline Christians as hypocrites who preach the social gospel but who "have yet to start their first hospital or first orphanage. I have yet to see the first rescue mission started by a liberal preacher," Wyrzten says. "It's only us dumb, stupid fundamentalists who want to get down and do it."

On the tour itself, an ambient theological hostility towards other denominations is evident. Like Wyrzten's, it sometimes spills over into bigotry. In an Arab Christian village, the minister leading one tour bus asserts that Arab Christians, who have suffered significantly for their minority beliefs, are "not really Christians, but just by tradition," since they are not "born again." Later, in Bethany, the *muezzin's* call from his minaret bringing the Moslem faithful to prayer draws from this minister the angry remark, "They're calling devils down, though they don't know it."

As a long-established "world

church," Catholicism and related Eastern Orthodox churches draw his special anger—an anger that edges into hostility towards adherents of these religions. He denounces Holy Land sites controlled by these churches, with their icons, images and statues, as centers of "paganism" and "idolatry." Noting with disgust that some pilgrims kiss the sites of these shrines as acts of reverence, he adds, "They worship the place, but we are of the spirit." Catholics, he complains, confess their sins to a priest, "instead of directly to Jesus as the Bible tells Christians to."

Among lay tour participants, this theological hostility sometimes degenerates into simple social prejudice. The three Catholics on our bus have all reported instances of anti-Catholic bigotry and distortion. One of them relates that her roommates, unaware of her faith, spoke of Catholics as idolators who worship statues and think the Pope is God. The others have encountered similar comments.

Attitudes expressed towards Jews during the tour are more complex and contradictory. Jews are the objects of frequent and, I am sure, sincere vows of support by tour members and leaders. Yet they do not escape the prejudice of dogmatic theological typecasting mandating their proper and inevitable role in a Christian cosmic drama.

One speaker, the Reverend Tim LaHaye, exhorts his listeners to support Israel while nailing Jews to the historical cross of deicide for killing Christ.

LaHaye currently serves as chairman of the American Coalition for Traditional Values, the political umbrella group that coordinated the successful registration of more than three million fundamentalists during President Reagan's re-election campaign last year. He was honored at the White House for his efforts during the campaign.

In Jerusalem, LaHaye warns of a coming Russian invasion of Israel that will be defeated through God's direct intervention—a military episode prior to and separate from the Anti-christ's war against Israel and defeat in the battle of Armageddon.

God will defeat Russia's invasion, according to the minister, "because of the conduct of that nation; the most atheistic of nations; the nation that has brought more havoc, more suffering, more deprivation and more human misery and death to the other nations of the world. No other nation has done that equally, like the nation of Russia. And of course, their evil treatment of the Jew."

In light of this, LaHaye remarks: "I do not believe that America need fear Russia as long as we continue our time-honored practice of being good to the nation of Israel. God's promise, 'I'll bless them that bless thee and curse them that curse thee,' has never been revoked."

But strangely, LaHaye's historical evaluation of the Jews is not much more favorable than that of the Russians. LaHaye tells his audience that the land of Israel was selected by God "because He gave Israel the mandate to be the torchbearer of the Old Testament. . . . However, Israel, instead of being faithful to God, turned their back on God and began to worship idols. And as you know, they were cursed of God."

"Finally, He sent the messiah and John the Baptist," says LaHaye. "Then they crucified Him, and this land has been turned into a land of woe and a land of sorrow as a result. . . . That which God intended to be a blessing turned out to be a curse."

The depiction of Jews as cursed Christ-killers or rejecters accompanied by passionate declarations in support of Israel is no new paradox for Jews. In October of 1983, for example, the Reverend Jimmy Swaggart, a riveting TV evangelist whose weekly broadcasts reach millions, displayed photos from Auschwitz and other Nazi death camps to illustrate his message on the fate awaiting those who fail to accept Jesus as messiah. Yet, last year, he told his followers: "We must stand strong with Israel in order to keep strong. Make friends with them because someday they're going to rule the world. One day they're coming back home to Jesus Christ. Someday they will call him King of Kings and Lord of Lords. One day, everyone of them will say He is Lord."

More recently, the Reverend James

Robison, another self-declared supporter of Israel, remarked that "an anti-Semite is someone who hates Jews more than he should."

Neither outburst evoked a response from Falwell, who serves with both Swaggart and Robison as a co-founder and executive board member of the American Coalition for Traditional Values—the fundamentalist political umbrella group headed by LaHaye. In Jerusalem, once again, Falwell, though innocent himself of anti-Semitic outbursts, introduced LaHaye and then sat silently at his side as he voiced his blood libel.

So the Jews face a crazy world of extreme leftist anti-Zionists who protest that they love Jews—and extreme rightist anti-Semites who declare their love for Zion.

On Jews depend all Christendom's ultimate hopes, it sometimes seems during this trip—or is it just that my ears perk up when we are mentioned?

No, it isn't my hyper-sensitivity. It is Christians like Vivian, so interested in my spiritual development once I tell her I am not born again, that I am "interested in Christianity."

We are on Carmel, looking down on Haifa and the blue bay beyond when Vivian, a housewife from southern California, asks if I have studied prophecy previously. The prophecy conference was one of the tour's prime attractions for her, she says, since prophecy "explains so much about the news we see every day, what's really happening."

As we are talking, two adorable little boys with *payot* walk by speaking toddlers' Hebrew to their distinguished-looking Chassidic father. The live tableau moves Vivian deeply and her mouth curls into a sad smile as she says, "The Jews are going to be fighting so much in the future."

She adds that she is sorry she could not go to Nabatea, in Jordan, where "the surviving fragment of Jews will hide in refuge to survive the battle of East and West."

But Vivian's utter fascination with Jews is coupled with enormous ignorance about them. Confidently, she tells me Jews are divided into three religions: "Muslim, Mohammedan,

and . . . well, those two I know."

The root indignity, of course, is not the tour participants' ignorance. It is, instead, that for all their declarations of support, the Jews remain, as they always have been, mere objects in Christian eyes, incapable of truly acting in history—a history foreclosed of human possibility.

At the conference, prophetic determinism at times appears to give some speakers a vested theological interest in Middle East turbulence, as if peace and stability there would affront their eschatology.

"We long for the day there will be peace in Jerusalem," says Wyrzten to his audience. But, he warns them, "there can't be peace in Jerusalem until the Prince of Peace who was crucified in Jerusalem comes back again and sits on the throne of David right here in Jerusalem."

The clash of metaphysical world views is most poignant listening to the Israeli tour guide on our bus and watching how the passengers respond. During a week of touring, we pass by desert agricultural projects, impressive modern cities and the scenes of military victories dearly won. Moshe takes all these as opportunities to relate the modern history of Israel and to explain how, through a gargantuan, revolutionary effort, the land has been nurtured and built up.

For him, it is clearly the proud story of how the Jews have taken control of their destiny after centuries as mere objects in history. To his audience, his passionate eloquence confirms the opposite. In their scenario Israel's restoration is the inaugural milestone that will soon confirm Christian eschatology through Jewish *tsuris*, Jewish troubles, as they look on compassionately from on high.

When Moshe speaks of the possibility of peace through eventual territorial compromise with the Palestinians, the immediate response of the Illinois farmer sitting behind me is, "He doesn't have his Scripture right there." One of the ministers on the bus remarks, "If I were him, I wouldn't be planning on seeing peace here."

The Israeli, a 60-year-old kibbutz

Sabra who has been through four of Israel's wars, has devoted his life to the Jewish struggle for self-determination that is Zionism's essence. Yet to my companions on the bus, Moshe is but an actor in a Christian play, not an autonomous figure capable, with other Jews, of collective self-definition. There are indications that this concept of Israel's ordained role has practical implications for the nature of fundamentalist support for the Jewish state. While fundamentalists voice loud support for Israel in general, this support appears to take practical form in the shape of loyalty to the Israeli right in particular—those parties they view as most likely to advance the stormy future they predict there.

In Jerusalem, Israeli cabinet ministers Ariel Sharon and Moshe Arens address Falwell's tour. Arens, a former defense minister and ambassador to Washington, and Sharon, a former defense minister and now Minister of Industry and Trade, are both from the country's right-wing Likud political coalition.

Falwell lauds Sharon in particular, saying of the Israeli cabinet minister found guilty of indirect responsibility in the Sabra and Shatila massacres, "Every country has its George Washingtons, Patrick Henrys and Abe Lincolns." Seemingly aware of some gap here, he adds, "There will come a time when the Israeli people will know that universally; many know it now." This, at a time when Sharon is scoring very low in public opinion leadership polls.

But despite vigorous efforts by Falwell, Prime Minister Peres, of the Labor Party, declines to address the gathering, though he does meet privately with Falwell later, after an initial demurral.

This may have been a mistake, since it leaves Sharon and Arens as the sole sources of political information for these Christians, shaping their entire first-hand view of Israeli "official" positions.

The Israel Labor Party's perception of the growing links between the U.S. Christian right and the Israeli right played an important role in Peres's decision, an aide to the prime minister tells me privately. He asserts that the links were also financial,

with parties on the right in Israel receiving money from Falwell and other fundamentalists.

Another reason for Peres's demurral, the aide says, was that "we understand the American Jewish dilemma—their support for both Israel and U.S. pluralism. So our solution was the classical compromise. We met with him privately but not with his group."

What benefits and drawbacks fundamentalist support for Israel offers will finally be decided by Israelis. Ultimately, though, the real danger fundamentalism represents to Western society transcends the political sphere, where strategies are inevitably plotted on the basis of hard self-interest.

What they threaten is the biblical view on which so much of the willful creativity of Western culture depends: that what God does is always vitally related to what man does, both individually and together.

Their misconstruing of prophecy lies at the heart of their perspective—seeing it as closed prediction rather than as an open warning to a collective humanity whose responses can change history. In this they follow Jonah, who was punished for his petulance with God for failing to destroy Nineveh as He prophesied.

"Repentance, prayer and charity can avert the severe decree," has always been the mainstream Jewish view, with its vision of a God not only alive in history but alive *to* it—a history in which man is an actor as well as an object. To be sure, events such as the Holocaust have challenged that view for Jews in our era. But for most Jews, history is a challenge, not a confirmation of man's flawed, God-given nature and God's own will—as a couple of tour members suggested to me it is. In their own way, the fundamentalists remind me of the Satmar Chassidim, with their spiritual joy, worldly pessimism and commitment to the Jews as objects in God's history—a history they believe beyond the power of ongoing sanctification.

On coming out of Yad Vashem, one young Christian social worker, obviously withered by the experience, says

to me, "What I've learned here about the Holocaust just confirms my belief in man's sinful nature." Then, as if it is a related thought, "It [the Holocaust] really killed off the social gospel—the idea growing at the time about man's social perfectibility."

In his mind, the social gospel—which animated the abolitionist, labor and civil rights movements—is equated with the hubris of Nazi pseudo-Nietzschean beliefs in social perfectibility.

Walvoord, in the course of his lecture, comments, "You and I, in the midst of a world full of troubles for which men have no solutions, realize ultimately our only hope is the coming of Christ. While I believe we should do everything we can to help keep our world going and keep it as straight as we can politically and otherwise, nevertheless, we realize it's not going to work. Scriptures are very plain it's going to get worse and worse until God himself is going to have to deal with it in judgment."

Marx would feel vindicated by these Christians, though I prefer Archibald MacLeish, who presciently pegged all species of determinism, including Marx's.

At the beginning of World War II, the famous poet felt himself part of a generation of prophets. Many prophesied doom, but this bothered him far less than their fatalism.

"The generation to which I belong believes in a pre-determined pattern of life," he wrote. "Our generation fled to fate," he explained, "not by opposing it . . . but by searching it out in order that we might yield to it, and by yielding then not only our responsibilities, but our will.

"We fled to fate—we invented a fate of our own—to escape a world which had grown too large for us, a world too complicated to understand, too huge to know." ★

MIPAC JEWISH  
TO BOW

Before the Jewish  
political interest can  
be defended,  
it has to be defined.  
And that turns out  
not to be  
so easy.

Jewish  
P.O. 4111

Congressman Mark Siljander loves Israel.

The Michigan Republican has fewer than 1,200 Jews in his district. Yet he was a prime mover of legislation that would have required the United States to move its embassy to Jerusalem. He co-authored an amendment forbidding the sale of advanced weaponry to Jordan until it negotiates with Israel. He is an outspoken critic of the PLO. As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, he is regarded not only as a reliable vote on matters affecting Israel, but as a member willing to lobby his colleagues on Israel's behalf. He speaks of the Jewish state in terms that are both spiritual and strategic. He has been known to sign correspondence in Hebrew.

Congressman Mark Siljander is a stalwart of the New Right.

In 1984, the American Conservative Union gave him its highest rating—100. The liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) gave him its lowest—zero. Siljander is a leader in the House of anti-abortion forces and Christian fundamentalists. He opposed the Equal Rights Amendment. He introduced a bill providing for a series of federal postage stamps commemorating 1983 as the "Year of the Bible." He favors a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right to prayer in the schools. In 1984, he co-signed a letter to church officials in the district of Rep. Howard Wolpe (D.-MI), urging them to support Wolpe's Republican opponent and "send another Christian to Congress." (Wolpe is Jewish. Siljander later described the wording of the letter as "unfortunate," and said the letter should not have been sent without "serious revisions.")

In 1984, Siljander was supported—to the tune of more than \$25,000—by more Jewish PACs (Political Action Committees) than any other Republican candidate for Congress. Independent fundraisers garnered thousands more for

Siljander in direct mail targeted at the Jewish community.

Therein lies a problem, and a tale.

In last year's election, more than 70 Jewish PACs donated nearly \$3.6 million, according to the records of the Federal Election Commission. The majority of recipients would be considered liberals or moderates on domestic issues. Yet donations also went from Jewish PACs to such well-known conservatives as Senators William Armstrong, Rudy Boschwitz, Thad Cochran, Alfonse D'Amato, Paula Hawkins, Chic Hecht, Gordon Humphrey, Roger Jepsen, Malcolm Wallop and John Warner, as well as Representatives Jack Kemp, Robert Michel and Henry Hyde.

In less than a decade, the PAC concept—envisioned as an antidote to Watergate-era abuses—has come of age. The amount of money a PAC can donate to a candidate is limited by law, as is the amount any one donor can provide to a PAC. The most efficient PACs are thus those that collect a large number of contributions and disburse them selectively with an unambiguous message to candidates. PAC giving generates a certain amount of political entrée and a measured amount of political leverage. It is apparently well suited to the needs, resources and dispositions of politically-minded Jews, especially Israel's advocates, who continue to organize Israel-oriented PACs at a prodigious rate.

Yet there have been vocal critics of Jewish PACs as long as there have been PACs. Early on, Rabbi Henry Siegman of the American Jewish Congress and Rabbi David Saperstein of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations warned that via the PAC process, Jews would find themselves donating money to candidates with whom they had nothing in common except support of Israel. Would it really serve the overall interests of the Jewish community to become exclusively identified, politically, with one issue, no matter how compelling that issue? "Single issue groups," wrote Saperstein, "must be complemented by multi-issue groups that address the broad spectrum of the Jewish com-

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munity's legislative concerns." Otherwise, went the reasoning, those concerns would wither from inattention; moreover, if the Jews were perceived as interested in only one issue, they would inevitably lose the respect they had acquired as political actors, and even the cause of Israel would suffer.

There was more: Many Jews, best described as traditional liberals, felt uncomfortable with what they viewed as excessive Jewish parochialism. Some despised the pragmatism of the 1980s and simply would not make political deals with conservatives. Some thought that too many of Israel's partisans had little Jewish identity apart from their emotional connection with Israel. And a few had never been enthusiastic about Zionism altogether.

The rebuttal was straightforward: No one prevents individual Jews from joining other PACs, PACs devoted to church-state separation or revision of the immigration laws or a nuclear freeze. Indeed, nothing prevents Jews from organizing such PACs. But if a PAC is to have its intended effect—if, that is, it is to deliver an unambiguous message to those it supports—it must be organized around a single issue.

The conflict over PACs has developed in two directions. First, many of those who were originally critical of single-issue PACs have become involved with a new PAC—the Multi-Issue Political Action Committee—specifically chartered to raise and disburse political donations on the basis of a wide range of Jewish concerns. Second, the debate has illuminated a deeper dialectic within the Jewish community, involving traditional-agenda liberals on the one hand and utilitarian activists for Israel on the other.

MIPAC—the Multi-Issue PAC—is intellectually rooted in the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC). The utilitarian activists are heavily influenced by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). (AIPAC, which long antedates the creation of PACs, suffers

somewhat from its name, which makes it sound as if it were a PAC. It is not. It is the registered domestic lobby of American supporters of Israel. It is, by law, prohibited from providing financial support to candidates for office.) The utilitarians have also been shaped by what might be described as the UJA-Young Leadership experience.

The context for the debate is not political desperation; on the contrary, it is, at least for now, something of a banquet debate, reflecting a high level of Jewish political activism. But the argument over the proper role and scope of Jewish PACs limns a larger dialectic that involves differences in political culture and Jewish outlook, that revolves around the very way in which issues are perceived and that reflects a difference between political generations.

The conflict is not new. It emanates from a century of personal judgments about how secure Jews really are in American society, how they should be politically active, with which allies and for which causes. Yet the rise of PACs and their power, the crisis of the old liberal alignment, the increased sophistication and confidence of Israel's supporters and the natural evolution of the Jewish community have framed the debate anew—and sharpened it.

MIPAC was formally established late in the 1984 campaign. But the idea had been gestating in the minds of Jewish liberals for several years. Robert Schroyer, former president of the Chicago Jewish United Fund (and once chairman of the UJA's Young Leadership Cabinet), was miffed by candidates who'd stand before a Jewish audience and speak of nothing but Israel. This seemed to him to be pandering to the Jews, to demean them. Carol Boron, who'd been involved with the Joint Action PAC (JACPA), a Jewish women's PAC and one of the largest in the country, objected to donating funds to candidates whose positions on domestic issues were antithetical to her own—and to what she perceived as traditionally Jewish. Liberal stalwarts, such as the ADA's Joseph Rauh, Democratic fundraiser Bernard Rapoport of Waco, Texas,

Rabbi Balfour Brickner of New York, UAHC president Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Stuart Eizenstat (chief advisor on domestic affairs in the Carter White House), *MOMENT* editor Leonard Fein, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, the UAHC's David Saperstein and Albert Vorspan shared the concern, expressed by Saperstein, that "reducing our entire political agenda to Israel . . . is self-defeating for it distorts our true interests" in achieving a society that is "compassionate and whole; which provides all its citizens equal rights." All became founding members of MIPAC, presumably sharing Saperstein's view that "single issue politics is tactically dangerous because it undermines our ability to enter effectively into coalitions" with "traditional partners" such as "labor, civil rights and public interest groups, which are the bulwark of Israel's support."

MIPAC's brochure asserts: "Israel must remain a central concern of the Jewish community. However, other pressing problems exist as well. MIPAC was created to respond to this full spectrum of Jewish concerns. The issues MIPAC will consider are:

- Church-State Separation
- Human Rights
- Endangered Jewry
- Civil Rights
- Women's Rights
- Nuclear Threat
- Social Justice."

MIPAC pledged to direct its funds only to those candidates "who hold not only a favorable position on Israel but whose views on other issues reflect Jewish values and ideals." Support for Israel, in other words, is a *necessary* condition for MIPAC support—but by itself, it is not a *sufficient* condition. In addition, MIPAC promised to "seek out for support qualified female and minority candidates."

More than a few observers have noted that many of MIPAC's leaders had earlier on been critical of Jewish PACs in general, and have raised the obvious question: If you disagree with the very idea of PACs, how come you're doing a PAC of your own?

Says Schroyer, now MIPAC's treasurer, "First, some of our most active people have been involved in politi-

“Power is an extraordinary aphrodisiac. And the fact is that there is something especially attractive about getting into bed with a Siljander or a Kasten. Sure, it’s practical—but it’s also pleasantly kinky.”

cal fundraising for some time, and some of them have been involved in other PACs—especially in JACPAC. Second, PACs are a fact of life. We’re better served by being involved in the process, not in wasting our time fighting PACs. That is simply not the issue.” Other MIPAC members point to the sheer ubiquity of PACs, to the ongoing donations to conservatives and to the fact that even Jewish college students are registering PACs with the FEC; the system is virtually impossible to resist.

“There are liberals who are good on Israel who are nonetheless overlooked,” says Saperstein, adding that MIPAC’s donations will provide “identifiable Jewish money” as both a reinforcement to friends and as a counterbalance to donations sent to New Right conservatives. In certain races, such as those involving nationally important opponents of the liberal agenda, Saperstein asserts that “identifiable Jewish money should be visibly in opposition.”

And one MIPAC activist adds, “If things go on as they have been, it wouldn’t surprise me if the next time Jesse Helms runs for the Senate, he’ll have support from many Jewish PACs. After all, Helms has now said things that please the most hawkish of Israel’s supporters. The problem is that Jesse Helms is still Jesse Helms; no matter how ‘good’ his behavior regarding Israel, he’s still intolerable on virtually every domestic issue of consequence to Jews.”

Because the federal election laws limit the amount of money a PAC can give to candidates during the first six months of its life, MIPAC was only able to provide a few relatively small donations in 1984. Discussions are now well along, however, as to whom MIPAC will support in 1986. Schroyer states that the group hopes to have \$100,000 to disburse next year (which would make it medium-large as Jewish PACs go). Likely recipients include Representatives Tom Daschle, Dan Glickman, Bill Richardson (who is Hispanic), Alan Wheat and William Gray (who are black), plus the opponents of Senators Robert Kasten and Alfonse D’Amato. A formal list of key races will, it is planned, be established by MIPAC in Novem-

ber, and fundraising efforts will be increased accordingly.

MIPAC’s very existence implies criticism of the more numerous Israel-oriented PACs. Some of MIPAC’s key members were already iconoclastic in their attitudes towards the giant pro-Israel apparatus within the Jewish community well before MIPAC was founded. At the same time, the MIPAC leadership is eager to avoid the appearance of confrontation with its single-issue oriented colleagues. To confront would do Israel no good, and might well discredit MIPAC and its advocates. Accordingly, MIPAC is pitched as a group that fills a gap. Neither avant-garde nor anti-establishment, MIPAC presents itself as a revival of an (the?) honorable political tradition of American Jews. But in the present context, it plainly implies the criticism it is reluctant to express: In its aforementioned policy statement, “Israel must remain a central concern for the Jewish community,” [emphasis added] the choice of the indefinite over the definite article cannot be thought an accident. In its way, that says it all.

And all, in the judgment of MIPAC’s critics, is too much—or, if you will, too little. Here, too, the criticisms are muted—but they are biting:

● *Jews should not just support liberals. Supporters of Israel need allies from every part of the political spectrum.* Says Robert Asher, the president of AIPAC and a long-time organizer of Israel-oriented PACs, “We cannot cut ourselves off from someone who says, ‘I want to support Israel because. . . .’ The fact that he says he wants to support Israel is enough for me.” For three decades, I.L. Kenen, the founder of AIPAC, has preached to audiences, “Support for Israel must be bipartisan and non-partisan.”

● *PACs must have a narrow agenda in order to produce the intended political leverage on legislators and to elicit the desired legislative performance.* Richard Altman is executive director of NATPAC, the largest Israel-oriented PAC. He is widely regarded as one of the most sophisticated and well-connected operatives in national Jewish politics. Says Altman, “When you

deliver a message to the Congress, you walk up to a congressman or a senator and say, essentially, 'I support you'—whether it's with dollars or campaigning or in any other way—'and I'm going to let my community know that I support you and I'm going to ask them to help you because you're good on our issue.' When you turn and walk out the door, the member of Congress must know exactly why you're for him. If you're with the AMA, or the Dental Association, or the Tobacco Institute, or with AIPAC, you can be sure that he or she will know. But if you're from MIPAC, and you have a catalogue of issues, you're sending a confusing signal. Inevitably, your message will be muddled—and lost."

• *MIPAC will end up aiding only liberal Democrats, whatever its intentions.* "It's just another Democratic PAC," says the head of a large PAC who asks not to be identified. "A better name for it would be 'Liberal Democratic PAC,' because that's really what it is."

• *Support for Israel in Congress is relative; Jews still have considerable work to do in building up an infrastructure in the Congress that is fully and reliably supportive of Israel.* Morris Amitay, a former executive director of AIPAC, now a Washington attorney and head of WASHPAC, asserts that MIPAC will dilute the energies of Jewish activists, channel them into politically unrewarding avenues and generate only a minimal political return because of its diffuse objectives. Adds Robert Asher of AIPAC, "We're already over-represented on all those great liberal issues. . . . But on the Israel side, we're still under-represented." The 70 or so Israel-oriented PACs, he notes, constitute only two percent of the 4,000 PACs now registered with the FEC, and some of the 70 are only now getting off the ground.

• *MIPAC will offend important conservative supporters of Israel in the Congress.* MIPAC's leaders, says Asher, have a "naive understanding of political involvement. . . . When they point to an Al D'Amato or a Bob Kasten and say they're going to oppose them, then they lose their credibility with me when they tell me

Israel is an issue they care about." Adds Richard Altman, "What does this say to Jack Kemp, who's the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with foreign aid?"

Each of these criticisms can be addressed on two levels—directly, as MIPAC attempts to do, or in a larger context, one that considers what the very *exchange* of criticism says about the underlying conflict of perceptions between those who believe that Jews must have political concerns in addition to Israel and those who believe that allowing Israel to dominate the Jewish political agenda is the only realistic choice. In this context, the debate over "realism" and "naivete" becomes both deadly serious and emotionally charged. Traditional liberals view the "realism" of the Jewish PAC-men as a kind of moral obtuseness, an abandonment of the humane principles that have fueled Jewish political action for better than half a century. Moreover, they are not willing to concede that the others are, in fact, more realistic—even when it comes to Israel. And the utilitarian activists, for their part, perceive the MIPAC types as political naifs, out of touch with politics as it must be practiced in Washington today.

The debate is framed by something as simple as who the participants are. One analyst describes them as "AIPAC types on one side and guys whom AIPAC types make nervous on the other."

AIPAC has been making some Jews and Jewish organizations nervous since its founding. Among Jewish organizations, it is the only full-time lobby. It is the only Jewish organization whose primary universe is Washington, not New York. It is, by definition, parochial, being concerned exclusively with U.S.-Israel relations and closely associated issues, not with the larger panoply of "Jewish issues." By the unique nature of its work, it has access to political information and insights no other Jewish organization can match. As the focus of Jewish support for Israel has shifted from philanthropy to politics, from card-calling to lobbying, other organizations, not less devoted to Is-

rael than AIPAC, have felt themselves eclipsed.

The sense that AIPAC "is where the action is" has grown dramatically of late. We are now in a time when Congress can—and does—provide ten times the dollars for Israel that UJA can; moreover, Congressional support for Israel can—and does—come not only in the form of dollars, but also as weapons and diplomatic influence. To an Americanized generation whose appreciation of what can be accomplished in Washington has been forged in real-life legislative battles over Phantom jets, the Rogers Plan, emergency aid packages, the "letter of 76," F-15s and AWACS, AIPAC is plainly the most glamorous Jewish organization. Come to an AIPAC policy conference in Washington, sit at a dinner attended by a third of the Senate, be briefed at the White House or Pentagon, read in the secular press that AIPAC is "Washington's most effective lobby," learn that the President of the United States has called the director of AIPAC to thank him for his support and to confide in him his fears for the future, and inhale power. The seduction is virtually irresistible.

It started under Kenen, it gathered steam under Amitay; with the arrival of Tom Dine in 1980, it accelerated enormously. AIPAC quintupled its membership, increased its budget seven-fold, expanded its programming into a host of new areas—an expansion that continues to this day. Chief among AIPAC's new projects is political education.

It should come as no surprise then that most of the Jewish PACs have been organized by key members of AIPAC. The organization had always sought out the politically astute and the politically connected, and these were precisely the Jews who learned about PACs earliest and who felt most comfortable with the concept. That Jewish PACs would be tightly focused on Israel was thus virtually foreordained.

It was also foreordained that Jewish PACs would provide money to candidates who had little in common with the Jewish community, save affection for Israel. To AIPAC, this was a common-sense response, reflecting the

realities of practical politics. This utilitarianism typifies AIPAC's style—a thoroughly unsentimental realism that is wholly committed to getting the job done. Therefore, AIPAC builds bridges to any and all potential allies—and sees no reason why Jewish PACs should not do the same.

AIPAC's pragmatism has been shaped in defeat as well as in victory; after losing the 1978 F-15 fight and the 1981 AWACS fight it sought ever more effective legislative strategies, ever broader networks of allies, ever deeper levels of commitment. Other Jews might indulge themselves the luxury of distaste for the New Right; AIPAC would assiduously seek them out. Likewise, then, the PACs, which narrowed their agendas and redoubled their energies—and broadened their definition of eligibility for support to include decidedly non-traditional types.

As one close observer of AIPAC and PACs puts it, "Power is an extraordinary aphrodisiac. And the fact is that there is something especially attractive about getting into bed with a Siljander or a Kasten. Sure, it's practical—but it's also pleasantly kinky. You're both using each other, and that can be much more of a thrill than sleeping with an old lover, where power and sentiment get all mixed up with each other."

By following their pragmatic approach to its logical conclusion, the Israel-oriented PACs behaved in ways that made the conflict between them and the traditional liberals inevitable. But the dialectic runs considerably deeper.

AIPAC's utilitarianism requires that it preach the doctrine of Israel First. Congressmen, administration officials and journalists all base their perception of lobbies not on how persuasive their members are, but on how much power they represent—or appear to represent. The power of a lobby such as AIPAC derives from a unified—and passionate—political community, a community capable of rapid mobilization for reward and for punishment. When a lobby seeks to intervene on behalf of a particular issue, the first question the Washington player will ask is whether the community it

presents is united behind it.

When Jews lobby on an issue on which their cohesion is beyond question—such as Israel's survival—their power is at its greatest. When they lobby on issues on which they are somewhat less unified, such as the future of the West Bank, their power is markedly diminished. And when they lobby on an issue on which they are divided, such as oil deregulation, or for which they have no special affinity, such as farm policy, their power as a lobby is nil.

Plainly, virtually no other subject so elicits a visceral and united response from Jews as does Israel. Accordingly, and dispassionately, AIPAC believes that narrowing the Jewish political focus to that one subject makes Jews more powerful, hence more effective. And that explains why AIPAC types are politely dismissive or openly contemptuous of those Jews who believe that they can lobby effectively on a broad range of liberal issues.

A recent example nicely illustrates the point: The Washington representatives of a number of national Jewish organizations met with Reagan White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan. One of the representatives took about a third of the meeting to express his views on pending child welfare legislation. Later, Regan mused to a colleague that he hadn't realized how important that legislation was to the Jewish community.

From the standpoint of the person who made the case, it was surely a matter of conscience, perhaps also a way of using Jewish access to promote the views of the broad coalition of Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in which he is deeply involved. From the standpoint of the utilitarians, however, his performance was an abuse. It confused how Jewish priorities are perceived, and thereby diluted Jewish power.

The conflict devolves into differences of perception. What is "realistic" to the AIPAC types is "unprincipled" to the traditional liberals. What is "principled" to the liberals is "self-indulgent" to the AIPAC types.

Yet, because the two groups share an agenda that overlaps on its single most critical point, support for Israel, and, indeed, because many Jews

consider themselves members of both, there is considerable readiness to live and let live, to acknowledge that there is truth in each critique, gray areas that fill in the apparent divide between the factions.

Still, there are aspects of the quiet conflict that are of particular interest and concern. One has to do with the character of pro-Israel activism; another relates to liberal presumptions.

There is a legitimate concern about the direction of political activities in America on Israel's behalf. Not too many years ago, liberalism had the status of a near-theology for very many American Jews. But in the aftermath of the Great Society, the old liberal verities seem tenuous at best, and those who espoused them are still suffering from fatigue and, more important, from a sense of futility. Nearly at the same time that liberalism was plunged into a crisis from which it has yet to recover, Israel emerged as the core of the Jewish belief system. And, in the aftermath of the Six Day War, one could hardly wish for a more potent cause with which to identify.

Israel in 1985 does not seem quite as magical as it did in 1967. But it does not matter so much, because for some political activists, it is their political involvement *for its own sake* that is exciting and relevant. The cause is important, of course; but it is the process itself that offers the seduction.

In rapidly growing so much larger, AIPAC and its membership have changed. They have attracted new activists, some hitherto unknown to the organized Jewish community. Their success—their size, their budget, their expertise—all provide them a sometimes daunting presence, one that inevitably invites criticism, even resentment. Some observers believe that Middle East politics has become, for some of the AIPACers, merely the occasion for the heart of their activity, which is the political process itself. Others, acknowledging that the organization succeeds brilliantly, assert that some of its success is in spite of itself and its ponderous infrastructure; they claim that AIPAC has lost its deftness, and that this has been translated into a series of legislative

initiatives on matters such as additional aid for Israel that may be impressive as examples of lobbying but are of questionable value to Israel itself.

And, indeed, it is disconcerting to see AIPAC narrowing its agenda, limiting its involvement in such areas of legislation as endangered Jewry and trade legislation where it was once more active. The organization has come to espouse positions about the "West Bank" (as it qualifiedly chooses to call it) that may or may not be in keeping with majority opinion in Israel and in the Jewish community, but which in years past it simply chose to finesse.

And all this has, of course, spilled over to AIPAC's members in the communities, and to the Israel-oriented PACs. Here, away from AIPAC's still-considerable circum-spection, AIPAC's logic has sometimes been transmuted. There is an argument to be made for endorsing reactionary candidates; the same argument does not support their beatification. There is an argument, of course, for unqualified support for Israel; the same argument does not justify heavy-handed, simplistic or ill-informed support.

There is an analagous clumsiness in the way in which some traditional liberals judge Jewish political priorities. When they remind AIPAC types enamored of the New Right and the Christian fundamentalists that Israel's most reliable supporters in Congress are still found among the Black Caucus and Big Labor and Democrats in general, they are correct. But some textbook liberals eschew all political dealings with any conservative Republican as if ideological purity were more important to them than political effectiveness.

More disconcerting still is the liberal failure to apprehend how totally an entire generation of politically involved Jews has been inspired by Israel *and* haunted by the memory of American Jewry's failure during World War II to do enough to save the Jews of Europe. One can forgive the evident compulsion of some Jewish liberals to proclaim the catholicity of their social agenda and the breadth of their (often useless) political alli-

ances; it is harder to understand their often-blithe assumption that because Jews are sympathetic to a certain position, they may be represented in Washington as being viscerally exercised over it. Parochialism is a legitimate fact of American political life. It affects Jews no less than other groups, and requires neither apology nor handsprings to show how universal we are.

Or: It is easy to quote "If I am only for myself, what am I?" but the quote is hardly a platform for a serious political program. Israel is not just *an* issue for most American Jews. It is *the* issue. It is the first five issues. It dwarfs everything else, and the fact that it does is a source of strength, not an occasion for embarrassment. It is misleading in the extreme to suggest that the other issues that matter to Jews matter as much, or even nearly as much, as does Israel's safety.

So much of MIPAC's prospect depends on how ably it reflects its stated view that support for Israel is a *necessary* condition for its endorsement. And more still will depend on the tough choices that it will inevitably be called upon to make. What, for example, will it do in a race between two candidates, one a liberal with "acceptable" views on Israel, the other an out-and-out reactionary, but an incumbent and chairman of a key committee who is a pro-Israel enthusiast? Will it sit the race out, or support the liberal?

There are tough decisions that lie immediately ahead for MIPAC. But effective espousal of the liberal agenda is not an exercise for dilettantes. When Robert Asher asserts that Israel's supporters must do more to organize themselves politically, he illuminates an important reality of life in Washington: Romantic rhetoric and sincere sentiment may bring you to the work of politics, but, once there, you quickly learn that only the tough survive, only those ready to assert priorities and compromise their own purity can hope to prevail.

The trend among PACs is to specialization. If it stays the course, MIPAC will take its place alongside the big national PACs and the major regional PACs as a political action committee

that categorizes itself philosophically. As Jewish PACs arise that specialize in promoting ties with conservatives, or have other specialized features, MIPAC will seem less unusual. Inevitably, its success will insure that we will be witness to Jews around the country being importuned by the pro-Israel PACs to endorse one candidate, by MIPAC to endorse his/her opponent. But if it succeeds, the community will also have a PAC that provides liberal Jews with new avenues of access to liberal members of Congress and new credibility in seeking to strengthen old alliances.

The emergence of MIPAC was an inevitable response to the single-issue logic of the pro-Israel PACs. So, too, is the muted conflict that its emergence has engendered. Yet if MIPAC can become an effective player in the Washington arena, the conflict will likely soon be forgotten. For the community will surely judge MIPAC's effectiveness in terms of how well, while pursuing its liberal program, it joins in the battle for Israel's safety. ★