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AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON ARAB-ISRAEL PEACE PROCESS

Some recent developments within the Middle East and in the international arena have raised hopes that now may be an opportune time to resume the long stalemated Arab-Israel peace process.

Of particular significance is the breakthrough reportedly achieved in secret negotiations between King Hussein of Jordan and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel. The procedural agreement, which was achieved with the help of American officials, meets Jordan's need for an international umbrella by having the United Nations Secretary-General invite the five permanent members of the Security Council to convene a conference based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. To meet Israel's requirement that negotiations be direct and bilateral, the procedural agreement states that the conference will invite "geographical bilateral" committees to conduct the actual negotiations.

Serious questions remain, however, as to whether the Soviet Union can effectively be limited to a ceremonial role and whether King Hussein will be able to find representative Palestinians who are prepared to participate in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

We naturally welcome any initiative that seeks to build upon the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and to achieve a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors as envisaged in the Camp David Accords and on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

It is important to reaffirm that those resolutions inextricably link any withdrawal by Israel's Defense Forces from "territories occupied" in the June 1967 War to termination on the part of the Arabs of "all claims or states of belligerency" and their acknowledgment of "the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." In Resolution 338 of 1973 the Security Council unanimously decided that the way to implement Resolution 242 was through negotiations between the Arab states and Israel.

We urge the United States, which has played a useful role in facilitating direct negotiations between Egypt and Israel, to continue to stress the importance of direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and its Arab adversaries to establish final borders and settle all other outstanding issues. We call on the U.S. Government to provide the necessary assurances to Israel that it will effectively oppose any attempt by outside powers to impose a settlement.

We have in the past noted the obstructive role of the Soviet Union, which continues to arm and support some of the most radical anti-American and anti-Israeli elements in the Arab world. While there have been hints from Moscow of impending changes in policy under the leader-

ship of General Secretary Gorbachev, thus far the Soviet Union has not given clear evidence of a positive change in its position. Such acts as restoring of diplomatic ties with Israel, the granting of permission for significant numbers of Russian Jews to emigrate, and restraint in support for Syrian and Palestinian anti-Israeli positions are the kinds of signals required to convince the skeptics in Israel and the United States who are naturally wary of any legitimization and formalization of the Soviet Union's role in the peace-making process.

Careful preparation, continuing close coordination by the United States and Israel, and advance agreement on the ground rules among all the participants are necessary if a proposed international conference is not to turn into yet another attempt to pressure and pillory Israel.

As was clearly demonstrated by the resolutions adopted at the recent Palestine National Council session in Algiers on April 26, the Palestine Liberation Organization is not a suitable partner for peace talks. Not only did the PLO's "parliament in exile" reject UN Security Council 242, but in flagrant disregard of the UN's requirement of peaceful resolution of disputes, the PLO reaffirmed its commitment to armed struggle "until Palestine is liberated, until the Palestine people return to their land, and until the Palestinian banners are raised in holy Jerusalem."

Moreover, the PLO condoned terrorism by allowing Mohammed Abbas, the mastermind of the Achille Lauro attack, to remain on its executive committee, rejected the Camp David Accords and all other American-sponsored peace efforts, and reaffirmed its support of the notorious UN General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. The PLO also broadened its executive committee to include leaders of radical Marxist and Communist groups, and supported the Soviet Union's initiative in the region. The PLO insisted that it "participate on an equal footing with the other parties" in any international conference. While acknowledging the "special and distinctive relations" that link the Jordanian and Palestinian people, the PLO at its Algiers conference insisted that an independent Palestinian state must first be established and that "any future relationship should be...on confederal bases between two independent states."

We urge that the United States remain steadfast in its position that only those Palestinians who renounce terrorism and clearly express a readiness for peaceful coexistence with a sovereign and secure State of Israel are suitable participants in any forthcoming peace negotiations.

We hope and pray that with patience, prudence and perseverance the present peace efforts will begin to bear fruit.

* * *

Approved unanimously at a plenary session of the American Jewish Committee, 81st Annual Meeting, New York, Sunday, May 17, 1987.

87-580
6839-(IRD-3)
5/28/87/AR

FAMILY POLICY

Current Debates and Challenges

**Steven Bayme
Assistant Director
Jewish Communal Affairs Department**



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746

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This background paper was prepared
for the deliberations of
the Family Policy Task Force
of the American Jewish Committee,
E. Robert Goodkind, Chair.

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Debate over family policy in America is entering a critical stage. Liberals and conservatives alike proclaim the centrality of the family in society but differ over the policy implications of that fact. Eager to become identified with pro-family politics, political leaders are developing proposals for governmental initiatives. New York's Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan argues that social policy has succeeded in addressing the condition of the elderly but has neglected the nation's children. President Reagan's White House Study Group on the Family recently released a comprehensive report with many important proposals.

Political figures, however, are by no means the only players in this policy debate. Sociologists and social theorists are debating the respective roles of the public and private sectors in the formulation of social policy, questioning the degree of responsibility of government and of the individual for the social welfare. For example, in the area of family policy, some have been advocating support programs to enable men and women to combine jobs and parenting. Is this a private-sector responsibility, a public-sector responsibility, or a responsibility shared by all the parties?

Three major changes in American society determine the terms of this debate: the movement of women into the work force, the rise of divorce rates, and the growth of single-parent families, due not only to divorce but to the increase of births out of wedlock. These changes, in turn, have spurred discussion about the types of policies that might assist working parents in raising children, improve the economic and psychological well-being of the single-parent family, and reduce teen pregnancy. Such questions have no easy answers. This background paper will try to define the various issues and analyze policy proposals currently under discussion. The American Jewish Committee's Task Force on Family Policy will then attempt to articulate goals and criteria for family policy.

CURRENT TRENDS IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY

The American family today evidences both continuity and change. One of the constants in American life is the popularity of marriage itself. According to the U.S. Census, 93.8 percent of men aged 25-54 and 95.4

percent of women aged 25-54 in 1984 had been married at least once. Some 80 percent of divorced men and 70 percent of divorced women remarry within five years of their divorces.¹

Young Americans are definitely pro-marriage. Of young women interviewed in 1980, 90 percent intended ultimately to marry.² Two-thirds of college students polled the same year agreed that getting married and raising a family were "essential" or "very important" objectives in their lives.³ Jewish students were particularly definite in their convictions concerning marriage. Three-quarters of Jewish students polled in 1982 reported their intention to marry, while only 3 percent had ruled out marriage.⁴

To be sure, in recent years some women have been experiencing what demographers call "the marriage squeeze." During the baby boom years (1946-56) the number of births rose every year. Since women generally marry men somewhat older than themselves, women born in the later years of the baby boom have experienced a shortfall of eligible mates. Nonetheless, demographers predict that ultimately over 80 percent of women born in the baby boom years will marry.⁵

Although marriage remains popular, young people are postponing it. Between 1960 and 1982, the median age at first marriage rose from 22.8 years to 24.1 for men, from 20.3 years to 22.3 for women. In 1960, only 28.4 percent of women aged 20-24 had never been married; by 1984 the percentage was 56.9. Similarly for men: in 1960, 53.1 percent of males aged 20-24 had never been married, by 1984, 74.8 percent.

Generally, later marriages are more common among those with higher education and upper-middle-class status, characteristics especially prevalent among American Jews. In the 1960s, 79 percent of Protestants aged 18-24 were married. By the 1970s, the rate for that group had dropped to 50 percent. (Nevertheless, among Protestants aged 35-44 well over 90 percent were married.) Among Jews aged 18-24, 45 percent of those studied in the 1960s had been married, but only 25 percent of those responding in the 1970s reported marriage. (Again, over 90 percent of Jews aged 35-44 in the 1970s had been or were married.)⁶

The postponement of marriage is probably partly responsible for the decline in the U.S. birthrate. According to the U.S. Census, the fertility rate of American women in 1982 was 1.8 children, well below the replacement level of 2.1. Nevertheless, rates of childlessness are declining. Demographers predict that 15.5 percent of women born 1956-60 will remain childless, down from 18 percent of those born 1951-55.⁷ Americans are delaying marriage and having fewer children, but they are continuing to marry and to have at least one child.

While most Americans today uphold marriage and child rearing as desirable norms, they also respect the personal choices of those who do not regard these norms as desirable for themselves. As growing numbers of Americans remain single for longer periods, diverse patterns of

living arrangements have become more noticeable. This diversity has been accompanied attitudinally by growing acceptance of the individual choices people make as preferable for themselves within an overall context in which over 90 percent of the population marry at some point in their lives.

How to explain Americans' continuing commitment to the institution of the family? Mary Jo Bane, a feminist scholar and policy analyst, argues that Americans perceive the family as the best setting for rearing children and sharing adult affection.⁸ Christopher Lasch, a liberal social theorist, calls the family a "haven in a heartless world," a difficult achievement made possible only by intense personal commitment.⁹ Similarly, sociologist Brigitte Berger argues that families, along with churches, ethnic groups, neighborhoods, and voluntary associations, serve as mediating structures between ourselves and the larger society, nurturing us beyond self into community in a context of love and care for others.¹⁰

Although the family persists, it is undergoing significant changes. The most important is the movement of mothers out of the home and into the work force. In 1985, 53.4 percent of married women with children under age six were in the labor force. That percentage increased to 67.8 for married women with children in school (ages 6-17).

The reasons for this large-scale entry of mothers into the labor force are varied. Three-quarters of today's working mothers say they would work even if they did not need the money.¹¹ Some work to enhance their feelings of self-worth and to fulfill their desire for public involvement. Still others fear the possibility of family breakup and wish to establish incomes independent of their husbands.

But most mothers work because they must. Real family income has declined since 1973, when median family income peaked at \$28,167 (in 1984 dollars). In 1984 the median family income (again measured in 1984 dollars) was only \$26,433. Two incomes enable moderate wage earners to maintain reasonable living standards.

Another change in the American family is the frequency of divorce. Between 1960 and 1982, the number of divorces per 1,000 population increased from 2.2 to 5.0. In absolute terms, the number of divorces annually tripled between 1960 and 1982, rising from 0.4 million to 1.2 million. Couples marrying today face an even chance of divorcing at some point during their lives together.

The impact of divorce is particularly severe on children and women. Sixty percent of divorces involve at least one child. Each year a million children undergo the trauma of family breakup.¹² Children of divorce have lower achievement rates, and are more likely to drop out of school, than children in intact families. For women, divorce often entails severe economic hardship. Within a year of divorce, living standards for women drop on the average by 73 percent, while those of

men rise by 42 percent.¹³ Three-quarters of divorced fathers fail to comply with court-ordered child-support payments.

The trends documented above for the general society characterize the Jewish community as well. Although Jews are strongly familial, Jewish families are generally small. Jewish women, often well educated, are likely to enter the work force prior to marriage and to remain there during their childbearing years.

Moreover, Jewish divorce rates are rising. Jews continue to divorce only about half as frequently as do Protestants and two-thirds as frequently as do Catholics. However, the divorce rate is higher among young couples than among old. For instance, 8 percent of Jews over age 65 have been divorced, but 10 percent of those aged 35-44. As the younger cohort ages, more divorces will likely occur. The evidence points to a growing population of Jewish single parents experiencing many of the difficulties outlined above.¹⁴

Adding to the economic pressures experienced by most families, and particularly by broken families, are the costs of leading an institutionally affiliated Jewish life. One study estimates that an intensively involved and affiliated Jewish life is available for only the 25 percent of American Jewish families that had incomes in 1983 over \$54,000.¹⁵ That figure assumes a family with two children. For a family with three children, who attend a Jewish day school, a family income of \$65,000 may be inadequate.

A major societal change that impacts on the American family is the growing number of unwed mothers, many of them adolescents. Once a taboo subject, adolescent pregnancy has recently received considerable public attention. The statistics are appalling. In 1982 there were in America 715,200 live births to unwed women (up from 224,300 in 1960), of which 37.6 percent (down from 40.9 percent in 1960) were to teenagers.

Although teenage pregnancy is rising among whites, it is more prevalent in the Black community. The birthrate among Black teenagers is approximately double that among white teenagers. One of every four Black mothers is an unwed teenager, and a third of these go on to have a second child while still a teenager. In Harlem, New York City, a third of all 1985 births occurred to single teenagers. As the Children's Defense Fund put it, "Marriage is now an almost forgotten institution among Black teens."¹⁶

In 1965 Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then a presidential aide working on Great Society legislation, argued that family breakup, particularly in the ghettos, created and sustained permanent poverty. As Moynihan currently notes, his arguments at that time failed to stimulate meaningful policy initiatives.¹⁷ In light of the growing crisis within the Black family, however, Black leaders themselves have begun to raise the issues Moynihan cited two decades ago. At a Black Summit Conference on the Family in 1984, Eleanor Holmes Norton noted, "In entire sections of

black communities there is not only family breakup but the failure to form families at all. In whole sections of the black community children are being raised exclusively by very young mothers without male role models."¹⁸

Debate over the phenomenon of teen pregnancy has been intense. Historian Edward Shorter ascribes it to the sexual revolution coupled with teenage naivete about contraception.¹⁹ This, however, does not explain why unwed Black teenagers have babies at twice the rate of their white contemporaries. Charles Murray sees the cause in welfare benefits -- it pays to have children out of wedlock. Aside from the fact that it is difficult to imagine teenagers calculating the economic benefits of having a baby before becoming pregnant, the evidence simply does not sustain Murray's thesis. States and counties that offer higher benefits do not suffer from higher rates of teen pregnancy than do localities with lower benefits.²⁰

Recently, policy analysts have suggested that it is the culture and the climate of the ghetto that causes teen pregnancy. Observers emphasize the strength of the childbearing imperative within the Black family. For young women, it is the ultimate proof of womanhood. For a young man, siring a child can be proof of one's manhood. Moreover, ghetto culture offers few alternatives to "babies having babies." Stable two-parent families move out of the ghetto, leaving it bereft of role models who have completed their education, hold productive jobs, and have successful marriages. If one sees little future for oneself in white America, having a baby becomes at least one source of fulfillment and self-esteem.²¹

Whatever the causes, the consequences of teenage pregnancy are catastrophic. Many teen mothers and their babies suffer from poor health. Two-thirds of teen mothers drop out of school; their earnings at best eventually approach half of those of women who wait to age 20 before bearing their first child. Half the women currently on welfare are or were unwed teen mothers. Finally, children born to teenagers achieve academically and economically at rates below those born to adults.²²

THE FAMILY POLICY DEBATE

What is family policy? Sheila Kamerman and Alfred Kahn define family policy as both public- and private-sector programs that affect directly or indirectly the quality of family life.²³ For instance, governmental subventions to large families is an example of a policy designed to raise the national birthrate. Similarly, if the Jewish community in its private-sector capacity initiates a program of outreach to single-parent families, that too would be an example of family policy.

However, there are many public- and private-sector programs that were designed to attain other social goals but that impact as well upon the family. For example, welfare legislation is designed primarily to provide relief for the poor. But it often contains incentives for or against marriage and family formation. The same is true of private-sector policies. One of the recommendations of the 1980 White House Conference on Families was creation of a Family Impact Seminar to assess the direct and indirect effects of governmental legislation upon family life.

Europe and America present contrasting models of family policy. European democracies tend toward more activist governmental involvement. These countries have developed extensive systems of family supports that include parental leaves, child allowances, and subsidized day care. Americans, on the other hand, generally dislike direct governmental intervention in the private sector, criticizing the European models as socialist or pronatalist. They prefer indirect efforts to enhance family life. For instance, the American tax code contains many provisions affecting families, such as the personal exemption and the dependent-care credit.

Currently, some American students of the family argue that societal changes necessitate interventionist policy measures such as family-support programs. Others argue that family policy ought to consist simply of doing nothing to undermine the family. The lines in this debate are not rigid. For example, Michael Levin, who generally desires minimal governmental intervention, acknowledges societal responsibility for the family and supports broadening certain governmental initiatives -- for example, raising the personal exemption for taxpayers. Similarly, Senator Moynihan, who urges a more activist policy, urges that government intervene only as a last resort. Initiatives to strengthen the family, in Moynihan's view, ought to come first from the family itself, then the neighborhood and local community, and only finally from the larger society.

A word should be added regarding the Jewish interest in the family-policy debate. For Jews, the family remains the primary vehicle for transmitting Jewish identity and ensuring Jewish continuity. Jewish religion is intimately related to family life. Programs and policies that affect families not only touch Jews as members of the larger society but relate to the question of Jewish continuity in America.

POLICY OPTIONS

Day Care

A major concern of working parents is child care. The demand for day care easily exceeds the available supply. Two million children are

currently enrolled in licensed day-care programs. An additional 5 million are enrolled in preschool programs. One can only guess at the number using unlicensed day care. Of 6 million employers, only 1,850 provide any form of child-care assistance. Twenty-three percent of working parents report that they regularly leave their children alone at home.²⁴

Other countries have long experimented with day care. Israel, for instance, has sponsored a large network of preschools which in 1973 enrolled 80 percent of three-year-olds and 90 percent of four-year-olds. Fees are conditioned to the mothers' monthly income, indicating that these facilities exist primarily to assist mothers at work. European countries too have provided extensive governmental supports for day care.²⁵

In contrast, day care in America has remained largely outside of the public sector. In 1971 President Nixon vetoed a bill authorizing \$2 billion for day care lest it encourage "social parenting." Nixon felt that day care was acceptable for the poor, but that it was "unacceptable to encourage or support middle-class mothers who leave the home." Middle-class women, however, have joined the work force in large numbers, raising the policy question of who will care for their small children.²⁶

To be sure, some initiatives have been taking place in this country. New York City plans to introduce free all-day nurseries for four-year-olds. San Francisco recently adopted an ordinance mandating that developers of office buildings of 50,000 or more square feet either build an on-site day-care center or contribute one dollar per square foot to a child-care fund.²⁷

The federal government's major investment in day care to date is through the dependent-care credit, which credits a portion of one's child-care costs to one's income taxes. This credit is nonrefundable and therefore of no benefit to low-income people who are not on the tax rolls, but for middle- and upper-income taxpayers it can reduce day-care costs by 20-30 percent. The government also permits employers to reduce salaries of employees who require day-care services and use the funds to pay the child-care costs -- in effect, making the child-care costs tax-deductible. It is unclear how many employers actually permit this. Representative Nancy Johnson (R-Conn.), sponsor of the 1986 Child Care Act, proposes vouchers for the working poor (those who earn up to 200 percent of the poverty level) to enable them to obtain free day care. To pay for the vouchers, Johnson's bill would phase out the dependent-care credit for families earning over \$50,000 annually.

Sylvia Hewlett, an economist and author, argues for government-subsidized day care in her recent book, A Lesser Life. She contrasts the incompleteness of American day-care arrangements with those of France and Sweden, and advocates a national family policy combining both private- and public-sector initiatives to increase the quality and

quantity of available day care. Her recommendations follow closely those of the Economic Policy Council of the United Nations Association, which call for free and voluntary preschool for children aged three to five, use of school facilities for after-school programs, broadening the dependent-care credit and making it refundable, and encouraging labor unions, community groups and corporations to develop child-care services.²⁸

Increased day care, however, is by no means everyone's favorite solution. Experts disagree over the effects of day care on children. Day-care advocates claim that children develop social and learning skills earlier and better in the day-care center. Carolee Howes of UCLA's Graduate School of Education, for example, notes: "Studies show that kids in day care develop better social skills earlier, they form friendships earlier, and they seem to be more cooperative. In lower-income, poorly educated families, the kids have higher IQ's as a result of being in day care." Burton White, director of Boston's Center for Parent Education, however, disagrees. He argues that there is no real affection in the day-care center and that children require the genuine love that only a parent can provide. White also observes that children's diseases are especially communicable in the day-care center. Moreover, personnel turnover in day-care centers is high. Children thus miss the stable and permanent presence of significant adults. The cause of personnel turnover is readily apparent -- 87 percent of child-care workers earn below the minimum wage, and 94 percent earn below the official poverty line. Child psychologist Lee Salk best expresses the opposition to increased day care: "Children under the age of three are not ready for organized group experience... They need one-on-one interaction with the significant people in their lives. If they don't get such interaction, it will have negative consequences for the youngsters later on."²⁹

Other objections to day care focus on its economic costs. Michael Levin estimates the cost of a national day-care program in America at \$90 billion.³⁰ Day-care advocates agree that the cost would be considerable, leaving open questions about how it would be funded.

Finally, some writers oppose governmental day care as unwarranted intervention in private decision making. Robert Samuelson, an economist writing in Newsweek, argues that individuals will have to grope with the changes currently taking place. Government should not seek to influence their choices. For instance, Samuelson argues, governmentally supported day care would favor working women over those who opt to stay at home and rear small children. The choice of work, parenting, or both is a personal one, which, in Samuelson's view, government should not seek to influence. Moreover, he maintains, since there is no national consensus regarding parental roles, government should not support those who work rather than those who stay at home. "The agonizing choices that many Americans are now making for themselves and their children involve private, not public responsibilities," Samuelson concludes. "Family policy belongs at home."³¹

Mary Jo Bane urges caution in this area. She acknowledges the dangers of children being cared for by those for whom it is a tedious job but notes that thus far the trend has been to place young children in preschools rather than infant-care centers. The preschools enable parents to work and thereby serve the same needs as do day-care centers. However, the emphasis within the preschool program is on early learning and socialization, and they do not service infants under age three. Most of the controversy concerning the desirability of day care relates to infant care, Bane concludes, but most experts agree that early-learning programs for children over three both benefit the child's development and facilitate parents' working arrangements.³²

The policy debate concerning day care continues. Day-care proponents argue that more and better day care is a necessity for today's families, and that America must develop more facilities through a partnership of private and public sectors. Opponents question the desirability of day care, its cost, and the propriety of government favoring working parents over those who stay home to rear small children.

Other Family Supports

As noted earlier, Western European democracies have experimented extensively with family-support systems. They generally have national health plans covering pregnancies and births. Over a quarter of American women have no similar health coverage. Many European countries have instituted paid maternity leaves, child allowances to assist in the cost of child rearing, and subsidized day care. France, for instance, hoped to stimulate a higher birthrate. Sweden, attempting to legislate total gender equality in a comprehensive welfare state, provides a nine-month parental leave after childbirth at 90 percent wage replacement and complete job protection. Italy has instituted paid leave to care for a sick child under age three and two years credit toward seniority for women who take time off from employment after childbirth. No country has been fully successful in attaining its family-policy goals. In Sweden, for instance, marriage and fertility have declined. Critics of the European welfare states point to their high taxes and low productivity. Some critics acknowledge, however, that family policies there are more sharply focused on aid to working parents.³³

One initiative currently under discussion in the United States is parental leave. Only 40 percent of American working women have job-protected maternity leaves. The 1978 Pregnancy Disability Amendments required employers to treat pregnancy as any other disability, but only five states have mandatory disability insurance. The 1986 Family and Medical Leave Act, sponsored by Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Md.) with considerable bipartisan support, mandates an 18-week parental leave after birth, but the U.S. Chamber of Commerce opposes it as favoring one group of employees over another. Some oppose maternity leaves as special treatment for women that would undermine claims to gender

equality. Hewlett and others argue that, since only women become pregnant, they require special consideration. The proposed bill would make leaves available to either parent. Its supporters hope that leaves would provide women with continuous employment. Moreover, they argue that passage of the legislation would signal governmental recognition of the dual role of citizens as workers and parents.³⁴

Hewlett and the Economic Policy Council urge other strategies for employers of new parents. A gradual return to work for parents of newborn children, or part-time employment accompanied by job sharing, would ease, in their view, the balancing of work and family. Employers may wish to reassess traditional career paths for parents of small children or offer flexible hours permitting them to work at home. Flexible benefit packages, already available in some large companies, would permit employees to structure their benefits to fit particular circumstances. Some advocates claim that flexible benefits of this kind would enhance staff morale and lead to greater productivity. They would heal the split between work and family from which, according to sociologist Robert Bellah, Americans suffer. And they would confirm the value society places upon parenting.³⁵ Opponents consider these measures unwarranted interference in the workplace and family life.

Single Parents

The single mother today is the clearest example of the growing "feminization of poverty." Indeed, poverty within the single-parent family may well be our most pressing social problem. To aid the impoverished single-parent family, many European countries provide a government-guaranteed minimum child-support payment and then seek to collect it from the father. The British government proposed a child allowance for the single-parent family, but it was rejected as too costly and as possibly constituting a disincentive to remarrying.

In America, Senator Moynihan now proposes compelling the father to provide support by withholding his wages if necessary. Such a measure would, of course, affect only the 59 percent of women who are in fact awarded child-care payments.³⁶

New research points to the possible roles of grandparents in stabilizing families. People are living longer and therefore have the potential for playing significant roles in their extended families well into old age. It should be recalled, in this connection, that the extended family was often the norm in premodern societies. Recent research identifies grandparents as "wardens of culture" and watchdogs of family stability. Using the resources of extended families, especially grandparents, may help accomplish some of the goals of family policy in this area.³⁷

Adolescent Pregnancy

No shortage of policy proposals exists in the area of teenage pregnancy. However, there is no consensus regarding policy direction.

One approach argues for better sex education on the ground that teenagers often have inadequate knowledge about their bodies and conception. But should sex education be limited to dispensing information about avoiding pregnancy or should it also advocate the values of marriage and responsible parenting? Many who approve of these values fear that teaching them would open the doors to the teaching of religious doctrines in the public schools. Others argue that instruction in birth control without values-based sex education would only increase teen promiscuity.

A second approach is to deny welfare benefits to teenagers who become pregnant. Charles Murray, for instance, extols the "natural state" in which no governmental benefits existed and in which few children bore children. To be sure, Murray acknowledges that such a radical solution is politically unfeasible. He uses it as an example to illustrate his basic thesis of "losing ground," namely, that well-intentioned cash expenditures have only aggravated American poverty.

Mickey Kaus, from a different perspective, propounds the "work ethic." Kaus argues that only the work ethic can break the destructive culture of the ghetto. He urges a guaranteed job for every able-bodied adult, including teen mothers. This would be coupled with free day care for those who require it, and with elimination of all cash welfare benefits for single mothers. Kaus entertains the possibility of an exemption for women with children under two years of age, again reflecting societal ambivalence about infant day care. His proposals are aimed to transform the welfare ethos into a work ethos.³⁸

Some Black leaders have also suggested programs that speak to this issue. A 1984 Black Summit Conference on the Family called for Black self-help with appropriate Black role models for teenagers. Black leaders have also advocated increasing the self-esteem of teenagers by involving them directly in community programs. Finally, they have urged greater emphasis within the Black community on the values of family responsibility.³⁹

Other Black leaders defend existing welfare programs as necessary to the survival of the teen mother and her child. Generally they advocate broader-based sex education but oppose any changes in the welfare system that would decrease cash payments.

Tax Issues

The tax code is replete with provisions that affect families. For instance, the "Head of Household" tax table acknowledges that those with

family responsibilities should pay less taxes than singles living alone. Conversely, the "marriage tax," although significantly reduced since 1981, continues to penalize people who marry rather than live together unmarried.

The Tax Reform Act of 1986 has made radical changes in the way Americans pay their taxes, but it is too early to discuss its impact on families. However, certain features of the tax system, preserved by the new act, significantly affect families.

By far the most important provision in the tax code pertaining to families is the size of the personal exemption. In 1948 this exemption was fixed at \$600 per person, reflecting what was then considered a reasonable cost of raising a child. Since 1948 the value of that exemption has steadily eroded. Had it been indexed to the Consumer Price Index, it would have reached \$2,589 by 1984. Even more tellingly, had it been indexed to income growth, by 1984 it would have stood at \$5,600.⁴⁰

The personal exemption no longer reflects the actual cost of raising a family. Under the Tax Reform Act, the exemption will rise to \$2,000 by 1989, a significant increase over the 1986 exemption of \$1,080.

Some family advocates suggest acknowledging the special needs of families with young children by increasing the personal exemption for dependents. Allan Carlson, for instance, suggests doubling the exemption to \$4,000 in order to accomplish a variety of goals: to signal the value society places upon childbearing, to provide funds for families to choose their desired form of child care, and to serve as the American equivalent of the child allowances that have proven so popular in Europe. Such a measure would most vitally affect young couples in the early years of marriage and childbearing and might be gradually reduced or eliminated as dependents grow older.⁴¹ Critics note the cost of such measures, as well as the general reluctance to use tax policy to achieve social-policy objectives.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Societal changes have affected the Jewish family as they have others. Judaism, however, provides a significant buffer to the forces eroding the American family. Strong Jewish commitments, it has been shown, cement marriage and lessen the chances of divorce.⁴² The Jewish community can do much to strengthen Jewish families by encouraging education in the religious tradition. Special communal programs and family-education seminars might well demonstrate to young Jewish couples how involvement in the Jewish heritage enhances the quality of family life. Such programs would also help transmit Jewish identity within the

family and ensure Jewish continuity. Outreach programs specifically tailored to the needs of singles and single parents could serve the same ends for those living in alternative family settings.

(Jewish day care is another means of enhancing Jewish identity within the family. Opportunities for Jewish early-childhood education might be maximized. Similarly, the growing population of latchkey children has created the demand for after-school programs under Jewish auspices, affording additional opportunities to create Jewishly identified individuals.⁴³ For infants, the Jewish community might experiment with intergenerational programs, training its growing senior-citizen population to serve as baby sitters and adopted grandparents. Such programs might be especially effective in bringing single parents and their children into the organized Jewish community. Moreover, the Jewish community might take an active part in advocating greater availability and upgrading of part-time jobs, flexible hours, and job sharing to enable parents to combine work and child care.

(Finally, the Jewish community might consider ways of reducing the financial barriers to active participation in Jewish communal life. To be sure, each Jewish family will have to choose to what extent Jewish involvement takes precedence over other family priorities. In some cases, however, the financial resources necessary for communal involvement are simply not there. For instance, the growing population of Jewish single parents generally cannot afford the cost of institutional affiliations, even though such affiliations would be particularly beneficial for broken families.⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

The above discussion highlights the complexity of family policy discussion. No "quick fix" is available because of the difficult nature of the problems under review. The following questions, however, suggest focus for discussion in an effort to establish overall policy criteria and specific program recommendations.

General Questions

1. What fundamental objectives do we wish for family policy?
2. To what types of family issues would it be most productive for policy to be targeted, if any?
3. What should be the respective roles of the public and private sectors with respect to family policy? Are there attractive positions between policies that necessitate increased governmental involvement and policies that require minimal governmental inter-

vention? Are these perspectives mutually exclusive or can they be reconciled?

4. What policy criteria may be used to evaluate programmatic initiatives?

Specific Questions

1. Given the continuing controversy regarding day care, what is the appropriate direction for policy initiatives?
2. What effects would changes in the workplace have on family life and economic productivity?
3. In the area of teen pregnancy, what proposals might be most effective in terms both of prevention and intervention? Is sex education desirable and, if so, should it be value-free or should it seek to influence moral choices? What about economic supports and programs that aim to increase teenagers' self-esteem?
4. What types of funding levels and increased expenditures are we prepared to advocate for family-policy initiatives? Can we undertake significant initiatives in revenue-neutral ways?
5. What policies might be effective in addressing the growing feminization of poverty?
6. What value choices underline Jewish communal policy? What types of Jewish families ought be the target population for policy? How may we reach out to those who now feel excluded from Jewish communal life?

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May 1987

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

Single copy \$2.00
Quantity prices on request

STATEMENT BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ON
FAMILY POLICY: PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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Introduction

The family, a basic cornerstone of our society, is the primary determinant of the attitudes, values, ambitions and achievements of the next generation. When the family becomes vulnerable, children are especially at risk; when it happens on a large scale, the community itself is endangered. Society has a vital stake in the rearing of the next generation, and it is therefore imperative that parents be given every opportunity to provide a stable environment for themselves and their children.

The Jewish community has an especially strong interest in the ongoing family policy debate since the family is central to Jewish continuity and identity. Policies and programs aimed at strengthening the family will, if successful, ultimately enhance its role as the anchor and transmitter of Jewish values, thereby ensuring a viable Jewish community as well.

We believe that the teachings of Jewish tradition with respect to family relationships, family responsibilities, and the relationship between the family and community can provide guidance not only for Jewish communal interests but for the general family debate. The traditional Jewish emphasis on mutual respect between husbands and wives and mutual obligations between parents and children is appropriate as well for a society in which these same relationships are routinely subject to stress and fission.

The AJC Family Policy Task Force has chosen to focus its attention for now on issues facing parents and their preschool children. We fully recognize the need for ongoing studies and activities that will address other areas of family policy such as: domestic violence and substance abuse; specific needs of the elderly, teen-agers, and school-age children; and issues surrounding adoption. We hope, moreover, that serious efforts to fashion appropriate policy in one area will encourage similar efforts in other areas. It is in this spirit that we now analyze specifically the new patterns that have emerged with regard to parents and young children, and which call attention to the need for a coherent national family policy.

Current Trends in American Family Life

1. Increase in maternal employment

The idealized American household consisting of two parents, one

of whom is the breadwinner and the other the primary caretaker, is becoming increasingly rare on the American scene. By 1990, a majority (55%) of married mothers with children under six are expected to be in the paid labor force.

2. Increase in number of single-parent households

Increases in the rate of separation and divorce have led to a rise in the number of families in which the main breadwinner and sole nurturer is a single parent. Today, close to eleven million children are being raised in single-parent homes, five million of them in households headed by an employed mother. Forecasts indicate that close to 70% of the children born this year can expect to live in a one-parent household for some portion of their lives. In addition to the emotional consequences of divorce, changes in the economic circumstances often add serious problems for family functioning.

3. Increase in teen pregnancies

The rate of teenage pregnancies has risen to as many as one million annually. Thus, the number of children being raised by very young, unmarried and unemployed mothers has increased significantly.

4. Geographic mobility

The mobility of American families often places them at a geographic distance from extended family members, thus depriving parents and children of an important potential source of social support.

The magnitude and significance of the changes in American family life are not in dispute. Sharp disagreement, however, exists over the proper response. To date, societal institutions have not made appropriate adjustments to the new realities. We believe that all segments of our society are obligated to address the challenges posed by changing social conditions, for the well-being of the nation's children, families, and the communities in which they live.

General Principles

In our effort to promote a coordinated set of public and private family policies that strengthen the value society places on its children, the American Jewish Committee is committed to the following principles:

1. Parents have primary responsibility for raising, nurturing, educating, and socializing children, as well as for providing for the economic well-being of the family.
2. Given the difficult challenges that accompany parenting in

- general and the balancing of economic and family roles in particular, we feel that it is imperative to find ways to assist parents in their attempts to manage their various responsibilities.
3. The responsibility for safeguarding and strengthening the family ought to be shared by all major social institutions. Extended families, schools, synagogues and churches, communal agencies and institutions, corporations and businesses, and government agencies all have specific roles to play in support of the family.
 4. Extrafamilial institutions affect the family in a variety of ways. We believe that such impact ought to **facilitate**, rather than replace, parental responsibility. We believe that there is no necessary dichotomy between public involvement and individual responsibility. Rather, public policy should enhance the fulfillment of parental and family functions.
 5. Family policy and/or programs should:
 - a. recognize, reinforce, and promote the underlying strengths of families and maintain their viability;
 - b. protect families who are at risk socially, economically, and structurally, with appropriate preventive programs;
 - c. recognize the individual's need for self-fulfillment and esteem through meaningful and remunerative work;
 - d. support families in periods of crisis, transition, and role change -such as those that accompany divorce or death of spouse, remarriage, job loss, unemployment, or job reentry;
 - e. promote a wide range of private and public social programs designed to accommodate the needs of increasingly diverse family arrangements;
 - f. reflect a recognition of human interdependence - the mutual responsibility of family members toward one another and social institutions toward families.

Jewish Principles

The family has a special status in Jewish consciousness as the primary transmitter of our religious and cultural legacy and stronghold of continuing group identity, and as one of the few stable and enduring elements of a tumultuous Jewish history. The Jewish community has a particular stake in the current family policy debate. Moreover, the response of Jews to these issues, at the level of both ideology and practice, can make a contribution to the national debate on the family.

Jewish teaching offers many rich insights into family dynamics and the relationship between personal self-reliance and collective responsibility. Our tradition anticipated many of the same problems that we confront today and devised its own solutions. The examination of current issues in the light of Jewish beliefs and attitudes can help delineate the distinctions between our traditional value system and current American values, and can sharpen our understanding of the appropriate synthesis of the two.

1. The centrality of the family

According to Jewish tradition, the family is viewed as a framework for realizing a full Jewish life. Tradition has favored and supported marriage, while acknowledging individual freedoms and choices.

2. The value of children

A high priority has traditionally been assigned to bearing children as a religious value and commandment that is also tightly bound up with the historic struggle for survival as a people. Children are a source of both joy and self-fulfillment, and caring for their needs is an integral part of the family system.

3. The responsibility of parents and the community

The development of close mutual ties between parent and child is a basic feature of our heritage. Jewish tradition recognized the importance of maternal or maternal-like bonds during the crucial early years, and prescribed measures to fulfill that need. Fathers, too, have been expected to play an active role in the early nurturance, socialization and education of their children.

Children have fundamental rights that include physical safety and security, as well as nurturance and education. If mothers or fathers fail to fulfill their responsibilities, the community is expected to see to it that children's rights are protected.

4. The obligations of children

By the same token, obligations of children toward parents, financial and personal, are strongly emphasized in Jewish law and ethics. Thus intergenerational bonds and mutual obligations play an important role in the dynamics of the Jewish family.

5. Work as Jewish value

The economic roles of parents have traditionally been viewed as

means rather than as ends. Jewish tradition also underscores the value of work itself toward the enhancement of human dignity. Community and economic roles, therefore, strengthen family roles, rather than compete with them.

6. The interrelatedness of family and community

Traditionally, the Jewish community and the Jewish family have been closely intertwined and mutually interdependent. The community is expected to create structures that encourage family formation and strengthen the family as a social system. In turn, the family is able to perform its role as a major socializing agent.

Policy Recommendations

The principles outlined above -- both general and Jewish -- serve as the basis for family policy discussion and have guided our deliberations on the following issues and accompanying recommendations:

A. Family life education

Young adults face difficult life choices concerning marriage and family formation, often with little experience or concrete knowledge and with few support networks to guide them. As a result, expectations of married life and partners may be based on unrealistic and romanticized notions that generate conflict and disappointment. Moreover, increasing options and legitimized choices have led many to postpone decisions concerning marriage and childbearing.

In keeping with our belief that the American social system as a whole ought to be concerned with strengthening and safeguarding the family as an institution, we strongly support educational programs aimed at creating a favorable climate and attitude toward marriage and family, including:

1. family life education in various institutional frameworks, including the family, schools, religious institutions, and other communal settings; high school curricular units designed to train young people for responsible decision-making concerning pre-marital relationships, marriage, and parenting; it being understood that such units ought to promote realistic expectations and an understanding of the factors that make for successful family relations;
2. training programs for clergy and other counselors aimed at giving them better skills to advise and respond to families in need and helping them provide programs on marriage and family concerns;
3. consultations with media agencies to promote a more realistic portrayal of marriage and family life in the popular culture.

B. Child care

The number of couples and single parents in the work force continues to climb. As a result, the pressure on private and public sectors to provide for adequate and affordable child care is increasing, not only for pre-school children, but for older children as well.

In keeping with our emphasis on parental responsibility, on the divergent needs of families, and on the importance of maximizing choices for parents, we support a broad range of responses to work/family issues. We believe that the availability of alternative arrangements and options for working parents will facilitate individual choice in selecting suitable arrangements that best serve the unique needs of different families.

1. Information and referral services

As consumers of child care services, parents require information and referral services. We would encourage a broader dissemination of information by synagogues and churches, communal agencies and institutions, corporations and businesses, and government agencies to provide parents with criteria for evaluating alternatives and making well-informed decisions. We also support steps that would allow communities and families to benefit from research findings on substitute care and evaluations of local day care settings.

2. Availability of alternative day care arrangements

There is a continuing need for more child care providers and a greater variety of child care settings. The child care community, schools, synagogues and churches, communal agencies and institutions, corporations and businesses, and governmental agencies must become more sensitive to child care needs and ensure that an adequate delivery system for high quality day care, pre-school programs, and parent-child centers is established.

3. Pre-school programs

We support an expansion of early, age-appropriate, compensatory education and public pre-school programs. Research indicates that such programs can have a positive impact on subsequent school adjustment and performance when based on an understanding of the developmental phases of infants and children.

4. Quality day care

Regulation and supervision of existing childcare systems is required to insure that they meet adequate standards. There is evidence that consistency of care arrangements, ongoing training of caretakers, low turnover of personnel, high adult-child ratios, and parental involvement are key factors in successful programs. Opportunities for

training and utilizing services of retirees in child care settings should be maximized.

5. Upgrading the job of caring for children

We believe that, if American society truly values the work of those who care for our children, whether parent or substitute caretaker, it should reflect that value by offering appropriate incentives and rewards to raise the job to the status it deserves. Thus, special notice should be taken of local programs designed to remunerate early childhood educators on a par with educators in the public school system. We also recommend upgrading the training and career counseling in this field.

The Task Force recognizes the need to acknowledge those parents who opt to stay at home to care for young children. The current provisions of the Internal Revenue Code do not provide such acknowledgment. We favor consideration of mechanisms such as increased exemptions for young children, child allowances for parents who choose to provide their own child care, and other means of recognition, but only in the context of appropriate caps and limitations in order to avoid incurring additional deficits to the U.S. government.

C. Work-related policies

In addition to substitute care, children require parents who can care for them while still managing their work and personal lives. To this end, we support the following work-related options that we believe will help parents reconcile their simultaneous and often conflicting roles as workers and parents.

1. Parental leave

New parents need opportunities to become skillful at parenting, to redefine family roles, and to adjust to the changes that a newborn introduces into the system. Therefore, we advocate continuing American Jewish Committee support for parental leave legislation that would enable either parent to take time off from work in the aftermath of childbirth, adoption, or the serious illness of a family member.

2. Alternative flexible work schedules

Time off from work is increasingly sought by parents in an attempt to juggle their multiple roles. Among the alternative scheduling options that we believe will benefit working parents and employers alike are the following:

- flexible work scheduling as initiated by the Federal government in 1979
- voluntary reduced workweeks of 3-4 days
- job sharing teams

- permanent part-time and home-based employment opportunities
- flexible use of vacation, personal days, and sick days for any purpose

D. The economic health of the family

In keeping with our general principles, we believe that family policy should enable parents to provide adequately for the economic well-being of their families. We therefore support innovative policies and programs that would strengthen the economic base of the family and protect the rights of children during periods of divorce, lengthy illness or death of a spouse; and in the transitional phases between unemployment and entry or reentry into the labor force.

Single parents and their children are particularly vulnerable to economic distress. Living conditions for single mothers and children have declined precipitously with the gradual elimination of alimony and the often inadequate levels of child support and its enforcement.

Some have argued that no-fault divorce has facilitated the ability of fathers to escape a marriage without penalty and leave the primary economic burden on their former spouses. We recognize that no-fault divorce has contributed to removing much of the hypocrisy and acrimony that often accompanied divorce proceedings, and we have no desire to reinstate procedures in which divorce was granted on the basis of the malfeasance of the offending spouse. However, we do perceive a need for policies or programs that would protect custodial parents and their children from undue economic stress.

Thus, we recommend the following:

1. consideration of intangible assets, especially career assets such as earned degrees and the value of the homemaker's contribution during the marital period, in the equitable distribution of property between respective partners in divorce settlements;
2. consideration of spousal income in the determination of child-support awards, rather than basing it on a predetermined minimum standard of living for the custodial parent;
3. vigorous enforcement of child support payments, including the adoption by states of procedures for withholding a percentage of the supporting parent's wages;
4. recognition of the on-going moral obligation of divorced parents to support children pursuing college and university education;
5. job training and continued education for custodial parents, as

part of the divorce settlement, in order to facilitate entry or reentry into the workforce; and

6. continued access to health care benefits for families in transition, such as AFDC recipients, recently separated or divorced mothers, and women in the process of occupational transition.

E. Adolescent pregnancy

Among the factors often associated with the increasing rate of teenage pregnancy are: lack of knowledge about conception, poor communication between parent and child, low personal goals and self esteem, problems of identity, and mixed social messages and double standards for young men and women. Giving birth to a child satisfies a universal need for love and intimacy with another human being and is especially attractive to young people who perceive few alternative paths.

Given the multiplicity and complexity of precipitating factors, remedies to the problems associated with teen pregnancies must be equally broad and comprehensive. Programs such as those suggested here may also prove effective in diminishing the incidence of sexually-transmitted diseases. Thus, we recommend the following:

1. Parents ought to bear primary responsibility for educating and informing their children on issues of sexuality and intimacy and on the consequences of out-of-wedlock childbearing.
2. Educational, religious, and social institutions must also bear responsibility for helping parents become effective educators regarding sexuality. They must supplement parental roles by disseminating information when necessary, and by providing settings for clarification and discussion of family values and sexual norms.
3. These institutions must develop programs to assist and support parents in developing the skills to intervene with pre-teens and teens who are "at risk" of becoming pregnant.
4. Pregnant teens must receive adequate prenatal care, both to reduce the incidence of premature births and to ensure healthier babies and healthier mothers. Research indicates that early intervention can save society significant sums in the long run.
5. For teenage mothers and fathers, we advocate support for programs that emphasize their continued attendance in school, offer training for effective parenting, and draw upon the resources of the extended community in order to provide positive role models and informal networks for adolescents and their parents.

Programs such as these are already underway. We recognize that such programs are costly, but we also underscore the importance of such programs as an investment in society's future health.

F. The Jewish community

Thus far, our recommendations pertain primarily to policies aimed at protecting the family unit and enhancing the role of parents. The underlying assumption is that policies aimed at supporting family processes have the potential to encourage Jewish family formation and to enhance Jewish identity within the home. By the same token, policies and programs that promote Jewish identity and value formation in turn contribute to the functioning of the family system.

Contemporary Jewish families have not been immune to the recent social changes that have profoundly affected family life and reshaped the structure of our communities. The Jewish community faces the serious challenge of developing appropriate responses to new and emerging communal needs among diverse groups. To this end, we advocate the development and expansion of programs aimed at enriching and supporting Jewish family life within the framework of the synagogue, community center and Jewish school.

1. The Jewish family as an educational unit

We believe that Jewish communal institutions ought to address the needs of the Jewish family as a unit -- from the pre-natal period and infancy through adulthood and retirement. Inasmuch as the family is the setting for the transmission of Jewish identity, it is crucial that families participate at all phases of the life-cycle in ongoing Jewish education. Moreover, Jewish education should be an integral part of all communal programs aimed at families.

2. Jewish singles

We view Jewish singles as an important target population for programs that create both a favorable climate toward marriage and family formation, where appropriate, and opportunities to establish Jewish social networks. Like other adults, Jewish singles face difficult choices concerning marriage and remarriage, family, and occupational or career development. Jewish communal institutions ought to provide all Jewish adults with concrete information, support, and avenues for Jewish affiliation and identification.

3. Jewish parents and children

In the absence of the extended family and other traditional informal networks, expectant and new Jewish parents are often unprepared for the challenges associated with their new roles. They require opportunities for developing the necessary skills, re-

sources, and support networks that are compatible with their value systems.

Education for family life in the context of Jewish institutions has the potential to fulfill a dual purpose. Exposure to Jewish values, customs, and rituals enriches parenting skills and resources. By the same token, individuals who are secure in their childrearing roles are well equipped, as socializing agents, to transmit Jewish values and a positive sense of Jewish identification.

Family life education courses, parent-child centers, family counseling, and other Jewish communal services can provide appropriate settings for educating parents on how to incorporate aspects of the Jewish heritage into their homes.

4. Single parents

The Jewish community has a special responsibility to address the psychological consequences of divorce and widowhood for the family, and to help meet the emotional and social needs of parents and children in the aftermath of the family trauma. Particular emphasis should be placed on synagogue-based divorce mediation, a setting in which divorcing couples can retain their own rights and dignity while cooperating for the welfare of their children.

Moreover, the high cost of Jewish affiliation is often prohibitive for single-parent families and an obstacle to maintaining ties to the community at the very period when those ties are most important. We recommend that Jewish institutions provide reduced costs of affiliation to all needy families.

Finally, information regarding the implications of civil divorce without a Jewish get should also be made available in the interests of facilitating Jewish remarriage.

5. Jewish day care and employment policies for working parents

Jewish communal agencies, as service providers as well as employers, are in a position to respond to the issue of dependent and substitute care arrangements either through direct child care services or through employment policies that provide greater flexibility for parents of young children. The provision of such services and arrangements by Jewish communal institutions (e.g. synagogues, community centers, day schools, etc.) would serve the dual purpose of supporting the needs of working parents and at the same time enriching Jewish family life. Jewish communal agencies ought to become models for innovative employment policies.

Research indicates that Jewish day care has a positive impact on the identification and affiliation of other family members. There is also evidence that single Jewish parents and lower income

families are most likely to make use of day care. Thus, if the Jewish community can meet the demand for high quality day care by providing a model characterized by parental involvement which includes religious education and the development of a positive Jewish identity for young children, it may thereby increase the Jewish identity of parents and their affiliation with the Jewish community.

6. Intermarriage

In an effort to create strong Jewish families and communities, we must also address the issue of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews, which very often affects whether children are raised as Jews. Existing data indicate that conversion represents an important step toward promoting Jewish identification and ensuring that children of intermarriages are raised as Jews.

We recommend that each of the religious movements engage in vigorous outreach efforts to bring intermarried couples closer to the Jewish community and to encourage the conversion of the non-Jewish spouse. All Jewish organizations, secular and religious, should explore settings and avenues to bring these couples closer to affiliation. AJC research has shown that the Jewish identity of the Jewish spouse and of his or her family of origin is the key variable in the success of outreach efforts.

Policy Guidelines

As the family policy debate intensifies, initiatives proliferate from all political camps. In responding to programs and policies that affect parents and children, we will continue to support those that are consistent with the principles specified in this document, according to the following criteria:

1. Do particular policies encourage family formation?
2. Do proposed policies maintain the welfare of the child as primary?
3. Do programs involve the sharing of responsibilities between voluntary and public sectors?
4. Do policies assume the primary responsibility of both parents for the welfare of their children (except, of course, in cases where parents cannot assume responsibility)?
5. Do programs utilize to the maximum the resources of the extended family, synagogues and churches, community organizations and workplaces before utilization of government resources?
6. Do programs have reasonable funding sources and are they

economically viable?

7. Do programs promote the economic self-sufficiency of the family unit?
8. Do programs utilize opportunities for transmitting Jewish content and generating involvement among unaffiliated groups within the Jewish community?

Conclusion

We have sought to articulate principles and general criteria for family policy and to enter the national debate by focusing upon programs and policies that affect parents and young children. We reiterate our hope that future task forces and programmatic activities will focus upon the many other areas of family policy which have remained beyond the scope of our discussion, such as those relating to domestic abuse and the needs of the elderly and their grown children.

Finally, our experience indicates that family policy is best addressed by several departments within the American Jewish Committee, working cooperatively rather than independently of one another. We recommend that follow-up programming in this area be similarly concentrated within one address at the AJC, but mandated to draw upon the entire range of agency talents and resources.

-- Adopted at the
National Executive Council
of the
American Jewish Committee

October 30, 1987

7401 (JCAD -4)
87-750

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Israel and Middle East Affairs Division
International Relations Department

Summary of AJC Positions Relating to the Occupied Territories

Since the Six-Day War of 1967, the AJC has consistently taken the position that a permanent solution to the problem of the occupied territories can only be achieved in the context of "direct, bilateral negotiations between Israel and its Arab adversaries." (May, 1987 Statement on the Arab-Israel Peace Process.)

The AJC has endorsed the basic principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967, which essentially calls for an end of Israeli occupation in exchange for lasting peace. We have shared the positions of the United States and of the Labor Party in Israel that these principles also apply to the West Bank and the Gaza District. We have not accepted the Likud contention that the withdrawal provisions of 242 do not apply to Judea and Samaria and Gaza, because these are "liberated" territories which had been illegally occupied by Jordan and Egypt respectively.

However, AJC has consistently opposed demands for unilateral, unconditional Israeli withdrawal. We have repeatedly emphasized, most recently in our statement of May 1987, that Resolution 242 "inextricably" links "any withdrawal by Israel's Defense Forces from 'territories occupied' in the June 1967 War to termination on the part of the Arabs of 'all claims or states of belligerency' and their acknowledgement of 'the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force'."

We have repeatedly stated that pre-conditions must not be imposed upon Israel. This principle also applies to the actual extent of any Israeli withdrawal. The AJC has scrupulously refrained from attempting to define borders. We realize that territorial concessions are a complex issue that must be addressed as one element in a package of bargaining chips that will be utilized at the negotiating table.

Israeli settlements in the territories have been and are likely to continue to be a point of contention. Certain groups maintain that these settlements are "illegal" (as did the Carter Administration) and that all Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza should ultimately be dismantled. We have not supported either of these claims. At our 72nd Annual Meeting in May 1978, the AJC declared that "we do not agree with the Carter Administration's interpretation that Israeli settlements in the West Bank are inherently illegal...". At the Annual Meeting in May 1980 we stated, "As regards settlements, we believe that they are not contrary to international law where required for security purposes." Moreover, the AJC emphasized publicly that "Jews have a right to live in the West Bank." (It should be recalled that there was a Jewish presence in the territories that predated the 1948 War. A notable example is the Etzion Bloc, which was a group of Jewish settlements in the West Bank

near Jerusalem established before 1948 and captured by Jordan. These settlements were reestablished in the post-1967 period with approval of the Labor Party, as were settlements along the Jordan River for security purposes.)

However, the AJC has several times made it clear that settlement activity should not be such as to impede the peace process. Thus we stated in our May 1978 statement: "...a pause in further new settlement activity while peace talks are underway or in the offing would improve the atmosphere of negotiations and be conducive to progress in the peace process." In the May 1980 statement, we noted "much criticism in Israel and abroad in recent months as to the political wisdom" of additional settlements. After acknowledging that "only Israel can decide" what its settlement policy should be, the 1980 statement continued:

"Nonetheless, to prevent erosion of support, we urge Israel, its rights notwithstanding, to show restraint in the creation of new settlements at this time. In the meantime, continued emphasis by the U.S. on the alleged illegality of Israeli settlements in administered territories serves no useful purpose. The principal obstacle to Arab-Israeli peace is not Israeli settlement policy which is peripheral but, rather, the continuing refusal of Arab states other than Egypt to recognize Israel and to negotiate with her within the Camp David framework or on any other terms."

Following the announcement of the Reagan Initiative, the Board of Governors adopted a statement, on September 13, 1982, which included the following:

"The American Jewish Committee twice in the past has called for restraint and pause in further settlements by Israel, in the context of ongoing negotiations, at times when it appeared that this would serve the cause of peace. Were Jordan to respond affirmatively to Mr. Reagan's appeal for it to join the peace process we would again be prepared to call for such pause and restraint.

"The American Jewish Committee always has supported the Camp David process as the best framework for advancing peace. As envisaged in the Camp David framework, the final status of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and Gaza is to be negotiated among the parties concerned during the five-year period after a self-governing authority comes into being there. All parties can then make their claim to eventual West Bank and Gaza sovereignty.

"We are opposed to any pre-judging now of what that eventual sovereignty should be, or actions that would create a de facto situation precluding a meaningful decision about these territories. Israel should not be called upon to forswear in advance any negotiating position it may then choose to take."

* * *

GEG/GW

88-580

6053-(IRD-3)-1/27/88: tp



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 64 Street
New York, New York 10022 2-716
212 751 4000
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February 4, 1988

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Shultz:

I am writing to convey my appreciation for the initiative you have taken to advance the Arab-Israeli peace process during this unsettled period. The American Jewish Committee has advocated, particularly during this past year, intensified U.S. efforts to advance the peace process out of our profound concern - a concern we know you share - that conditions might deteriorate as, in fact, they have.

We are gratified that all the parties seek American involvement; this is, we believe, not merely the function of America's global status, but reflects the personal wisdom, understanding and integrity with which you have consistently invested the U.S. role.

I am aware of the complicated and delicate state of the current initiative and, thus, harbor no illusions that it is predestined to succeed. Still, as this effort begins, I feel it is important to communicate our support and encouragement for this difficult but essential undertaking.

Sincerely,

Theodore Ellenoff
Theodore Ellenoff
President

TE:stg

bcc: Marc Tanenbaum
Charney Bromberg
Bill Trosten
Rita Hauser
David Harris

1431

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8805463

Date March 7, 1988

FOR: Mr. Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: The President
From: Mr. Theodore Ellenoff
Date: February 19, 1988
Subject: Refugee Issues - Southeast Asia and the USSR
WH Referral Dated: February 25, 1988
NSC ID# (if any) 8801431

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

ACTION TAKEN:

- XX A draft reply is attached.
_____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
_____ A translation is attached.
_____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
_____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
_____ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
_____ Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:


Director **FI**
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. Ellenoff:

The President has asked me to reply to the letter of February 19, from you and from Mr. Le Xuan Khoa, concerning recent events in Thailand and the Soviet Union affecting refugees.

We share your concern about recent reports of boat pushoffs from Thailand. Our Embassy in Bangkok is continuously monitoring the situation there, and acting in concert with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and private voluntary agencies to provide information and assistance whenever possible. We continue to underline at every opportunity our view that Thailand must take no action,

Mr. Theodore Ellenoff,
President, American Jewish Committee,
165 East 65th Street,
New York, New York.

either at sea or on its borders, that will threaten the lives and well being of those who seek asylum there.

At the same time we recognize the importance of a generous resettlement policy for refugees from that region. That policy recognizes the need for international cooperation in dealing with the refugee flow if first asylum is to be maintained and strengthened. It is also the right policy. The rationale for our various admissions ceilings, given at last September's congressional consultations, remains valid.

We, too, are pleased that our long-standing insistence on the right of emigration is resulting in larger numbers of Armenians and Jews receiving exit permission from the Soviet Union. But it is also true that this success poses very real resource management problems. The increase in refugee applications from both the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe comes at a time when, around the world, the need for refugee numbers remains strong.

As you point out, the solution of moving refugee numbers from one place to another -- for example, from Southeast Asia to Europe and the Soviet Union -- could be less a solution than a cause of problems in its own right.

You suggest that a more appropriate course of action would be to invoke the emergency provisions of the Refugee Act of 1980 and ask for an increase in the refugee ceiling for FY88. That step -- and the concomitant need to identify sources of funding for any increase -- is already under active and intense consideration.

Thank you for expressing your concern with, and offering us your counsel on, these complex refugee issues.

Sincerely,



The American Jewish
Committee

#1457 - *Heppner*
2.5.88
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022 2746
212 751 4000

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John Slawson

February 19, 1988

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As two organizations deeply involved in human relations, human rights and refugee issues, we wish to express our concern about several recent developments affecting refugees.

We are very troubled by reports from Thailand that Vietnamese refugees, arriving in unexpectedly large numbers, are being turned back. As a result, some died tragically at sea. Thailand also is reportedly adopting other measures that would seek to discourage further refugee inflow, including moving some refugee groups perilously close to the Lao and Cambodian borders. On humanitarian grounds, our Government must seek to reverse this Thai policy and insure that Thailand remains a country of first asylum for refugees from neighboring countries.

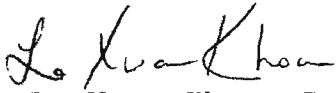
To do so most effectively, the United States must make it absolutely clear that we will admit the maximum number of refugees from the region as provided in the Fiscal Year 1988 ceiling, namely, 29,500. To reduce that figure would mean not only continued hardship for those refugees in first countries of asylum, some of whom have been awaiting resettlement for five years or longer, but also the likelihood of further efforts by Thailand and other countries of first destination to restrict entry. Tragic consequences almost certainly would follow.

At the same time, we recognize that progress with the Soviet Union in the sphere of emigration has been achieved. As a result of the Administration's persistent advocacy of the right to leave in its agenda with Moscow, an increased number of both Armenians and Jews have, as you know so well, been permitted to leave, creating pressure for a shift in refugee numbers from Southeast Asia to the Soviet Union.

We firmly believe that shifting numbers is not the proper answer. Both groups are deserving and of particular concern to the United States. We respectfully urge that our country respond to this dramatic new situation with compassion and generosity by invoking the Emergency Provisions, as provided for in the Refugee Act of 1980, in the case of unanticipated emergency conditions.

We recognize that additional refugee admissions for the current fiscal year would necessitate supplemental funding, but believe that such extra expenditures are warranted by the present situation and justified for both humanitarian and foreign policy reasons.

Respectfully,



Le Xuan Khoa, President
Indochina Resource Action Center



Theodore Ellenoff, President
American Jewish Committee

cc: Howard Baker, Chief of Staff

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1988

Dear Mr. Ellenoff:

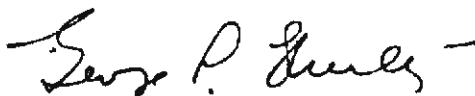
Thank you for your letter of February 4 expressing support for our efforts to advance the peace process in the Middle East.

The work you and the American Jewish Committee have undertaken to encourage the search for peace contributes to our overall efforts to promote mutual understanding among all the parties to the conflict. During my recent trip I found solid support for the U.S. role in this process and a willingness to give the U.S. initiative thorough consideration.

As the President said on Prime Minister Shamir's departure, we believe our proposals offer a realistic and practical opportunity to reach a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I share your concern for the need to move quickly and am prepared to do whatever is necessary to assist the parties in the resolution of their differences. Thank you again for your encouragement.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

Mr. Theodore Ellenoff,
President, The American-Jewish Committee,
165 East 56 Street,
New York, New York.

cc Harris
Tannenbaum