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AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

April 3, 1985

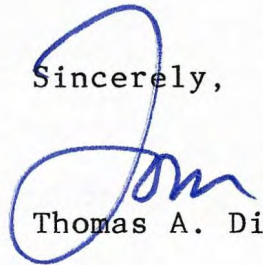
Mr. Marshall Breger
Office of the President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Marshall:

Enclosed are copies of letters to various
Administration leaders involved in the recent
humanitarian effort to save Ethiopian Jewry.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,



Thomas A. Dine

TAD:af

Enclosures

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

March 29, 1985

Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Advisor
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Bud:

I want to add my personal thanks to those of the officers and membership of AIPAC for the magnificent role that you played in the rescue of Ethiopian Jews.

We have always known you as a sincere friend of Israel and the Jewish people. But what you, the Vice President, and President have done in these last few weeks is truly extraordinary. As a result of your intervention, 800 Jews who were near death have been saved, and their dream of returning to Jerusalem -- after 2,500 years -- has been fulfilled.

Because of our unique history of persecution, we Jews have always had a special category reserved for those non-Jews who have gone out of their way to save Jews. We call these people "Righteous Gentiles." Bud, you have earned that appellation.

I would appreciate it if you would pass on our sincerest thanks to all members of your staff who played a role in this operation.

We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Thomas A. Dine

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

March 29, 1985

General Charles Gabriel
Air Force Chief of Staff
The Pentagon
Room 4-E 925
Washington, DC 20330

Dear General Gabriel:

On behalf of the officers and membership of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, I want to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for the magnificent role you and the officers and men of the United States Air Force played in the rescue of Ethiopian Jews. The efficient and effective implementation of such a complex operation is a tribute to the dedication and skill of you and the men and women you lead.

What makes your role particularly special, and your involvement with the operation worthy of such praise, is that you have taken people who were about to die, and turned their dream of returning once again to Jerusalem -- after 2,500 years -- into a reality.

I would appreciate it if you would pass on to all the individuals involved in the operation our sincerest thanks.

We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Thomas A. Dine

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

April 2, 1985

The Honorable George Shultz
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On behalf of the Officers, members, and staff of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, I want to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for the magnificent role that you and your department played in the rescue of Ethiopian Jews. Your commitment of American diplomacy helped save 800 lives.

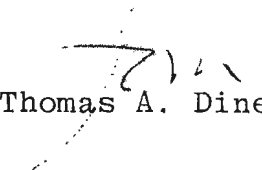
We have always known you as a sincere friend of Israel and the Jewish people. But what you have done in these last few weeks is truly extraordinary. As a result of your intervention, 800 Jews who were near death have been saved, and their dream of returning to Jerusalem -- after 2500 years -- has been fulfilled.

I would appreciate it if you would pass on our sincerest thanks to all members of your staff involved in the operation.

We are deeply grateful.

I look forward to seeing and hearing you at the AIPAC Policy Conference on April 21.

Sincerely,


Thomas A. Dine

TAD:gcs

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

March 29, 1985

The Honorable Caspar W. Weinberger
Secretary of Defense
The Pentagon
Room 3E880
Washington, DC 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On behalf of the officers and membership of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, I want to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for the magnificent role that you and your department played in the rescue of Ethiopian Jews. Your commitment of American military capabilities saved 800 lives.

What makes your role particularly special, and your involvement with the operation worthy of such praise, is that you have taken people who were about to die, and turned their dream of returning once again to Jerusalem -- after 2,500 years -- into a reality.

I realize that this was a complex operation involving not only the U.S. Air Force but also the Military Airlift Command, EURCOM, and CENTCOM. The fact that it was carried out with such complete efficiency is a testimony to the dedication and skill of the U.S. Armed Forces and the Defense Department.

I would appreciate it if you would pass on our sincerest thanks to all those involved in the operation.

Caspar Weinberger

- 2 -

March 29, 1985

We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Thomas A. Dine

TAD:af

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

March 29, 1985

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the officers and membership of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, I want to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for your significant humanitarian effort to save Ethiopian Jewry. As a result of your willingness to commit American diplomacy and American military capabilities to that effort, 800 Jewish lives have been saved.

What makes the rescue of these Jews particularly special, and your involvement with the operation worthy of such praise, is that for centuries these people have repeated the prayer which ends the Passover service -- "Next year in Jerusalem." They have lived in the wilderness for 2,500 years, cut off from their co-religionists, yet have successfully maintained the Jewish traditions and culture in the face of untold hardships. Now these Ethiopian Jews can finally fulfill that Passover prayer and next week celebrate Passover in Jerusalem. You have made their dream come true.

You have earned the deep-felt gratitude not only of the Ethiopian Jews you rescued, but also of Israel, of the American Jewish community, and of all those who care about relieving human suffering and providing a free and democratic environment in which the human spirit can thrive.

Ronald Reagan

- 2 -

March 29, 1985

We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Thomas A. Dine

TAD:af

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

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

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

March 29, 1985

The Honorable George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

On behalf of the officers and membership of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, I want to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for the personal and indispensable role that you played in the magnificent humanitarian effort to save Ethiopian Jewry. As a result of your direct intervention with President Nimeri, 800 Jewish lives have been saved.

What makes the rescue of these Jews particularly special, and your involvement with the operation worthy of such praise, is that for centuries these people have repeated the prayer which ends the Passover service -- "Next year in Jerusalem." They have lived in the wilderness for 2,500 years, cut off from their co-religionists, yet have successfully maintained the Jewish traditions and culture in the face of untold hardships. Now these Ethiopian Jews can finally fulfill that Passover prayer and next week celebrate Passover in Jerusalem. You have made their dream come true.

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George Bush

- 2 -

March 29, 1985

We are deeply grateful, and will not forget
the role you have played.

Sincerely,

Thomas A. Dine

TAD:af

bcc: Gordon Zacks

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. CASEY
DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *JK* SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND ACTING DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

RE: AIPAC Annual Policy Conference Speaking Request
April 6-8, 1986, Washington, DC

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee has asked my assistance in arranging for you to be their keynote speaker at their 27th annual Policy Conference at the Washington Hilton. As you know, AIPAC is the leading pro-Israel lobby. Its 50,000 members represent the nation's diversified Jewish community; the 1200 conference participants are the country's key political leaders on behalf of Israel. Among those attending will be a sizeable pro-Israel non-Jewish delegation.

In past years, Secretary of State Schultz and Vice President Bush have spoken to the group. I feel this would be an ideal opportunity for you to discuss the need for strengthening America's security needs before an influential audience. I am confident you will be warmly received.

Ideally, pending your schedule, you would address the group for one-half hour on Sunday afternoon, April 6. At your convenience, kindly have a member of your staff contact Max Green, Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison, at 456-6270, to discuss the possibility of your accepting this invitation.

Thank you for your consideration.



AIPAC's New Agenda

By Wolf Blitzer

The pro-Israeli lobby in Washington is expanding its traditional agenda as the nature of the American-Israeli relationship continues to change.

Tom Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), described how his organization was currently gearing up to the new challenges posed by what he called a "revolution" in ties between Washington and Jerusalem.

Part 2 of a series

"In the old days," he said in an interview, "there were two issues: aid and arms. Now, the agenda between the two countries is real broad."

AIPAC is still, of course, very much involved in promoting U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel. That is the group's bread and butter issue. It also opposes — if not always actively fights — U.S. arms sales to Arab states.

But the organization is now clearly moving beyond those issues as U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation expands.

"Israel, more and more, is being considered an equal to the NATO countries," Dine said. AIPAC, as a result, is exploring the possibility of supporting legislation in Congress which would formally make Israel — along with Japan, Australia and South Korea — America's "equal partners," just like the NATO allies. The economic, military and diplomatic benefits for Israel would be very significant.

"We're working closely with both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees," Dine said. "That's a change right there — working with those two committees." He was referring to the fact that AIPAC has historically always focused most of its attention on four other committees: House Foreign Affairs; Senate Foreign Relations; and House and Senate Appropriations. Those are the panels which must approve all foreign-aid legislation.

But because of the Gramm-Rudman budget-cutting mood in Washington, Dine said, "the future is not aid." He said the aid levels were not going to increase "unless there were a Syrian-Israeli war and Israel was just flattened economically, after so many weeks or months of fighting. That would be horrible, tragic, and I'm sure America would be there to help Israel out economically."

But short of that scenario, the real future for Israel is "making sure that the economy is led by high-tech exports. And that includes defense and non-defense items."

There is much the United States can do to help. This is especially true in the executive branch of the government. "Imagine a guy who knows the basement and the bowels of all the bureaucracies in Washington, the relevant ones — Commerce, Special Trade Representative, State, Treasury, Agriculture, and Defense," Dine said. "If we know of

opportunities, we can take advantage of them, and get the Hill involved as well."

Thus, AIPAC has become an active supporter of the many direct and indirect efforts to promote Israeli exports, including Operation Independence, a private initiative of several prominent American Jewish businessmen. "I want AIPAC to help make sure that that's a successful operation," he said.

AIPAC was earlier very much involved in lobbying the Congress to support the establishment of the U.S.-Israeli Free Trade Area.

"We are obviously pushing the U.S.-Israeli relationship closer and closer," Dine said. "What's my dream? It's a full-fledged alliance."

But the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal has hurt, at least in the short term. "I'm wary," Dine said. "I'm concerned that the Israelis have not come to terms with its meaning here."

Still, he believes the strains can be overcome. "I think it has caused a pause," he said. "I think it has caused some apprehension. But I do not see it shaking the American-Israeli relationship."

Dine, a former State Department foreign-service officer and Senate aide who has spent five years at AIPAC, was quite critical of Israel's involvement in the Pollard affair. "Who needed it?" he asked. "Why were they so stupid? If they wanted these things, why didn't they ask? Isn't the U.S.-Israeli relationship close enough? (They) could have gotten it."

Dine was also personally angered by the Pollard affair. "A criminal act was

committed — treason against my own government," he said. "And in this case it's a Jew." He expressed hope that the final unresolved aspects of the case would be settled quickly so that the U.S.-Israeli relationship could bounce back to normal and then continue to expand.

In looking back over the past few years, Dine suggested that a turning point in the American-Israeli relationship occurred in December, 1982 when Congress, on its own, appropriated an extra \$200 million in assistance for Israel, despite the active opposition of the Reagan administration. That Congressional action, which followed the acrimony of the 1981 Saudi AWACS surveillance aircraft battle and the subsequent strains of the Lebanese war, sent a powerful signal to the administration. Israel's standing on Capitol Hill was seen as very solid. And as a result, the administration moved to strengthen ties with Israel in the military/strategic arena.

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AIPAC, in the coming months, can also be expected to promote efforts in Congress to revise the law on blocking foreign arms sales. As it currently

stands, the president can push through controversial sales to Saudi Arabia and other Arab states by simply winning over only a third of the Senate.

This was dramatically underlined earlier this summer when the Saudi missile sale was allowed to go forward even though a clear majority of senators and representatives had opposed it. But changing the existing law will not be easy.

AIPAC is also quietly exploring ways to reduce the interest rates on America's outstanding military loans to Israel. An earlier effort by Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and Bob Kasten of Wisconsin was scrubbed after Pollard's arrest last November. That initiative, which was well on its way toward passage, would have saved Israel an immediate \$531 million. But as the *Wall Street Journal* noted on July 14, there was an "unstated discomfort" among members of the Senate Appropriations Committee in the aftermath of the Pollard affair.

AIPAC, however, is now again testing the waters to see if it might be revived in a revised form. That also will not be easy.

Another fresh item on the AIPAC agenda, Dine said, involves a two-year-old amendment by Democratic Representative Howard Berman of California to transfer some \$5 million a year to Israel for developmental aid projects in Africa. "I think the Berman Amendment is quite small," Dine said. "But it has so many ramifications about the dramatically changed relationship. The idea that Israel would not be asked to do our bidding in Africa like they did in the early 1960s — secretly — but openly, with America's helping Israel to help the Africans with Israeli technology and expertise. It's more positive, cleaner. It shows that the relationship has gone from rhetoric and sentiment and pity to real cooperation. And that's so exciting."

Dine also insisted that a closer American-Israeli connection will actually promote the Arab-Israeli peace process. "I accept that thesis," he said. "If the relationship is dangling, if it's not close — filled with contention and contempt — no Arab is going to say it's worth it to make peace with Israel. They'll say, 'Let's get back to the salami tactics.'"

But in the process of expanding its traditional agenda, AIPAC has rankled some influential people in the United States and Israel. There has recently been criticism of its style, growth and policies — a subject which will be addressed in the next article.

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A Childers Alignment

The failure last week of the South County Political Cooperative to endorse the candidacy of Adele Messinger in her effort to unseat State Senator Don Childers was unfortunate. Apparently, seven of the 10 members of the Coop's board voted for a Messinger endorsement. Those supporting Childers discounted his philosophical and organizational ties to ultra-conservative political groups and insisted his three-term legislative experience guarantees that the county will reap certain benefits. While Childers' supporters may be looking out for the well-being of their own narrow interests, they have failed to realize the larger consequences of their decision. Childers wants Biblical creationism taught in our public schools; he wants Bible clubs meeting during school hours; he wants values clarification techniques purged from the public school curriculum; and he wants an anti-pornography law enacted for cable TV viewers. He also supports a constitutional convention to amend the U.S. Constitution, despite the clear danger that such a convention could turn into a "runaway" and rewrite much of the amendments. An alignment with Childers is simply not worth the price of a few civic improvements, like a traffic light in Delray Beach.

LETTERS

Hopes for Best

To the Editor:

I am certain that many folks in West Palm Beach and Palm Beach County are terribly distressed over the dispute between Federation and JCC due to the personal feud of members of Federation and JCC.

I sincerely hope and strongly urge that clearer minds will work out the best solution for a unified single complex for the young and elderly population of Palm Beach County.

Sincerely
Herman J. Tauber
West Palm Beach

'Factual Errors'

To the Editor:

Than you for your recent "Operation Moses" article, which was very well done. There were, however, a few factual errors I would like to correct.

The purpose of the United States Government appropriation of \$15 million, raised to \$25 million in the following year, was to provide assistance to Israel for the resettlement and absorption of refugees. These funds were not used for rescue efforts and, in fact, are legally given to the United Israel Appeal only for assistance in refugee resettlement and absorption. The amount of this appropriation has fluctuated over the years, depending upon the flow of refugees to Israel. The \$5 million from the President's Refugee Emergency Fund was granted to the United Israel Appeal to assist with transportation and transportation-related expenses for Ethiopian Jews, and not for on-the-ground rescue efforts. There were no United States Government funds used for on-the-ground rescue efforts.

Further, the staggering cost of resettlement

and absorption of Ethiopian Jews in Israel is only partially met by U.S. Government appropriations and is primarily the financial responsibility of world Jews through the United Israel Appeal and the Government of Israel. In addition, the successful incorporation of Ethiopian Jews into the Israeli community is an enormous undertaking of the Israeli people through its various Ministries and through the Jewish Agency.

With respect to the Operation Moses UJA Campaign, my difficulty was with its timing, not with the essence or need for such a campaign. The fundraising took place during the operation itself, which presented the real threat of a major breach in security. The start of the campaign occurred just days after the Washington Jewish Week broke its story on the rescue efforts, which precipitated major news stories in the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe* and the wire services. The resulting publicity required

Please turn to ERRORS, Page 21



Hoffman Articles on Jewish Agency A Milestone, but Flawed

By Marvin Schick

Could it be that the Jewish Agency is about to be brought to bay? Probably not; those who control it have a stake in maintaining imperious, wasteful rule. Other organizations are able to exist long after they have outlived their usefulness, and the Jewish Agency is protected by layers of bureaucracy, fortifying it against those who attack its abusive practices.

Still, we must always retain the hope that change is attainable or all is lost. This hope is modestly buttressed by a remarkable turn of events emanating from a series of articles on the Jewish Agency ("Where Do All Our Dollars Go?") which appeared in the *Baltimore Jewish Times*.

Here is what happened. Charles Hoffman, a *Jerusalem Post* reporter who has covered the Jewish Agency, suggested writing a series for the *Baltimore* weekly on whether the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization "are meeting the needs of Israel and the Jewish world."

Gary Rosenblatt, editor of the *Baltimore Jewish Times*, encouraged Hoffman to write five articles, amounting to 30,000 words, which were published in May and June. The articles were accompanied by caricatures drawn by Giora Carmi, whom Rosenblatt describes as "a well-known Israeli free-lance illustrator."

The *Baltimore Jewish Times* then reprinted the series as a booklet. Copies were distributed in June to American Jewish leaders and sent to delegates at the Jewish Agency Assembly in Jerusalem. My supposition is that some of this was done in cahoots with — this is not intended in a pejorative sense — local Jewish leaders. The entire publication was apparently the brainchild of Hoffman and Rosenblatt and the funding of the booklet, and certainly its distribution, seemed a cooperative venture.

Shoshana Cardin, president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds and a Baltimorean, is a member of the Jewish Agency Executive. The role of the federations is one of the major issues in any possible reallocation of Jewish Agency authority and funds. Jerrold Hoffberger, another prominent American Jewish leader from Baltimore, is chairman of the governing board of the Jewish Agency. He had to be involved in the decision to give the booklet to the delegates at the Assembly.

The hope was that the articles would serve as the focal point of the

Assembly's deliberations. Instead, the booklet itself became the target of attack as the Jewish Agency leadership in Jerusalem charged that Hoffman's reporting was chock full of serious errors and that Carmi's cartoons were offensive, if not anti-Semitic.

American Jewish leaders have been accomplices in this misuse of our philanthropy.

There were calls for Hoffberger's resignation. Gary Rosenblatt, writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, noted that "the loud and angry response in Israel to Charles Hoffman's series... only underscores the message of the articles: that some key leaders in Israel are unwilling to confront the tough issues at hand."

The entire brouhaha has been extensively covered in the *Jerusalem Post* and other Israeli newspapers, which have borrowed heavily from the text and illustrations in the booklet. As I write, more than two weeks after the eruption, no report about any of this has appeared in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin — unnecessary and unwelcome evidence of its continuing timidity in reporting on Jewish organizations.

The JTA gobbles up organizational press releases, most of them petty inanities and half truths, as if they are the gospel truth or manna from heaven, while the goings on of agencies which control nearly a half-billion dollars of our annual charitable funds, including the bulk of contributions to UJA, are not regarded as newsworthy.

Actually, just the other day, the JTA finally carried a story on the Jewish Agency Assembly. There wasn't a word about the controversy over the booklet, and once more the Jewish public that is forced to read Anglo-Jewish newspapers filled with JTA bulletins was given a controlled, canned version of what happened.

The headline was curious, for it told us that "undeterred by terrorist

Please turn to HOFFMAN, Page 20

Palm Beach JEWISH WORLD

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AIPAC Gears Up for Changes in U.S.-Israel Ties

(Continued from Page 1)

strengthen ties with Israel in the military/strategic arena.

"I think the future is the 'NATOization' stuff and enhancing Israel's economic opportunities," Dine said.

AIPAC, in the coming months, can also be expected to promote efforts in Congress to revise the law on blocking foreign arms sales. As it currently stands, the President can push through controversial sales to Saudi Arabia and other Arab states by simply winning over only a third of the Senate.

This was dramatically underlined earlier this summer when the Saudi missile sale was allowed to go forward even though a clear majority of Senators and Representatives had opposed it. But changing the existing law will not be easy.

REDUCE INTEREST RATES

AIPAC is also quietly exploring ways to reduce the

interest rates on America's outstanding military loans to Israel. An earlier effort by Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and Bob Kasten of Wisconsin was scrubbed after Pollard's arrest last November. That initiative, which was well on its way toward passage, would have saved Israel an immediate \$531 million. But as the "Wall Street Journal" noted on July 14, there was an "unstated discomfort" among members of the Senate Appropriations Committee in the aftermath of the Pollard affair.

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AFRICAN AID

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projects in Africa. "I think the Berman Amendment is quite small," Dine said. "But it has so many ramifications about the dramatically changed relationship. The idea that Israel would not be asked to do our bidding in Africa like they did in the early 1960s — secretly — but openly, with America's helping Israel to help the Africans with Israeli technology and expertise. It's more positive, cleaner. It shows that the relationship has gone from rhetoric and sentiment and pity to real cooperation. And that's so exciting."

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But in the process of expanding its traditional agenda, AIPAC has rankled some influential people in the United States and Israel. There has recently been criticism of its style, growth and policies — a subject which will be addressed in the next article.

NEXT WEEK: The second in the series of AIPAC articles



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WHY IS Israel like a dove?
Other birds, when tired, rest on a branch; but when the dove tires, she rests one wing and flies with the other.

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in the last 24 hours. In the past there has been shelling, and we do indeed live with a certain reality," he added.

Asked if last week's attempted terrorist landing in Israel by sea signified an escalation, Rabin said, "First of all, there have been attempts in the past, whether by land or sea." He praised the IDF and the Navy. "The commanders on the spot showed responsibility, initiative, daring, courage and understanding that their goal was to prevent any attempts by terrorists to penetrate and carry out their murderous intentions," Rabin said.

Freed Arab Terrorist Probed

TEL AVIV (JTA)—An Arab terrorist between jail terms was inadvertently freed last week and Police Commissioner Rafi Suissa has ordered an inquiry to find out how it happened.

The prisoner, not identified by name, had completed a prison term for one offense and was awaiting trial on charges of entering the country illegally to commit a terrorist act. Instead of going to court he was included in a group of three other Arab prisoners being expelled to Egypt.

The four were turned loose at the border in dead of night since Egypt would not officially accept them. Prison sources said the mix-up occurred because the man awaiting trial had a name similar to a prisoner about to be released.

Europe submitted to the Executive Committee of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture by its Committee on Eastern Europe at its recent meeting here.

"A favorable political climate for promoting Jewish activities and a revival of interest in Judaica are evident in Hungary," observed Dr. Zvi Gitelman, chairman of the Committee. "There are films and books on the Holocaust. The Hebrew Bible has been republished in Hungarian. These are vital signs. This is an opportune time for the Foundation to step up efforts to reach assimilated Jews, cultivate Jewish leadership and support Jewish activities."

As a result of the Foundation's stimulation and support, five volumes are being planned for different age groups and their families dealing with the Bible, Jewish history, and Jewish holidays and customs. This program of publication, prepared in consultation with the Jewish community, has been approved by the Ministry of Culture."

A second important development reported by Hochbaum is a Center for Jewish Studies in Budapest to be established and named after the late Prof. Alexander Scheiber. The Foundation is negotiating with the Hungarian Academy of Science to establish this center which would engage in Jewish research and archival work.

tourists arriving in Israel by direct flights in January through June was 35,800, up from 26,900 in the same period last year—an increase of 33 percent.

First Arabic Translation

JERUSALEM, (JTA) — A classic book on Hebrew literature by a former Hebrew University professor has been translated into Arabic — the first book on Hebrew literature to appear in that language.

The book, "A Brief History of the New Hebrew Literature, 1781-1939," was written by Prof. Joseph Klausner, one of the pioneer teachers and researchers of modern Hebrew literature at the Hebrew University, and was translated into Arabic in the late 1950's by the late Dr. Itzhak Shamosh, who was the first teacher of Hebrew-to-Arabic translation and a lecturer in modern Arabic literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The manuscript of the translation of Klausner's book was found in the estate of Shamosh. After his death in 1968, the estate, including his library and his manuscripts, was given to the Hebrew University by his family.

Prof. Shmuel Moreh, lecturer in modern Arabic language and literature at the Hebrew University, found the manuscript of the translation in the estate.

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VOL. V, NO. 48

JULY 24, 1986 / 17 TAMMUZ 5746

AIPAC Gears for Changes in U.S. Israel Ties

ED. NOTE: The following article on AIPAC is the first in a three part series by Wolf Blitzer, 'Horizon' Washington correspondent.

BY WOLF BLITZER

WASHINGTON—The pro-Israeli lobby in Washington is expanding its traditional agenda as the nature of the American-Israeli relationship continues to change.

Tom Dine, Executive Director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), described how his organization was currently gearing up to the new challenges posed by what he called a "revolution" in ties between Washington and Jerusalem.

"In the old days," he said in an interview, "there were two issues: aid and arms. Now, the agenda between the two countries is real broad."

AIPAC is still, of course, very much involved in promoting U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel. That is the group's bread and butter issue. It also opposes — if not always actively fights — U.S. arms sales to Arab states.

STRATEGIC COOPERATION

But the organization is now clearly moving beyond those issues as U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation expands.

"Israel, more and more, is being considered an equal to the NATO countries," Dine said. AIPAC, as a result, is exploring the possibility of supporting legislation in Congress which would formally make Israel — along with Japan, Australia, and South Korea — America's "equal partners," just like the NATO allies. The economic, military and diplomatic benefits for Israel would be very significant.

"We're working closely with both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees," Dine said. "That's a change right there — working with those two committees." He was referring to the fact that AIPAC has

historically always focused most of its attention on four other committees: House Foreign Affairs; Senate Foreign Relations; and House and Senate Appropriations. Those are the panels which must approve all foreign aid legislation.

But because of the Gramm-Rudman budget-cutting mood in Washington, Dine said, "the future is not aid." He said the aid levels were not going to increase "unless there were a Syrian-Israeli war and Israel was just flattened economically, after so many weeks or months of fighting. That would be horrible, tragic, and I'm sure America would be there to help Israel out economically."

But short of that scenario, the real future for Israel is "making sure that the economy is led by high-tech exports. And that includes defense and non-defense items."

There is much the United States can do to help. This is especially true in the Executive Branch of the government. "Imagine a guy who knows the basement and the bowels of all the bureaucracies in Washington, the revelant ones — Commerce, Special Trade Representative, State, Treasury, Agriculture and Defense," Dine said. "If we know of opportunities, we can take advantage of them, and get the Hill involved as well."

PROMPTING ISRAELI EXPORTS

Thus, AIPAC has become an active supporter of the many direct and indirect efforts to promote Israeli exports, including Operation Independence, a private initiative of several prominent American Jewish businessmen "I want AIPAC to help make sure that that's a successful operation," he said.

AIPAC was earlier very much involved in lobbying the Congress to support the establishment of the U.S.-Israeli Free Trade Area.

"We are obviously pushing the U.S.-Israeli relationship closer and closer," Dine said. "What's my

dream? It's a full-fledged alliance."

But the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal has hurt, at least in the short term. "I'm wary," Dine said. "I'm concerned that the Israelis have not come to terms with its meaning here."

Still, he believes the strains can be overcome. "I think it has caused a pause," he said. "I think it has caused some apprehension. But I do not see it shaking the American-Israeli relationship."

Dine, a former State Department foreign service officer and Senate aide who has spent five years at AIPAC, was quite critical of Israel's involvement in the Pollard affair. "Who needed it?" he asked. "Why were they so stupid? If they wanted these things, why didn't they ask? Isn't the U.S.-Israeli relationship close enough? You could have gotten it."

Dine was also personally angered by the Pollard affair. "A criminal act was committed — treason against my own government," he said. "And in this case it's a Jew." He expressed hope that the final unresolved aspects of the case would be settled quickly so that the U.S.-Israeli relationship could bounce back to normal and then continue to expand.

TURNING POINT

In looking back over the past few years, Dine suggested that a turning point in the American-Israeli relationship occurred in December 1982 when Congress, on its own, appropriated an extra \$200 million in assistance for Israel, despite the active opposition of the Reagan Administration. That Congressional action, which followed the acrimony of the 1981 Saudi AWACS surveillance aircraft battle and the subsequent strains of the Lebanese war, sent a powerful signal to the Administration. Israel's standing on Capitol Hill was seen as very solid. And as a result, the Administration moved to

(Continued on Page 3)

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V I E W P O I N T

Syrian Hatred Revealed Anew

Syrian hatred for the State of Israel is a widely acknowledged matter of fact. But the revelation that the Syrian Defense Minister has authored a virulently anti-Semitic book seems to confirm the worst of fears: that Syrian enmity towards the State of Israel is only matched by its hatred for the Jewish people. Syrian claims that it is not anti-Jewish but only opposed to Zionism are now revealed as nothing more than blatant lies.

The disclosure of the book, "Matzah of Zion," authored by Mustafa Tlas, Syria's Defense Minister, was made by the Los Angeles based Simon Wiesenthal Center. They obtained a copy of the book which is believed to be widely circulated in Syria. It revives the blood libel forgery against the Jewish people and calls the true religious beliefs of the Jews "black hatred to all humanity and all religions."

Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Center said: "The fact that such a high ranking Cabinet officer of the government of Syria could direct such a campaign of hatred and anti-Semitism against the Jewish people is an indication that the Golan Heights dispute is only a smoke screen for the real intentions of the current Syrian regime who would obviously like to rid themselves of any Jewish

presence in the Middle East."

The Reagan Administration has ordered the United States Embassy in Damascus to look into the matter, according to a letter Secretary of State George Shultz wrote to Rabbi Hier on July 3. He added that "I can assure you I share your deep sense of outrage that individuals continue to write such works which clearly serve only to further hatred and anti-Semitism against the Jewish people."

Furthermore, Hier contacted government leaders in Canada, France, Italy, Great Britain, West Germany, the Vatican, and the UN Human Rights Commission, requesting that they "formally protest this revival of anti-Semitism at the highest levels of the Syrian regime." Shultz is the only government official who has replied so far to the Center's request.

It is imperative that the other governments take up this issue on the highest diplomatic level. The publications of the vitriolic anti-Semitic falsehood by a high Syrian government poses a clear and present danger to the safety of the 5,000-member Syrian Jewish community, and to Jews in other Arab countries, who live in the shadow of ruthless and murderous regimes.

L E T T E R S

Refuseniks Inspire Congressmen

To the Editor

Late this May, Congressman Dean Gallo and I spent an extraordinary three and a half days in Moscow. It was our first trip behind the Iron Curtain, and we had two purposes for making it.

One was the chance to meet with Soviet officials, including Sergey Chetverikov, Deputy Chief of American Affairs at the Foreign Ministry. Over perhaps an hour, we discussed human rights, arms control, the Strategic Defense Initiative, and prospects for the summit. The minister was polite and rather stern. He did not completely disguise his irritation at our pressing him on human rights matters, but after 15 years of duty in America he knows well that Congress is often in a position to soften the President's actions or inhibit his

Michelson, whose American husband has sought her release for a generation, and for a hundred others.

The pressure works. When the spotlight of world public opinion shines on a particular Soviet citizen for too long, even the immense steel doors of the gulag are sometimes opened. It was Western pressure—and especially the President's efforts at the last Summit—which freed Natan (Anatoly) Shcharansky. It was Senator Kennedy who was instrumental in freeing Grigory and Isai Goldshteins from Tbilisi. It was the American businessman Edgar Bronfman whose labors were rewarded with the freedom of Josef Mendelovich. And I like to think that the pressure brought to bear on behalf of chess masters Boris and Anna Gulko by the Andrei Sakharov Institute, Resistance International, and several of us in the House helped secure their release.

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Washington's pro-Israel lobby has critics on all sides — even in Israel



AIPAC Under Fire

By Wolf Blitzer

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the powerful pro-Israel lobbying group in Washington, has always been condemned by Israel's Arab adversaries and their supporters in the United States. AIPAC has also crossed paths with various administration officials who have been angered by its policies and what they perceive to be its excessive influence in Congress.

First of a Series

Over the years, AIPAC has come to expect and has grown accustomed to dealing with these kinds of complaints. They are, after all, an indication that the lobby is doing what it is supposed to do.

But lately, AIPAC has faced a new wave of criticism from an unlikely source — namely, some American Jews, who have warned that AIPAC's supposed "heavy hand" in promoting a "single issue" — U.S. support for Israel — could actually generate a backlash against Israel and the American Jewish community.

The group even has a few outspoken critics in Israel, on the right as well as on the left, who have lashed out against the group.

AIPAC's president, Bob Asher of Chicago, and its executive director, Tom Dine, are understandably sensitive to the complaints. They made themselves available to this reporter to respond.

Representing American Citizens

As a registered domestic American lobbying organization, AIPAC represents Americans who want to strengthen U.S.-Israeli relations. Because it is not a foreign agent, AIPAC cannot receive any money or guidance from Israel. AIPAC officials and Israeli leaders can, of course, talk to each other. And they do. But AIPAC must maintain an independent posture. It is an American — not an Israeli — organization. It represents American citizens.

In recent years, the U.S. Justice Department has quietly investigated AIPAC's relationship with the Israeli government. No evidence was found of any wrongdoing.

And because it is a domestic political lobby, it cannot accept money from tax-exempt Jewish organizations, like the United Jewish Appeal or local community Federations. That would jeopardize the tax-exempt status of those charitable groups.

AIPAC, therefore, must raise its own money. And that is by no means easy. These donations, mostly from American Jews, are not tax-deductible.

AIPAC has had remarkable success with its very sophisticated direct-mail campaign. This was especially true following the very bitter 1981 Saudi AWACS aircraft battle, which AIPAC narrowly lost. But even in its narrow defeat, the pro-Israeli lobby emerged with increased popularity and greater respect, and membership soared.

Six years ago, before the Saudi AWACS issue came to the fore, AIPAC had about 30 people on its staff. Today, there are close to 100. During this period, its annual budget has grown from \$1.2 million to over \$6 million. Membership has increased from 12,000 to 60,000.

But with this growth has come all sorts of criticism — that AIPAC is too large, too visible, too hardline, too independent, too aggressive.

Some Jewish organizations, jealous of AIPAC's recent popularity, have charged that the lobby usurps some of their traditional turf, that it has taken on too much. The competition for available Jewish talent and dollars, after all, is very real.

There are also widespread charges that AIPAC has been too active in promoting single-issue pro-Israeli political action committees (PACs), which raise funds for politicians. There are about 70 pro-Israel PACs around the country.

AIPAC has even had its problems with various Israeli governments. Prime Minister Shimon Peres was not happy about AIPAC's very aggressive opposition last year to the Reagan administra-



AIPAC Executive Director Tom Dine

tion's proposed arms sale to Jordan. Peres was then attempting to get a peace dialogue with King Hussein off the ground. But AIPAC persisted, and the Reagan administration was eventually forced to withdraw its proposal.

In May, Labor Member of Knesset Ora Namir returned to Israel from the United States to say that she was "very disturbed with the performance of AIPAC, which will surely prove counterproductive for Israel's relations with the United States." She said AIPAC's tough positions could result in "a kind of a backlash that could adversely affect American Jewry and Israel."

And the right-wing in Israel has also complained about AIPAC. Some senior aides to Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, especially Yosef Ben-Aharon, have often been upset over positions taken by AIPAC.

AWACS: "We Learned a Lesson"

"The Likud people want us to fight every fight," said Dine who recalled that AIPAC, like the national unity coalition government in Jerusalem, eventually dropped its active opposition to the Administration's scaled-back missile sale to Saudi Arabia. Even without an aggressive AIPAC-led campaign, however, that controversial sale was still pushed through the Senate by only one vote.

"AIPAC is an organization that is completely political in this country and thinks in political terms," said Asher. "But in terms of Israel, we're apolitical. I guess if we get criticism from the Likud and from Labor, each saying we're in the other's camp, maybe we're doing our job the right way."

Both Dine and Asher conceded that AIPAC made some mistakes during the weeks leading up to the decision to drop out of the latest Saudi missile fight. Several friendly members of the Senate and House of Representatives, including Democratic Senator Alan Cranston of California and Democratic Representatives Mel Levine of California and Larry Smith of Florida, were left way out on a limb in opposing the sale.

"I think that there is legitimate criticism of AIPAC in terms of the process we followed on the Saudi arms sale," Asher said. "The decision that we reached, I believe, was a correct one. But the process was incorrect. We did not adequately consult with the Congress and with our own executive committee, and with our membership. And I think we learned a lesson from that."

He noted the extensive consultation that subsequently did take place before AIPAC decided against organizing a

major challenge to the administration's delivery of the first AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia at the end of June.

But probably the most often-heard complaint about AIPAC from the traditionally liberal and Democratic centers of the Jewish community is of the organization's supposed single-minded support for pro-Israeli politicians, even those opposed to other issues of Jewish concern.

Some of these critics have created MIPAC — or the Multi-Issue Political Action Committee — in an effort to counter this growing perception that the Jewish community is strictly single-issue. MIPAC will give money only to pro-Israeli candidates — but only those who also support traditionally liberal positions on such issues as prayer in schools, abortion, separation of church and state, poverty programs, etc.

AIPAC, like most of the pro-Israeli PACs, sees itself as supporting both liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans. The only requirement is that the politicians support Israel.

Thus, AIPAC can work closely with Republican Senators Bob Kasten of Wisconsin and Alfonse D'Amato of New York, both right-wing conservatives, and Democratic Cranston of California, a well-known liberal.

"This whole business of single issue has become a monster," said Asher. "What people don't understand is that single issue isn't a philosophy, it's a strategy. It's an effective method of advocacy."

A Clear Message

The single-issue PACs, he continued, can deliver a message to the candidates — "a very clear message. When you support a candidate, he knows why you're supporting him."

Asher questioned the sincerity of those AIPAC critics who insist that Israel is very much their major concern even if they oppose the re-election of someone like Kasten, who is chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. It is that panel which must appropriate all foreign aid funds for Israel. Kasten has been in the forefront of advocating increased assistance for Israel.

"I just question when they say that Israel is the overriding issue because I don't think it always is," said Asher.

Does AIPAC have too high a profile today? "I think we're far more sensitive in the way we do things today," Asher replied. "We're not aggressive in the sense of threatening. We are aggressive in the sense of advocacy, and I think that's proper."

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Seymour Reich and Philip Lax battle for presidency

B'nai B'rith At a Crossroads

By Arlene Kurtis

ORLANDO—"B'nai B'rith Can't Wait" is the campaign slogan used by Seymour Reich, who is running against Philip Lax for the presidency of the 143-year-old organization.

But, while Lax and Reich were in Orlando last week hoping to win support among over 400 District Five B'nai B'rith delegates and their guests, it was evident that the campaign slogan is more than a catch phrase.

According to many of the delegates, B'nai B'rith really "can't wait," and its next president—either Lax or Reich—must turn the organization around.

Reportedly, Lax and Reich have each spent more than \$75,000 of their own funds on their campaigns.

B'nai B'rith's membership and revenues have been on the decline for several years; the organization also has been mired down in a two-year dispute with its sister organization, B'nai B'rith Women, which has diluted its energies; and while the demand for its youth services have been on the rise, fund-raising efforts for its Hillel and BBYO youth programs have fallen short of goals.

According to several B'nai B'rith delegates, there also has been friction between B'nai B'rith and Anti-Defamation League leaders, which, they said, is not substantive but involves questions of "personalities and turf."

Both Reich and Lax have worked with ADL through the years, but Reich is currently chairman of the National Civil Rights Committee of ADL and supporters say this indicates he can work with ADL's leaders.

Reich Wants to Attract Younger Jews

Reich, a soft-spoken, Harvard-trained attorney, is currently serving as an international vice-president of B'nai B'rith and is involved in the day-to-day governance of the 170,000 member organization.

He sees B'nai B'rith's declining membership problem as one of inade-

quate public relations and the failure to draw attention, particularly among younger Jews, to B'nai B'rith's activities.

Asked about the competition among national Jewish organizations for young members, Reich replied, "The up-and-coming individual, in many instances, finds his or her outlet for creativity in Jewish Federation, rather than in organizations such as B'nai B'rith or the Jewish Committee.

"Federations do very important work, and I don't know where we'd be without them," he added. But, he pointed out, "the panorama of activities B'nai B'rith sponsors makes it unique."

If properly publicized, he continued, younger Jews would volunteer to work in B'nai B'rith programs and eventually would join the organization.

"Now, some people are critical that we have too many activities, that it diffuses our strength," he continued. "I don't look at it that way. Which comes first, the chicken or the egg?" Reich asked. "Some may not join until they see an image that they're proud of. You can't create that image unless there's a sense of direction that leaders can give."

New directions are needed, delegates insist, and Reich supporters say he has the knack of making changes that will be accepted by leaders, members and staff.

Lax Seeks Members' Input

Lax, a real estate developer and president of the Ellis Island Restoration Commission, defines B'nai B'rith's problem as one of a lack of communication between B'nai B'rith leadership and its grass roots lodges and units. During an interview, he said he is convinced that members would be attracted and retained if their opinions on national and international issues were solicited by leadership.

A former international vice-president, Lax is currently the chairman of the International Council of B'nai B'rith. As such, he is concerned with B'nai B'rith affairs in Europe, Israel and Africa.

Referring to the plight of South African Please turn to B'NAI B'RITH, Page 18

Syracuse University and at law school in Miami. Now she is Chief Judge Burnstein, the first Jew and the first woman to be elected to the post in the Fort Lauderdale circuit. Her Honor is also a pilot, a scuba diver, and wife and mother. She belongs to a Justice Unit of B'nai B'rith.

Ruth Cantor, a 20-year veteran on the professional staff of the BBYO program department, said that the youth clubs could expand five-fold. Of the 450,000 Jewish teens in the U.S., many are "non-connected" with Jewish life, or living in single-parent families without the support of the extended family of grandparents, aunts and uncles. Over 35,000 teens are enrolled in BBYO clubs. They meet monthly for activities and may attend BBYO camps, retreats and summer programs in Israel.

"What is more important to Jewish survival than our youth?" Cantor asked delegates after a panel discussion by young members at the "Commitment to Youth Luncheon." Arranged by Kent Schiner, the senior international vice-president, the luncheon raised \$30,000 for youth activities.



A BBYO Success Story

Miette Burnstein was one of three Jewish students in her elementary school class when she was growing up in Hollywood, Florida 30 years ago. "In the next town they had signs reading 'no dogs and Jews allowed.' My BBYO girls' club gave me an identity, and feeling of belonging," she said in her keynote address at the B'nai B'rith convention.

Miette went on to study at



Seymour Reich



Philip Lax

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get picture of Abrahamson
& Ed Burke w Zarechis.

October 6, 1986

Executive Office
The White House
Washington, D.C.

To whom it may concern:

I would be grateful if you would send me photographs of President Reagan and, separately, Vice President Bush, each posing with an Israeli leader. If you have photos of the Secretary of Defense, Ambassador Kirkpatrick, Sec. of the Navy Lehman or Director of the CIA Casey posing with Israeli leaders, I would appreciate those as well.

I am near completion of a monograph entitled, "The Reagan Administration and Israel: Key Statements" and plan to use the photos to enhance the publication.

As I am in the final stages of the monograph, your earliest attention to this is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Toby Dershowitz
Toby Dershowitz

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR MARI MASENG

FROM: MAX GREEN *MG*

SUBJECT: December 3 Meeting with Steve Rosen

Rosen is Research Director of AIPAC. For example, he is in charge of collecting and interpreting information about the Iranian operation.

Rosen is a valuable source of information because he has so many contacts in D.C. and in Israel. He is the highest ranking conservative on AIPAC's staff.

We should discuss the Iranian operation. We should also discuss the importance of AIPAC's relating to the White House as well Congress and State.

You met Steve in Pat Buchanan's office a few months ago.

South Africa *AIIPAC* *Jewish Congress in Black Congress* *with Black Congress* *S. Africa*

THE AMERICAN-ISRAELI ALLIANCE AND THE SOUTH AFRICA PROBLEM

BY

THOMAS A. DINE

Executive Director, American Israel Public Affairs Committee

April 10, 1987

Temple Israel
Silver Spring, Maryland

Thank you Charles Gropper, for that generous introduction and for inviting me to partake in Temple Israel's Friday night speakers' series. I am honored to be included in such a distinguished group.

This Shabbat presents me an opportunity to discuss a recent episode in American foreign policy -- a difficult episode, an episode fraught with international and domestic ramifications. Last week the State Department issued a report to Congress on the extent to which nations violate the United Nations arms embargo on the sale of arms and military technology to South Africa. It is the politics surrounding this report I want to address tonight.

South Africa's political-social policy of apartheid is abhorrent to every value all in this sanctuary hold and stand for. The apartheid regime is immoral. Americans -- and all freedom loving people around the world-- look forward to the day when the Pretoria government is democratic, elected by all the people and proudly represents all the people of that country.

America's conscience about the apartheid condition in South Africa has grown considerably over the last few years. Despite stringent censorship laws, tragic events in that racially-torn society have consistently appeared on the nightly television news and the front pages of our newspapers. Books describing first hand accounts of race relations regularly are on our best seller lists. An anti-apartheid lobby in Washington has appeared on the scene. In the summer of 1986, after lengthy debate and opposition from the Reagan Administration, Congress passed the toughest economic sanctions bill ever against South Africa. The law drastically cut back on U.S. financial and commercial relations with Pretoria. The law also contained a provision calling for a report on all nations that violate the 1977 UN arms embargo to South Africa.

Arms and South Africa make for a highly emotional issue. The combination is made more difficult because, as the State Department report declares, America's best friends sell arms to the regime. Israel and six European nations -- France, Italy, Germany, Britain, Netherlands and Switzerland -- are named.

All seven countries are democracies. All seven are in America's global camp. Five are NATO allies and last year Israel

was declared by Congress and our secretaries of state and defense to be a major non-NATO ally of the United States.

For me and perhaps for most of you here this evening, it is Israel's arms connection to South Africa which is excruciatingly painful. In analyzing this difficult issue, I do so as a political practitioner, as the chief advocate of this country's close and special relationship with Israel, and as someone deeply concerned with Israel's moral standing in the eyes of their own citizens, in the eyes of worldwide Jewry, and in the eyes of the world's population. But this issue involves not just moral concerns. It involves security ones as well. It also involves tensions between interest groups in this country, and the handling of these tensions.

Because it is Passover season, let me ask four questions:

1) Why would Israel, given its history and values, enter into any relationship whatsoever with South Africa? Of what does that relationship consist?

2) What is American Jewry's position on Israel's relationship to South Africa?

3) How do the Jewish and Black communities continue to work together, knowing that many interests converge, but that several pertinent interests diverge?

4) What has been the impact of the State Department's report?

Allow me, first, to set forth the background to Jerusalem's dealings with Pretoria. Israel symbolizes many things to this world--a country reborn and reaching the point of self-rule after 2000 years of domination by others; a country re-established out the ashes of the holocaust; a country whose people were dispersed and then regathered from all parts of the globe; and a country that strives, with hostility all around, to perpetuate a just, free, and democratic society.

Israel's contemporary relationship with South Africa evolved through several phases. In the 1950s and 1960s, Israel had only consular relations with South Africa. Israel's main emphasis in Africa was to begin relationships with emerging sub-Saharan states. Thirty-three African countries had diplomatic ties with Israel until 1973. Israel's developing political-economic experience became a model for Third World countries. I remember in a 1966 trip to Nigeria meeting Israeli technical experts in Lagos and other cities. Africans did not see or fear Israelis being neo-colonists. Nor did Africa's new leadership fear that close ties with Israel would draw them into a global or regional alliance. Instead, this leadership saw Israel as an example of a newly independent nation pointing the way to economic equity and growth and political modernization that they could follow.

In 1961, Israel and Upper Volta issued a joint statement at the United Nations condemning racial discrimination and South Africa's policy of apartheid as detrimental to the interests of the African majority. As a result, Israel's relations with Pretoria deteriorated; diplomatic relations were downgraded. Affairs were further exacerbated when Prime Minister Golda Meir made a \$10 million donation to the Organization of American Unity. South Africa retaliated against South African Jewry. Israel, by the way, was the first Western state to declare publicly its abhorrence of apartheid; the U.K., France, the U.S. and others abstained from voting in the General Assembly and Security Council on this point.

Israel's situation with Black Africa, however, changed drastically after the 1973 war and the Arab boycott of Israel. At that time, Arab countries threatened to cut-off ties with African nations that maintained trade and other relations with the Jewish state. The Arabs promised to increase aid and provide oil at reduced prices to Africa. This occurred as oil prices were quadrupling. Anti-Israel resolutions were repeatedly passed at the Organization of African Unity meetings. Many of those called on Israel to withdraw from "African" territory, specifically the Sinai, which Israel had held since the Six Day War in 1967.

Thirty-one of 33 Black African nations proceeded to break diplomatic ties with Israel in 1973. The "Afro-Arab lobby" at the United Nations intensified its efforts against Israel, climaxing in the infamous resolution of 1976 equating Zionism with Racism. The United Nations became an international hunting ground for Third World vitriolic rhetoric against Israel.

Israel's very existence was at stake. Israel felt the economic strain of fighting its third major war since its re-creation just 25 years before. Using the new cascade of petrodollar cash, Israel's Arab neighbors engaged in steady military build-ups while several Western countries effectively maintained a military boycott against it. The sense of being permanently trapped became a constant reality. It is at this point -- facing diplomatic isolation, economic boycott, an arms escalation by the Arabs with the Western world's top-of-the-line weapons systems-- that Israel began to develop its own arms industry -- with an export component-- which out of necessity has grown considerably.

During these same 14 years, Israel's commercial trade with South Africa only came to less than one percent of Pretoria's total trade. South Africa's major trading partners are the U.S., the U.K., France, Japan, West Germany, Switzerland and Italy. Forty-six out of 52 Black African countries now have trade links with South Africa. The Soviet Union extensively trades with South Africa. Arab countries profit handsomely from oil trade with Pretoria, estimated to be worth \$3 billion annually, even in this period of international economic sanctions. Parenthetically, the human rights records of the Arab and African countries and the Soviet Union also leave a great deal to be desired. This is not

to justify South Africa's apartheid policy. It is to put into perspective Israel's relationship and to stress the hypocrisy of the many countries who point fingers at Jerusalem for being involved with the apartheid regime.

Congress's legislative action last summer, which was passed into law over the veto of President Reagan, changed official U.S. policy toward South Africa. Still the Administration remains opposed to economic sanctions. Anti-communism is the major reason. Cooperation among NATO, Japan, Israel, Australia, and South Africa has existed to a large degree not because these countries agree with South Africa's internal policies, but because of its strategic importance to the Western alliance. Specifically, South Africa controls the sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope. Any restriction on the passage of ships would deal a sharp blow to the West's oil supply and shipping in general.

Outside the Soviet Union, South Africa, as you may know, contains the only significant source of strategic minerals upon which the industrial nations depend. While Congress has studied options for lessening our dependence on these minerals, many experts believe it would be unwise to impede our access to these which might be caused by drastic steps taken against Pretoria.

The West has also received intelligence from South Africa's sophisticated listening centers at Silvermine and Simonstown. Security agencies are not willing to abandon these sources because other sources in that part of the world are few and far between, and certainly not reliable.

Chester Crocker, currently Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and former member of the National Security Council, wrote in 1977:

Pretoria has enjoyed virtually all the substance, but few of the status symbols, of an institutionalized Western defense relationship. The lack of visibility simply reflected an effort to camouflage tacit defense ties. The level of cooperation is below what it would be if Western powers considered themselves able, politically, to act on the basis of straightforward defense criteria. As a result, cooperation has been sub rosa.

It is in this context to remember that Israel, at the request of the U.S. government, has acted as a surrogate for Washington in the supply of arms, for example, missile boats.

Geo-political interests are often counter to moral democratic imperatives in foreign policy, and this certainly is one clear instance of such a collision course.

To summarize this point: Most Western countries trade with South Africa as do Arab, African, Asian, Latin, and Communist

countries. Israel's percentage is miniscule. Israel's relationship with South Africa developed in large part because of the Arab boycott and of the constant threat from its Arab neighbors supplied by the United States, other Western countries, and the Soviet Union. This prevented Israel from having the luxury of choosing its trading partners. Finally, Israel's military relationship did not emerge in isolation. It was part of a Western strategy. Critics of Israel have failed to acknowledge this.

Let me move on to the second question asked in the beginning. What is the American Jewish community's position on Israel's relationship to South Africa?

America's Jewish community, individuals and organizations alike, have been in the forefront of our country's anti-apartheid movement. (South Africa's Jewish community has served the same role there.) While we understand the context of the bilateral relationship between Jerusalem and Pretoria and between the Western alliance and Pretoria, which should in no way be minimized, we remain concerned about anything that may contribute to the perpetuation of apartheid. Over the course of many years, we have often communicated these sentiments to Israel's leaders, not just in light of the State Department's report that became public last week.

On the third question, how do the Black and Jewish communities work together, the history of the civil rights movement is pertinent to this part of the analysis. Permit me to share my own experiences. I have personally felt a strong Black-Jewish bond of alliance from an early age. As a high school sophomore in Cincinnati in 1955, I joined rabbinical students of the Hebrew Union College to send telegrams to and collect money for a then-unknown minister in Montgomery Alabama, in order to help Dr. King carry out the bus boycott. As a member of CORE from 1959-61, I picketed the Cincinnati Enquirer, the city's dominant newspaper, in the summers to force it to stop its insensitive portrayals of Black Americans in advertisements. To this day, I attribute my baptism in politics to the civil rights movement. I am certain the same is true for many of the congregants seated here.

I want to highlight another aspect to this Black-Jewish partnership. Both groups in Congress have worked together for years on issues of common concern. When Black legislators sought support for social and economic legislation, their Jewish colleagues consistently supported them. In 1981, for instance, the Congressional Black Caucus rated their House of Representatives colleagues on how well they supported Caucus priorities. Although Jewish members of the House numbered less than 7% of the total House membership, they accounted for 42%--or almost half -- of the non-Black members with a perfect record of support.

In essence, Blacks and Jews have shared each other's pain, helped each other's causes, and at times worked more closely than any other of America's ethnic communities. While relations have been good, problems between the two groups exist and are well known. The comments by Louis Farrakhan during the 1984 elections and subsequently have been most harmful. And, while individual Jews have working relationships with Jesse Jackson, the Jewish community as a whole has been deeply offended at both his expressions of friendship with Yasser Arafat and his reference to Jews as "Hymies." Black resentment toward Jews goes back to the Supreme Court decision on Bakke and the ongoing debate over the value of affirmative action as national policy. Black elites in recent years have favorably focused their attention on the PLO.

The fourth question looks at the impact last week's State Department report has had. Since the report stipulated that countries found to be in violation of the international arms embargo should be looked at by the President "with a view toward cutting military aid," Israel's \$1.8 billion of annual military assistance was believed to be in jeopardy. Most Members of Congress, however, have pointed out that a cut in aid to Israel as punishment would not be realistic because of the strategic importance of Israel in the Middle East. Also, since America's NATO allies were named and are technically the recipients of U.S. defense dollars, the hypocrisy would be blatant. Still, there was some talk before the report of punishing Israel through the foreign aid program. In Congress, when emotions are high and the mood is right, nothing is impossible, even cutting one of the most popular causes in Congress such as aid to Israel. The report also had the potential for creating tremendous tensions between the Jewish and Black communities, including respective Members of Congress.

What made the difference? What were the deciding factors that prevented a head on collision which many felt was inevitable?

I believe the first reason is the report itself. Seven countries were highlighted, not just Israel. In fact, in reading the report, it is clear that the seven are only the tip of the iceberg. From a diplomatic standpoint, the Administration's sensitive treatment of France is interesting. Although the report was due on April 1st, the Administration refrained from releasing the report on President Jacques Chirac's last day in Washington so as "not to embarrass him." The State Department thus went out of its way not to treat our allies in a punitive manner.

Second, I believe the process of responsible foreign policy includes responsible participation by concerned domestic interest groups. In this case, that also helped ease the tensions. It was hard work, based on years of working closely together on a host of issues.

In this spirit 11 days ago, several Jewish community leaders, including myself and Jewish Members of Congress, met with members of the Congressional Black Caucus over breakfast to see how tensions from the report could be ameliorated. From the Jewish perspective, I want to acknowledge the leadership of Rabbi David Saperstein of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Religious Action Center here in Washington, D.C. for being the driving force in initiating and implementing this process.

Those in attendance agreed to hold a joint news conference following the report's issue. Caucus Chairman Mervyn Dymally appointed Congressmen Mickey Leland of Texas and Howard Berman of California to be the spokesmen for this initiative. These men, joined by the House's Majority Whip, Tony Coelho, and Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Dante Fascell, sent a strong message to Israel and to the other involved countries that they viewed any military cooperation with Pretoria as unacceptable. Simultaneously, they praised the steps announced by Israel just two weeks before to limit its ties to Pretoria. On March 18th, the Israeli Cabinet had conformed to the language of U.N. sanctions and banned all new sales contracts with Pretoria and set up a committee to re-evaluate the government's policies and to recommend further steps to distance Jerusalem from the Pretoria government. The joint press conference, and its obvious symbolism, sent a message to the Black community -- do not just express hurt and outrage at Israel. Be fair, the problem is worldwide, including Black Africa. To Black political leaders outside Congress, the press conference sent a message to be careful in your rhetoric, exacerbating Black-Jewish tensions will not work. It will not advance Black interests in Washington.

Two legislative actions also resulted from the breakfast. Congressman Howard Wolpe, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, moved in full committee mark-up to add \$100 million more to the African program. It passed. So did an amendment offered by Mr. Dymally based on the South Africa arms report, to study the sale of petroleum and refined petroleum products to South Africa.

This example of two domestic groups seeking conciliation, not confrontation is indeed remarkable.

What are the lessons learned from this foreign policy episode?

1. American foreign policy's twin goals in the post-World War II era have been and continue to be fostering democracy and opposing Communism. When we pursue only one, we are not as effective as when we pursue both simultaneously.

2. Moral wrongs in this world need attention and need to be righted. The goal of eliminating the rule of apartheid has still not been achieved. South Africa's own population must do the changing, hopefully through peaceful means. But the international

community needs to focus on this as a priority goal. This means the countries of the Western alliance, it means African and Arab countries, it means the Warsaw bloc countries.

3. Arms transfers to South Africa by all countries and corporations must cease. Israel must hastily terminate its ongoing contracts.

4. Another moral wrong needs to be righted. Black Africa's many countries should diplomatically recognize Israel. Only five countries do so now. It is time to end isolating Israel. Israel has returned the Sinai to Egypt; Israel continues its development assistance in Africa; the Arabs did not live up to their promises to Africa. It is time for Black Africa to re-establish formal relations with Jerusalem.

5. If you are not involved, do not expect things to go your way. If the Jews and Blacks had not been involved with each other before, last week would not have happened. This lesson pertains to the role of political activity in affecting policy. Working in the political arena is the best and most effective way to produce the outcome you want. In that sense, I encourage all of you to become involved in the political process. Work in a local, state, or federal campaign. Develop your skills so that you can contribute to the process. Politics is exciting, it is rewarding, it is the beauty of what America stands for. And in this way, we express our perspective on issues and safeguard our interests--now and on into the future.

Shabbat Shalom!

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1987

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During my Presidency, links between the United States and Israel have become stronger and more numerous. That bodes well for democracy in the Middle East and here at home.

Ronald Reagan

AIPAC POLICY STATEMENT 1987

The people of the United States and Israel share common moral and democratic values, and are committed to pursuing just and free societies. For nearly four decades, despite tensions and disagreements, the special U.S.-Israel relationship has continued to reach new heights of cooperation because of the strength of these bonds tying the two allies together.

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is committed to promoting, preserving and protecting strong and consistently close relations between the United States and Israel. To enhance this relationship, AIPAC's 1987 issue priorities include:

- * maintaining the necessary levels of grant U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel;
- * enhancing the framework for meaningful strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States and maximizing the participation of Israel as a major non-NATO ally;
- * opposing U.S. sales of sophisticated weapons to Arab countries which consider themselves in a state of war with Israel or do not make peace with Israel;
- * amending the Arms Export Control Act to restore the principle of majority rule of Congress in controversial arms sales;
- * promoting direct peace negotiations and normalization of diplomatic, trade, cultural, political and other relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors;
- * implementing and maintaining the principles of the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

The refusal of the Arab states, with the exception of Egypt, to enter into direct negotiations has obstructed the peace process and prevented Israel and Arab nations from finding peaceful solutions to their conflicts. The Arab states must enter into direct negotiations with Israel with the intention of concluding peace treaties.

Jordan commendably has taken steps to distance itself from the terrorist PLO. The forced shutdown of the PLO offices by King Hussein in June 1986 sent a message that radicals and terrorists are not welcome in the Kingdom. We encourage the King to appoint Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza not affiliated with terror to join him at the negotiating table with Israel. While Hussein has on occasion expressed to Congress his intent to enter into negotiations with Israel, his word has not become his deed. Disturbingly, Hussein's representative to the United Nations voted this year as in the past to "isolate Israel in all fields" and proclaimed that Israel is not a "peace-loving nation," laying the groundwork for expelling the Jewish state from the U.N. And, instead of lauding then Prime Minister Shimon Peres' historic talks with Moroccan King Hassan,

Hussein accused him of causing "a new crack in Arab solidarity."

The Government of Israel has continued to adopt measures to improve the quality of life for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza ranging from the opening of an Arab bank in Nablus to returning the reins of municipal government to the local Arab inhabitants.

The Government of Israel have been tireless in the quest for peace. Prime Minister Shamir has called for direct negotiations and Foreign Minister Peres has met with Palestinians from Amman and the West Bank striving to foster a principled, trustworthy leadership. He has traveled to Egypt and Morocco and expressed his willingness to go anywhere to meet with credible and responsible individuals whose motives are peace.

Hussein's efforts to forge a Palestinian leadership in the West Bank through the West Bank development plan are laudable. Unfortunately, the United States, while sending encouraging verbal messages, has contributed only \$19.5 million to this in the past two years. Taking their cue from Washington, the Europeans have been particularly reluctant to contribute to the effort.

Saudi Arabia, along with Kuwait, has actively moved to undercut King Hussein and to bolster Arafat's PLO by donating \$9.5 million and \$5 million respectively to revive a committee dedicated to promoting PLO influence in the territories.

The transfer of arms to the Saudis, such as the AWACS in 1986 and the sale of Harpoon and Sidewinder missiles the same year, have not prompted the monarchy to contribute in any significant way to the Mideast peace process. On the contrary, they have sought to boost the radicals and dissuade the moderates from pursuing peace, opposing initiatives that might have bought Arab governments to move toward peace.

President Hosni Mubarak returned Egypt's ambassador to Israel, following agreement on the arbitration of the Taba dispute. He invited Peres to Cairo on two occasions. We encourage the Egyptian leader to extend his hand to Israel's current premier, Yitzhak Shamir, as well. We praise Mubarak's decision to close the PLO offices in Egypt following the Palestine National Council's condemnation of Egypt's peace treaty with Israel. Instead of insisting on PLO participation in any negotiations, Mubarak should urge King Hussein and moderate Palestinians to talk to Israel directly and unconditionally.

The United States should continue to encourage King Hussein to enter into direct and meaningful negotiations with Israel. It should not provide the King with military assistance and weapons before he makes good on his repeated promise to seek peace -- by sitting down in direct, face to face negotiations with the government of Israel.

Because it is critical to creating an environment conducive to peace in the territories, AIPAC supports increased U.S. funding for the West Bank Development plan and calls upon our European allies, Japan and moderate Arab countries to contribute substantially as well.

Arms to Israel's Enemies

Despite reductions in oil revenues in the Arab world, Israel's enemies continue to purchase weapons to add to their already bulging arsenals at an alarming rate. According to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, five of the seven largest arms importing nations in the world are Arab nations at war with Israel: Iraq, Saudi

The establishment of an American-Israel Joint Political Military Group in 1983 has resulted in mutually beneficial steps toward enhanced strategic cooperation. This year, the President signed into law legislation that led to the naming of Israel as a major non-NATO ally of the United States, a logical extension of the alliance which has blossomed. Israel has demonstrated on numerous occasions its strategic value to the United States through:

- * working on military planning with the United States;
- * engaging in joint naval exercises with the Sixth Fleet to strengthen U.S. military capabilities;
- * providing access to its ports for regular U.S. fleet visits, including the recent visit of the U.S.S. Kennedy to the port of Haifa;
- * making available facilities for the storage and maintenance of U.S. materiel for American use in a conflict;
- * arranging for access to sophisticated hospital facilities in Israel for U.S. military casualties;
- * sharing valuable intelligence gained from combat experience and cooperation in the gathering of critical information to combat terrorism;
- * accepting the U.S. invitation to participate in the Strategic Defense Initiative. Israel will be a key contributor to the successful development of an Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile (ATBM) system;
- * providing Kfir aircraft to the U.S. Navy's Aggressor Squadron and to the U.S. Marine Corps to help train American fighter pilots;
- * staging joint military exercises with American special anti-terrorist forces.
- * agreeing to install a Voice of America transmitter on its territory to enhance American broadcasts to Soviet Central Asia, Africa and Afghanistan;

AIPAC commends the U.S. government's recognition of Israel's strategic value and urges long-term agreements that enhance the security interests of both countries in tangible and enduring forms.

AIPAC encourages U.S. government agencies to maximize the potential value of Israel's status as a Major non-NATO ally by inviting Israel to participate in defense and technology related projects of strategic interest to both nations.

Free Trade Area

The agreement to establish a Free Trade Area (FTA) between Israel and the United States launched a new era of close economic cooperation between the two countries.

The FTA has considerable potential to strengthen the Israeli economy through the

Arabia, Libya, Syria and Jordan. And, it may be significant that despite its economic problems, Egypt was the fourth largest importer, ordering in 1987 some \$1.3 billion worth of American weapons alone.

Saudi Arabia led the Arab states in military expenditures this year spending more than \$18 billion on its military, a sum equal to over 75% of Israel's entire GNP. Saudi Arabia continues to seek military capabilities far beyond its own legitimate defense needs and continues to fund Syrian and Jordanian arms purchases and PLO terrorist activities against Israel. Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan made clear in a Washington Post report that this arsenal is meant for use against Israel, not Iran or the Soviet army in Afghanistan.

Syria has made major efforts to expand and improve its armed forces since its defeat in the 1982 fighting. All branches of Syria's military have grown. Assad has made it clear he is preparing for war. New anti-aircraft systems, Syrian pilots have spent the last year training in the Soviet Union. The Syrians have acquired Soviet SS-21 tactical ballistic missiles, another piece of first-line equipment for Soviet forces facing NATO. The accuracy of these new missiles increases Syria's first strike capabilities against key Israeli installations including air bases and mobilization points.

Jordan has placed orders to increase inventories of tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft systems, air-to-air missiles and other munitions. Jordan is seeking to improve its air defense capability through the acquisition of advanced fighter aircraft missiles. If acquired, this would directly threaten Israel's margin of air superiority. In addition, some have suggested that the Administration may mobilize the I-Hawk surface-to-air missiles in Jordan, which would further threaten Israel.

Since 1980, Iraq, which has sent forces to fight Israel in three wars, has more than tripled the size of its armed forces. Indeed, since the beginning of this decade, Iraq has become the world's leading arms importer, taking delivery of weapons worth an average of more than \$3 billion every year. Regardless of the outcome of the Gulf war, the enormous Iraqi arsenal will be available at least in part for use against Israel, as it has been in the past.

The United States should refrain from providing the Saudis and Jordanians with weapons until tangible action advancing, not obstructing, the peace process is demonstrated and until these countries renounce the state of war with Israel.

We encourage the Administration to work together with Congress on its overall Middle East strategy, including arms transfers. Arms should not be used as a substitute for policy. Arms sales have failed to be an incentive for drawing Arab states into the peace process with Israel and it is time to change that picture.

We support changing the Arms Export Control Act to restore the principle of majority rule, as the original legislation intended. Congress should play a more equal role in controversial weapons sales.

Strategic Cooperation

Israel has the strength, stability and strategic position to promote Western interests in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean.

The PLO and the Peace Process

The PLO is a terrorist organization committed, in both word and deed, to Israel's destruction. It is allied to the Soviet Union and other regimes inimical to U.S. interests.

At the April 1987 Palestinian National Council (PNC) meeting Arafat's Fatah wing joined with Marxist and other "rejectionist" groups to reaffirm the extremism of the PLO and its adherence to terrorism. The PLO has not abandoned the strategy for the phased destruction of Israel, or accepted U.N. Resolution 242. Mohammad Abu Abbas, convicted mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking, attended the PNC and was reelected to the Executive Committee of the PLO, belying Arafat's earlier pledge to punish those responsible for the Achille Lauro.

The United States agreed not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 and renounces terrorism. This policy, codified by Congress and signed by the President, strengthens U.S. interests.

Strict adherence to this commitment advances the peace process by making it clear that the PLO or its representatives have no place at the negotiating table. AIPAC opposes "pre-negotiations" between the United States and Arab parties, which are, by the PLO's own admission, designed to achieve recognition of the PLO by the United States. U.S. diplomacy should focus on how to circumvent the PLO, not seek ways to bring the terrorist PLO into negotiations through a "back door."

AIPAC believes that the following principles must be upheld by the United States in its pursuit of peace:

1. there must be direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors leading to peace treaties;
2. the U.S. role should be that of facilitator of direct negotiations rather than participant in the negotiations;
3. the PLO should not be involved in negotiations. Instead, the United States should encourage the promotion of alternative and constructive Palestinian representatives;
4. an independent Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is unacceptable;
5. any international accompaniment to negotiations should have as its purpose direct talks between the parties. It should not replace direct negotiations, or have veto power over the initiatives presented or the power to impose terms on the parties.

International Terrorism

Acts or threats of international terrorism must not be permitted to dictate U.S. policy. The murders and attacks against American and Israeli citizens and facilities around the globe, along with abductions of many Westerners, are the latest evidence of the international terrorist campaign sponsored by the governments of Syria, Libya Iraq and Iran.

expansion of bilateral trade and investment. Because Israel uniquely has free trade agreements with both the United States and the European community, Israel could emerge as an economic bridge providing for the duty-free exchange of goods between the largest free world markets. Israel's willingness to abolish virtually all trade barriers contrasts markedly with America's other allies.

AIPAC urges U.S. government agencies with authority over trade to apply U.S. laws and regulations in a manner consistent with the objectives of the FTA - including trade expansion as a means to enhance the economic security of Israel. We oppose legislative or administrative efforts that run contrary to provisions of the agreement. We urge the promotion of the FTA by educating and providing incentives to the business community that encourage investment and trade with Israel.

AIPAC urges the Congress and appropriate government agencies to put pressure on Japan and other countries to lift their economic boycott against Israel.

Jerusalem

Jerusalem was, is and always will be Israel's capital, the heart and soul of the Jewish people. For almost forty years it has been the seat of government. Since 1967, the once divided city has been united under Israeli control with freedom of access guaranteed to all religious groups.

The U.S. government has refused to recognize this reality and has maintained the American Embassy outside the administrative capital. Only in Israel does a consular office (located in Jerusalem) report directly to the State Department in Washington, bypassing the embassy. This is an inconsistent policy.

AIPAC continues to support all efforts to move the U.S. Embassy to Israel's capital, Jerusalem.

Defensible Borders

Israel must have secure and defensible borders. International practice accepts geographic and strategic factors as legitimate criteria for demarcation of borders where no agreed political boundaries exist. This is an important consideration for determining the final status of the territories now under Israeli control.

For 13 years, the PLO used southern Lebanon as a base for terrorist infiltration into Israel and the shelling of Israel's northern villages. Israel has withdrawn nearly all its troops from Lebanon. With the Lebanese government's abrogation of the May 17, 1983 agreement, the burden is again placed on Israel to take the necessary measures for the security of its population.

The Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt brought peace to Israel's southern flank. We encourage the United States to urge Egypt to maintain that peaceful border. Future peace agreements must be based on the principle of secure and defensible borders for Israel.

AIPAC encourages our government to continue to work with Israel and other allies to thwart the spread of international terrorism.

The United Nations

Israel is the staunchest U.S. ally within the 158-member United Nations, voting with the United States 91.5% of the time in 1986, according to the State Department. By contrast, Egypt voted with us only 15.3% of the time, Jordan 14.2%, and Saudi Arabia 13.6%. U.S. law mandates that the degree to which a country does or does not vote with the United States at the United Nations shall influence its level of United States foreign assistance.

We encourage our U.N. representatives to oppose rhetorical resolutions seeking to malign Israel and to expel it from the United Nations. Instead, we urge them to encourage countries to use the forum for constructive dialogue. We also encourage our representative to seek the repudiation of the infamous U.N. Resolution 3379 which equates Zionism with racism.

AIPAC supports the Administration's stand against international organizations which promote hatred, discrimination against Israel and anti-Semitism and hopes that this stand against the politicization of U.N. bodies and conferences will continue. We urge the Administration to re-examine continued extensive U.S. support for UNRWA and its stated goal of perpetuating the status of Palestinians as refugees. Commendably, Congress has codified, and President Reagan has affirmed, that the United States will walk out should Israel be forced out of the United Nations or any of its subsidiary organizations.

Energy Independence

Greater energy independence is in the best interest of the United States. A new reliance on foreign energy sources of oil, largely because of the decline in oil prices, continues to threaten our nation's security and self-reliance. AIPAC advocates a foreign policy unfettered by the influence of unstable foreign producers. The oil producing countries of the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia, have used the leverage of oil production and pricing as political tools, not as responses to free market conditions. There is no certainty that these supplies will not be disrupted again. Only an effective national commitment to energy independence will free the United States from the threat of another Arab oil embargo.

We urge the U.S. government to take advantage of the opportunities that present themselves during the current oil glut to formulate a cohesive national energy policy. Such a policy must be instituted rapidly in order to halt the alarming increase in the levels of imported oil to the United States. That policy should include:

- * the accelerated filling of our Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR), particularly now that oil prices are low, and verification that oil in the SPR is readily available according to plan during an emergency;

Syria and Libya fund, arm and train the Abu Nidal group. Abu Nidal is responsible for several of the bloodiest attacks against Americans, Israelis and others, including the Istanbul massacre of September 1986, the hijacking-murder in Karachi aboard the Pan Am jetliner, and the plot to blow up the El Al airliner leaving London airport. The plot, which resulted in the arrest of Nizar Hindawi and in London severing ties with Damascus, was supervised by the Syrian coordinator of Abu Nidal, Hattem Sayeed. Sayeed was also implicated in the bombing of the German-Arab Friendship Society in West Berlin. This is the Syria of Defense Minister Tlas, who in his book "The Matzoh of Zion," perpetuates the age-old myth of the blood libels.

In addition, Syria and its surrogates have been responsible for numerous suicide bombings in Lebanon. They have not used their influence to secure the release of Western hostages, although much of Lebanon is under their control.

Iraq continues to sponsor international terrorist organizations such as the May 15th organization. In defiance of American and Italian efforts to bring him to trial, Baghdad provided safe haven for PLO terrorist Abu Abbas. Yasir Arafat has now established his military command in Baghdad. Nevertheless, the Administration removed Iraq from the list of countries supporting international terrorism. This unwarranted action eases U.S. restrictions on the sale of equipment with potential military use.

President Reagan has called for action against terrorists "with the full weight of the law" and increasing attention has been paid to the legal options available in combatting international terrorism. The United States has exercised some of these options during the last year in response to terrorist activities. Other means are being reviewed. Terrorists must know that the United States will act to protect its citizens everywhere and that no crime against its people will go unanswered.

Options for legal action against PLO terrorism include closing the PLO offices in Washington and New York, denying Arafat and other terrorist and PLO leaders access to the United Nations in New York, and cutting funding for PLO activities at the United Nations.

The Omnibus Diplomatic Security and Terrorism Act of 1986 is a prime example of Congressional resolve to combat terrorism. The law seeks to improve the security of American diplomats abroad and to prosecute and punish terrorists worldwide. AIPAC supports this and other legislation whose goal is to impede the expansion of terrorism.

AIPAC supports Congressional efforts to put Iraq back on the U.S. list of countries supporting international terrorism.

AIPAC applauds the President's call for and the exercising of legal action and, where appropriate, direct military action against terrorism. We call for strong action against PLO criminal activities in this country and around the globe, including closing the PLO offices located in the United States and urging our allies to do the same.

AIPAC supports the President's adoption of measures including terminating all trade with Syria and reducing the embassy staffs in both the U.S. embassy in Damascus and the Syrian embassy in Washington.

- * necessary action, including an energy fee, that would encourage conservation measures, maintain U.S. production, develop alternate sources of energy, and reduce foreign oil imports;
- * development of other incentives for conservation and continued research and development of existing natural energy resources.

Freedom to Emigrate

Freedom of emigration is a fundamental human right. We deplore all restrictions against free emigration of Jews from any country --the Soviet Union, Syria, Ethiopia and other lands of oppression. In 1986, the Soviet Union permitted 914 Jews to leave. Hundreds and thousands more yearn for freedom to be united with their families but are being kept hostage in the Soviet Union, despite "glasnost" and Soviet rhetoric.

AIPAC commends the unceasing efforts of the Reagan Administration and Congress on behalf of Soviet Jews, a commitment symbolized by Secretary of State Shultz's participation at the American embassy's Passover Seder this year. We urge our government to continue giving high priority to the plight of Soviet "refuseniks" and others who wish to emigrate and be repatriated and to act strenuously on their behalf.

AIPAC urges the United States to continue its assistance to Israel to help with absorption of these new immigrants.

Several thousand Jews live in Syria, approximately 30,000 in Iran, 10,000 in Ethiopia and thousands more in lands of oppression.

AIPAC praises the United States and Israel for having joined hands in the past to bring these Jews from behind the wall of tyranny and persecution, and we urge our government to continue this work.

August 17, 1987

Dear Mr. Asher:

Thank you for your invitation for the President to address the 29th annual policy conference of The American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

We appreciate your extending this opportunity. We hope you will understand we are unable to make a commitment for the President this far in advance. In order not to delay your planning, we suggest you proceed with your program not counting on his acceptance. If you wish, you may then feel free to renew your invitation closer to the date -- perhaps eight weeks in advance -- for consideration at that time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.
Director of Presidential Appointments
and Scheduling
Director of Private Sector Initiatives

Mr. Robert H. Asher
President
The American Israel Public
Affairs Committee
Suite 300
500 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

FJR:ec 8FJR

cc: Chris McCarrick
May Green : FYI



AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

500 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. • SUITE 300 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 638-2256

HOWARD A. KOHR
Director, Executive Branch Relations

August 4, 1987

Max Green
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Max,

Attached is an invitation for the President to receive the first ever Mort Silberman Democracy Award in recognition of the efforts this President has made to bring U.S.-Israel relations to unprecedented heights. Your assistance in this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Howard Kohr



AIPAC

THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

August 4, 1987

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is with distinct honor that we invite you to address the 29th Annual Policy Conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. It will be held in Washington, DC from May 15-17, 1988 at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. At that time we would like to present you with the first annual Mort Silberman Democracy Award in recognition of your efforts to secure a strong U.S.-Israel relationship.

The AIPAC Policy Conference is the major annual gathering of the political leadership of the pro-Israel community in the United States; it brings to Washington over 1,000 leaders from across the country. It is the preeminent national meeting for those concerned with the U.S.-Israel relationship, as is evident by the participation of so many of our nation's leaders. Last year over 300 Members of Congress and 50 officials from the Executive Branch were in attendance.

Mr. President, you have done more to secure the close relationship between the United States and Israel and to elevate this relationship to an even higher level, than any other American President. We would be exceptionally honored if you would accept our invitation and award and make the first Presidential address to our Conference. We very much hope that your schedule will permit your accepting our invitation, and, of course, we are prepared to arrange our program around your availability.

Thank you for considering our request. We look forward to your reply.

Robert H. Asher
President

500 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.

Respectfully yours,

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

(202) 638-2256

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THE COMMITTEE CONDUCTS PUBLIC ACTION TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL



AIPAC MEMORANDUM

500 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. • SUITE 300 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 638-2256

ISRAEL TAKES STEPS AGAINST PRETORIA

On March 18, 1987 the Government of Israel announced two significant steps to limit its ties to South Africa. It banned all new sales contracts with South Africa and has set up a committee to re-evaluate its government's policies and recommend further steps to distance Jerusalem from Pretoria. In making this announcement, Foreign Minister Peres reiterated Israel's "uncompromising condemnation" of apartheid.

The announcement met with praise from the Executive Branch and Capitol Hill. Members of Congress said they plan to continue to work with Israel to influence South Africa to rid itself of apartheid policies. A State Department spokesperson called it a "welcome development."

The decision to curtail relations follows a healthy debate in Israel on the future of Israeli-South African relations.

Israel has unequivocally condemned apartheid in both public forums such as the United Nations and in private conversations with officials of the Pretoria government. Israel's relationship with South Africa grew out of real national security issues it faced as many nations refused to trade with the Jewish state.

With the exception of Egypt, Arab states have refused to openly recognize, negotiate or trade with Israel and have threatened and pressured non-Arab companies to boycott Israel as well. Additionally, Israel's Arab neighbors continue to expand their arsenals and threaten Israel's existence.

One reason Israel opposes imposing sanctions on South Africa is because Israel has continually been subject to military boycotts itself, even by the United States and Western industrial democracies. This prompted Israel to develop its own military industry.

In putting Israel's relationship with South Africa in perspective, the following factors are significant:

- * Western democracies have contributed to South Africa's defense in violation of the United Nations arms embargo of 1977. While today South Africa's military is largely self-sufficient, Great Britain, France, West Germany and others have been suppliers of technology and vital components necessary for the functioning of South Africa's military. The *Christian Science Monitor* (3/20/87) states that Israel "reportedly lags behind the United States, European nations, and South America in total value of arms purchased. South African defense imports from Israel are far lower than such transfers from other Western nations."

* Israel's relationship with South Africa did not emerge in isolation. Instead, it was part of a Western strategy which sought to protect the vital shipping lanes of the Cape of Good Hope and the strategic minerals which, aside from the Soviet Union, are not available elsewhere in any measurable quantity.

* South Africa's major commercial trading partners include the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union. Israel represents less than 1% of Pretoria's total trade. In fact, Israel's trade with South Africa has decreased in the past three years.

* The United States itself has reportedly been in violation of the arms embargo including supplying computer technology for use in the military infrastructure, navigational equipment, encoding devices, and technical data, according to DMS Market Intelligence Reports.

* Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait are the main suppliers of oil to South Africa's military. South Africa imported approximately \$10 billion worth of oil from these Persian/Arabian Gulf countries from 1980 to the present.

* Forty-six of the 52 members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have some commercial, financial or trade links with South Africa. Black African countries' official trade amounts to over \$500 million annually.



AIPAC
American Israel Public Affairs Committee

BRIEFING BOOK

KEY POINTS ON U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS

SUMMARY KEY POINTS

1. As a nation of immigrants, committed to freedom and democracy, and imbued with a pioneering spirit, Israel embodies the values which the American people hold dear.
2. In its thirty-eight years of existence, Israel has faced the constant hostility of the Arab world and has been forced to fight five full-scale wars in defense of its very right to exist.
3. Every President since Truman, every Congress since the creation of the Jewish state, and a consistently strong majority of the American people, have all viewed the survival, security and well-being of Israel as a moral imperative.
4. Beyond this moral commitment, American support is also a function of Israel's strategic value to the United States. Israel is our only permanent democratic ally in the Middle East. It possesses the strength, stability, and strategic position to promote Western interests in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean. Its people want to be allied to the United States.
5. Israel's security and its value as America's strategic ally depend to a large extent upon its ability to maintain a favorable military balance in the face of intense Arab hostility. The United States is committed to helping Israel maintain its qualitative edge in the military balance because this promotes Israel's security, regional stability, and the peace process.
6. American economic and military assistance to Israel represents an enduring, cost-effective investment in democracy, defense and peace. Israel needs assistance because of the enormous cost of maintaining the military balance. This aid also enables Israel to promote American interests.
7. Providing sophisticated weapons to Arab states^o which refuse to make peace with Israel undermines American interests. It erodes the military balance and Israel's security. It reduces the incentives to negotiate with Israel and increases the risk of war.
8. Jerusalem is the heart and soul of the Jewish people - the eternal capital of Israel. In recognition of this reality, the United States should move its Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem.
9. The core of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the Arab refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist. America can best serve the interests of peace and stability in the Middle East by encouraging Arab states to recognize Israel and enter direct negotiations with it on the basis of the Camp David Accords.

ISRAEL: A FELLOW DEMOCRACY

1. Like the United States, Israel is a vibrant democracy. Israel's democratic institutions guarantee meaningful free elections, a robust free press, freedom of religious expression, checks and balances to prevent and correct abuses of authority, basic equality for women, and protection of the rights of individuals and minorities.
2. Since the birth of the Jewish state in 1948, Israel has maintained and strengthened these democratic institutions despite the constant hostility of its Arab neighbors. In the process, Israel has absorbed over one million Jewish immigrants and refugees (one-third of its population) from all corners of the earth, extending the same civil rights to all.
3. Israel's 800,000 Arab citizens enjoy the same democratic rights, guaranteed by law, as its Jewish citizens.
4. Israel's democracy stands in sharp contrast to the other countries in the Middle East where the press is tightly controlled by the state, and where governments keep constant watch on the individual and often resort to violent repression.
5. Israel's parliament, the Knesset, is a 120-member legislative body elected by universal franchise on the basis of proportional representation. A general election is required every four years. While fifteen parties are represented in the present Knesset, most are organized into two alignments: Labor, headed by Shimon Peres, and Likud, headed by Yitzhak Shamir. Following the election of July, 1984, the two alignments formed a national unity government, agreeing to share power and to alternate control of the position of Prime Minister, currently held by Labor.
6. Israel's judicial system, primarily based on British and Turkish legal traditions, protects the rights of the individual. The Supreme Court of Israel functions with independence similar to the U.S. Supreme Court. While the Government is responsible to the Knesset, the Supreme Court has the power to review all its administrative actions. Matters of personal status (marriage, divorce, adoption, burial, etc.) are decided by religious courts appointed by each of the recognized religious communities.
7. Israel, like the United States, does have some unsolved social problems. But Israel's democratic institutions guarantee basic civil liberties and ensure a standard of human rights far superior to its Arab neighbors. In the territories administered by Israel since the 1967 War (the "West Bank," Gaza and the Golan Heights), Arab residents enjoy greater freedoms than the citizens of most Arab countries. Although some rights are qualified by concern for national security and public order, residents generally enjoy freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and free elections.

8. As a nation of immigrants, committed to freedom and democracy, and imbued with a pioneering spirit, Israel embodies the very values which the American people hold dear. These common values provide a permanent bond between the peoples of both countries. They underpin the relationship between the United States and Israel and explain why every President since Truman and every Congress since the creation of the Jewish state have supported the security and well-being of Israel.

AMERICA'S STRATEGIC ALLY

1. Israel's strategic value to the United States derives from three fundamental factors:

- *Stability and Reliability* - Israel's democratic institutions ensure a stable government, unmatched elsewhere in the volatile Middle East. Israel's people share our values and *want* a close strategic relationship with the United States. In contrast, most of the people of Arab countries hold anti-Western sentiments. Israel is an "organic" ally of the United States - a reliable partner in the effort to promote Western interests in the Middle East and elsewhere.

- *Strength* - Israel, with American assistance, has developed a formidable capability to defend Western interests. Its armed forces are well-trained, well-equipped and combat-proven - the most powerful in the Middle East today.

- *Strategic Position* - Israel is located midway between Europe and the Persian Gulf, and at the crossroads of three continents. Its facilities and its forces can contribute to Western defenses in the Eastern Mediterranean, on NATO's southern flank, in the Middle East heartland, and in the Persian Gulf. Compared to the continental United States, Israel is one-seventh the distance to the Gulf and one-half the distance to Germany.

2. President Reagan's announcement of the establishment of the Joint Political Military Group on November 29, 1983, initiated a program of true strategic cooperation between the two states. So far the two nations have held joint naval and medical exercises, and are examining other areas of cooperation.

3. The continued development of strategic cooperation could bring the U.S. significant gains in the following areas:

- *Deterrence* - Visible cooperation with Israel will enhance America's ability to deter Soviet and Soviet-allied aggression in the Eastern Mediterranean because Israel's military capability will have to be factored into the Soviet calculus.

- *Force Projection* - Because of the vast distances involved, the United States faces considerable difficulties in deploying its forces in the Middle East. Israel's Air Force and Navy could help protect the vulnerable lines of communication in the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the approaches to eastern Turkey. Israel's Navy, working with American P-3C aircraft operating out of Israel, could considerably enhance the Sixth Fleet's anti-submarine warfare capability.

* Stocks of fuel, ammunition and equipment prepositioned in Israel could provide a "swing" capability for American use in the Persian Gulf or Europe.

- * Israeli bases and facilities could be utilized for staging American forces and aircraft, for maintenance and overhaul of ships and planes, and for trans-shipment of supplies.
- * Israeli medical facilities and prepositioned "folding" hospitals and medical supplies could eliminate the current shortfall in medical support for U.S. armed forces should they become involved in large-scale conflict in the Middle East.

- *Containment* - America's friends in the Arab world are threatened by Soviet-backed Arab radicalism and Islamic fundamentalism. Strategic cooperation with Israel could help contain these threats by signaling that aggression and subversion will be resisted. In 1970, Israel helped the United States halt a Syrian-backed PLO effort to overthrow King Hussein of Jordan. Working with Israel now, the United States could again deter Syrian aggression against Jordan.

- *Peace Process* - Strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel will advance the peace process by deterring aggression, by containing radicalism, by stabilizing the balance of power, and by demonstrating Israel's permanence in the region. This may convince Israel's adversaries - as it convinced Sadat - that they will not achieve their objectives on the battlefield and can only settle their differences at the negotiating table.

Free Trade Area Agreement

4. The U.S. and Israel have signed a Free Trade Area agreement to create an economic alliance alongside their strategic alliance. It will provide significant economic benefits for both the U.S. and Israel and strengthen relations between the two countries. It will strengthen the economy of Israel and increase its ability to function as the foremost strategic ally of the United States in the Middle East. For the U.S., the F.T.A. will

- * ensure greater commercial ties with Israel which in turn will generate more jobs for Americans and could lower the U.S. trade deficit;
- * benefit the service, industrial, and agricultural sectors of the American economy by allowing them to gain greater access to these Israeli markets without the burden of tariffs and other trade barriers;
- * allow the U.S. to compete on an equal basis with its European competitors who already have a free trade agreement with Israel;
- * strengthen the economy of Israel and increase its ability to function as the foremost strategic ally of the United States in the Middle East.

United Nations

5. According to the State Department, Israel has had the highest level of voting coincidence the United States in United Nations fora (88% in 1984) even higher than our NATO allies. On the other hand, the State Department, in its required report to the Congress, reported that the lowest level was registered by the Arab bloc at 10%, even lower than the Warsaw Pact countries.

WHY FOREIGN AID

1. The United States has a moral and strategic interest in Israel. American aid to Israel represents an enduring investment in democracy, defense, and peace.

2. Aid to Israel strengthens our only permanent democratic ally in the Middle East. Aid enables Israel to promote American interests by:

- * Providing a model for democratic development in new states;
- * Deterring Soviet-backed radicalism in the Middle East;
- * Combatting international terrorism;
- * Enhancing America's deterrent strength (by demonstrating the superiority of American weapons and by offering its own capabilities for the common defense);
- * Improving America's intelligence capability (through intelligence sharing and the provision of combat data);
- * Strengthening pro-Western Third World governments (by assisting their economic development and improving their defense capability);
- * Advancing the peace process (for example, American aid allowed Israel to relinquish the Sinai albeit at great economic cost and military risk).

3. Compared to other U.S. expenditures on international security, aid to Israel is one of the least expensive and most cost-effective:

- * Current aid to Israel is equal to 1% of the U.S. defense budget;
- * Current aid to Israel is equivalent to less than 3% of the U.S. expenditure on NATO and a fraction of the amount America spends to defend East Asia;
- * Most American aid to Israel is actually spent in the U.S., thereby creating thousands of jobs for Americans;
- * Israel's use of aid for R&D saves American defense dollars by funding developments later adopted by the Pentagon (e.g., conformal fuel tanks for the F-15).

4. Through heavy taxation and other stringent measures, Israel's citizens bear the major burden of their own defense. However, the defense budget currently consumes 18% of Israel's GNP while debt repayments on earlier American aid are about equal to current levels of economic assistance (about \$1.2 billion in FY 1985).

5. Israel has faithfully met its repayments schedule to the United States. Yet the debt service burden has continued to grow while net U.S. aid to Israel has declined over the past nine years and is now approximately 75% of its level in 1977.

6. Israel's primary need for U.S. assistance is generated by the enormous cost of maintaining the military balance. The long-term trends in this balance are deeply disturbing as the Arabs step up their acquisition of sophisticated weapons (see ARMS TO THE ARABS section). The people of Israel are determined to be responsible for their own defense -- they only seek help in acquiring the means to defend themselves. And in return Israel helps defend American interests.

ARMS TO THE ARABS

1. Since its birth in 1948, Israel has been forced to defend itself against the intense hostility of its Arab neighbors. Their commitment to Israel's destruction has generated five full-scale wars in thirty-seven years, and an unending and evermore expensive arms race in the Mideast.

2. The possibility of yet another war continues. To survive, Israel must maintain an *adequate* margin of military superiority over its combined Arab neighbors. This includes Egypt, although it is currently at peace with Israel, because Israel's military planners must consider the worst-case scenario over a ten year planning horizon.

3. In the past decade, the Arabs have been able to spend well over \$100 billion to buy the best weapons available in Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union. In recent years, the United States has contributed to the arms race by assuming the role of principal arms supplier to four of the five Arab states nearest Israel. Saudi Arabia has purchased over \$15 billion in weapons and other military goods from the United States since 1981, including sophisticated AWACS aircraft. Egypt has received F-4 and F-16 fighter jets.

4. These arms sales cannot be taken in isolation:

- * Military action against Israel has historically taken the shape of Arab states acting in concert (in 1973 Yom Kippur War, Israel faced the forces of seven Arab states);
- * In past confrontations Arab states have used American arms against Israel despite assurances from the U.S. that they would not do so; Israel must plan that they may be used in future conflicts;
- * Although Administrations justify such arms sales in terms of "Soviet" or "regional" threats, the Arabs themselves freely admit that Israel, not the Soviet Union nor any other country is their principal enemy;
- * The more militarily capable an Arab state becomes, the greater the pressure from its Arab brothers to join the confrontation with Israel.

In short, while some arms are required for self-defense, sales of sophisticated offensive weapon systems to Arab countries have a cumulative effect on the military balance -- they erode Israel's security and undermine Middle East stability.

5. The Syrians have acquired front-line Soviet equipment (some of it not even entrusted to Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies). Since 1982 alone deliveries have amounted to well over \$2.5 billion. This equipment includes SAM-5 anti-aircraft missiles, and SS-21 medium-range surface-to-surface rockets capable of striking Israel's population centers and vital military bases.

6. A comparison of Israeli and Arab military forces shows that:

- * Israel's standing army is one-seventh the size of the regular forces of the Arabs;
- * The Arabs now possess more tanks and aircraft than NATO can deploy on its northern and central fronts (14,900 tanks to NATO's 11,857; 2,631 aircraft to NATO's 2,157);
- * In tanks and aircraft the Arabs outnumber Israel by an average of 4:1 (14,900 tanks to Israel's 3,560, 2,631 aircraft to Israel's 559);
- * Syria alone now possesses 740 more tanks than Israel and is receiving full Soviet backing for its effort to achieve military parity with Israel.

7. In addition to the security threat, this massive arms buildup requires Israel to spend 18% of its GNP on defense, generating balance of payments problems and diverting resources from important sectors of the economy.

8. Arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Jordan have not encouraged moderation. Instead, the arms sales have worked contrary to U.S. interests:

- * Jordan has in the past violated its arms agreements with the United States. Promises not to employ American weapons against Israel have been broken. This policy has been confirmed by Jordan's foreign minister, Taher al Masri, who said that "arms will come to Jordan and upon arrival they will become Jordanian Arab arms to which no conditions or other commitments are attached."
- * Jordan has armed the PLO's army (PLA) and talks have focused on a "unified base" to pursue armed struggle against Israel.
- * Jordan continues to spurn direct negotiations with Israel. As its Deputy Premier Sulaiman Arar declared, "Direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel are out of the question." Yet Hussein still blames the U.S. for lack of progress and threatens Washington by saying, "American credibility is nearing its final test."
- * The Saudis have opposed American peace initiatives such as the Reagan plan, the Lebanon-Israel accord of May 17, 1983, and the Camp David process. They have also pressured Hussein to stay out of negotiations with Israel and have continued to fund Syria's military buildup against Israel.

9. Arms sales to Arab nations at war with Israel, particularly confrontation states like Jordan and Saudi Arabia, encourage intransigence, reduce their incentive to negotiate, enhance their military capacity, and increase the risk of their involvement in a conflict with Israel.

10. The simple principle which best serves American interests is: "no peace, no arms."

A SEARCH FOR PEACE

1. The core of the Arab-Israeli conflict remains the Arab refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist. In no other contemporary conflict is a nation's very existence questioned and its people threatened with destruction.
2. The conflict can only be resolved when Arab states become reconciled to Israel's right to exist and agree to enter direct negotiations with Israel leading to peace treaties. Israel has repeatedly called for peace with its neighbors, only to continually be rejected.
3. When offered true peace and recognition by Arab states, Israel has always been prepared to reciprocate. Israel responded to President Sadat's initiative by relinquishing all of the Sinai, including valuable oil fields, important strategic positions, crucial bases, and settlements.
4. Israel has not been offered true peace and recognition by any other Arab state. Instead, the rest of the Arab world has maintained the policy formulated at the 1967 Khartoum Summit: "No peace with Israel, no negotiations with Israel, and no recognition of Israel."
 - * Egypt continues to be ostracized by the Arab League for making peace;
 - * Upon the insistence of Syria and Saudi Arabia, the Lebanese government scrapped its accord with Israel;
 - * Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Lebanon's Bashir Gemayel, and a handful of genuinely moderate Palestinians have all been assassinated because of their willingness to negotiate with Israel;
 - * The "confrontation" states (Syria and Jordan) and the PLO have been promised annual subsidies of \$3.3 billion from Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil states to continue the conflict;
 - * The Fez "peace" plan of 1982 does not say a single word about negotiation, recognition, or peace with Israel. Nor did the Arab summit in Casablanca in August 1985 provide any different stance.
6. American peace proposals which aim at a "comprehensive" settlement (such as the 1969 Rogers Plan, the 1977 Carter/Brookings Plan, and the 1982 Reagan Plan) sought to define and impose a settlement acceptable to *all* parties. Such initiatives provided veto power to the most radical Arab elements (Nasser vetoed the Rogers Plan, Syria's Assad vetoed the Carter Plan, and Arafat vetoed the Reagan Plan). By defining the outcome in advance, such plans prevent negotiations on basic and complex issues.
7. The Hussein-Arafat agreement of February 11, 1985 does not explicitly acknowledge Israel's right to exist nor even recognize U.N. Resolutions 242

and 338 as a basis for negotiations. These resolutions on which the Camp David accords are based have been and should remain the cornerstone of American policy in the Middle East. Resolution 242 affirms the right of all states in the area to secure and defensible borders. What the Hussein-Arafat agreement does do is to propose putting the Soviet Union and the PLO in a position to control the peace process.

8. The U.S. position of refusing to negotiate with the P.L.O. until it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 and renounces terrorism, strengthens U.S. interests. This policy was signed by the President and codified into law in 1985.

9. Jordan and the P.L.O. have called for "pre-negotiations" with the U.S., which are designed, by their own admission, to achieve U.S. recognition of the organization. Any negotiations which include the PLO will weaken King yHussein, undermine the peace process and not lead to direct negotiations with Israel.

10. The U.S. should press Saudi Arabia to support Jordanian efforts to engage in direct talks with Israel which Saudi Arabia has sought to prevent. Advanced aircraft to Saudi Arabia should be linked to its role in the peace process. The President agreed that before AWACS were delivered to the Saudis, they must prove to have substantially assisted in the peace process. The Fahd monarchy continues to obstruct the peace process and should not be rewarded with advanced weapons.

11. The Camp David Accords --signed by Israel, Egypt, and the United States--and the Egyptian and Syrian disengagement agreements which preceded them--recognized that peace is a process in which the elements of a final settlement must evolve "step-by-step."

12. Israeli settlements are not an obstacle to negotiations:

- * When there were no settlements the Arabs still refused to negotiate;
- * When Israel halted settlement activity in 1977, Jordan still refused to negotiate; In 1978, Israel froze settlement activity in the specific hope to draw other Arabs to the peace table, but none would join Egypt;
- * King Hussein refused to negotiate on the basis of the Reagan Plan in April 1983 because of lack of Arab support, not because of Israeli settlements;
- * Settlement activity has effectively been frozen sOctober 1984, but one year later there are still no negotiations.

13. The key to progress in the Arab-Israeli conflict lies in encouraging negotiations not in attempting to impose a "quick fix" on an intractable and complex conflict.

TERRORISM AND THE PLO

1. The Palestine Liberation Organization is a grouping of terrorist factions formed in 1964 by the Arab states as a weapon in their war with Israel. The PLO's National Covenant, reaffirmed most recently at the 1984 meeting of the Palestine National Council, commits the PLO to "armed struggle" against the "Zionist entity" until "complete liberation of Palestine."
2. Despite Yasir Arafat's Feb. 11, 1985 agreement with King Hussein to pursue a Middle East settlement, neither he nor any of the policy-making councils of the PLO have amended the PLO's Charter, renounced terrorism, abandoned the PLO's phased strategy for the destruction of Israel, or accepted U.N. Resolution 242.
3. Arafat's "peace initiative" brought no "moderation" in terrorist activity. In fact, terrorist activity by the PLO has increased dramatically. As one example, Arafat's deputy and military commander, Abu Jihad, proudly claimed responsibility for an attack that might have been the largest terrorist mission against Israel ever. On April 22, 1985, Israel intercepted 28 pro-Arafat terrorists armed with bombs, grenades and machine guns, off Israel's coast. Their announced aim was "to carry out suicide operations in the heart of Tel Aviv" on Israel's Independence Day.
4. Since 1975, official U.S. policy has been not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist and accepts UN Resolution 242. This is not a position dictated by Israel; it has been adhered to by successive Administrations because it serves American interests. In 1985, this policy was signed by the President and codified into law.
5. By Arafat's own admission the PLO has received howitzers, rocket launchers, armored vehicles and other weapons from Iraq and is creating a 5,000 man brigade armed "up to the level of a mechanized Iraqi brigade." Arafat made the purpose of these weapons clear by saying, "Our fighters are now training in the use of these sophisticated weapons donated by the Iraqi Army with which we will march one day to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation." This, just days before his "peace plan" with King Hussein, in February, 1985.
6. The PLO is the most important member of an international terrorist network. Financed by the Arabs, and armed and trained by the Soviet Union, the PLO in turn provides training, arms, money and intelligence to terrorist movements in Ireland, Germany, Italy, Africa, and Latin America. Its attacks are directed not just at Israel but at the liberal democracies of Europe and North America. For example, the PLO is said to have trained the Pope's would-be assassin.

7. The PLO's terrorist campaign is directed primarily at innocent civilians. The PLO lists among its most successful attacks the 1972 Munich massacre of Olympic athletes and the 1974 massacre of Israeli children at Ma'alot. Similarly, when attacked, the PLO hides behind civilians, as it did in Beirut in 1982 and Tripoli (Lebanon) in 1983.

8. The PLO is constitutionally incapable of "moderation":

- * Its mandate is the liberation of all of Palestine through the destruction of Israel;
- * Its decision to accept a "West Bank" state is publicly avowed as but a first step towards that ultimate objective;
- * Any member who suggests moderation -- such as Said Hammami or Issam Sartawi -- is murdered;
- * Its operatives in the "West Bank" and Gaza have assassinated over a dozen Palestinian leaders there because of their willingness to negotiate with Israel;
- * Despite the manifest futility of "armed struggle" and the obvious propaganda benefits of claiming to renounce terrorism and recognize Israel, the PLO has consistently refused to even mouth these words.

9. A PLO state in the "West Bank" would increase instability in the region because:

- * The PLO, backed by the Soviet Union and Arab radicals, would be in a much better position to continue its irredentist struggle against Israel;
- * The PLO would be in an ideal position to destabilize Jordan and overthrow King Hussein as it attempted in 1970 (Jordan's population is approximately 70% Palestinian);
- * The PLO would have an independent base of operations as it enjoyed in its terrorist heyday in southern Lebanon before Israel rooted it out.

10. The present disunity of the PLO provides an opportunity, over time, for a more moderate indigenous Palestinian leadership in the "West Bank" to step forward and negotiate a political settlement. If Arafat is resuscitated this opportunity will be lost and the misery that the PLO has visited upon its own people will be prolonged.

11. The PLO pursues a pro-Soviet and anti-American policy by its own admission. As Arafat said at the close of the 1984 Palestinian National Convention, "My objective is to defy the Americans and resist their policy. Similarly, Arafat advisor Salah Khalaf said, "It is definite that the USSR is our friend and we must not forget it..."

12. President Reagan was right when he articulated his viewpoint on an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank: "It is clear to me that peace cannot be achieved by the formation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza."

THE "WEST BANK"

1. Because of the reality of Arab hostility towards the Jewish state, there is a national consensus in Israel -- shared in the United States -- that the state must have secure and defensible borders.
2. This concern for security stems from understanding that the last line of Israeli withdrawal could become the first line for the next Arab attack and from the certain knowledge that the first war Israel lost would be its last.
3. The "West Bank" territories pose a complex security problem for Israel in two areas: defense against conventional military threats; and prevention of terrorist operations. Israel's control over the "West Bank" since the 1967 Six Day War has substantially enhanced its security on both counts.
4. The line which existed before June 1967 had five deficiencies with regard to defense against *military* attacks:
 - * It lacked strategic depth, pinching Israel to a narrow waist only nine miles from Jordanian positions to the sea;
 - * It left Israel's heartland exposed to Arab artillery, which was in easy range of two-thirds of Israel's population and industry;
 - * It left all the topographical advantages in Arab hands, with Arab forces on the hills and Israeli targets in the flatlands below;
 - * It consisted of long, difficult-to-defend boundaries, twice the length of those which exist today;
 - * It provided no terrain obstacles to separate Israel from hostile Arab states because the Jordan Rift Valley and the "West Bank" spine of hills were in Jordanian hands.
5. In addition, the old line had five deficiencies with regard to defense against terrorism:
 - * Infiltrators had easy access to Israeli targets, because the terrorist base areas were close to Jewish population centers.
 - * The line was difficult to patrol, because of its extreme length and character.
 - * The line offered infiltrators easy passage and good cover, with vegetation and hideouts to conceal clandestine movement.
 - * Arab villages near the line offered potential sanctuary to infiltrators.
 - * The Arab side of the line offered an ideal launching platform for rocket strikes, making the entire country a frontier.
6. Israel is significantly stronger and more secure today than it was before 1967. There has been a drastic reduction of terrorist incidents inside Israel's borders since it came into possession of the territories, and Israel's eastern shield against Arab conventional forces is now a formidable barrier.

7. As President Reagan said in his televised address of September 1, 1982, Israel has a right to exist in peace behind secure and defensible borders, and it has a right to demand of its neighbors that they recognize those facts.

8. A peace treaty between Israel and Jordan would not reduce the need for defensible borders. Five wars and thirty-seven years of Arab hostility provide Israel with little reason to trust paper commitments.

9. Borders are important to war avoidance as well as defense. The more conducive Israel's borders are to deterring conventional attacks and terrorist operations, the greater the incentive for the Arabs to keep the peace. Defensible borders not only make Israel more secure, they also enhance stability in the Middle East heartland.

JERUSALEM

"This beautiful city is the heart and soul of the Jewish people. You can't live without a heart and soul. If you want one simple word to symbolize all of Jewish history, that would be Jerusalem."

Teddy Kollek
Mayor of Jerusalem

1. Jerusalem is and will always be the capital of Israel. World Jewry shares with Israelis a strong commitment to a united Jerusalem (east and west) under Israeli sovereignty. Israeli control of the city has guaranteed free access to all religious sites, unlike during the pre-1967 Jordanian control of the eastern portion which denied Jews access to the Western Wall.
2. Though Jerusalem has known many foreign rulers, it has been a capital only for the Jews. Both historically, (since 1050 B.C.E), and since the rebirth of the state in 1948, Jerusalem has been the capital of the Jewish nation. Today it houses the residences of the President and Prime Minister, the Knesset (Parliament), and the various government ministries. Jerusalem is also Israel's diplomatic center; all ambassadors to Israel present their credentials there.
3. Jerusalem is also the heart and soul of the Jewish people's faith. The refrain "next year in Jerusalem" marks the end of Passover, the festival of national redemption, and closes the Yom Kippur service, the festival of personal redemption.
4. Current U.S. policy does not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, locates our embassy in Tel-Aviv, and maintains only consulate offices in Jerusalem. This denies Israel's right as a sovereign nation to designate its own capital. Israel is the only country where the U.S. Embassy is not located in the capital. Even the U.S. Embassy to East Germany is located in East Berlin. Indeed, according to U.S. policy, Israel has no capital.
5. Refusal to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital stems from the belief that to do otherwise would offend the Arabs by appearing too pro-Israel. Ironically, not to recognize any part of Jerusalem as Israel's capital appeases the most rejectionist in the Arab camp.
6. The five-nation Arab invasion of the nascent state of Israel in 1948, left the eastern portion of "old" Jerusalem in the hands of Jordan. Jordanian control of that portion of Jerusalem was *never* recognized by the United States. Whose administration is the United States willing to accept?

7. The concept of an undivided Jerusalem has received bipartisan support. The Republican platforms of 1980 and 1984 call for Jerusalem to "remain an undivided city with continued free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths." And the Democratic Party has declared, in its 1976, 1980 and 1984 Platforms, that it recognizes and supports the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths." Ronald Reagan has voiced his preference for keeping Jerusalem "undivided under Israeli rule" with a "Vatican-like solution."

8. A strong majority of Americans favor Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem.

9. The United States Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

1. American dependence on foreign energy sources, despite the current oil glut, continues to threaten the security of our nation and that of our allies.
2. The 1973 Arab oil embargo and the resulting boost in world oil prices created an urgency to minimize U.S. vulnerability to the threat of another embargo.
3. While the U.S. has reduced dependency on OPEC imports in recent years, it has not solved America's energy vulnerability. The Middle East still accounts for almost half of the oil traded on the world market.
4. It must be recognized that the oil producing countries of the Middle East use the leverage of oil production and pricing as political tools, not as responses to free market conditions. There is no certainty that supplies will not be disrupted again.
5. Much of OPEC's power is concentrated in the hands of a few Persian Gulf countries. Iran and Iraq, two of OPEC's most important members, are engaged in a war that has already caused a major drop in the region's oil production.
6. The United States and its allies have other alternatives which should be implemented by:
 - * Continuing incentives for conservation;
 - * Rapidly accumulating our Strategic Petroleum Reserves, as mandated by Congress;
 - * Maximizing our nation's energy base and research and development of existing natural energy resources.
7. An effective national commitment to energy independence will strengthen the U.S. in its negotiations with oil producing countries.

IMPERILED JEWRY

Soviet Jews

1. Soviet Jews number between 1.8 and 2.5 million, making them the third largest Jewish community in the world. To Jews, who have only recently suffered the loss of one-third of their people in the Holocaust, the thought of the disappearance of another 18% is intolerable.
2. The plight of Soviet Jews -- barred from emigration and increasingly harassed by Soviet authorities -- is not just a "Jewish," "American," or "Western" issue. Freedom of emigration is a matter of *human rights* which the signatories of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act reaffirmed in 1985.
3. Soviet Jewish emigration has fallen to the lowest level since emigration efforts began in 1971. In 1984 less than 900 Jews were allowed to leave as compared to a high of 51,320 in 1979, and 20,628 in 1974.
4. Soviet anti-Semitism is now worse than at any time since the final years of Stalin's regime as evidenced by: the creation of the Anti-Zionist committee; the level and extent of anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propaganda; and the discrimination in university admissions and in the job market.
5. While restrictions are placed on all religions in the Soviet Union, those applied to Jews are most severe:
 - * No rabbinical seminaries are permitted;
 - * Most synagogues have been closed; those remaining lack trained clergy;
 - * Jewish schools are forbidden;
 - * Teaching Hebrew is illegal;
 - * Regular contact with co-religionists abroad is forbidden.
6. Soviet policy has allowed Jewish emigration only under the framework of "family reunification." An invitation letter from a relative in Israel is necessary to apply for a visa. Yet, Soviet authorities frequently confiscate such mail. Further, through its new Anti-Zionist Committee, the Soviets have declared that Jews no longer want to leave and "family reunification" has been completed.
7. 400,00 Soviet Jews have asked for and received invitations from Israel. 20,000 of those who applied for exit visas have been refused (the "refuseniks"). Some Soviet Jews have already waited fifteen years for permission to leave.
8. Jews who wish to leave face immediate pariah status and possible imprisonment on trumped-up charges designed to discourage other Jews from applying.

ANTI-ISRAEL CAMPAIGN

1. The United States has become an increasingly important target for anti-Israel propaganda and political action in recent years as many in the Arab camp have concluded that "the road to liberation is through Washington."
2. Most anti-Israel organizations in this country are strong supporters of the PLO. Members of the PLO sit on the executive and advisory boards of many of these groups.
3. The anti-Israel campaign lacks a broad-based natural constituency and has achieved partial success by building an artificial constituency comprised primarily of corporations motivated by self interest, aided and abetted by foreign agents, the Arab league and its member states and a minority of Arab-Americans.
4. The anti-Israel effort has failed to mobilize a large grassroots constituency. Why is this?
 - * Of the nearly 3 million Americans of Arab descent, 80% are Christian Lebanese or Christians from other Arab countries. These people have often been victims of Syrian/PLO violence in the past and therefore are not interested in joining PLO support groups.
 - * Only an estimated 2% of Arab-Americans have joined anti-Israel organizations.
5. The anti-Israel campaign relies heavily on American corporations with business interests in the Arab world. These companies provide anti-Israel groups with strong financial backing and employ their own sophisticated approach to turn policymakers against Israel.
6. Rather than advocating pro-Arab issues, most Arab American organizations concentrate their efforts on discrediting Israel and weakening the U.S.-Israel relationship.
7. A major new focus for anti-Israel activity is media out-reach. Anti-Israel groups have recently launched a national media campaign which vilifies the state of Israel and denounces U.S. foreign policy towards Israel.

9. Members of Congress can help Soviet Jews by:

- * Supporting Congressional resolutions and letters on behalf of Soviet Jews; the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which links most-favored nation status to emigration policies, must be upheld;
- * Raising the issue at all contact points between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. as fundamental to the relationship between the two powers;
- * Meeting with "refuseniks" in their homes as they travel in the Soviet Union;
- * "Adopting" Soviet Jews and putting their letters in the Congressional Record.

Ethiopian Jewry

10. The U.S. and Israel cooperated in the heroic airlift of 10,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel. The U.S. played a praiseworthy role in the airlift and absorption in Israel of the new immigrants.

11. Despite the tremendous success of Operation Moses, approximately 2,000 Ethiopian Jews perished from disease and hunger before they could be rescued, and perhaps 6,000 Ethiopian Jews are still trapped in Ethiopia. The Marxist government of Colonel Mengistu has refused to allow any further emigration, even in order to reunite parents with children who are in Israel. The Jews continue to suffer from the hostility of the populace and the authorities, as well as the famine, drought, and civil disruption affecting the entire country.

12. The U.S. can best remain engaged in this historic process by continuing its assistance to Israel to help with the absorption of these new immigrants.

Syrian Jewry

13. The 5,000 Jews remaining in Syria are the only group in Syria that is totally forbidden to emigrate. With minor exceptions President Assad has refused to implement the promise he made to President Carter in 1977 to permit Jewish emigration. Those few who are allowed to travel outside the country must post a bond worth about \$6,000 and leave close family members behind to guarantee their return.

14. Members of the Syrian armed forces have terrorized the Jewish community on occasion. The community has repeatedly been subject to violent attacks by others as well. On December 28, 1984, a pregnant Jewish mother and her two children were murdered and mutilated.

15. Members of Congress can help Syrian Jews by making the issue central in the development of U.S.-Syrian relations and in international human rights forums.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

1. For three decades, the American people have strongly and consistently supported Israel, according to poll data. They remain firm in their sympathy for the Jewish state today.
2. In the most recent authoritative poll (Roper, Jan. 1983), sympathy with Israel exceeded sympathy for the Arab nations by a margin of more than 4-to-1 (44-8%). This margin is actually greater than at the time of the Camp David breakthrough (40%-14%, Gallup) but is consistent with every credible poll finding over the past seventeen years.
3. Majority support for Israel over the Arabs is found in every region of the country, among every religious and age group, in both major political parties, and among black Americans as well as whites.
4. Support for Israel is greatest amongst the more highly educated. Young people are even more supportive than their elders. In the most recent Gallup poll (1983), for example, 18-24 year old respondents supported Israel over the Arab by a margin of almost 10-to-1 (64-7%).
5. The American people recognize that Israel is the only true democracy in the Middle East, and they consider Israel our most reliable ally in the region:
 - * By margins of almost 2-to-1 Americans regard Israel as a more reliable ally than either Saudi Arabia, Egypt, or Jordan.
 - * Americans believe that if our interests were attacked in the Middle East, Israel would be more likely to fight on our side than Saudi Arabia, Egypt, or Jordan. (Penn and Schoen, 1982).
6. Americans strongly side with Israel on specific Middle East issues:
 - * Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem is favored by a strong majority of Americans. (e.g. 63-17%, Harris Poll, 1980). By almost 3-to-1 respondents agree that Israel has the right to make Jerusalem its capital (Yankelovich Poll, 1981)
 - * The American people view the PLO as terrorists (86%) militaristic (92%) unreasonable (76%), undemocratic (87%), anti-U.S. (92%), and pro-communist (61%). They believe the PLO should not be given any official recognition by the United States or the rest of the world.
7. Majorities support providing Israel with military aid necessary for its defense. They also believe the sale of arms to Jordan should be based on whether Jordan agrees to make peace with Israel. (Penn and Schoen, 1982). By a margin of 3-to-1 Americans oppose selling arms to Saudi Arabia (Roper, 1983)
8. The United States has been confronted with acts of Arab terrorism against its citizens. Polls conducted after the 1985 TWA hijacking in Lebanon show that a majority of Americans believe the United States should not negotiate with terrorists nor should they give in to their demands.

9. Americans support aid to Israel. A majority of Americans support current or increased levels of aid to Israel and said they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who is a strong supporter of aid to Israel. (Penn and Schoen, 1982).