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הסופר החשוב דוד בר' בניה - כתיבת כתר
התורה הזה, בצנעא בירת תימן.

*

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בכתיבת ספרי קודש מהמאה הארבע עשרה
לספירתם.

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ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

A Special Report
of the International
Relations Department

**By Kenneth Bandler
and George E. Gruen**



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

By Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen *

Introduction

The debate in the United States over the South African government's apartheid policy has emerged with renewed vigor in recent months as the political situation affecting Blacks in South Africa continued to deteriorate. Members of Congress and representatives of religious, Black and non-sectarian organizations have demonstrated at South Africa's Embassy in Washington and at its consulates in several U.S. cities. Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, have participated in these protests against apartheid as well.

In Chicago last November, the AJC's National Executive Council adopted a statement reaffirming the agency's "abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination," and calling "for its speedy elimination." (See Appendix I for full text of statement.) Guided by the American traditions of democracy and pluralism and by Jewish values and teaching, the AJC's primary efforts since its founding in 1906 have been devoted to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur.

The revived anti-South African protest activities in this country have coincided with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu and with an increase in opposition activities within South Africa itself. For many years, a number of South African Jews, notably Parliament Member Helen Suzman, have been in the forefront of the efforts to eliminate apartheid, to give Black South African citizens their full human rights, and to democratize the entire country.

The subject of Israeli-South African relations often arises in discussions about South Africa. This is largely the result of inaccurate and misleading information on the subject disseminated by Israel's adversaries from the Third World and Communist bloc. These states, hostile to Israel, have sought to delegitimize the Jewish State by falsely labelling it "racist." Alleging ties with South Africa serves their propagandistic purpose of "proving" that "Zionism is racism." As former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young noted in 1979, "It is unfair to link Israel to South Africa. If there is a link, you must compare Britain, Germany, Japan and the United States. All of them have links with South Africa. Israel becomes a too easy scapegoat for other problems we have."¹

**Kenneth Bandler is Research Analyst in the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division, International Relations Department; Dr. George E. Gruen is the Director of the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division. The authors wish to acknowledge the special research contribution of Michael Rothenberg, a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International Affairs, who examined the extensive literature on this subject and prepared the statistical data included in this report.*

Twenty-four countries have full diplomatic relations with South Africa. Some of these are among South Africa's main trading partners, and a number of them have military ties as well. A large number of countries that do not have formal diplomatic ties with South Africa, notably Black African and Arab states, also enjoy economic and commercial relationships with it. At least 46 African states trade with South Africa. The Black African state of Malawi, which does not even border on South Africa, has full diplomatic relations with the white minority government in Pretoria. Some of these ties have recently become more overt. For example, Swaziland and South Africa agreed last December to exchange trade representatives, and Mozambique and South Africa opened trade offices in their respective capitals after signing a non-aggression pact in March 1984. At the time, Mozambique noted that by entering into this security and economic relationship, it was in no way condoning the South African government's policy of apartheid.²

Israel does not condone apartheid, and the other countries relating to South Africa have often stated their opposition to its racist policies as well. Yet, of all these countries that constitute most of the UN membership, Israel alone is routinely and systematically singled out for condemnation in international forums. The standard used against Israel should be applied to all countries, or dropped.

In order to bring clarity to the debate on Israel-South Africa ties, the relationship must be placed in the proper perspective. This paper will do so by examining the economic and military relations South Africa has with all countries. Such an examination, based on open sources and published statistics, clearly shows that Israel's trade with South Africa is minimal. Indeed, it is considerably less than one percent of South Africa's global trade. In addition, Israel has repeatedly stated that military ties ceased after the UN Security Council imposed an embargo on arms sales to South Africa in 1977. The persistent efforts by opponents of South Africa to single out Israel, therefore, suggest that their aim is not limited to Israel-South Africa relations, but is part of the broader campaign to isolate and delegitimize the State of Israel.

Israel's Opposition to Apartheid

Israel's historically consistent and firm opposition to the apartheid policies of South Africa is rooted in the moral principles of Judaism and the history of the Jewish people. Israel has been a leading advocate of the African fight against the apartheid system in the United Nations. The Israeli delegation has consistently cast its vote against the interests of South Africa. In 1961 the delegation voted to prevent the South African Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, from presenting South Africa's case for apartheid at the General Assembly. In 1966, the delegation supported a U.N. resolution revoking South Africa's mandate over Namibia (South West Africa). In 1977, Israel supported a U.N. arms embargo to the apartheid regime. (See Appendix II for Israeli statements opposing racism and apartheid.)

The founding father of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote more than 80 years ago that after liberating the Jews, he would strive to help end the oppression of Blacks in Africa. Carrying out Herzl's promise to assist the Blacks of Africa, Israel began a large and varied development assistance program

in 1957. By 1966, Israel had established diplomatic relations with all sub-Saharan countries, except for Mauritania and Somalia, two members of the Arab League. Diplomatic relations with South Africa were maintained at a low level. During the period 1957-1973, 31 African countries received economic assistance from Israel, and 20 of these signed cooperation agreements.³ More than 6,700 African students came to Israel for training in agriculture, medicine and other developmental fields.⁴ Several thousand Israelis served in Africa.⁵

Although African-Israeli relations cooled in the early 1970s, especially under pressure of Arab oil exporting countries, which led all African countries except Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland to break diplomatic ties with Israel, economic and commercial ties have continued. Zaire restored full diplomatic ties with Israel in 1982, and Liberia followed suit in 1983. Despite the absence of full diplomatic ties with the other countries, Israel has maintained economic and commercial ties with some 22 Black African countries. Israel has 'interests sections' in friendly embassies in the capitals of a number of these countries. While these African countries routinely join in the condemnation of Israel-South African ties, they not only trade with Pretoria, but also have quietly carried on relations with Israel.

Israeli-South African diplomatic relations, meanwhile, were not elevated to the level of embassy until 1976. Israel's continued involvement with Black African nations, nevertheless, continues to outweigh its relations with South Africa.

South Africa's Economic Relations

Statistical information compiled annually by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) demonstrate that the volume of Israel-South African trade is negligible when compared to the levels of trade South Africa conducts with the industrialized nations in the West, the communist nations in the East, Black African states and the oil-rich Arab nations. (See Tables I and II.) Since the IMF relies on individual governments to supply this information, the figures may not reflect the total volume of trade. For political and security reasons, neither South Africa nor individual Arab oil exporting countries provide information on their trade. Black Africa is listed as one bloc. In such cases, we have derived information from other open sources.

South Africa's biggest trading partners, according to IMF figures, are the Western industrialized states. Among these states, the United States figures the most prominently. South African exports to the U.S. grew from \$589 million in 1975 to \$2.1 billion in 1980, but declined to \$1.5 billion in 1983. South Africa imported \$1.3 billion worth of American goods in 1975, \$2.5 billion in 1980, and \$2.2 billion in 1983.

Western Europe and Japan are not far behind the U.S. in their volume of trade with South Africa. South Africa imported \$1.4 billion worth of goods from England in 1975, \$2.2 billion in 1980, and \$1.6 billion in 1983. South African exports to England have totalled \$1.2 billion in 1975, \$1.7 billion in 1980, and \$1.2 billion in 1983. West Germany and France have also been leading trading partners with South Africa. South African exports to Japan increased from \$664

million in 1975, to \$1.5 billion in 1980, and nearly \$1.4 billion in 1983. Japanese exports rose from \$840 million in 1975, to \$1.6 billion in 1980 and \$1.7 billion in 1983.

Officially reported Soviet bloc trade with South Africa shows South Africa exporting \$10 million worth of goods to the communist countries in 1975, \$22 million in 1980, and \$24 million in 1983. Soviet bloc exports to South Africa grew from \$10 million in 1975, to \$38 million in 1980, and \$60 million in 1982. They fell back to \$22 million in 1983.

At least 46 African states trade with South Africa.⁶ As a bloc, these countries have traditionally been South Africa's fifth or sixth largest trading partner. Trade with Black Africa represented 4% of South Africa's exports and 3% of its imports in 1981 alone. South Africa's exports across its northern borders increased by more than 60% between 1979 and 1980. Moreover, several hundred thousand Blacks from five neighboring states are employed in South African industry. South African exports to Black Africa grew from \$573 million in 1975 to \$1.4 billion in 1980, but declined to \$769 million in 1983. South Africa imported \$344 million worth of goods from Black Africa in 1975, \$371 million in 1980, and \$288 million in 1983.

Other forms of economic relations between Black African states and South Africa have not waned in recent years, but grown. One recent example of this trend is the non-aggression pact between Mozambique and South Africa, created, admittedly, because of South Africa's overwhelming economic and military power. The pact encourages an increase in South African tourism to Mozambique, an increase in the number of Mozambicans employed by South Africa, and an increase in South African aid to Mozambique and use of the port at Maputo. This pact and the overall extensive ties Black Africa has with South Africa give credence to what American civil rights leader Bayard Rustin once described as "the double standard and hypocrisy that excuses or ignores Black Africa's trade with South Africa, while blaming Israel for far less volume of trade with South Africa."⁷

While the IMF figures do not provide a country-by-country breakdown of South Africa's trade with oil exporting countries, recent reports have shown that Arab oil countries figure prominently in South Africa's foreign trade picture. According to data compiled by Shipping Research Bureau, an anti-apartheid research organization based in Amsterdam, and Lloyd's Voyage Records, at least 76% of South Africa's imported oil comes from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. These shipments have a market value of around \$1.1 billion annually. The exact trade figures had, until recently, been suppressed in accordance with South African laws and by the deliberate forging of log books by the suppliers.⁸

Oil is a vital strategic commodity supporting the South African economy and armed forces. The Arab argument that they have no control over where the oil companies ship the oil has been proven false by the historical record. In 1973, Arab oil exporting countries successfully pressured Exxon to cut deliveries to U.S. armed forces and Aramco to supply oil to the Arab war effort. Moreover, the Arab states have over the years tried to use oil as a weapon to influence the political policies of other countries in the Arab-Israel conflict, as

witnessed by the oil embargoes in 1967 and 1973. If the Arab oil producing countries were firm in their opposition to apartheid, they would be expected to impose an oil embargo on South Africa.

Israel's trade with South Africa pales when compared to the trading records of other countries. Israel-South Africa trade has little bearing on South Africa's economic health. South African exports to Israel rose from \$22 million in 1975, to \$95 million in 1980, and \$142 million in 1983. South Africa imported \$26 million worth of Israeli goods in 1975, \$61 million in 1980, and \$69 million in 1983. With few exceptions, Israel has had an annual trade imbalance with South Africa. In fact, recent statistics reveal that Israel accounts for only 0.4% of South Africa's imports and 0.7% of its exports. Those governments and individuals that exclusively focus on Israel-South Africa trade, without truthfully acknowledging the amounts of western, Soviet bloc, Black African and Arab trade with the apartheid regime not only distort the facts, but are attempting to manipulate opponents of apartheid for unrelated political purposes.

Foreign Military Relations

Israel supported the 1977 UN Security Council decision to impose an arms embargo on South Africa, and Israeli officials have repeatedly reaffirmed that position. (See Appendix II for statement.) Israel, nevertheless, has been routinely castigated in international forums for its alleged military ties to South Africa. Even if some ties exist, a recent study by the Congressional Research Service has noted that any continued Israeli arms deliveries to South Africa are much smaller than those of France and Italy.⁹ Naomi Chazan, an Israeli scholar specializing in African affairs who is critical of Israel-South Africa relations, has noted that the degree of Israel-South Africa military ties in no way equals that of major arms exporting nations in the West nor does it compete with Eastern European and Arab arms sales to South Africa.¹⁰ Israel's arms transfers to South Africa before 1977, such as the sale of Reshet class missile boats equipped with Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles, were aimed at helping South Africa protect shipping lanes that are vital to western interests. Such sales were of no use to the apartheid regime in carrying out repressive measures against its Black population. Because of the arms embargo, South Africa has developed a sizable domestic arms industry. South Africa, in fact, has become a net arms exporter, self-sufficient in the production of small arms and other equipment needed for counter-insurgency operations.¹¹

France, according to published reports, is South Africa's main arms supplier. In 1980 France sold 360 air-to-surface missiles to South Africa. The South Africans had a French license to produce 100 Landmobile surface-to-air missiles between 1980 and 1983.¹² Between 1963 and 1974 more than \$1 billion worth of armaments were shipped to South Africa, mostly from France.¹³ A French-built nuclear power station 17 miles north of Capetown was completed in late 1984.

The United States has also sold military-related items to South Africa. The American Friends Service Committee issued a report based on non-classified, State Department documents that claimed that during the first term of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. issued 29 export licenses worth \$28.3 million to South

Africa for goods and high technology equipment, all of which can be used for military purposes.¹⁴ The report claims that these sales were in clear violation of the U.N. embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa.

Although much has been written on the subject of alleged Israel-South African cooperation in the nuclear field, it amounts to pure speculation and conjecture. No conclusive evidence to substantiate these assertions has been published. The UN Secretary General cautioned in a 1980 report that "Until specific examples of actual nuclear exchanges or transactions can be cited as clear evidence of such cooperation, this whole question remains in a state of uncertainty."¹⁵ Why does the speculation on alleged Israeli-South African military ties continue endlessly, while known military arrangements between South Africa and West European states are ignored? The motivation is purely political -- to harm Israel's image through constant repetition of alleged Israeli misdeeds. Such repetition, however, does not by itself substantiate the allegations.

Conclusions

South Africa's economic viability depends greatly on its extensive foreign trade. The strength of South Africa's armed forces is dependent upon foreign military suppliers as well as oil. In both the economic and security fields Israel's interaction with South Africa is negligible when compared to South Africa's relations with other countries. If Israel were to break all ties with Pretoria, the impact on South Africa's economy and military would be hardly measurable.

The routine condemnation of Israel-South African ties by many states and individuals, who have chosen to manipulate the anti-apartheid cause for the sole purpose of delegitimizing the State of Israel, harms honest efforts to combat apartheid. Those who raise this false issue effectively reduce the anti-apartheid constituency in the United States and around the world. South African Blacks, the victims of apartheid, deserve better.

Notes

1. Reuters, September 18, 1979.
2. New York Times, March 17, 1984.
3. Brenda Branaman, "Israel: Relations with Africa", Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, September 5, 1984.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Michael Curtis, "Israel and South Africa", Middle East Review Special Report, October 1983, p. 3.
7. Letter from Bayard Rustin to Arthur Hertzberg, September 1976.
8. Shipping Research Bureau Report, 1984.
9. Branaman, p. 24.
10. Naomi Chazan, "The Fallacies of Pragmatism: Israeli Foreign Policy towards South Africa," African Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 327 (April 1983), p. 186.
11. Ibid., p. 187.
12. Ibid.
13. Curtis, p. 4.
14. Washington Post, January 11, 1984.
15. Report of the Secretary-General, "Implementation of the Declaration of Denuclearization of Africa", September 9, 1980, A/35/402, para. 37.

TABLE I
South African Exports
(In Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984*
<u>United States</u>	589.7	526.8	910.7	1,558.4	1,679.2	2,125.6	1,453.0	1,220.0	1,551.0	391.0
<u>United Kingdom</u>	1,255.0	1,146.6	1,512.3	1,400.5	1,146.5	1,779.2	1,313.5	1,300.0	1,219.0	189.0
<u>West Germany</u>	601.8	543.8	594.5	767.4	1,084.5	1,028.7	962.4	785.0	703.0	190.0
<u>France</u>	155.6	170.6	245.5	317.9	417.5	523.5	638.3	415.0	353.0	110.0
<u>Japan</u>	664.8	592.0	737.0	875.9	1,129.3	1,551.4	1,574.5	1,533.0	1,390.0	348.0
<u>Soviet Bloc</u>	10.2	9.3	12.1	7.9	25.5	22.7	22.4	15.0	24.0	1.0
<u>Africa**</u>	573.1	521.1	599.0	614.7	878.6	1,412.4	1,294.5	834.0	769.0	152.0
<u>Oil Exporting Countries**</u>	27.8	68.7	24.0	9.6	18.1	34.2	58.2	68.0	37.0	4.0
<u>Israel</u>	22.8	35.9	34.1	66.8	116.5	95.1	70.8	140.0	142.0	30.0
<u>Israel***</u>	40.5	45.2	54.3	80.4	153.1	117.1	103.2	166.8		

* First Quarter of 1984

** All IMF estimates are based on data reported to the specific country. If the data cannot be derived by that country, it is often estimated by that country's trading partners. In these particular sets of data, specific African, oil exporting and Middle East countries have not been identified. One could speculate that South Africa, Black African states and Arab states did not disclose these figures for political reasons.

*** These figures, submitted by Israel to the IMF, differ from the South African figures, because of different accounting methods. Such discrepancies are also found in the statistics for South African trade with the other countries. Nevertheless, Israel's trade with South Africa is still minimal.

Sources: Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. Yearbook, 1982.
Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. October 1984.

TABLE II

South African Imports

(In Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984*
<u>United States</u>	1,340.8	1,459.7	1,124.5	1,137.0	1,477.9	2,526.7	2,952.3	2,484.0	2,207.0	660.0
<u>United Kingdom</u>	1,493.9	1,185.4	971.4	1,200.2	1,490.6	2,242.0	2,500.6	2,029.0	1,697.0	445.0
<u>West Germany</u>	1,409.2	1,217.5	1,073.1	1,466.2	1,554.9	2,384.4	2,707.0	2,503.0	2,003.0	596.0
<u>France</u>	335.4	294.7	275.5	546.8	559.2	702.8	1,046.8	708.0	544.0	159.0
<u>Japan</u>	840.3	690.5	719.6	947.2	952.1	1,669.3	2,266.8	1,711.0	1,765.0	514.0
<u>Soviet Bloc</u>	10.6	13.4	10.0	8.8	21.6	38.5	51.2	60.0	22.0	6.0
<u>Africa**</u>	344.3	356.3	330.5	281.8	303.6	371.4	375.3	305.0	288.0	80.0
<u>Oil Exporting Countries**</u>	.4	.3	-	-	1.1	1.8	1.5	-	-	-
<u>Israel</u>	26.5	19.5	17.6	27.7	34.4	61.7	76.5	66.0	69.0	17.0
<u>Israel***</u>	39.2	32.5	23.9	37.5	48.4	79.2	98.4	78.4		

* First Quarter of 1984

** All IMF estimates are based on data reported to the specific country. If the data cannot be derived by that country, it is often estimated by that country's trading partners. In these particular sets of data, specific African, oil exporting and Middle East countries have not been identified. One could speculate that South Africa, Black African states and Arab states did not disclose these figures for political reasons.

*** See note *** to Table I above.

Sources: Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. Yearbook, 1982.
Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. October 1984.

Appendix I

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

I029-South Africa Appendix I
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Appendix II

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BY THE STATE OF ISRAEL OPPOSING RACISM, APARTHEID AND ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

"...Obviously, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which, irrespective of historical and sociological reasons, tends to cause humiliation to others because of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Hebrew heritage if we would not be critical of such a policy...we abhor any form of racial discrimination and humiliation, and I believe that the South African government and enlightened public opinion in South Africa respect the candor with which we express our opinion..."

---- Ambassador I.D. Unna, then Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, September 3, 1978.

"Israel will comply with Security Council Resolution 418 (1977)¹ and, accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment."

---- Note verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, September 4, 1979. Israel's position of opposition to the provision of arms to South Africa has been repeatedly reaffirmed at the United Nations.

"...it is no wonder that almost 80 years ago, Theodor Herzl, the founding father of modern Zionism, compared the oppression of Blacks in Africa to that which the Jews themselves had suffered, and he vowed that when he had witnessed the redemption of his own people, Israel, he would work for freedom in Africa..."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 8, 1979.

"As a multiracial people of all colors and backgrounds, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which causes humiliation to others on account of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage if we were to leave the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that we abhor any form of racism, racial discrimination or humiliation."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, November 12, 1980.

¹ The Security Council voted unanimously on November 4, 1977 to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

"...The State of Israel rose as a response to injustice and sufferings. It remains committed to social and racial equality. [The Israelis are] a people coming from the four corners of the earth. Many of them are of different origins and hues. All passionately reject racism. As recently as last December an international congress against racism was held in Tel Aviv. Representatives of teacher unions from different countries joined to study how to educate the young generation to tolerance and mutual understanding between peoples and races, how to alert it to the dangers of racism. In this spirit a call to the teachers of the world has been issued."

---- Ambassador of Israel before the UN Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 16, 1981.

"We have never missed an opportunity to publicly denounce apartheid and to associate ourselves with United Nations condemnations of apartheid. I express once again our total opposition to apartheid and to racism in any form."

---- Prime Minister Menachem Begin, interview with Afrique a la Une, June 1982.

"...nothing unites the people of Africa and the people of Israel more than a hatred of racism. Our people have suffered more than anyone else from racism, have fought and still fight, more than anyone else against this most horrible disease that still persists among mankind.

"Israel and its Government have consistently condemned publicly the policy of Apartheid, and I take this opportunity to express once more our abhorrence of Apartheid and of any form of racism wherever it may occur."

---- From remarks by President Chaim Herzog during the visit to Israel of Liberian President Dr. Samuel K. Doe, August 23, 1983.

"Israel is not a simple observer which merely sympathizes with the victims of racism and oppression. Our views have been shaped by bitter historical and emotional experience spanning centuries. Moreover, to no less an extent, our abhorrence of racism is rooted in the social norms which comprise an integral part of Judaism's teachings."

"Israel's position concerning apartheid and other manifestations of racial discrimination is clear: we oppose bigotry completely and unreservedly wherever and whenever it emerges. We have made this position known to the Government of South Africa on numerous occasions. By this direct approach, rather than through acrimonious rhetoric, we believe that the cause of eliminating racial discrimination is better served."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly, November 17, 1983.

"...Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are a people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism, than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. And this is why the state that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to Apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa...direct communication is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies."

----- Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 21, 1984.

(Prepared by the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department).

85-580-4
I079-Statement on Apartheid
/gn/ar/tp-4/15/85

THE WILLIAM PETSCHKEK
NATIONAL JEWISH FAMILY CENTER

Yehuda Rosenman, Coordinator

April 29, 1985

*Done
May 2*

Mr. Zev Lewis
Public Liaison Office
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I would greatly appreciate your sending me a glossy photo of President Reagan to be used in the next issue of the American Jewish Committee's National Jewish Family Center Newsletter. Our feature article will deal with Family Policy, and will review the family initiatives of recent Presidents. I enclose a copy of our last issue to give you an idea of our publication.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Grossman

Dr. Lawrence Grossman
Editor, Newsletter

Newsletter

The William Petschek
National Jewish Family Center
of The American Jewish Committee

Vol. 5, No. 1 Winter 1985

The Abortion Issue

The question of abortion rights dramatically divides the American people, evoking a variety of theological arguments, legal disputes, family issues, political considerations and feminist concerns, and resisting, to date, resolution through the normal give-and-take of the American pluralist society. Nor is it likely that the passions that have been aroused by this issue will soon subside.

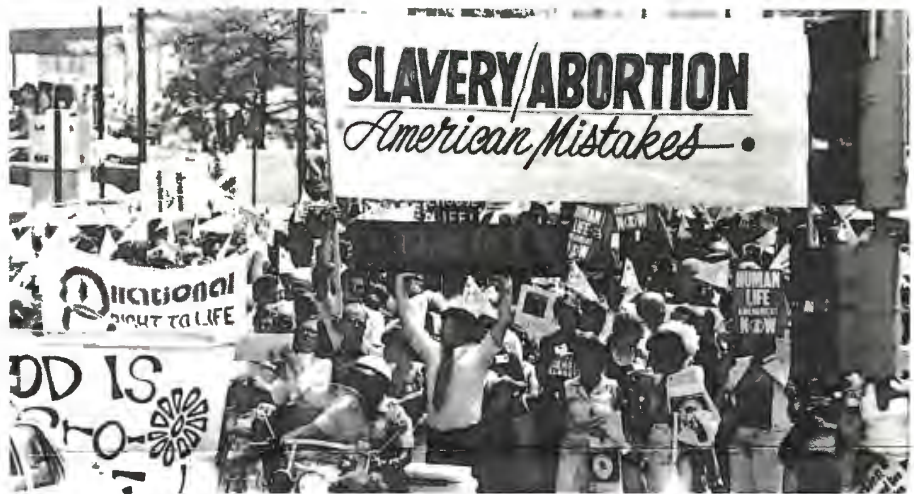
Roe v. Wade

The Federal Government's involvement in the abortion question dates back only to 1973. English Common Law, the basis for our legal system, considered the termination of pregnancy a crime only after the "quickening" of the fetus, and even then made exceptions for the health of the mother. In the late 19th century, however, many states adopted strict anti-abortion laws; and by 1900 abortion — except to save the pregnant woman's life — had been made a serious crime almost everywhere in the country. Over the years, however, the realization grew that thousands of American women annually were dying or suffering permanent injury because of illegal "back alley" abortions. Sentiment favoring the liberalization of abortion restrictions escalated, and by the 1960s a number of states were allowing abortions in cases involving rape or incest, the near-certainty of a defective fetus, or threats to the physical or mental health of the mother. In 1970, New York adopted the most liberal policy in the nation, permitting unrestricted abortion in the first six months of pregnancy.

All state regulations were struck down by the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973. Writing for the 7-2 majority, Associate Justice Harry



Pro-choice advocates protest Senate hearings on when human life begins.



Anti-abortion rally at the site of the Dred Scott Decision in St. Louis.

Blackmun found that the individual's right to privacy, inherent in the 14th Amendment, includes "the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from the unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child. That right necessarily includes the right of a woman to decide whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

The Court's decision was predicated on the assumption that a fetus is not a person, and therefore not entitled to Constitutional protection. It barred states

in this issue...

► Confused by the rhetoric of "pro-life" and "pro-choice?" Read our analysis of **The Abortion Issue....**

► Discover what the Family Center is doing in **WPNJFC Activities....**

► Enjoy a review of **American Couples: Money, Work, Sex....**

Photo credit: pages 1, 2, 3, 4, Religious News Service

from erecting barriers to first trimester abortions, which is when most such procedures take place, but permitted them to establish regulations to protect the health of the pregnant woman during the second and third trimesters. Once the fetus is viable outside the womb, the Court ruled — some time between the 26th and 28th week — states could regulate, and even ban, abortions except where the health of the woman was at stake. Since it is not hard for a woman to find a doctor to certify that carrying her pregnancy to term could constitute a threat to her mental health, the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade* virtually mandated abortion on demand.

The prospect that freedom to abort would end the tragedy of women forced to bear unwanted babies and eliminate the horrors of illegal back-alley abortions made many Americans very happy; but others were far less pleased. Some legal scholars were uncomfortable with the Court's application of the right to privacy in support of abortion; others were outraged by Justice Blackmun's refusal to consider a fetus a person; and still others objected to the Supreme Court's intrusion into an area that had traditionally been the domain of elected state legislators.

Opponents of abortion, most vocally represented by Catholics and Fundamentalist Protestants, but by no means limited to these groups, mobilized to limit the scope of *Roe v. Wade* and to search for ways to overturn that decision. Citing the fetus' inherent "right to life," the anti-abortion forces funneled money into Congressional campaigns to defeat "pro-choice" law-makers, and helped elect and reelect President

The William Petschek
National Jewish Family Center

Newsletter

E. Robert Goodkind Chair
Yehuda Rosenman Director
Lawrence Grossman Editor

This Newsletter is published quarterly by the American Jewish Committee, which established the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center in 1980 to serve as the coordinating body for its programming on the family. In addition to reporting on trends and issues in American family life and exploring their implications for the Jewish community, the Newsletter serves as a clearinghouse for information about innovative programs that strengthen Jewish families. Comments and inquiries should be addressed to the editor.

Ronald Reagan, who shares their views. Inevitably, but perhaps unfairly, the anti-abortion movement has become associated in the public mind with the entire package of "family issues" championed by the Moral Majority and born-again Christianity.

Congressional opponents of unrestricted abortion have devised a number of strategies to counteract *Roe v. Wade*. Their only success so far has been the Hyde Amendment, which bars the payment of Medicaid funds for elective abortions. Despite the objection that this cutoff discriminates



Demonstrators for abortion rights pass St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City.

against poor women, the Hyde Amendment became law in 1977, and was upheld 5-4 by the Supreme Court in 1980.

Other, more extreme anti-abortion proposals have thus far been resisted by the Congress, including a bill that would strip the Federal courts of all power to rule on abortion, and another, even more far-reaching, declaring the fetus a person, and therefore protected by the 14th Amendment. The latter, if upheld by the courts, would be equivalent to a national ban on abortion. In 1983, after extensive but inconclusive Senate hearings on when life begins, abortion opponents mobilized behind a Constitutional Amendment, which, in contrast to a simple bill, requires the support of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress and three-quarters of the states. The proposed amendment, sponsored by Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, would restore the pre-1973 situation by stating: "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution." To the surprise of most observers, the

Hatch Amendment failed to attract the support of even a bare majority in the Senate, let alone the two-thirds it needed.

Abortion foes also suffered another disappointment in 1983. In the decade following *Roe v. Wade* several states had issued regulations pertaining to abortion: some required minors to obtain parental consent; others called for waiting periods or mandatory counseling before abortions could take place, or required that abortions after the first trimester be done in hospitals rather than in out-patient clinics. When these restrictions came under Supreme Court review, "pro-life" forces hoped the judges would use the opportunity to modify or reverse *Roe v. Wade*. Instead, a 6-3 majority nullified the state laws under review, on the grounds that their real intent was to frustrate freedom of choice. The strong dissenting opinion of Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, however, strengthened the hope, among some, and the fear, among others, that a few more Reagan appointees to the Court might indeed lead to a reversal on this issue.

The Ongoing Debate

Twelve years after *Roe v. Wade*, there is no unambiguous public consensus on abortion. Although it is hard to word questions on abortion in an emotionally neutral way, most polls show about half the population in favor of unrestricted abortion, and a much larger percentage favoring it under particular circumstances. A survey by the National Opinion Research Center in 1982 indicated that nine out of 10 Americans would sanction abortion when the fetus has a serious defect, the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest, or the pregnant woman's health is at stake. But only five out of 10 would allow it for economic reasons or if the woman, single or married, simply did not want a child. A 1983 Gallup poll found 50 percent supporting freedom of choice, 43 percent opposed, and the rest undecided. In this poll, men favored abortion on demand by 56-37 percent while women opposed it by 48-46 percent.

Proponents of abortion have mustered a number of powerful arguments:

- Abortions have always taken place: legalization just makes them safer. In

1965, 20 percent of all deaths related to pregnancy and childbirth were due to back-alley abortions; most of the victims were undoubtedly those too poor to travel to countries with less restrictive laws or to pay the fees demanded by qualified doctors willing to perform illegal abortions. Since the termination of pregnancy has become legal and routine, less than 5 percent of such deaths are attributable to abortion. It is clear that recriminalization would doom many women to their deaths.

- Opposition to freedom of choice by certain religious groups constitutes a breach in the wall of separation between Church and State. Under the U.S. Constitution, no religious group may use the power of government to impose its values on society as a whole.

- While "right-to-life" advocates want to curtail the freedom of all women to opt for abortions, the "pro-choice" position infringes on no one's freedom, since no woman opposed to abortion for any reason will be forced to undergo one.

- Forcing couples to have children they do not want may very well condemn those children to physical abuse and emotional deprivation.

- Abortion rights afford a woman control over her own body. As long as she is compelled to bear children or must get someone else's permission to terminate her pregnancy, she remains dependent on and subordinate to the male-dominated society.

- Since it is now possible to diagnose many fetal abnormalities in the womb, the option of aborting a defective fetus encourages couples at risk for birth defects to try to produce normal offspring. Knowing they will be forced to bear and raise seriously abnormal offspring would undoubtedly discourage many couples from undertaking parenthood.

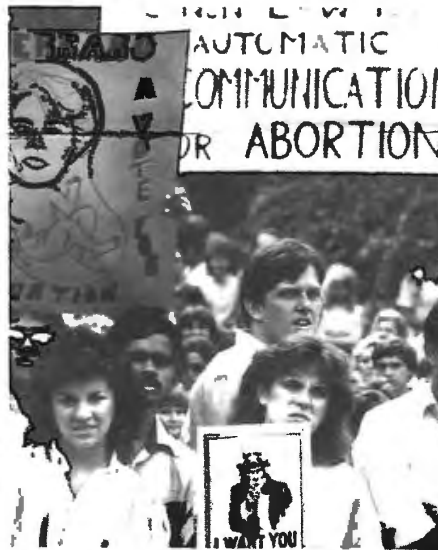
Abortion opponents also have a number of impressive arguments:

- Legalization has brought a precipitous rise in the number of abortions: in 1973, the first year of legal abortions, there were 744,600; in 1980 there were over 1.5 million. More than 15 million fetuses have been aborted since *Roe v.*

Wade. Over a quarter of all pregnancies now end in abortion, and in some cities — New York and Washington, D.C., for example — abortions outnumber live births.

- Abortion is being used as a form of birth control; in 60 percent of all abortions, no contraceptive has been used.

- There is no valid Church-State issue with respect to abortion, first, because opposition is not limited to certain religious groups, and second, because the First Amendment nowhere implies



Texans opposed to abortion protest a campaign speech by Geraldine Ferraro.

that religious values may not undergird public policy. No one raised the Church-State issue when clergymen invoked religious teachings on behalf of civil rights or against the Vietnam War.

- Some advocates of legalized abortion see this as a way to reduce the growth rate of poor and minority populations in this country.

- There are long waiting lists of couples eager to adopt children whose natural parents do not want them.

- Abortion may have long-term physical and emotional effects on the woman.

Electoral Politics

The 1984 Presidential elections focused unprecedented attention on the abortion issue, with Political Action Committees (PACs) active on both sides. Anti-abortion PACs raised

close to \$900,000; their pro-choice counterparts raised almost \$650,000. During the campaign, President Reagan highlighted his right-to-life stance by cutting off all foreign aid from population-control groups that use or advocate abortion; and, at his instructions, the U.S. delegation to an international conference on population problems succeeded in winning passage of a resolution against abortion.

Challenger Walter Mondale, for his part, warned that another Reagan term could produce a Supreme Court hostile to abortion rights, and asked: "Does every woman in America have to present herself before some judge picked by Jerry Falwell to clear her personal judgement?"

Geraldine Ferraro, Mr. Mondale's Catholic running-mate, precipitated an acrimonious controversy with New York's Archbishop John O'Connor when she declared that, though she was personally opposed to abortion, she did not feel she could impose her religious values on the nation as a whole. O'Connor responded that Catholicism considers abortion murder, and argued that Catholic voters could not support pro-choice candidates. Eighteen New England bishops called abortion "the critical issue of the moment," and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops rejected the view "that candidates satisfy the requirements of rational analysis in saying their personal views should not influence their policy decisions."

Governor Mario Cuomo of New York defended Mrs. Ferraro in a highly publicized speech at Notre Dame University, arguing that while he and other Catholics are bound by Church teaching, they are not obligated to pursue any specific way of implementing that teaching. The absence of a societal consensus against abortion, Governor Cuomo declared, dictates that the Church teach by example, not through legislative initiatives. This internal Catholic dispute generated so much bitterness that when Cuomo offered the \$1500 honorarium for his speech to a Catholic home for unwed mothers, the money was refused.

Election Day exit polls showed that, except for white, born-again Protestants, abortion was not a crucial factor in how people voted. Nevertheless, the

heated campaign rhetoric on the topic and the Church-State debate that it spawned has further polarized the pro-life and pro-choice camps. *New York Times* reporter John Herbers, perceiving this danger toward the end of the campaign, expressed regret that "there has been no strong organization or voice in the middle" that would uphold legal abortion but also "condemn on moral grounds the widespread use of abortion as another birth control device."

Jewish Views

Though most Americans are aware of Catholic and Protestant Fundamentalist opposition to, and the Liberal Protestant support for, abortion, there is little understanding of how Jews and Judaism approach the issue. To be sure, public opinion polls find Jews to be more "pro-choice" than either Catholics or Protestants; but a closer look reveals a complicated pattern of Jewish response.

Thus, two prominent rabbis presented conflicting testimony on the subject before a Senate subcommittee in 1974. Rabbi Balfour Brickner, speaking on behalf of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), stated categorically that "Jewish law agrees with the majority opinion" in *Roe v. Wade*. Since Judaism does not view the fetus as a person, and Jewish regard for the sanctity of life implies that couples should only produce "that number of children whom they feel they could feed and clothe and educate properly," argued Rabbi Brickner, abortion should be available on demand. "Judaism permits abortion," he concluded. "I defy anyone to refute that statement."

But Rabbi J. David Bleich, an Orthodox scholar, did refute that statement before the subcommittee. While granting that Jews do not view abortion as a capital offense, he insisted that the fetus has a "juridical personality" and that "the wanton taking of the life of a fetus is a criminal act." "To suggest," Bleich said, "that abortion is a Jewishly acceptable, nay laudable, form of population control and family planning is a travesty of Jewish teaching."

The controversy in the Jewish community is even more complex than the Brickner-Bleich debate. Most secular Jewish organizations explicitly support *Roe v. Wade*: the American Jewish



Cincinnati demonstrators oppose religious interference with freedom of choice.

Committee, for example, in a 1975 statement on health care, declared "that family planning, including abortion, should be available on a voluntary basis." Jewish Orthodoxy, on the other hand, has consistently opposed elective abortions. Even so, different elements among the Orthodox disagree on whether to urge this viewpoint on society as a whole, and there are even Orthodox feminists who agree with Orthodox author Blu Greenberg that the parameters of permissibility should be broadened to include considerations of family planning, the wife's career, and time for newlyweds "to develop a good relationship." Conservative Judaism opposes legal restrictions on abortions; but while its Women's League addresses the issue in terms of a woman's right to abortion on demand, the Rabbinical Assembly and the United Synagogue — both Conservative bodies — approve of abortion only when needed to protect the health of the woman. Even within the Reform community, which favors freedom of choice, some have acknowledged that a permissive approach cannot be derived from classical Judaism without distorting the traditional sources.

There is growing unease in some Jewish quarters about the adequacy of the pro-choice position taken by most Jewish organizations. Daniel Cohen, a board member of the American Jewish Committee's Philadelphia Chapter, and Emily Sunstein, Associate Treasurer of the AJC, expressed this discomfort in the *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent* (August 12, 1983). While applauding the Supreme Court's reassertion of *Roe v. Wade* and condemning Congressional proposals to restrict abortion, as well as the extremism of the Moral Majority, Cohen and Sunstein deplore

the rising abortion rate. "What kind of society is it," they ask, "that can lightly accept such irreverence for life?" Freedom to choose, they argue, "carries with it an obligation to choose responsibly and morally." And they note that the Jewish community, which suffers from a declining birthrate, has reason to discourage abortion.

To help clarify Jewish attitudes on abortion, the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center has recently published *Jewish Views on Abortion*, by Dr. David Feldman, Rabbi of the Teaneck Jewish Center, Chairman of the New York Federation Committee on Jewish Medical Ethics, and the author of *Marital Relations, Birth Control and Abortion in Jewish Law*, a standard work in the field. The monograph, available from the Family Center, along with a discussion guide, for \$1.50, summarizes the views expressed in classical Jewish sources and relates them to the contemporary debate.

Rabbi Feldman points out that neither support for abortion on demand nor the view that abortion is murder is rooted in the Jewish tradition. Unlike the Catholic Church, Judaism considers the question of when the soul enters the body to be irrelevant; unlike proponents of abortion on demand, the Jewish sources permit termination of pregnancy only to preserve the physical and mental health of the pregnant woman. Economic considerations, career concerns, or reluctance to bear a child are not, in Jewish tradition, grounds for abortion, Dr. Feldman maintains. Thus traditional Judaism would allow abortion in certain circumstances while maintaining an attitude of "solemn hesitation in the presence of the sanctity of life and a pro-natalist respect for life." ■

WPNJFC Activities

Jewish Grandparenting Conference

The Family Center is intensifying its involvement in issues related to grandparenting. In 1983 it cosponsored a major conference on the topic at Wingspread, Wisconsin. More recently, on November 7, 1984, the WPNJFC hosted an all-day Conference on Jewish Grandparenting and the Intergenerational Connection at the American Jewish Committee's national headquarters in New York. Attended by 80 rabbis, educators and social workers, the meeting has sparked considerable interest in expanding and improving Jewish intergenerational programming.



Rabbi Harlan Wechsler

The opening session examined the roles and relationships of grandparents and grandchildren from a variety of perspectives. Rabbi Harlan Wechsler of the Park Avenue Synagogue discussed

how the Jewish tradition views the aging process and the grandparenting role. Early Judaism, he explained, considered the grandparent as a kind of parent: instead of using a special term for grandparent, the classical sources say "father of the father," "mother of the mother," and so on. When the rabbis did begin to use a special word for this status, it became synonymous with "wise."

Since life, in Jewish eyes, is a blessing, Rabbi Wechsler pointed out that long life, especially if devoted to study and good deeds, is a great gift from God. But since the reality of aging all too often brings physical weakness and social isolation, the tradition requires the young to honor their elders and provide for their needs. The Talmud interprets these obligations not simply as paying for aid to the elderly, but as rendering services in person. Jews, then, should do their utmost to encourage grandparents and grandchildren to remain in close physical contact.

Psychiatrist Dr. Arthur Kornhaber, coauthor of *Grandparents/Grandchildren: The Vital Connection*, agreed with Wechsler's recommendation on the basis of clinical experience. Highly

critical of modern society's treatment of the aged, Kornhaber stressed that frequent interaction with grandparents gives grandchildren a non-judgemental emotional sanctuary, a sense of rootedness and continuity, a repository of information, and a source of values that can help immunize them from the excessive impact of the mass media. Grandparenting, he maintained, is a biological instinct, and those unable or unwilling to carry out the role remain emotionally unfulfilled. Kornhaber also detailed the problems some grandparents have in gaining access to grandchildren when divorce has fractured the family.

Both presentations were subjected to searching criticism by Abraham Monk, Professor of Gerontology at Columbia University, who urged the community not to idealize a vision of the extended family which never really existed for more than a small minority of Americans. He noted that 75 percent of grandparents see their grandchildren at least once a week, and that the middle generation often resents their intrusion and the advice they offer. Many grandparents, far from regretting lack of access to grandchildren, resent being taken for granted as babysitters, and believe they have earned the right to enjoy their own lives once the children are grown. Since most people today prefer to associate with their own age group, the young do not look on grandparents as repositories of wisdom or as role models, but, at most, as providers of affection, entertainers, or, when necessary, surrogate parents.

Providing the perspective of a grandparent and a grandchild were Charlotte Holstein, a member of the AJC's Board of Governors, and David Morris, a law student. Holstein spoke glowingly of her relationship to her grandchildren and described ways she has devised to keep up meaningful contact even with those who live far away. Morris, in contrast, expressed resentment at his grandparents' move to the sunbelt and told how difficult it was to establish real communication when he and they shared little in common.

The afternoon session, featuring a talk by Janet Sainer, New York City Commissioner for the Aging, focused on concrete suggestions for improving intergenerational programs in the Jew-

ish community. Three workshops, led by Celia Weissman of the Yeshiva University Gerontological Institute, Rose Dobrof of the Brookdale/Hunter College Center for the Aging, and Harry Berke of the National Council of Jewish Women's Center for Senior Citizens, generated a number of policy recommendations. Among the suggestions were intergenerational housing, surrogate grandparenting programs, a campaign for visual portrayals of interaction between young and old, and the publication of an annual roundup of successful intergenerational programs for replication by other communities.

The WPNJFC will soon publish the proceedings of the conference. Also, having agreed to serve as a clearing-house for information on the subject, it urges synagogues, schools and Jewish agencies to send descriptions of programs that have successfully bridged the generations.

Luncheon Forums

Continuing its popular luncheon forums on issues of concern to the Jewish family, AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Department sponsored two forums in the fall of 1984. The first featured a discussion on how Jewish values can strengthen families; at the second, an Orthodox and a Reform rabbi engaged in a dialogue on intermarriage.



Dr. Norman Linzer

On October 24, 1984, Dr. Norman Linzer, Professor of Sociology at the Wurzweiler School of Social Work, discussed "Jewish Values: Traditional Authority and Individual Autonomy."

Linzer argued that the tension between Jewish tradition and modernity has certain similarities to generational conflict within families. Just as religious tradition stands for continuity of values and behavior against the assertion of unfettered autonomy, so parents set guidelines that limit the freedom of their children. In both contexts, the source of authority provides order and stability, as well as patterns of predictable behavior. Thus, Jewish tradition and the family reinforce one another: obligation to a body of religious law inculcates the principle of limits to autonomy; the holidays bring the family together, creating opportunities for

interaction; the Sabbath meal, Passover seder, and other Jewish celebrations prescribe defined roles for each family member.

Even today, Dr. Linzer maintained, when emphasis on individual autonomy has eroded both parental authority and the force of tradition, adherence to the teachings and practices of Judaism can help mediate generational tensions and strengthen family life. He also pointed out that classical Judaism acknowledges and protects the valid expression of a child's autonomy. While Jewish law requires children to respect parents and provide for their needs, it also makes clear that parents may not interfere with a child's personal decisions about friends, career or marriage. A traditional Jewish family, then, can anchor its members in the stability of its cultural heritage while enabling them to adopt elements of modernity that are compatible with that heritage.

"Intermarriage: Outreach or Outrage?" was the topic of a dialogue on November 21 between Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald of the Lincoln Square Synagogue and Rabbi Bernard Zlotowitz, Director of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues.

Rabbi Buchwald, whose Orthodox congregation is noted for its outreach to the unaffiliated, expressed deep concern about the erosion of Jewish identity in the U.S. Intermarriage, he said, hardly evokes surprise anymore, since most Jews are so minimally Jewish that little distinguishes them from non-Jews. Those eager to counter intermarriage, he said, must do much more to improve and expand Jewish education. At the same time, Rabbi Buchwald surprised the audience by acknowledging that intermarriage has made serious inroads even among the Orthodox, who receive intensive Jewish training.

Rabbi Buchwald declared that the Orthodox Jewish community will never accept the Reform innovation that recognizes the offspring of a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother as a Jew, and warned that such changes could create irreparable rifts between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. He also urged non-Orthodox groups to concentrate on winning back unaffiliated Jews rather than reaching out to non-Jews.

Rabbi Zlotowitz' presentation took a very different approach. Stressing that no one in the Reform movement wishes to encourage intermarriage, he insisted that it was a fact of life, and that every effort must be made to win and hold these families for the Jewish community. Describing the process of Reform conversion, he also explained how Reform congregations deal with the role of non-converted spouses in the synagogue.

Responding to Rabbi Buchwald's objection to patrilineal descent, Rabbi Zlotowitz argued that classical Judaism was a missionary religion until Christian pressure forced Jews to abandon outreach to Gentiles. Furthermore, he said, a patrilineal criterion for Jewishness is supported by the Bible. Though later authorities rejected it, he argued, the Reform Movement has revived the original Biblical understanding in order to adjust to current realities. ■

Reviews

American Couples: Money, Work, Sex

By Philip Blumstein and Pepper Schwartz
(New York: William Morrow and Co., 1984)

Rising divorce rates, demographic changes in the workforce and the popularity of "alternative" family living arrangements are all symptoms that the American family is changing. There is, however, a good deal of controversy over the direction of that change.

Hoping to project the future shape of the family, Drs. Blumstein and Schwartz conducted an ambitious survey of American couples based on 12,000 questionnaires and 300 in-depth interviews. They acknowledged changing social reality by including cohabiting, gay and lesbian couples along with legally married husbands and wives.

Blumstein and Schwartz have divided their book into three parts. They open with an overview of the historical evolution of the American couple, stressing especially the twentieth-century decline of the double standard in sexual relations and the entrance of women into the workforce in large numbers during World War II. A presentation of the authors' findings follows, laced

with lively illustrative material from their interviews. The book concludes with 20 case histories reflecting the variety of couples studied.

American Couples provides a wealth of data. Many of its conclusions are significant; some are disturbing. Among the findings are:

- The ideal of marriage is alive and well. Most people still aspire to permanent relationships even if they are skeptical about being able to realize them.
- The one exception to this generalization is the gay community. Over two-thirds of homosexual men are involved in "open" relationships, and "if a gay man is monogamous, he is such a rare phenomenon he may have difficulty making himself believed."
- Cohabiting couples tend not to develop lifetime commitments without marriage. The couple is likely either to marry or to split up within ten years.
- Traditionalist attitudes prevail on some issues. Among married couples, 64 percent of husbands and 60 percent of wives oppose full-time employment for women with small children. Most respondents in all categories say that mothers should bear primary responsibility for child care. Even couples expressing egalitarian views show little actual inclination to share household work, and couples who try to share such duties are unhappy with the result. "The idea of shared responsibility turned out to be a myth."

Though the book offers advice to different kinds of couples on how to improve their relationships, this is done in a pluralistic way that avoids normative judgements. Thus nowhere do Blumstein and Schwartz treat marriage as intrinsically better than any other way of living, and they even suggest that a willingness to go outside of marriage for sexual gratification may restore balance and perspective to the relationship.

American Couples will stimulate productive discussion about changes in American family life. Though traditionalists will fault the absence of norms, many gays will object to the way they are portrayed and social scientists may question the sampling technique. Blumstein and Schwartz have produced a significant book. ■



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE • 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 265-2000

December 27, 1985

To: Max Green (The White House)
Fr: Hyman Bookbinder

This came to me just hours after we learned of the horrible events in Rome and Vienna. So you can imagine how especially outraged I am about this briefing by one Captain Volk.

I have asked my colleagues in New York not to go public at this time on this issue. I'd rather have you look into the matter and see that not only should the individual be reprimanded, but that some review of the whole operation should be made to determine the extent of the problem.

Please keep me advised.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum
David Harris
David Geller

HB:dw

Attention: Bookie

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 26, 1985 ~~REDACTED~~
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject TERRORISM

Last week a friend of mine from Detroit, who works for the U.S. Army Tank Automotive Command, in Warren, Michigan, attended a meeting on terrorism on Friday, ~~Nov. 29th~~ Dec 6. Several hundred employees heard from two officers of the Army Intelligence Section from Fort McLellan, Alabama, specialists in dealing with terrorism. One of the officers, Capt. Stefan Volk, made the following points:

1. Modern terrorism began when the IRGUN bombed the King David Hotel;
2. The Palestinians responsible for the Munich massacre were only trying to call the world's attention to their plight; and
3. Often, Americans are the targets because "we have the Israelis as our stooges, or, are we really their stooges -- like in the Pollard business --."

My friend spoke to him after the meeting and learned that the officer's parents were refugees from Hungary in 1956, who had spent time in West Germany prior to their arrival in the U.S. He is currently living in Long Island City, New York.

Do you think this should be followed up?

DG/BJB

cc: David Harris



Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000

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June 24, 1986

Mr. Max Green
Special Assistant to the President
Room 197
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

You will recall that when we spoke during the AJC's Annual Meeting I promised to get you additional information about the gift which the leadership of the Yemenite Jewish community here wishes to present to President Reagan.

I am pleased to enclose the letter from the Yemenite Jewish Federation on this matter.

While I know that the President is deluged with requests, I appreciate your promise to make a special effort in this case. As you may know, the roughly 2,000 Jews who remain in the Yemen Arab Republic are scattered in small communities and have been virtually cut off from their brethren abroad. Even normal postal and personal contact has not been possible with very rare exceptions, and letters to the President of Yemen from Yemeni Jewish leaders in the United States have gone unanswered.

It is our hope that a brief meeting with the President for this cultural presentation and the photo opportunity that will accompany it may have the salutary effect of impressing the Yemeni authorities with the fact that Yemeni Jews are not forgotten but have entrée even to the White House. This may help give impetus to quiet diplomatic efforts that will result in a renewal of contacts between Yemeni Jews and their brethren abroad.

Again, many thanks for your efforts in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

George E. Gruen, Ph.D.
Director
Israel & Middle East Affairs

GEG:mr

- Encs. -



The American Jewish
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BALTIMORE CHAPTER, 829 Munsey Building, 7 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202 (301) 539-4777

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August 26, 1986

Max Green
Office of Public Liaison
Room 196
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

On reflection of our telephone conversation, I must agree with your concern about time on October 1, when Baltimore Chapter is planning a visit to Washington. We would, of course, want to tour the White House in addition to having a briefing, and we will NOT be able to allow enough time to do both. So, again with regret, we will have to cancel plans for the White House this time around.

I appreciate your frank appraisal of time commitment required to "do" the complete exercise. Perhaps the next time....?

Warm regards,

Lois Rosenfield

LR/mew

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September 19, 1986

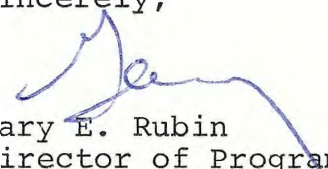
Schedule

Max Green
Associate Director of Public
Liaison
Old Executive Office Building Room 196
Washington, DC 20501

Dear Max:

This is to confirm your meeting here at AJC on
Tuesday, October 14 from noon to 2 PM in Room 200C.
We have invited several of our key staff and lay
leaders to discuss current issues and political trends
with you. I look forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely,


Gary E. Rubin
Director of Programs

GER/ha



The American Jewish
Committee

OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-2000

MJ. Rosenberg

Washington Representative

Jeremy Rabinovitz

Assistant to the Washington Representative

Lolly Bram

Legislative Aide

Dorothy Woodland

Executive Assistant

October 6, 1986

The President
Mr. Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We join with fellow citizens and supporters of democracy everywhere in wishing you Godspeed in your forthcoming meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev. We share your profound hope that these important deliberations will contribute to a safer and more peaceful world.

As Americans, we are proud of our Government's unyielding commitment to the cause of human rights as a fundamental cornerstone of our country's foreign policy. We are convinced that authentic coexistence with the USSR will not be realized until hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews and others are able to exercise their internationally-recognized right to leave. We sincerely trust that the Reykjavik talks will provide an opportunity to convey to Kremlin leaders the deep and abiding concern of the American people for the compelling plight of Soviet Jewry. We continue to urge that the USSR take immediatr steps to end the denial of exit visas to those seeking to leave, including the Prisoners of Conscience and the thousands of refusenik families.

Mr. President, we pray earnestly for the success of these vital talks.

Respectfully,

David Gordis
Executive Vice President

Marc Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations
Department

Theodore Ellenoff
President

Miles Jaffe, Chairman
International Relations
Commission

Richard Maass, Chairman
National Task Force on
Soviet Jewry

THE WASHINGTON REPORT

Of The American Jewish Committee

Monday, January 12, 1987

*American
Jewish
Committee*

Beyond The Crisis

The Nation's capital began the new year in much the same spirit as the old one ended. Uncertainty was in the air. Uncertainty about the President's health; about the future course of the Iran-contra crisis; about the state of White House-Congressional relations during the last two years of the Reagan term.

Many people here are already asking if the Iran scandal is going to result in a halt in Congressional activities in other areas. Nevertheless the budget has to be acted upon. The State of the Union message has to be delivered. Essential authorization and appropriation bills have to be passed. In addition, the 100th Congress is planning action on a number of issues of interest to the Jewish community in particular as well as to the community at large. These include foreign aid (specifically aid to Israel), a law to govern foreign military sales, campaign financing reform, and an overhaul of the welfare system.

The Iran-contra scandal itself is high on the new Congress' list of priorities. The special House committee, set up to investigate the affair, plans to start its work immediately. Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), chairman of the House committee (and also chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee's Middle East Subcommittee) says that the House investigation will not be limited to a probe of the arms deal and the contra diversion. He also wants to examine inadequacies in the current law governing arms sales, Congressional oversight of covert operations, and "what our policy toward the Middle East and the Gulf should be." A strongly pro-Israel legislator, Hamilton will be interested in discerning what the Israel connection to the scandal actually was—or wasn't.

That issue came to the fore once again when Attorney General Edwin Meese said

that Oliver North had told him that the idea to divert proceeds from the Iran arms sales to the contras came from an Israeli official. That official, David Kimche, director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, flatly denied the charge and called North "an unmitigated liar." Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that when Israeli officials bring the facts before U.S. government officials it "will be very easy for us to prove that these allegations are baseless."

Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.), who visited

Israel in December, says that he is impressed with the "forthrightness and candor" with which Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres, and Defense Minister Rabin denied involvement in the contra diversion scheme. He added that "in the absence of sworn testimony to the contrary" by Poindexter or North, he would accept Israel's denials as factual. Israeli officials say that they are absolutely confident that when all the facts are out that view will prevail.

The New Congress and PACs

One of the priority items on the agenda of the 100th Congress is expected to be election reform. Specifically, the Congress appears ready to examine the role political action committees play in campaigns.

Concern over the role of PACs has been growing ever since the early 1970's. The prime reason for concern is that the proliferation of PACs has clearly led to the skyrocketing cost of running for office. In 1974, the average House candidate spent \$52,000 on the general election; by 1986 that figure had risen to \$340,000. Winning a Senate seat cost—on the average—\$423,000 in 1974. Twelve years later it cost \$3 million.

Sen. David Boren (D-Okla.), the Senate's leading advocate of PAC regulation, points out that during the same period "in which the costs of campaigns have been going out of sight, the amount given by PACs has increased from \$12 million in 1974 to \$104 million in 1984."

Other PAC opponents allege that, in the words of Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), the PAC system is responsible for the election of "the best Congress that money can buy." After analyzing the votes of House members who received money from the chem-

ical, dairy, used car, and gun industries, Kerry concluded that Members of Congress, for the most part, vote to support the "special interests" that have supported their campaigns. "I won't say that PACs are buying these votes," he said. "But you would have to be foolish to believe that they aren't buying something."

The arguments of Boren and others helped convince the Senate that PAC reform was necessary. On Aug. 12, the Senate passed a Boren bill which would limit House candidates with no primary opposition to \$125,000 in PAC contributions. The limit on Senate candidates would range from \$200,000 for candidates running in the states with the smallest populations to \$750,000 for candidates from the largest states. Individual PACs would be limited to spending \$3,000 on a single House campaign instead of the current \$5,000. And the clout of individual non-PAC contributors would be raised as the limit on personal contributions would be lifted from \$1000 to \$1,500.

The Boren bill passed despite the argu-

(continued on page 26)

THE CAPITAL AND BEYOND

Packwood on M.E. Peace

Senator Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) says that the road to peace in the Middle East is through direct negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors. Packwood, the fifth ranking Republican in the Senate, believes that peace prospects for the region are undermined by U.S. arms sales to Arab states still at war with Israel. "Our policy should be to deny arms sales to countries that are not willing to recognize and negotiate with Israel for peace in the region--period," he says.

Packwood is wary of the view held by many in Washington that a Congress controlled by Democrats will automatically prevent arms sales to nations hostile to Israel. He argues that "while the make-up of Congress may have changed, the policy behind arms sales to Arab countries has not. Nor has Congress' ability to reshape or redirect our foreign policy." The recent Iran scandal, says Packwood, may make it even harder for pro-Israel lawmakers to fight arm sale proposals.

As the 100th Congress convenes—with the Iran affair dominating foreign policy discussion—Packwood is calling for renewed efforts to educate the American public on the "importance of strong relations with Israel with respect to U.S. policy in the Middle East" and on the "history of efforts to reach peace—who is trying to achieve peace in the region and who is not." "That may sound simple," says Packwood, "but I am continually astonished by the lack of understanding in this country of Israel and its needs, and of our own interests in the Middle East."

Poll on Busing

A new Harris survey demonstrates that the number of Americans opposed to busing schoolchildren for racial purposes has declined 25 percentage points in the last decade—from 78 percent in 1976 to 53 percent today. The poll also finds that the percentage of Americans supporting busing has risen from 14 to 41 percent.

According to the survey, one of the main reasons for the change is the surprisingly high degree of satisfaction among those whose children have been bused. Today, 71 percent of families whose children have been bused say that they are satisfied with the experience, a rise of 17 percent over the last five years. The biggest change has occurred among whites where the percentage expressing satisfaction has jumped 25 points to 48 percent. Satisfaction among Blacks, however, has dropped from 74 percent to 64 percent during the same period.

The American Jewish Committee has, in the past, favored busing to achieve school integration wherever it is feasible.

Fundamentalist Network's Blast

The fundamentalist Trinity Broadcasting Network (based in southern California) is calling the Iran-contra story "an attack on Christianity and conservatism." On Dec. 17, TBN newscaster Doug Clark told viewers that the three major networks are "launching an attack against the President" that was also "a satanic attack on America." According to the *Los Angeles Times*, he also said that "we're carrying freedom a little too far."

He revealed that some of Reagan's critics "support lesbians and homosexuals" and pointed out that some "75% of the world doesn't celebrate Christmas." He then enumerated the various groups that don't observe Christmas including "the *oy vey*s in Israel."

Waxman Bill for Homeless

Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), chairman of the Health Subcommittee of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, will introduce legislation for "crisis assistance" for the homeless this winter in the areas of medical care, shelter, and food.

The Waxman bill would authorize an emergency appropriation of federal funds for soup kitchens and shelters that serve a homeless population of approximately one million. Waxman points out that homeless people have no place to turn for medical care. "It is embarrassing that the federal government has no clear strategy for meeting the medical and mental health needs of the homeless," he said.

Brazilian Elections

There was good news for Israel in the latest state elections held in Brazil. Four blatantly anti-Israel candidates were defeated, including a former college president who had previously forged an agreement with Brazil's PLO representative to include courses at the college which highlighted the PLO's "struggle" against the Jewish state. The candidate, Elias Boaventura, was defeated easily in his bid for a seat on the state legislature of Sao Paulo. Three anti-Israel incumbents on the Chamber of Deputies in Brasilia also lost their seats. One of these candidates, Airtton Soares, was an official in the Parliamentary League, a quasi-legislative body which reportedly backs the PLO.

PAC's . . . continued

ments of opponents like Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.) who contended that PACs do more good than harm. According to Boschwitz, "PACs have increased the public's participation in politics." He said that he could not understand "why the idea of a group of people giving \$50 a year—and that is about average—to a PAC, which then turns around and gives it to a candidate is viewed as worse than a single contributor writing out a \$1,000 check to his favorite candidate." Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) joined Boschwitz in opposing the Boren bill but did so on the grounds that the bill would not deal with the problem posed by the influence of money on the political process. Cranston said that "real reform" would only come through public financing of Congressional campaigns.

These arguments—ranging from reforming PACS to abolishing them and substituting public financing—will all be heard again in the 100th Congress. Despite its Senate passage in August, the Boren bill failed to be enacted when the House leadership decided not to take action. However, both the Senate and House leadership are planning to take up the election reform issue in 1987. *Common Cause*, the so-called citizens' lobby and one of the most powerful public interest groups in Washington, has decided to make PAC reform its number one issue in the upcoming Congress. That, plus the new Congressional leadership's determination to deal with the issue, guarantee that Boren (and his allies) will have a real shot at reforming campaign finance. At the same time, Boschwitz and others will seek to ensure that the electoral cure is not worse than the illness (as some say that the 1974 law institutionalizing PACs was). This is one issue that isn't going away.

THE WASHINGTON REPORT

Editor: M. J. Rosenberg
Assistant Editor: Jeremy Rabinovitz
Correspondent: Lolly Bram

The *Washington Report* is published bi-weekly by the office of the American Jewish Committee's Washington Representative, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. The AJC protects Jewish interests the world over and advances human rights internationally, counteracts anti-Semitism and extremism and defends American pluralism, strengthens the creative vitality of the Jewish community in the U.S. and determines future needs and emerging issues for the American Jewish community.

The American Jewish Committee
President: Theodore Ellenoff
Executive Vice-President: David M. Gordis
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

The Southern Primary

It now appears that Virginia—one of the last holdouts—will join ten other southern states in holding its Presidential primary on March 8, 1988. Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas will all be voting on “Dixie Tuesday”—which already seems destined to steal much of the political thunder from both the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. Southern voters will be choosing over 1000 delegates to each convention.

The southern primary was devised by Democratic party officials who were disturbed by the south’s lack of clout in their party’s nominating process. Southern Democrats hoped that a southern “Super Tuesday” would prove most beneficial to moderate-to-conservative Democrats and would weaken liberal contenders.

That strategy may prove correct although some Democrats are concerned that many white southerners will choose to vote in the Republican primary rather than the Democratic one. (Most of the southern states allow voters to participate in either primary regardless of their party registration). If that happens, the southern Democratic primaries would be dominated by Blacks and liberals, a development that would give momentum to Jesse Jackson (if

he runs) or to the most liberal white candidate. That would be ironic given the fact that the southern primary was designed to prevent that very outcome.

It is difficult to imagine any scenario for “Dixie Tuesday” in which Jackson would not come out a winner. In 1984 he ran in six of the states which will participate in the March 8 balloting. His vote in the six averaged 23% of the total vote. Competing against six or seven white candidates across the south, a 23% showing (and Jackson could do better than that) could mean victory in some states, strong finishes in others, and a huge haul of delegates.

The other possible Democratic candidates likely to do well would be Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and former Virginia governor, Chuck Robb (son-in-law of the late Lyndon B. Johnson). Both men are from the south and both are active in the Democratic Leadership Council, the group that was established to move the party away from FDR-LBJ liberalism and toward the centrist Scoop Jackson approach.

On the Republican side, Vice President George Bush will benefit from his Texas residence. Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) will do well if he can succeed in convincing southerners that he—and not Bush—is the legitimate heir to Ronald Reagan. Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kansas) has no natural

base here but could score well if he continues to pick up steam nationally. Former Senator Howard Baker is from Tennessee and might win strong support here. The big question mark is Pat Robertson. His role in the Republican primaries in Dixie could be the mirror image of Jesse Jackson’s in the Democratic primaries. A fundamentalist minister should do well here—and could even win—but first he has to convince voters that he is a serious contender and not just a symbol of the growing power of the religious right.

In conclusion, then, the southern primary looms as the first major event of campaign ‘88. It could make or break a number of candidates. For American Jews, the southern primaries will give an early indication of the role that foreign policy in general (and U.S.-Israel relations, in particular) will play in the campaign. The likely presence of candidates Robertson and Jackson will highlight, respectively, the issues of church-state relations and the state of the traditional (but endangered) Black-Jewish alliance. Moreover, the campaign in the conservative south will demonstrate where both parties are moving in the broad area of social policy. For these—and other reasons—the Southern primary merits serious watching.

Romanian Chief Rabbi Visits

Romania’s Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen was in Washington in mid-December for meetings at the State Department and with congressional leaders. The State Department hosted a private lunch for Rosen after he met with Deputy Secretary John Whitehead. Among the invitees was former Representative Charles Vanik, the co-author of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Rosen is a familiar figure in Washington, where for many years he had been making the case for the continuation of “most favored nation” (MFN) trade status for Romania. As the Rabbi explains it, both Jewish emigration from Romania and human rights in that country are helped by MFN.

Under the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which was intended to aid emigration of Soviet Jews, Congress each year reviews Romania’s record on emigration and human rights in deciding whether to continue Romania’s MFN status. This year there was particularly strong opposition to continuation in both the House and the

Senate. In May, the American Jewish Committee and other Jewish organizations testified in favor of renewal in the House. AJC Vice President Alfred Moses’ testimony was relied upon by Subcommittee Chairman Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.) in a “Dear Colleague letter” that resulted in narrowly defeating a resolution by Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.) to end MFN for Romania. The destruction in mid-July of the only remaining Sephardic synagogue in Bucharest—after assurances by the Romanian government that it would be spared—led to the decision by the AJC and other Jewish organizations to withhold support for MFN in the Senate until reliable commitments were received that the remaining three synagogues in Bucharest would be preserved. Secretary of State George Schultz received such assurances from Romania’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Ioan Totu after separate meetings by Jewish representatives with Rozanne L. Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Af-

fairs, Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo.), Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Trade, and Romanian Ambassador Gavrilescu.

While continuing to support MFN for Romania, Rosen expressed concern about recent anti-semitic incidents in his country, such as the burning of a synagogue in a Romanian provincial town that he attributed to the government’s tolerance of previous anti-semitic manifestations. The Chief Rabbi mentioned a series of anti-semitic poems and other publications over the last few years. No apologist for the government, Rosen privately circulated to members of the Romanian parliament and leading academic groups his denunciation of a vicious, anti-semitic song that was carried on the front page of a Romanian literary magazine. The magazine itself had refused to publish Rosen’s reply. As Rosen sees it, the song could not have appeared without government approval.

Unfinished Agenda

John Cardinal O'Connor's nine day visit to Israel and Jordan focused extraordinary attention on Catholic-Jewish relations and on, what one observer called, "the unfinished agenda" that stands between the two communities. High on that agenda is growing Jewish impatience over the Vatican's refusal to establish full and formal diplomatic relations with Israel.

Cardinal O'Connor, whose visit was intended to improve Catholic-Jewish relations and to advance Middle East peace, found his efforts stymied by Rome's policy. O'Connor had planned to meet with Israeli leaders, as he had met with those of Jordan. However, he was informed by the Vatican that its policy opposing recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital dictated that he not meet with any Israeli officials in their offices, apparently because entering an Israeli government office in Israel's capital would imply acceptance of Israel's rights in the city.

Accordingly, O'Connor met with President Chaim Herzog in his official residence and with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres at his home. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir refused to meet with the Cardinal anywhere but in his office. It seems obvious that the differences in approach by the Israeli leaders were intended to demonstrate courtesy to a distinguished and friendly visitor while simultaneously stating that Israel will not accept slights to its sovereignty over Jerusalem. What one observer called a "Talmudic minuet" accomplished just that.

The Jerusalem issue was not the only troubling aspect of O'Connor's visit. Just before leaving Israel, the prelate spoke about the plight of the Palestinians and sug-

gested that they be granted the right of self-determination. According to O'Connor, the Palestinians "don't have a real identity, don't have a passport, and don't have a piece of land they can call their own. They can hardly be called a people who have the right of self-determination."

Surely the Cardinal knows that "self-determination" for the Palestinians is a code-word for a Palestinian state. At the very least that state would include the West Bank and Jerusalem. However, the PLO (which has made "self-determination" its call to battle) uses the term to refer to the replacement of the entire State of Israel with an "independent" Arab Palestine. That is why both Israel and the United States reject that formulation. Cardinal O'Connor, who is a supporter of Israel, runs the risk of being widely misinterpreted for invoking the phrase. Supporters of "self-determination" will cite the Cardinal's words. Friends of Israel will want to know what precisely he meant by self-determination and how his position on that question squares with his declared support for Israel.

O'Connor's visit, quite unintentionally on his part, also raised the issue of the Vatican's non-recognition of the Jewish state. Despite continuing pressure from a growing number of pro-Israel prelates, the Vatican does not formally recognize the State of Israel. This is disappointing because it suggests that the church has not come to terms with Jewish sovereignty over the Holy Land. It demonstrates lingering insensitivity to the historic events—primarily the Holocaust—which led to the reestablishment of the Jewish state. And it shows that the Arab rejectionists still have

the power to intimidate powerful nations and institutions. In a Jan. 6 editorial, the Boston Globe correctly observed that the Vatican's refusal to "recognize Israel puts it in the awkward company of the hard-line Arab states that refuse to acknowledge Israel's existence and the Soviet Union, which recognizes it but withdrew its ambassador years ago."

The Vatican's policy is also troubling because there is little evidence that the world's 800 million Roman Catholics share the Vatican's distaste for Israel. In the United States and in Western Europe, Israel has always received strong support from the Catholic population. This is also true in Latin America, where half the world's Catholics live. The Vatican's position is, in the Globe's words, "an anomaly." Nevertheless, it is a reality—and one that must be contended with.

Positive Catholic-Jewish relations have developed in a dramatic way since the Second Vatican Council ended in 1965. In recent years, Pope John Paul II visited the Auschwitz death camp, and last April delivered a landmark address in Rome's Grand Synagogue. And Cardinal O'Connor's visit was another step in the right direction. Hopefully, as a result of the gains of the past 21 years, Catholics and Jews together can overcome one of the last remaining obstacles on that unfinished agenda: full and formal diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel.

M.J. Rosenberg

M.J. Rosenberg is Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee and editor of *The Washington Report*.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

REPORT

Of The American Jewish Committee

Monday, February 16, 1987

The State of the Union

Two weeks after President Reagan's State of the Union address, talk about the "state of the union"—not only the speech, but the state of the union in all its dimensions—is as intense as ever. It encompasses the state of the presidency, the political process, executive-legislative relations, America's role in the world. Rarely in our history has there been such an aggregation of basic questions about America's governance and basic policies.

Two significant developments have made such discussion inevitable:

—For the first time since 1959, an American presidency is in its seventh year. No president since Dwight Eisenhower has completed two full terms. Could even as popular a president as Ronald Reagan escape the dangers of "lame-duckery"? The question became particularly relevant when the Democrats scored unexpectedly large gains in November, garnering control of both houses of Congress.

—Since November, the Iran-Contra imbroglio has, in the judgment of both supporters and adversaries of the President, added significantly to the perception of an Administration in disarray, a government without credibility, a nation with reduced confidence in its leadership. To what extent that perception correctly depicts the "state of the union" will be determined by developments over the next months. In its overwhelming rejection of Mr. Reagan's veto of the Clean Water Act, Congress may already have signalled its readiness to ignore the White House on other important issues. But more important tests lie ahead—Contra aid, SDI funding, the ABM and Salt II treaties and more. Nevertheless, Mr. Reagan has been underrated before and should not be written off now. His personal popularity remains very high.

During these early months of the 100th

Congress and the "fourth quarter" of the Reagan presidency, the Congress and the American people will be reacting not only to what the President did or did not say in his State-of-the-Union address, but also to what the Democratic leadership, the dozen or so leading Presidential candidates, and major segments in society will be advocating for the nation. Disarray or not, responsible observers are saying that partisanship and "lame duckery" must not interfere with the nation's business.

The Iran-Contra Controversy

In his address, the President limited himself to a brief comment acknowledging that

"serious mistakes were made." It is the clear intent of several investigatory bodies, legislative and executive, to explore not only the policies involved but the way those policies were adopted and implemented. At stake is the trust essential to democratic government—trust among key Administration officials, trust between the Congress and the Administration, trust between the government and the people, and trust and credibility between the U.S. and its allies.

On the substance of the controversy, American Jews are particularly concerned about the need to reaffirm a credible and
(continued on page 31)

Urging Values; Fanning Discord

President Reagan has a way with words. "Why is it," he asked, in his State of the Union Address, "that we can build a nation with our prayers but we can't use a school-room for voluntary prayer?" Neatly stated, but not very new—or very accurate, either. Children can and do pray in silence, and need no by-your-leave to do so. Whether it is "Dear God, don't let me fail this test" or "Dear God, help me to do what's right," such prayers have permeated the air of American classrooms for generations. Nor is there any reason why any youngster can't read a verse or two from the Bible during unscheduled parts of the school day—if that's what he or she wants to do. It's *organized* prayer or Bible-reading, at a time and in a manner prescribed by school authorities, that's beyond the pale. And the reasons for that ban are embedded deep in

our nation's core.

In the 200 years since the U.S. Constitution was drafted, attempts to breach the separation of church and state have been many and varied. But that wall between the two was crafted by this nation's founders with a sharp memory of how religious minorities fared in lands without such safeguards. So determined were they to ensure religious liberty for believers and non-believers alike, that the Constitution makes no mention of Jesus Christ, or God the Creator, or any other religious tie. Certainly this country has been profoundly influenced by Jewish and Christian moral and ethical values; but it is the separation of church and state the founders underscored that has made it possible for religion itself to thrive with a vitality that is the envy of
(continued on page 30)



As the 100th Congress gets down to business, dozens of bills are being fed into the legislative hopper—all certain to be weighed against pressures to balance the Federal budget. Many measures being debated this session are of special concern to the Jewish community:

Foreign Aid

Among the foreign-aid appropriations to be considered are \$1.8 billion in military assistance and \$1.2 billion in economic aid for Israel. This is the same level Congress approved last year. *The AJC strongly supports the aid requested for Israel and continued assistance to America's other allies.*

Immigration Reform

To complement the landmark Simpson-Rodino bill passed by the 99th Congress, oversight is needed to make sure the provisions legalizing undocumented aliens who came here before 1982 are carried out fairly. New efforts have also been made to provide safe haven for Nicaraguans and Salvadorans escaping war zones and other refugees fleeing persecution. Some may try to impose a cap on legal immigration and end preferences for brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. *The AJC supports a generous, family-based immigration system, backs safe haven for refugees, and opposes changes in current entry procedures.*

Soviet Jewry

Increased business and cultural exchanges between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have brought pressures for changes in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which ties trade concessions to a more open Soviet emigration policy. *The AJC believes that flexibility on trade is already built into the Jackson-Vanik formula, and any further trade relaxations should reflect real improvement in Soviet emigration.*

Restore Civil Rights

The Civil Rights Restoration Act—priority legislation for the civil-rights community—will again be introduced. The bill would bar Federal funds to institutions permitting discrimination by sex, disability, age or race in any of their programs or facilities—protections lifted by the 1984 Supreme Court ruling in *Grove City V. Bell*.

Fair Housing amendments are also expected to help families with children, and the disabled, who meet discrimination in the housing market. *The AJC supports both measures.*

Legislation to provide reparation payments for Japanese Americans forced into

internment camps during World War II will also be reintroduced. *The AJC supports the Report of the National Commission on Reparations endorsing such payments.*

English Proficiency

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus has called for a new English Proficiency Act, which would fund and encourage community-based efforts to increase English literacy among adults. On the other side, efforts are being made to establish English as the official language. *The AJC supports the English Proficiency Act and chapters have opposed English-only referenda as divisive and unnecessary in states where they were introduced.*

Anti-Terrorism Bill

The Terrorist Firearms Protection Act would make it a Federal crime to manufacture or import plastic guns, which cannot be detected by airport security equipment. *The AJC has endorsed this initiative as a positive step in combatting terrorism.*

Family and Medical Leave

The Family and Medical Leave Act addresses a common work-family conflict by allowing parents to take limited, unpaid leave after the birth or adoption of a child, or when there is a serious illness in the family. The bill has gained support since the January 21 Supreme Court ruling upholding the right of a California woman to return to her job after a pregnancy leave. *The AJC strongly supports this legislation.*

Welfare Reform

Recent studies of poverty by sources public and private, liberal and conservative all urge fundamental changes in the Federal welfare system. Numerous legislative proposals are in the making. *The AJC will support initiatives to provide adequate assistance for those in need, work programs to encourage economic independence, and increased involvement of community-based organizations in job training and job-creation programs.*

Hate Crimes

Legislation will be introduced imposing Federal penalties for willful damage to religious property or harm to worshippers. It will also call for Federal record-keeping on religious desecrations and other hate crimes. Another bill will seek to define and outlaw paramilitary organizations. *The AJC supports carefully drawn statutes that combat hate crimes without interfering with civil liberties.*

Urging Values . . . continued

peoples the world over.

In recent years some of the bitterest campaigns to breach that separation have centered on efforts to put prayers and Bible readings back in the public schools. The AJC and other groups, Christian and Jewish, concerned about religious freedom view such pressures as dangerous, and will continue to oppose them, both in the courts and in the public arena.

We share with the President a concern for the "crisis of values" affecting our nation, and the apparent decline in responsibility, civility and public order. But tempting though it is to look for simple answers, school prayer is *not* the solution.

What's needed are new, innovative ways to teach young people common-core values without violating the Constitution or weakening the pluralism that is America's hallmark. Honesty, fair play, compassion, respect for others, patriotism, loyalty, acceptance of difference, are lessons that must permeate the entire school day—and teachers, psychologists, philosophers and educators are searching for the best ways to get these lessons across. Schools around the country are experimenting with exciting models for teaching "values education," and these must be encouraged.

Such programs can revive the strong sense of unity and common purpose so vital to a strong democracy, enhance the overall quality of public education and enrich the lives of students and the general community. What's more, they can help ease tensions between Americans of different faiths instead of exacerbating them.



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The AJC protects the rights of Jews the world over; combats pluralism and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people; and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

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State of the Union . . . continued

effective anti-terrorist policy. They are also concerned about any weakening of the "special relationship" between the U.S. and Israel. Whatever mistakes the United States or Israel might have made, the underlying case for a close and trusting collaboration between the two remains as solid as ever. Congress has given every indication that it will reject any scapegoating of Israel and attempts to punish it for being a supportive ally.

The Budget Crisis

Mr. Reagan got a standing ovation, on both sides of the political aisle, when he declared the Federal deficit "outrageous." But his solution—the old, frequently-rejected suggestions for a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget and a line-item veto—disappointed many of his listeners.

How difficult it is for the President and the Congress to meet this great budget challenge was dramatically demonstrated on the very morning of the President's address, when the *Washington Post* published the results of a new poll asking Americans how they felt about spending levels for the Federal government.

—By 63% to 5%, respondents wanted more spending for Social Security.

—By 74% to 3%, they wanted more spending for Medicare.

—By 61% to 6%, they wanted more spending for Medicaid.

—By 57% to 8%, they wanted more spending for day care.

—By 46% to 14%, they wanted more spending for loans and grants to college students.

Seventy-four percent wanted higher or the same level of spending on the military; 85% on unemployment insurance, 72% on food stamps, 76% on space exploration, 75% on music and the arts. Yet if the Federal budget continues to call for the present or even higher levels of expenditures for the military, social security and Medicare, there is no realistic possibility of balancing the budget without additional revenues.

Recalling the political "mistake" Walter Mondale made in 1984 when he acknowledged the need for a tax increase, very few politicians, in either party, are willing to say to the American people: *You'll have to make a choice—less defense, less social programs, or more taxes.* Only a bi-partisan White House-Congressional agreement to throw such a challenge out to the American people could possibly succeed. But this cooperation seems unlikely in the present political climate, particularly when

Mr. Reagan feels so strongly that there must be no tax increase. And whatever happens on the overall budget, numerous battles will be waged over specific spending levels as the Congress tries to live within Gramm-Rudman limits.

The Political Process

The excesses of the 1986 election—high costs, negative campaigning, sectarianism and extremism—have prompted much interest in campaign reform. In recent days, two significant revelations have helped to convince many members of the Congress that early action is needed.

—The Federal Election Commission reported that 20 members of the House of Representatives—11 Republicans and 9 Democrats—ended their 1986 campaigns with surplus campaign funds above \$400,000 each—as high as \$942,000 for Congressman David Dreier (R-Cal.). In the Senate, 20 Senators—9 Republicans and 11 Democrats—have campaign chests ranging from \$400,000 to \$2,208,000. (Thirteen of these are not even up for re-election until 1990 or 1992!)

—Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas), Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who has \$646,000 on hand for his 1988 campaign, invited business lobbyists and PAC officials willing to contribute \$10,000 to his election campaign to join him in monthly breakfast sessions. Publicity forced Mr. Bentsen to withdraw the invitation and acknowledge he had made a "doozy" of a mistake; but he is not the first Senator to provide such "services." His predecessor, Bob Packwood (R-Oregon)—who has \$957,000 on hand for his 1992 campaign—had a similar breakfast program, at a pre-inflation rate of \$5,000 per guest.

None of this is illegal. That is why there is growing interest in changing the law. Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), who has his own "breakfast club," stressed his support for campaign reform when he assigned the number S.2 to a reform bill (S.1 was the Clean Water Act) which would, among other changes, place new restrictions on PAC contributions.

A growing number of observers believe that the extraordinary escalation of campaign expenditures over the last few elections has been corrupting. The candidates themselves have acknowledged publicly—and complained even more bitterly in private—that the need to involve themselves personally in fund-raising is demeaning, embarrassing and distasteful. Even when explicit quid-pro-quo are not involved, there are humiliating implications of pay-backs; and the time and energy consumed

in such fund-raising cuts the time and energy needed to work on critical issues.

Expensive campaigning also affects the quality and availability of candidates. While it would be wrong to generalize (some of the wealthiest members of the Congress have been among the best), it is clear that personal wealth and well-heeled supporters give a candidate a major leg-up. And it's not good for Senators, and not good for the country, for the Senate to be seen as a "millionaires' club."

Perhaps most disturbing of all is the impact of TV on the electoral process. The impact is self-accelerating: the huge cost of TV time makes it necessary to raise vast campaign war chests; and the availability of such funds encourages the extensive and sometimes exclusive use of TV to win over the voters. A candidate with unlimited resources can often overwhelm an opponent with less to spend.

While the proper use of television—debates, talk shows, in-depth analysis and the like—can help give the voters a sound basis for choice, political TV spots—often as short as ten seconds and rarely as long as a full minute—can be dangerously misleading. The product of image-makers and sloganeers, they rarely convey an accurate image of the candidate. The messages they project are often one-sided, simplistic distortions of serious issues and, in far too many cases, they take the place of thoughtful speeches or statements which can challenge and educate voters.

There is a strong mood in the Congress to tackle these issues; but whether it will last remains to be seen. The present system, for all its shortcomings, favors incumbents; and it is the incumbents who must agree to any changes.

The AJC, while remaining scrupulously nonpartisan, is deeply concerned about campaign spending, the quality of public debate and related issues. In preparation for the 1988 campaign, it is involved in numerous explorations regarding the electoral process and these will continue in the months ahead. A recent AJC-sponsored meeting in Washington brought together representatives of a dozen major national organizations, including Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, the U.S. Catholic Conference, People for the American Way, the Ripon Society, and the Joint Center for Political Studies, to discuss how current problems might be addressed. Similar AJC consultations are planned to contribute to the national debate. Few items on the Congressional Agenda are more important than the issue of how Americans are convinced to select and elect the men and women who govern them.

No Ducking Hard Choices

In a ritual familiar to every Washington watcher, the incumbent Republican President and the newly elected Democratic Congress have been testing one another's mettle. The goal of each is to secure the high ground of moral leadership for the legislative struggles ahead while reaping as much partisan political advantage as possible—a preview of the soon-upon-us battle for the Presidency. The result has been to stand in the way of the consensus that must emerge on major issues confronting the nation, and to highlight seemingly irreconcilable differences between the two branches jointly charged with running our government.

Some of this polarity is a matter of style. It's fashionable, these days, for otherwise-decent men and women to debate political, social, even religious views by impugning the motives, integrity and intelligence of all who disagree with them. And some of the polarity grows out of a preoccupation with image building: If an unyielding conviction that there is only one possible solution to every issue is believed to project strength and wisdom, it takes more courage than most politicians possess to concede that there may be more than one way to tackle a problem. But style and image—and the empty rhetoric that caters to them—cannot gloss over the hard choices our leaders will have to make in dealing with the perplexities that challenge us.

The President wants increased military spending, more foreign aid, and a balanced budget. He's declared a war on drugs and launched much-publicized campaigns to overhaul welfare, strengthen family life, meet catastrophic hospital costs, improve schools and increase our competitiveness

in world markets. Few would argue with these goals; the Democrats in Congress argue for many of the same goals. They, too, insist they want to cut the deficit. To keep the nation strong. To turn around the balance of payments. To reform the welfare system. To make American goods more competitive abroad. To assure educational excellence. At the same time, they're pressing for more health coverage, more job-training, and a variety of "quality of life" programs such as the Clean Water Act vetoed by the President and overridden by the Congress.

The one missing ingredient in the proclaimed goals of both the President and the Congress, is a realistic assessment of how to pay for what they propose. When the President says, "absolutely no tax increase; just trim the fat from social programs," he knows that's not a viable stance. And when the Democrats insist that cuts in military spending and increased taxes are the only way to go, they know that won't fly either. In poll after poll, the American people have been telling their leaders to level with them about why specific programs are needed, and what they will cost.

In our private lives, we make choices every day based on what we can afford and how much we're willing to pay for what we want. We know some wants are more important than others, and that we can't have it all. It's a safe bet that more Americans are upset at the thought that the President and the Congress *can't* get together to solve our serious problems and meet our serious needs than by the notion that each may have to give up some sacred cows to get the job done.

Of course it takes statesmanship for our

leaders to tell their constituencies some un-garnished truths. Shifting the burden onto other shoulders is not limited to Washington. Pollution cleanup yes; but no nuclear dumps in our state, please. Shelters for the homeless, halfway houses for the mentally ill, detoxification programs for drug addicts, prisons for the criminal and incorrigible? Certainly—but not in our neighborhood, please. And it would be nice if all this did not increase the budget, or bequeath unconscionable debts to our children. But it's just not possible—and we look to our leaders, together, to figure out what is.

We at the American Jewish Committee are deeply concerned with social-policy issues and we know they can't be decided by an unyielding commitment to either "big government" or "smaller government," because there are some jobs that only government can do. We've learned we can't solve tough jobs by throwing money at them; but there's little doubt that money must be available when it's needed. A country as inventive and productive as ours can be hard-nosed without being hard-hearted; we can retain our compassion and still insist that all the programs we put in motion give us demonstrable quality for our dollars.

The opposite of waste is not to scuttle or underfund well planned projects proposed by political opponents. Military preparedness, foreign aid, education, drug control, job training, services to the needy—these are tasks *the country* needs a handle on. And Congress and the President must work together, not at cross-purposes, to find it.

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THE WASHINGTON REPORT

Of The American Jewish Committee

Monday, March 16, 1987

Glasnost and the Jews

Each day brings new surprises under Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* campaign: the return of Sakharov to Moscow; the release of political prisoners; criticism of the KGB; shakeups in the economy; and most recently, the turnaround on missiles in Europe. These efforts should not be dismissed simply as cosmetic changes aimed at exploiting Western gullibility. But neither do they herald the outbreak of Western-style democracy.

Until now, the new Soviet thrust has only minimally affected the country's long-suffering Jews. During the first two years of Gorbachev's regime, emigration averaged fewer than 100 per month; and nearly half of all the Jewish prisoners of conscience were sentenced after his accession to power. But the release of a few Jewish prisoners and recurring reports that 11,000 long-term refusenik cases are under review have raised hopes for an upturn in emigration as well.

In January, Samuil Zivs, the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee spokesman, told talk-show host Phil Donahue that 500 exit visas had been issued to Soviet Jews that month. Gennady Gerasimov, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, used the same figure in talks with reporters in Moscow; and *U.S. News and World Report* (March 2) has predicted the departure of several thousand Soviet Jews in connection with an upcoming visit to Moscow by some Western Jewish leaders. Many believe that with the Geneva arms talks at a critical stage, Moscow cannot afford to renege on public statements by authoritative officials.

Normally, those granted exit visas in January would begin to come out by late February or early March; and indeed, the February emigration figure of 146 represents an increase over January's 98. Whether this is really a trend remains to be seen. Even if

emigration increases in the coming months, it is feared that the total allowed out will be sharply limited. The new, narrow definition of family reunification may reduce to only 30-40,000 those Jews considered eligible to leave for Israel or other countries. Nor is there any sign that a time limit will be set on refusals for security

grounds. Thus, tens of thousands of Soviet Jews who do not have spouses, siblings, parents or children abroad must wait at least a few more months to see how the new decree affects their chances of leaving.

A major reason for the emigration cuts in the 1980s, many believe, was Soviet disap-
(continued on page 34)

Eyes on Civil Rights

After a period of relative calm, a spate of racial incidents around the country has stimulated new discussion about the condition of civil rights in America. Do these outbreaks mean that there has been serious backsliding from the progress made in recent decades? Do we need a rethinking of the nation's civil-rights strategies?

Civil-rights leaders with impeccable credentials differ among themselves on some of these questions. But these disagreements have not diminished the widespread consensus on two issues: 1) There is still important civil-rights business to be taken care of -- including affirmative action to assure equal opportunity in housing, education and employment, and a ban on the use of Federal funds to support discrimination. 2) Economic and social progress -- vital aspects of the struggle of minority groups and women for full equality -- will require tackling such difficult issues as teenage pregnancy, disruptive family patterns, and educational priorities.

The AJC will continue to work closely with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in support of its two highest priorities this year -- the Civil Rights Restoration Act and the Fair Housing Amendment Act. (At a news conference introducing these bills last month, Sen. Lowell Weicker

(R-Conn.) called "freedom from tax-supported discrimination" the "cornerstone of the Constitution," and Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) stressed that "the American dream is the right and access to education and housing.") The Committee is also following closely the status of the bias-related-crimes bills introduced in both houses of Congress, as well as proposed legislation providing reparations for Japanese Americans interned during World War II.

Veteran civil-rights leader Bayard Rustin makes an eloquent case for a broader look at the economic and social underpinnings of inequality in the March 9 issue of *New Republic*, and points to the urgent need for welfare reform, job training and education initiatives. "To combat bigotry and injustice today," he argues, "requires the analysis of structural changes in the economy that have contributed to the growth of the poor underclass."

The incidents of recent months have pricked the conscience of most Americans -- including the President of the United States, who last month held his first meeting with Black leaders. But shame and outrage must be translated into action, day in and day out, both in local neighborhoods and in the halls of government.

CAPITAL SCORECARD

Genocide Treaty

After 37 years of debate, the Senate last year finally ratified the Genocide Convention adopted by the United Nations in 1948. But the U.S. will not actually become a party to the treaty until both Houses approve "implementing" legislation. On January 28, Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), chair of the House Judiciary Committee, introduced H.R. 807, amending the U.S. Criminal Code to make genocide a crime. *The AJC urges the Congress to complete this unfinished business without further delay.*

Refugees and Immigrants

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) wants refugees to be processed as immigrants whenever possible. Under its proposed rule, persons who have relatives in the U.S. or might otherwise qualify for immigrant visas within one year, would not be eligible for refugee status. *The AJC joined other groups in opposing this proposal, calling it "unnecessarily cumbersome" and declaring "we must assert the preeminence of refugee status, given the index of persecution that it alone represents."* The Committee also hailed the Supreme Court's March 9 decision (*INS v. Cardoza-Fonseca*) declaring that any alien would be eligible for asylum if "persecution is a reasonable possibility."

Civil Rights

On February 19, a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives introduced two bills highest on the agenda of national civil-rights groups. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), sponsor of both bills, kicked off the drive for S.557/H.R.1214, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, and S.558/H.R.1158, the Fair Housing Amendments Act. The Senate bills have the strong backing of Arlen Specter (R-Penn.), John Chafee (R-R.I.), and Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.), while the leading House sponsors include Don Edwards (D-Calif.) and Hamilton Fish (R-N.Y.).

The Civil Rights Restoration Act is a response to the 1984 Supreme Court ruling in *Grove City v. Bell*, and would bar an institution that receives Federal funds from discriminating on the basis of race, religion or gender in any of its facilities, instead of merely the one receiving aid.

The Fair Housing Amendments Act would amend Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, by strengthening the remedies available to victims of housing discrimination. Similar bills passed the House in 1977 and 1980 but failed to get through the Senate before the Congress adjourned.

Senate hearings for both bills are scheduled to begin this month. *The AJC enthusiastically supports passage of both civil-rights measures.*

Hate Crimes

H.R.1249, a bill imposing criminal penalties for damage to religious property or injury to persons exercising their religious beliefs, has been introduced by Rep. Dan Glickman (D-Kans.). Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-Conn.) has introduced a companion bill, H.R. 993, which would require the Justice Department to collect data on crimes motivated by ethnic, racial or religious prejudice. Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) is sponsoring a measure that incorporates both the reporting and criminal-penalties provisions. *The AJC submitted a memorandum of law for the drafters of H.R.1249, and has stated that "enactment of such legislation will carry to offenders, to victims and to society at large the important message that the nation as a whole is committed to battling the violent manifestations of anti-Semitism, racism and all other forms of bigotry."*

School Prayer

Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) reintroduced Senate Joint Resolution (SJRes.) 37, calling for a Constitutional amendment to allow "silent prayer or reflection" in the public schools. A similar bill (SJRes.2) failed in the 99th Congress, and it is unlikely that SJRes. 37 will be voted out by the Constitution Subcommittee, now chaired by Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.). However, attempts may be made to attach it as an amendment to other pending measures. *The AJC continues to oppose vigorously any efforts to weaken the Constitutional prohibition on prayer in the public schools.*

Arms Sales

In the wake of the Iran-Contra debacle, both the House and the Senate are determined to ensure greater Congressional oversight of major U.S. arms sales. A bill to amend the Arms Export Control Act to achieve this end has been introduced by Senators Joseph Biden (D-Del.) and Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), and Representatives Mel Levine (D-Calif.) and Chris Smith (R-N.J.). The measure would exclude from Congressional scrutiny members of NATO, New Zealand, Australia, and the two Camp David signatories, Egypt and Israel. The bill appeals to supporters of Israel because it would permit a simple majority in either House to block sales considered a threat to Israel's security.

Glasnost . . . continued

pointment at U.S. failure to grant the Kremlin most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status-- as a waiver permitted by the Jackson-Vanik amendment--despite the record number allowed out in 1979. Belatedly, many American Jews recognized that an opportunity had been lost. Now the American Jewish community is searching for responses that would acknowledge improvements and provide incentives for further advances without overreacting to short-lived or cosmetic steps --or moving forward too hastily under pressure from U.S. business and trade groups.

A wild card in any discussion of Soviet Jewry is the relationship between the Soviet Union and Israel. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off by the Kremlin after the Six-Day War -- a move that Soviet officials privately acknowledge was a mistake, because it relegated Moscow to the sidelines for 20 years while the U.S. enhanced its position as the key player in the Middle East. Jerusalem is eager to renew those ties, both in the hope that this would lead to increased Soviet Jewish emigration, and also because it might make possible direct flights of Soviet emigres to Israel and reduce the large number (80 percent in some months) who opt to go to other Western countries.

With so many forces at play, it is hard to quarrel with Samuel Goldwyn's wise counsel: "Never prophesy, especially about the future." But many experts on East-West relations feel that possibly --just possibly-- there are enough winds of change blowing for Soviet Jews to feel a beneficial breeze.

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Consensus on Welfare?

Though conventional wisdom insists that it is impossible to get major social legislation through Congress these days, miracles do happen now and again. Last year, tax reform surprised the pundits. This year, welfare reform seems to be gathering steam.

Fueling the debate is a growing concern about the number of families trapped in permanent dependency; a widespread dissatisfaction with the current system among liberals and conservatives alike; and an array of studies and recommendations by

groups as diverse as the National Governors' Association and the American Enterprise Institute, among others.

With promising experiments that provide jobs and support services for welfare recipients attracting national attention, the old rhetoric on welfare may be fading. Welfare advocates continue to press for higher benefit levels, coverage for intact families when both parents are jobless, and the elimination of such work disincentives as the ineligibility of the working poor for Medicaid. But as more and more young

mothers at all economic levels join the workforce, there is growing support for work programs that include transitional support services such as child care and health coverage, and may point the way to self-sufficiency.

Over the next weeks and months, representatives of business, labor, religious, minority and public-interest groups, as well as state and local governments, will be telling the Congress how they think welfare should be reformed. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), chair of the Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy, has launched hearings on key welfare issues. And the interest expressed by Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kans.), ranking minority member on the Subcommittee, suggests possible bipartisan agreement in many areas. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) has introduced legislation that would provide bonuses for states that successfully train long-term welfare recipients for work and find them jobs. And in the House, the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation, chaired by Harold Ford (D-Tenn.), is also gearing up for legislative action.

Some weeks back, the Reagan Administration announced that it would only support state demonstration programs, rather than comprehensive welfare changes. But more recently, the President endorsed the major outlines of the program of the National Governors' Association, whose most innovative feature is a binding mutual contract obligating the government to provide support services and the client to strive for self-reliance. However, President Reagan continues to reject a national minimum welfare standard, and the governors have apparently dropped that demand to win Administration backing for the rest of their program.

Nevertheless, many fights over the specifics of welfare reform still lie ahead. The AJC, whose Task Force on Social Policy devoted a full year to studying the problem, will testify before the Moynihan Subcommittee this month, underscoring that effective national policy must reaffirm both society's responsibility to provide for others and the individual's responsibility to provide for oneself. As a further contribution to the evolving debate, the Committee has sent its own policy statement and a new AJC publication, *The Poor Among Us: Jewish Tradition and Social Policy*, to members of Congress and others focusing on welfare reform.

The Constitution and the Courts

Supreme Court-watchers, eager to know if a new Chief Justice and new Associate Justice would presage a sharp shift in the Court's views on the Constitution, are reassured by recent decisions. Late in February, the Court ruled, 8-1, that a state cannot deny unemployment benefits to an employee dismissed for refusing to work on her Sabbath (the AJC had joined two Christian groups in an *amicus* brief supporting the employee). The same day, the Court upheld, 5-4, a lower-court order imposing a temporary quota to overcome a long history of discrimination against Blacks by the Alabama State Police. Alabama was ordered to promote, from a pool of qualified candidates, one Black state trooper for each white trooper chosen. (The quota remedy in this case may be understandable in light of Alabama's dismal history; but the AJC, which supports reasonable goals and timetables, remains opposed to quotas because they downgrade individual merit and limit true equality of opportunity.)

The AJC has filed *amicus* briefs in several other cases now before the High Court or likely to get there.

In *Rotary International v. Rotary Club of Duarte*, the Supreme Court will decide if private clubs for men in business may exclude women. When Rotary International revoked the charter of its Duarte (Calif.) affiliate for admitting women to membership, a California Appeals Court held that Rotary had violated the state's ban against sex discrimination by any "business establishment." The AJC and a number of women's groups have urged the Supreme Court to affirm that decision.

United States v. Hohri involves what the Government concedes was a great moral wrong -- the detention of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II. Because of the statute of limitations, the Government refuses to pay damages to the internees, and a U.S. District Court has dismissed most of their claims. But the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this ruling because the Government had concealed evidence undermining its claim that wartime security required the evacuation. The AJC has called on the Supreme Court to uphold the detainees' restitution rights.

Last year, a suit was brought (*American Jewish Congress v. City of Chicago*) challenging the display of a creche in Chicago's City Hall and a menorah on public property in front of that building. A U.S. district judge rejected the argument that such displays on government property are unconstitutional, attacked the principle of church-state separation and characterized America as a "Christian nation." The AJC has urged the Court of Appeals to reverse the lower-court ruling.

Finally, the AJC and others have called on the Court of Appeals to reverse a lower-court decision (*Mozert v. Hawkins County Public Schools*) holding that Christian fundamentalist parents may require a public-school board to excuse their children from participating in a core reading program that they feel offends their religious beliefs. The *amicus* brief argues that such an option would harm public education. (The "offensive" books include *The Wizard of Oz*, *Cinderella*, *The Three Bears*, *Hamlet*, and *The Diary of Anne Frank*.)

Friendship's Dilemmas

When you're small and vulnerable, a strong and friendly ally is devoutly to be wished. But such a relationship is not entirely without problems -- as Israel has recently had reason to note.

It was probably inevitable that attempts should be made to scapegoat Israel for the sorry Iran-Contra affair. The Tower Commission's report has now made it clear that Israel's role was largely limited to helping the U.S. achieve what its representatives were after; but the suggestion that some of Israel's interests may have been "in direct conflict" with our own can only encourage ongoing efforts to shift the blame.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has promised that his government would provide to American investigators "all the information" it has on the Iran arms deals; and, indeed, Congressional leaders have described Mr. Shamir as "extremely cooperative."

But Irangate is not the only issue currently clouding the special relationship between the two countries. The Federal grand jury's indictment of an Israel Air Force officer, on charges of conspiring with U.S. Navy intelligence analyst Jonathan Pollard to obtain top-secret military information for Israel, has focused new attention on the troubling Pollard affair. Israeli officials, who insist that the espionage effort was an unauthorized "rogue" operation, were hoping that, despite such attention, Pollard's sentencing earlier this month would finally close the book on this disturbing incident. But the furor continues, both here and in Israel. The Israeli "Inner Cabinet's" decision, on March 11, to ap-

point a special commission of inquiry on the subject is reassuring.

Israel's relations with South Africa are another sore point for many Americans, who seldom recognize that these ties involve not only trade, but also a deep concern for the safety of South Africa's close-to-120,000 Jews. Israel has repeatedly condemned apartheid and protested South Africa's human-rights violations; but it continues its economic and political ties and cooperates militarily with Pretoria.

As a number of AJC analyses have pointed out, it is patently unfair to single out Israel for criticism on this issue since her trade with South Africa constitutes less than one percent of the latter's global trade, and Arab oil producers and Black African countries are far more significant trading partners. Nevertheless, Israeli officials told AJC officers on a mission to Jerusalem in January that their government is reassessing the country's relations with South Africa -- a reassessment spurred in part by the Anti-Apartheid Act passed by Congress last year. Besides imposing U.S. sanctions against South Africa, the new law also requires the President to identify, by April 1, 1987, other nations engaged in arms sales to South Africa "with a view to terminating U.S. military assistance" to such countries. Israelis concerned with the human-rights dimension are also pressing for a new look at their country's South Africa connection.

Israel's arms trade has its roots in the worldwide arms embargo against her and the massive flow of Soviet and Western weapons to her Arab foes. Unable to buy

weapons for her own defense, she was forced to develop a domestic arms industry, which can only be sustained economically by selling abroad. With the Saudis and other Arab countries currently spending billions annually on military hardware, demands that Israel curtail its arms production have a certain hollow ring.

Proposals for reviving the Middle East peace negotiations create another complex situation. Prime Minister Shamir insists the only fruitful approach is for the U.S. to bring Egypt, Israel, Jordan and West Bank Palestinians together for face-to-face negotiations, while Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz are resigned to convening an international peace conference, including the Soviets, as the framework for direct negotiations, if this would bring Jordan to the peace table. Peres's agreement with Egypt's President Mubarak, which climaxed his successful Egyptian visit last month, is also predicated on this approach. Peres and Shultz seem to agree that Soviet participation would be conditioned on diplomatic relations with Israel and increased Jewish emigration.

The AJC has long advocated direct talks, but the Israelis will have to weigh for themselves the best way to get them started. Policy differences between the U.S. and Israel on particular issues must be expected from time to time. But they should not be allowed to rupture the vital ties between two allies who respect and need one another.

Theodore Ellenoff
President



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THE WASHINGTON REPORT

Of The American Jewish Committee

Monday, April 13, 1987

Immigration: Issues Remain

When Congress passed the Simpson-Rodino Immigration Bill last year, many people thought the immigration issue had been laid to rest. They were wrong; the 100th Congress is likely to be grappling with a number of unresolved problems.

The most immediate challenge centers on the new immigration law. Disagreements have already surfaced over regulations for legalizing the status of undocumented aliens who entered the U.S. before 1982. By law, this process must start next month, and a broad coalition of private groups, including the American Jewish Committee, the U.S. Catholic Conference, Church World Service, the National Council of La Raza, and others, have been working to assure that the intent of the law—to legalize as many undocumented aliens eligible for this program as possible—is carried out.

Flexibility is needed, for example, on the documents aliens can use to prove residence and gainful employment in this country, since many avoided acquiring official papers during the years they lived here illegally. It is wrong, groups concerned with the issue say, to apply too rigidly the law's provisions barring anyone likely to become a public charge from attaining legal status. It is also necessary to make sure that individuals who returned to their native countries for a short period since the bill's enactment are not disqualified for this brief absence. While these are largely technical matters, they can create major barriers to legalization, and compromise what Congress achieved by legislation.

The new law also left other immigration business unfinished. It provided no haven for Salvadorans and Nicaraguans who flee civil war in their homelands. And it leaves in place ideological exclusions adopted during the McCarthy era. Strong efforts

will be made this session to overcome these omissions.

Part of Mikhail Gorbachev's program for easing restrictions in the Soviet Union may entail a significant rise in Jewish emigration. While it is too early to speak of a major change, the number of exit visas approved has risen encouragingly. Where they will go

is a matter of some dispute. A majority prefers to come to the U.S., while some decide to go to Israel. The U.S. currently accepts Soviet emigres as refugees and co-operates with Jewish communal agencies in their resettlement. But Israel insists that since the emigres exit the U.S.S.R. with
(continued on next page)

Homeless in America

Time was, when Americans thought of homelessness, they pictured teeming slums in the Third World. But today the phenomenon haunts virtually every town and city in the U.S. Since 1980, the number of homeless has increased by 25 percent a year. Families with children make up nearly one-third of the total and are now the fastest growing homeless group.

The reasons behind this shocking growth are varied. The deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill in the late 1970s, when the Supreme Court barred involuntary hospitalization of non-criminal patients, dramatically increased the number of street people. States and communities had been expected to provide half-way houses and clinics for released patients, but most never followed through. Still, only 29 percent of the homeless are mentally ill.

Persistently high unemployment contributes heavily to the problem. Soup kitchens and shelters around the country report that the median age of those seeking help is dropping—a reflection of the very high unemployment rate among young people, particularly minority youth. Another important factor is the decrease in available low-income housing. Twenty percent of the homeless have jobs but can't find affordable living space.

The situation has far surpassed the resources of state and local governments and private charities. The U.S. Conference of Mayors reported last December that although the average city increased its shelter capacity by 15 percent in 1986, most were routinely turning people away for lack of beds.

Last month, Congress approved \$50 million for the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which administers existing food and shelter programs; and on March 5, the House passed the Urgent Relief for the Homeless Act (HR 558), which provides additional funding for FEMA and new money for emergency shelters, transitional and rent-subsidized housing, and other aid. Advocates are now pushing the Senate to adopt a similar measure.

The AJC has joined with other organizations to back the National Coalition for the Homeless drive for Senate action and individual AJC chapters have been involved in efforts to ease the crisis in their own communities. But though churches, synagogues and other civic groups have responded to this painful human problem with unmatched dedication and energy, their best efforts have failed to stem the tide. The ball is clearly in Washington's court.

CAPITAL SCORECARD

Foreign Aid

In an effort to enhance its political leadership abroad, the Reagan Administration had sought \$15.2 billion in foreign aid annually for fiscal years 1988 and 1989, an increase of \$1.6 billion over 1987. But the growing budget deficit and the Gramm-Rudman spending limits are expected to force the freezing of foreign aid at current levels. The two-year aid bill will be considered this month by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The largest slices are earmarked for Israel (\$3 billion) and Egypt (\$2.3 billion), with another \$2.1 billion allocated for NATO allies Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey; and \$299 million for the Philippines. Funding for Africa was cut 37 percent since 1985, and now totals less than ten percent of the total package. *The AJC supports the proposed foreign-aid bill, including \$3 billion for Israel, as a vital instrument of foreign policy, but calls for increased aid for Sub-Saharan Africa to meet urgent needs.*

Report on South Africa

As provided by Section 508 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, the Reagan Administration, on April 2, issued a report on the sale of arms to South Africa in circumvention of a 1977 UN embargo. Conceding that it presented a "partial, incomplete and somewhat random picture," the Report identified these arms as coming from seven nations, among them France, Italy and Israel. *The AJC, which supported passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, hopes that the April 2 Report will encourage all the countries involved to reduce, and ultimately terminate, military trade with South Africa. The Committee welcomes Israel's decision to phase out military ties with South Africa and curtail its relations with that country.*

Funding for the UN

The United Nations was thrown into financial crisis last year when the U.S. slashed its 1986 assessed contribution by more than half. Although the U.S. is obligated, under the budgeting procedures outlined in the UN Charter, to pay one quarter of the UN budget, the Reagan Administration withheld half its payments in a drive to improve the voting process and promote belt-tightening by the world body. In December 1986, the 41st General Assembly adopted sweeping reforms, and the State Department is now asking Congress to restore full U.S. payments for fiscal 1988. Assistant Secretary of State Alan Keyes recently told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the new appropriations would be "buying an institutional struc-

tural change" at the UN and "a consolidation of effective leverage for the U.S." *The AJC has pressed for changes in UN voting procedures, and limits on the propaganda exploitation of debates, and has urged that U.S. financial support be made conditional on such changes.*

Campaign Reform

The Senatorial Election Campaign Act (S.2), sponsored by Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.), Senator David Boren (D-Okla.) and 43 cosponsors, addresses the escalating costs of political campaigns and the proliferation of negative campaign practices. The bill would establish a system of partial public financing, similar to that used for Presidential elections; place a cap on political action committee (PAC) contributions, and on how much personal wealth a candidate can put into his or her campaign; and limit the total amount candidates can spend in an election. Similar legislation is expected to be offered in the House. *The AJC recently convened a meeting of major national organizations to consider joint efforts to increase voter participation, encourage wider discussion of important issues and secure fair campaign practices.*

Family and Medical Leave

Introduced two years ago, the Family and Medical Leave Act (H.R. 925/S. 249) is now on a fast track. Both House and Senate hearings were held last month and additional testimony is scheduled in both Houses in the coming weeks. The bill would allow up to 18 weeks of unpaid, job-guaranteed leave for a parent with a new child, or in case of serious illness in the family. *The AJC strongly supports passage of this measure.*

Proposed Lobbying Regulations

The Internal Revenue Service has proposed regulations that would limit the communication of tax-exempt agencies with members of Congress and public officials, and restrict their research and comment on public-policy issues. The definition of grass-roots lobbying would be expanded to include activities "in connection with" or "pertaining to" legislation. Many of the non-profit organizations now qualifying for exemptions under the 1976 Tax Reform Act could lose their tax-exempt status under these proposals. *The AJC and many other educational, research and charity groups have called on IRS Commissioner Lawrence Gibbs to withdraw the proposed regulations and to appoint an Advisory Committee, with voluntary-sector representation, to draft fairer, more reasonable requirements.*

Immigration . . . continued

Israeli visas, that is where they should go.

It is reported that an agreement has been worked out that would send exiting Soviet Jews with Israeli visas to Israel via Bucharest. The AJC and other Jewish agencies continue to support the current U.S. refugee policy, because they feel that Soviet Jews should be free to settle in any country that will accept them.

The critical issue is to make sure that all Soviet who want to leave that country are permitted to do so, and much depends on the readiness of the U.S. Government, which has vigorously supported the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate, to continue monitoring the situation.

Another refugee crisis of major proportions exists in Southeast Asia, for people escaping from Cambodia and Laos. Thailand has been admitting these groups for several years, on the assumption that they would be resettled in the West. But Western welcome has declined over the years. Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) has introduced a bill guaranteeing continued entry of such refugees into the U.S., in order to make it clear to the Thais that their hospitality to a large portion of this group is only temporary. Whether through this or another mechanism, the U.S. role remains crucial in maintaining asylum in this region.

THE WASHINGTON REPORT

Special Representative:
Hyman Bookbinder
Editorial Assistant: Lolly Bram

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The AJC protects the rights of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and promotes human rights for all people; defends pluralism and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people; and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

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Israel gets the message at last on the Pollard affair

BY THEODORE ELLENOFF

WILL our children be able to talk to one another?" is often a wistful agenda item at conferences involving American Jews and Israeli Jews. In recent months, however, the Pollard affair has raised questions about the ability of American and Israeli Jews to communicate effectively even now—in this generation.

From the standpoint of American Jewish leaders in particular, it was as though we simply weren't getting through. For weeks, we sought to persuade Jerusalem that the use of an American citizen as a spy represented an unacceptable breach of faith—a violation of the trust that is essential to the alliance between the U.S. and Israel.

We urged the Israelis to launch a probe into how this unfortunate episode came to pass—and then to make public their findings.

But the government of Israel simply refused to acknowledge any role in running Pollard as a spy, insisting that the whole business was a "rogue" operation and doubtless persuading itself that the matter would soon blow over.

American Jews protested

the seeming cynicism demonstrated by the Israelis in giving prestigious posts to the very individuals reported to have been responsible for this "rogue" undertaking. We tried to draw a parallel by asking how it would look if—right now—Col. North and Adm. Poindexter were suddenly granted important promotions.

The whole dialogue began to take an ugly turn—some Israelis accused American Jewish leaders of being frightened by possible dual loyalty charges, rather than simply outraged about Israel practicing espionage in the U.S.

Fortunately, the Israelis finally got the message—though only, it appears, after Pollard was sentenced. Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban initiated an inquiry by the Intelligence Subcommittee of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. The cabinet agreed a couple of days later to set up an investigatory commission of its own.

The lessons learned from these inquiries should result in recommendations for

better oversight procedures to prevent any recurrence of such regrettable errors. The government of Israel has promised to cooperate fully with the two investigations and underscored the hope that this would do much to restore mutual confidence to the Israeli-U.S. relationship.

Interestingly, only a couple of weeks earlier, during Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's visit to the U.S., President Reagan officially designated Israel a "major non-NATO ally" of the U.S.

This declaration came despite revelations concerning Israel's role in the Iran affair, despite the impending sentence of Pollard and despite the State Dept.'s report-in-progress on Israeli arms sales to South Africa.

In this seemingly ominous climate, wasn't it virtually incongruous to upgrade formally U.S.-Israel relations?

No. Notwithstanding the justifiable anger over the Pollard affair, the Reagan administration, Congress and the American people recognize the vitality and necessity of Israel's special relationship with the U.S.

Israel is the Middle East's only democracy and she remains America's most reliable ally in that region. American arms have been prepositioned in Israel for use by the U.S. military in the event of any threat to the Arab oil-producing states in the Persian Gulf.

Thus, Israel plays a key part in defending America's energy supply and in deterring potential Soviet expansionism in the Middle East.

Maj. Gen. George Keagan, former chief of U.S. Air Force intelligence, has noted that "for every dollar of support this country has given Israel, we have gotten a thousand dollars of benefit in return." According to Peter McPherson, head of the State Dept.'s Agency for International Development, every billion dollars of U.S. assistance to Israel creates 60,000 American jobs.

Thus, the American-Israeli alliance is a friendship grounded not just in common values, but also in shared interests. Despite the unfortunate, occasional Jonathan Pollards, it will endure and prosper.

Attorney Theodore Ellenoff is president of the American Jewish Committee.

NEW YORK POST
March 14, 1987

Israel Can't Ignore Bond Between Jews, America

By DAVID M. GORDIS

Anxieties linger and questions persist in the wake of the Pollard spy case. How could Israel have done it? How extensive is the damage to the American-Israeli alliance? These are disturbing questions for Israel's friends, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. But underlying these are even more probing questions. And some of them raise themes that have been heard before. They ask about American Jews and their commitments. They summon up whispers of international conspiracies, and raise specters of divided loyalty on the part of American Jews. These questions are being asked not only by traditional enemies, seeking ammunition for their hostility, but also by friends, and especially by those puzzled about the singular relationship between American Jews and Israel. They deserve a serious and honest answer.

The love affair between American Jews and Israel has been so well documented that it is almost a cliché. Israel is a spiritual center for all Jews everywhere—the fulfillment of the two-millennia-old dream of a restored Jewish homeland. Illogical though it may seem, Jews who escaped the Holocaust, and particularly American Jews, still harbor guilt over their failure to prevent that disaster. They perceive Israel as the principal guarantor that the Jewish people will survive.

Even in America, Jews, conditioned by a 2,000-year history of victimization, feel vulnerable. This may be unjustified by objective measures: All indicators show a steeply declining curve of anti-Semitic incidents and attitudes. Yet in poll after poll, despite their extraordinary success and achievement, Jews continue to express anxiety over current and anticipated acts or expressions of hatred against them. Even Jews who have no intention of living in Israel, who in fact have never set foot in Israel, perceive Israel as an insurance policy.

Without doubt the engagement of American Jews with the Jewish state is powerful, complex and profound. But for all our pride in and passion for Israel, we are by no means blinded by our ardor. Nor is our loyalty to our own beloved country compromised. Our most enduring love affair is with this free land of America, and it antedates the very founding of the Republic. (With great pride we teach our children about the Jews who fought bitterly with Peter Stuyvesant for the right to stand guard duty along with their fellow burghers in old New Amsterdam.)

Almost always we see our two loves, America and Israel, in har-

mony with one another; it is inconceivable to us that the United States and Israel could be incompatible in any substantive way. American Jews do not, and cannot, countenance any behavior that is incompatible with America's safety and security. That's why, despite some understandable expressions of sympathy for the personal tragedy involved, there has been no Jewish rationalization of the Pollards' behavior, and there can be none.

All of us have a variety of loyalties. I am loyal to my daughters and to my parents, but these loyalties need not be in conflict. American Jews are deeply attached to Israel, but that loyalty in no way diminishes their allegiance, love and devotion to their country. The romance of American Jews with America is perpetually vital, fresh and alive. And it is unshakable.

It is important that our fellow Americans understand this about American Jews; it is vital that Israel learn it. For us, Jewish life in America is a legitimate expression of Judaism; it is creative, vital and enduring. Most Israelis find it difficult to understand this, and certainly don't agree with it. Having prayed for re-establishment of Jewish national existence since the destruction of the second Jewish commonwealth 2,000 years ago, Israelis are disappointed that all American Jews have not elected to join them in the building of the Jewish state. They attribute American Jewry's failure to respond this way to a character flaw—an unwillingness to put up with hardship, to sacrifice the comforts that America offers. American Jews, on the other hand, see America not only as a blessing for the world but also as a miracle of Jewish history.

There is nothing wrong with these differences in perception. But it is quite another matter when perceptions translate into behavior that undermines the loyalty of an American Jewish couple to their own country, challenges American Jewish patriotism, and outrages and embarrasses American Jews.

The Pollard affair was possible because Israel either failed to understand or chose to ignore the bond between American Jews and America. It is essential that Israel now learn that lesson.

What occurred was unconscionable and unacceptable. The Israelis have vowed that it will not happen again. To that, all American Jews say "Amen."

David M. Gordis is the executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
March 12, 1987

Pollard, In Perspective . . .

There's no denying the historic importance of the Pollard case—both in its impact on U.S.-Israel relations and on American Jewish-Israeli relations. The Pollard operation was inexcusable, and as Americans and as Jews, we felt the need to express our outrage. Our reactions were fully reported in this country and in Israel—where they provoked angry retorts from some Israelis, including an intellectual temper tantrum in the *Jerusalem Post* by the usually restrained, moderate, sophisticated Shlomo Avineri.

The situation is serious, but it does not spell disaster for U.S.-Israel relations or for American Jewish-Israeli relations. Anti-Semites and enemies of Israel would do well to resist any temptation to smack their lips in satisfaction.

On behalf of the AJC, I joined other American Jewish representatives last month for six days of intensive talks with Israeli officials, Knesset members and others in and out of government. The Pollard affair was the major focus of our talks; but other issues affecting U.S.-Israel relations were discussed with equal frankness: the Iran-Contra mess; Israel's relationship with South Africa; Israel's request for changes in U.S. immigration policy to reduce the number of Soviet Jews who come to America instead of going to Israel.

My week in Israel restored for me some perspective in dealing with these crises, and I returned feeling substantially more hopeful. Though the impact of the Pollard case and other issues should not be minimized, the basic democratic process for resolving these issues remains strong in Israel—and, in fact, may even have been

strengthened in the aftermath of the Pollard affair.

The escalating demands of the free, aggressive Israeli press, Knesset members and other leading figures for a full investigation of the Pollard case ultimately prevailed. Normally, a Knesset committee would feel bound to operate within the policies laid down by the government. But the insistence of Abba Eban, Chairman of the Knesset's Security and Foreign Affairs Committee, that the Knesset had the right and obligation to investigate the whole background of the Pollard affair, could serve as a precedent in other situations.

If, as suspected, Israeli officials had hoped to "stonewall" on the Pollard story, they can no longer do so. As was demonstrated so dramatically and effectively after the Sabra/Shatila massacre in 1982, Israeli democracy could and did compel corrective action. The power of public opinion was also impressively demonstrated when Col. Aviem Sella relinquished the coveted command to which he had just been appointed.

The anger and anguish of American Jews was extensively reported in the Israeli press; and even before we met formally with Israeli officials, they had gotten the message: "The Pollard case and your handling of it is a serious threat to the special relationship between the U.S. and Israel, and you don't have much time to clean up your act." There was, to be sure, some resentment over this stance, but it was not reflected in our top-level discussions. Indeed, every Israeli official we met expressed appreciation for our frankness. To whatever extent the American delegation contributed to a more forthcoming Israeli

posture on the Pollard affair, it has served the interests of both Israeli and American Jewry. The risks of open dissent had been weighed against the risks of silence, and honest dialogue had paid off. Communication between American Jews and Israel will probably never be the same.

I returned from Israel convinced that Israel's relationship with the U.S. and with American Jews can and must survive the Pollard challenge. In a personal meeting with U.S. Ambassador Pickering in Israel, he assured me that the bond between the two countries remains solid, and quoted a statement by President Reagan that very day: "Our relationship with Israel is long and strong, and is based on a large number of strategic and mutual interests, and that will not change." We saw evidence of that continuity later in our Israel visit, as we watched the arrival of six F16s from America. And if we needed a reminder of what Israel means to Jews everywhere, we found it in the trial of John Demjanjuk, the accused "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka, that was going on a few hundred feet from our hotel. How many of our six million might have been spared if there had been an Israel, with open doors, in the 1940s?

Yes, the Pollard case is outrageous. But it would be even more outrageous to permit this aberration to erase 40 years of trusting relationships, or to ignore the sound logic and mutual benefit that prompted them. America and Israel continue to be good for one another. The Jews of America and the Jews of Israel continue to need one another's love, respect and support. We shall, because we must, overcome.

Hyman Bookbinder



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May 4, 1987

UR

M. Green (F. 91)

The Honorable George Schultz
The Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Schultz:

On behalf of the Washington Chapter of the American Jewish Committee. I want to express our congratulations for the role you played in arranging for the special Passover Seder at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow during your recent visit to the Soviet Union.

Many of us at our own family seders now regularly include a prayer on behalf of our brethren in the Soviet Union who have so far been unsuccessful in making their own modern day exodus to Israel. Therefore, it was particularly exciting and poignant to see you sharing the Passover meal with these same people.

We are most appreciative of your efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and we want to thank you for both the sincerity of your personal concern and the great symbolic importance of this singular event.

Very truly yours,

Betty Sachs
Betty Sachs
President

BS:mja

cc: President Ronald Reagan
Senator Claiborn Pell
Ambassador Richard Schifter
Congressman Dante Fascell