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nejw
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
15 EAST 26th STREET · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010
TELEPHONE: (212) 532-1740

SHIRLEY I. LEVITON
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

DADIE PERLOV
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 2, 1983

Michael Gale
Deputy Special Assistant to the President
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gale:

It was a pleasure talking to you the other day. Your assistance in helping us with our invitation to President Reagan to speak to us at our Convention in March is deeply appreciated.

I have enclosed copies of the original letter of invitation to President Reagan and the response from Fred Ryan as you have requested. If there is anything else we need to provide, please let me know.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Iris Gross
Director
Central Services

IG:ddm

Encl.

May 12, 1982

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the 100,000 volunteers of America's oldest Jewish women's organization, the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), it is my privilege to invite you to greet the delegates to our 35th Biennial National Convention, scheduled to convene in Washington, D.C., from March 3-6, 1982.

As our nation's leader and an active proponent of voluntarism, your presence would serve as an inspiration to the hundreds of dedicated volunteers from across the United States who will travel to the Capitol to attend the convention. These people are the life-blood of close to 2,000 community service projects in our organization's priority areas of children and youth, aging, women's issues, Jewish life, and Israel. NCJW volunteers have made significant contributions to our nation's through such programs as senior citizen services, community day care, child abuse prevention, widow-to-widow support groups, crime victim assistance, and the settlement of new Americans. In Israel, via the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, we have helped to provide educational services to disadvantaged Israeli children and their families.

The theme of the 1983 National Convention, the cornerstone for a year-long observance of NCJW's 90th anniversary, is "Nine Decades of Achievement." During this event, and throughout the year, we will be highlighting our historic and continuing involvement in community service and advocacy. We are proud to have pioneered such programs as Head Start, Meals on Wheels, and the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), as well as a myriad of others in the more than 200 communities nationwide in which NCJW Sections are active.

It would be a major highlight of our anniversary celebration should you consent to greet our 1983 National Convention.

Sincerely,

Shirley I. Leviton
National President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

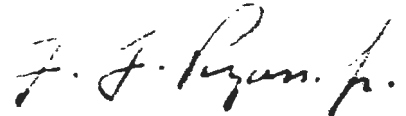
June 25, 1982

Dear Miss Leviton:

The President has asked me to thank you for inviting him to greet the delegates to the 35th Biennial National Convention of the National Council of Jewish Women scheduled to convene in Washington, D.C., March 306, 1983.

We know you will understand that we are unable to project the President's schedule this far in advance. Particular notation is being made of your invitation, however, and nearer the date we will be back in touch with you about the possibility of his acceptance. In the meantime, please know your thoughtfulness of the President is most appreciated.

Sincerely,



Frederick J. Ryan, Jr.
Deputy Director
Presidential Appointments
and Scheduling

Miss Shirley I. Leviton
National President
National Council of Jewish Women
15 East 26th Street
New York, NY 10010

FROM: Rita Lefkort

July 26, 1983

I am writing this memorandum as a result of your telephone call of July 22 informing me that the University of Arizona is bringing in a panel of outside academics to review certain aspects of the University's Middle East Outreach Center, in response to complaints by the Tucson Jewish Community Council over the past two years.

Since you indicated that my name has figured in some of the discussions relating to the Middle East Outreach Council conference of February 1981, I take this opportunity to clarify several points:

1. I attended the conference at Wingspread as the representative of the National Committee for Middle East Studies, of which I was then the professional National Coordinator. NCMES was affiliated with and funded by the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, a non-sectarian educational and research organization.

The NCMES national board of sponsors included state commissioners of education, board of education officials, school administrators, officials of major teachers unions and educational organizations, deans of schools of education, etc., who had been invited to participate in the Committee's efforts to promote interest in and understanding of the Middle East among educators in the United States. NCMES was concerned that any study program about the area should necessarily include Israel as one of the legitimate and permanent members of the Middle East community and should also deal with the various religious, ethnic and cultural groups that make up the Middle East.

In planning its programs and publications, NCMES drew on the expertise of Middle East scholars and social studies specialists. I am not a Middle East scholar. My master's degree is in journalism, from Northwestern University. My knowledge of the Middle East derives from independent study, travel and professional experience, including service at the United Nations with the Israel Mission and in Washington with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

I make no secret of my personal interest in Israel. However, it would be erroneous to assume that I represented any interests at the Wingspread conference other than the National Committee for Middle East Studies, just as it would be erroneous to identify others at the conference by their religious or other personal affiliations rather than by the professional capacities in which they were attending the conference.

I would like to point out that in the document, "Relationship of Local Outreach Activities to Middle East Outreach Centers (MEOC) Nationally," the National Committee for Middle East Studies was incorrectly identified as "of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith" in the description of participants at the 1981 conference. During the five years that I was employed by NCMES, the Committee was not affiliated with the Anti-Defamation League.* Subsequent to my leaving NCMES in the summer of 1981 - several months after the Wingspread conference - the administration of NCMES was transferred to ADL. NCMES continues to have a national board of sponsors. I now serve in a volunteer capacity as a member of the NCMES steering committee.

Furthermore, I find it noteworthy that the authors of the document referred to in the preceding paragraph described the participants at the conference by organization and institution rather than by name, and then in a separate

*The affiliation with the American Academic Association appeared on NCMES stationery.

paragraph, stated: (see page 2 of "Relationship of Local Outreach Activities...")

"One person attending was Ms. Rita Lefkort, National Coordinator, National Committee for Middle East Studies of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (sic)."

2. It would also be erroneous to construe my presence at the Wingspread conference as an endorsement of views expressed there or as proof of the nature of the conference. The stated purpose of the conference was "to discuss how university centers can serve more effectively to increase public understanding of the Middle East." I had no part in planning the agenda, or selecting the speakers or other participants, or otherwise influencing the character of the proceedings. Acceptance of the invitation to attend did not constitute endorsement of the proceedings or any reports or statements made by other persons. Any attempt to prove the objectivity of the conference by citing my presence is inappropriate.

I must take exception if my name and religious affiliation (stated or implied) have been cited as proof of the balance of the Wingspread conference.

My invitation to the conference came, I believe, as a result of the fact that I had been exchanging information on our activities with center coordinators for several years. I attended the conference to learn more about what people in the field of Middle East studies were doing to promote understanding of the Middle East, a concern which NCMES shared. I also wanted to bring to their attention the work of NCMES, particularly to promote participation in the annual Middle East Studies Institute for American educators on the pre-collegiate level which NCMES cosponsored with the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of School Administrators at Tel Aviv University.

I came away from the conference with a profound sense of alarm that the outreach programs were not universally adhering to the academic impartiality and objectivity required of federally funded university-based programs. I was distressed to witness the extent to which pro-Arab interests were being promoted and Israel excluded in campus-based activities directed toward teachers and students as well as business people and the media.

There was virtually no reference to Israel during the formal sessions of the conference with the exception of ^{highly critical} statements made by several speakers not connected with the outreach centers. I was left with the impression that to many of the presenters at the conference, their Middle East agendas did not include Israel. The exclusion of Israel, whether deliberate or happenstance, presents a distorted perspective of the Middle East and does not reflect accurate scholarship on the part of those claiming to be academic authorities.

It is not accurate to say that the conference was confined to discussion of procedures and mechanics of outreach programs. The showing of a film on Saudi Arabia, the presentation of materials like Sheila Scoville's Media Briefing Packet are but two examples of substantive material presented during the conference. (See below.)

Moreover, it appeared to me that the conference organizers had not made a substantial effort to have a more representative attendance. Perhaps that was not their function, but the result was troubling: discussions centered on Arab interests and concerns, to the exclusion of other aspects of the Middle East.

representatives of several oil companies, and there were many references to the involvement of oil companies in the ongoing activities of individual outreach centers. The conference was sponsored by the Middle East Outreach Council "with the assistance of the Mobil Foundation and Exxon Corporation." (I do not know how much money was involved.) Executives of Mobil, Exxon and Standard Oil of California were in almost constant attendance, participating in the formal program and giving advice. Exxon presented a film on Saudi Arabia and the Mobil representative spoke on "Working With and Through the Oil Companies."

The film was a slick promotion of Saudi Arabia which struck me as extremely propagandistic, designed to persuade Americans of Saudi Arabia's importance to the United States. I had doubts whether the film accurately portrayed the life in Saudi Arabia - e.g., I thought the status of women in Saudi Arabia was shown to be more advanced than it is usually described in studies of the country. One of the teachers at the conference remarked that there was insufficient coverage of Saudi life outside the cities. I make no claim to expert knowledge of Saudi Arabia, but it appeared to me that only the most positive aspects of Saudi Arabia were included in the film.

The representative of Exxon announced that 100 copies of the film were being made. He offered copies to any centers that had film lending programs and also said that a flyer and teachers' handbook would be produced to accompany the film.

The question is not Exxon's right to produce and distribute a film to project a certain point of view -- rather whether it is appropriate for such films to be presented as instructional material under the prestigious auspices of university outreach centers. If, as I understand, the Exxon film is in use by the MEOC at the University of Arizona, I trust that the review panel will judge its suitability as a teaching tool offered by the outreach center.

You asked me to comment on Sheila Scoville. She was one of the principal organizers of the Middle East Outreach Council and of the Wingspread conference and she arranged to obtain the Council's articles of incorporation in Arizona. She, (along with a vice president of the Johnson Foundation, at whose center the conference was held) was listed as a contact for the press at the conference. She was one of three people selected to serve as directors of the Council until the first annual meeting. She gave the introductory address at the conference and presented the bylaws, charter, nominees, etc. At a later session devoted to outreach to the media, Ms. Scoville presented a Media Briefing Packet which she had prepared and was distributing to the media from the University of Arizona MEOC.

I thought the Briefing Packet was superficial and lacking in accuracy in a number of instances, e.g.:

The Packet cover showed a map of the Middle East with capital cities appearing with an asterisk. The entry for Israel showed Tel-Aviv Yafo (without an asterisk). The word Jerusalem did not appear on the map. This omission makes a very political statement.

The background sheet on Israel contained in the Packet gave the following description of land: "20,720 kilometers (excluding about 64,750 square kilometers of occupied territory in Jordan, Egypt and Syria.)" There was no reference to the fact that Jordan's claim to the territory is debatable.

In the brief chronology on Israel, the entry for 1948 was "State of Israel is established, followed by open warfare between the Arabs and Israel" -- with no reference to who started the war, while the entry for 1956 stated: "Israel invades Sinai and Anglo-French forces take over Canal Zone, but leave a month later." At least the notation on 1973 stated "Egypt and Syria attack Israeli forces."

The only references to the peace process in the entry for 1978 were "Jordan announces that she has no legal or ethical commitment to Camp David Peace Plan" and "Linking of an overall Middle East peace to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty is rejected by Israel." At best, this is peculiarly inadequate treatment of the landmark treaty and the U.S. initiative in bringing it about.

The entry for 1980 stated: "Israel Ambassador presents credentials to President Sadat," but no mention was made of an Egyptian Ambassador presenting credentials to then President Naveh, an event of major significance in Israel's history.

The imbalance and lack of scholarship reflected in the treatment of Israel in the Media Briefing Packet raised questions in my mind about the calibre and fairness of other aspects of the University of Arizona's outreach center programs. I trust that the Packet will be included in the review being made by the panel.

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photographs with local working, relaxing, celebrational — any setting you can

10 for each picture used. Photo Parade" and include the number, and title or in the photograph.

Arizona Post, 102 N. 85719.

approaches ion goal

who recognize the need for a closure of 1983's efforts have helped us a great deal," he said.

Abrams urged everyone who held cards to complete them as quickly as possible and asked anyone in the community who has not made a 1983 pledge to do so.

The Council will soon be entering its budgeting process for 1984 and estimates of the final campaign total will be used to base the 1984 allocations to local agencies such as Jewish Family Service, Handmaker Geriatric Center, and the Jewish Community Center and other local institutions as well as those overseas and in Israel.

Anyone wishing to make a pledge or send a check may contact the Combined Jewish Appeal, 102 N. Plumer, Tucson, Az. 85719, 884-8921.

Analysis

Near East Center's Outreach

By Carol Karsch, Chairman
Community Relations Committee,
Tucson Jewish Community Council

A grave issue has faced the Tucson Jewish community for the past two years. The core of the problem was the promotion of pro-Arab materials in our children's elementary and high school classrooms. These materials were distributed through an Outreach Program emanating from the Near Eastern Center of the University of Arizona.

At the start of this New Year we can take heart that our efforts were meritorious and productive. We feel gratified and now is the time to reflect.

On Erev Yom Kippur, the TUSD does not collaborate district in Arizona, released a strong and well documented report. TUSD found improprieties, the appearance of a pro-Arab anti-Israel viewpoint and emphasized that the TUDS does not collaborate with the Outreach Program.

On Sukkot, University of Arizona President Henry Koffler released University findings which included information about the funding sources of the Outreach and the opinions of a panel of Middle East scholars on the program's operations and materials.

After two years of being characterized as a "federally funded" program, the University findings now show significant oil company contributions to the Outreach budget (nearly 50% for 82/83). Secondly, it was found that the program lacked accountability and supervision and needed major changes in structure. The

panel also recommended that responsibility be shifted to an inter-departmental faculty oversight committee and not rest with one individual, as has been the case.

What about the materials themselves? Our research and that of the Anti-Defamation League and American Jewish Committee evaluated the materials on the Arab-Israeli conflict as biased, propagandistic and having a strong pro-Arab anti-Israel slant. The panel found that the materials were not scholarly and characterized them as "superficial and uninspired," "lacking in depth" and most importantly, often containing a "point of view."

We must not let ourselves get bogged down in a battle of semantics. Whether to call pro-Arab materials "biased" or to say that they demonstrate a "point of view," the effect remains the same. Actions speak louder than words. The major thrust of Dr. Koffler's report was the admission of an overriding need for radical changes in the program.

Our central concern has always been the effect of material with a biased point of view upon school children.

In this report, the panel disclaimed expertise stating early in their report: "None of us had experience teaching at pre-college levels. We claim no expertise in determining appropriate Middle East studies curricula for high school students." Consistent with this, President Koffler had previously written that "the question of how materials are used in class seems to be a mat-

ter for the schools and teachers to decide."

The President and panel were right to defer in their judgements to school authorities who do have the expertise. We heartily commend TUSD for their forthright action on so important a matter as the protection of our children from presentations of biased materials.

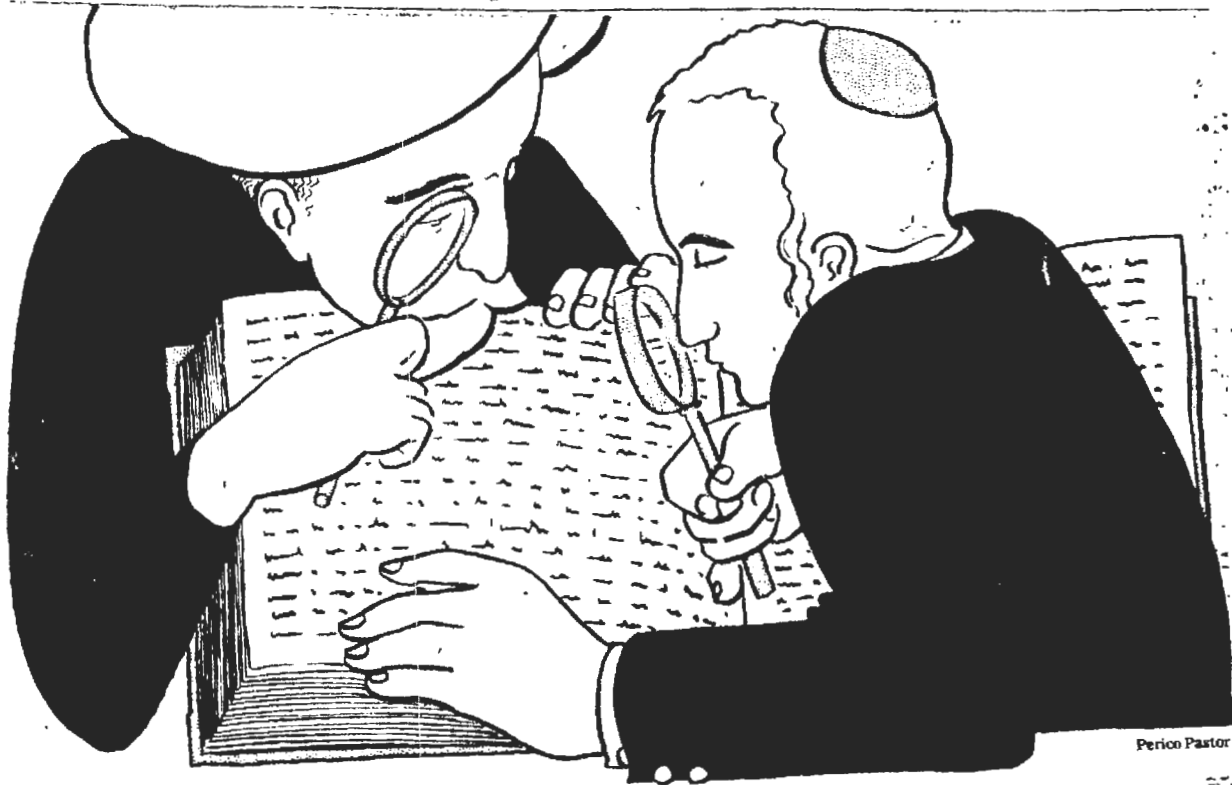
We have just spent two years battling for something that we care so much about. This crucial volunteer effort, involving dozens of Council leaders, under two Council presidents, Dr. Jack Cole and Saul Tobin, demonstrates the vitality of our Jewish community.

We all know that the field of the Middle East has become increasingly politicized and vulnerable to the propaganda war. Our responsibility in Tucson is part of a national challenge to

financed effort to promote the Arab cause while attempting to undermine the legitimacy of Israel. The price of Jewish security has always been vigilance. Here in Tucson, as elsewhere, each and every one of us needs to be aware of and involved in this ongoing effort.

At the same time, we as a Jewish community, and as individuals, will continue to invest in our equally compelling commitment to the healthy growth of our larger Tucson community. We must help to insure fairness and equal opportunity and protection of all citizens so that everyone has an equal share in our abundant society.

The New Year is the time to reflect and to reaffirm both commitments.



The Middle East Turmoil Spills Into U.S. Classrooms

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

WASHINGTON—Last summer, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee charged that a textbook published by the State University of New York on the Middle East was anti-Arab. In August, the University of Arizona completed an investigation of charges that a program on the Middle East conducted in the Tucson schools by the university's Near Eastern Center contained an anti-Israel bias.

In recent years, such charges and countercharges have become almost as much a part of the academic scene as football rallies and tuition increases. The result is that Middle East studies is controversial in a way that the history of the French and Indian War, say, seldom is. "You have to weigh every word," said Ervand Abrahamian, professor of history at Baruch College at the City University of New York. "When you're teaching medieval history, it's not so sensitive. With this subject you really have to be careful."

Middle East studies itself has come a long way in the past several decades, with new courses, programs and materials springing up as the Middle East has taken on new importance in international affairs. As recently as the postwar years, American universities considered the region something of an academic backwater. Today, with Americans trying to sort out the kind of tensions that led to recent terrorist bombing attacks in Beirut and elsewhere, American universities offer more than 100 programs on the language, history, culture and politics of the region.

"When I first entered this field, I had the illusion I could read just about everything there was printed in the area," said L. Carl Brown, professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. "I don't even have that illusion anymore. We now have the kind of specialization that is roughly similar to the specialization there is in Western studies."

With the increased popularity has come controversy, much of it from outside the academic community. In Arizona, for example, it was the Tucson Jewish Community Council that argued that the printed materials used in the university's program were biased against Israel.

An independent committee established by Henry Koffler, the university president, found that the program did not have appropriate supervision but that the materials, while generally superficial and uninspiring, were not biased.

Many scholars in Middle Eastern studies have tried to walk a middle path by presenting an "eye-of-the-beholder's" view of history, which seeks to offer students the perspectives of the residents of the region. "I try to let the inhabitants of the regions speak for themselves through translations of political figures, historians, novelists and poets," said Gene R. Garthwaite, professor

of history at Dartmouth College, where nearly three-quarters of the history majors select Middle East studies to satisfy their requirements for non-Western history. "The key is to get the students to understand the history as the people of the region who are living it perceive it. That diffuses some of the hostility that students sometimes bring to this subject."

Professor Garthwaite said that teachers of the Middle East must do more than simply offer their students a panorama of events and cultures that have animated the region. They must also battle the stereotypes that students, even at the college level, bring to this subject. "Americans generally come with a great deal of hostility toward the Islamic world," he said. "Add the politics of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the fact that the Arabs are an alien people, and the legacies of the Holocaust, the oil crisis and the Iranian hostages, and the centuries-old antagonisms are only reinforced."

Many teachers of the subject, aware that their points of view are clear in their lectures, take pains to assign textbooks that take a different perspective. "I hope that balances things out," said Professor Abrahamian, who said he has an "independent Marxist point of view."

How They Think

The area itself, with conflicting religious groups, myriad splinter organizations, high feelings of nationalism and centuries of conflict, presents scholars with formidable obstacles. "Although it is difficult to teach because of the political situation, it's even more so because of the difficulties in general of understanding the perceptions of people in the area," said I. William Zartman, professor of international politics at Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies. "The problem is that the material is difficult to understand, and not the way chemistry is difficult to understand. We don't think like Syrians or Israelis, and understanding how they think is difficult."

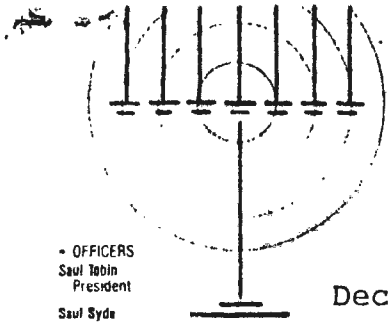
Even so, some of the leading Middle Eastern scholars in the United States believe the topic is more easily taught now than in the past. Their reasons include more interest in the subject, more translations of literature from the region, increased American scholarship on Middle Eastern affairs and, generally, a greater sense of openness about it. Moreover, some argue, the political situation in the region is, despite the continued violence, less hopeless than at other times.

"Even though no political solution has been found, there is more of a recognition that the only solution is some kind of compromise arrangement," said Ira Lapidus, professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley, and the incoming president of the Middle East Studies Association, a professional organization. "People are more willing today to take in an opponent's point of view. Since Sadat went to Jerusalem, it has become more of a talkable issue."

The New York Times

THE WEEK IN REVIEW

Section 4
Sunday, December 25, 1983



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(602) 884-8921

December 30, 1983

Letter-To-The-Editor
Week In Review
New York Times
229 W 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Dear Editor:

Bravo to David Shribman and the New York Times for focussing national attention on a troublesome issue "The Middle East Turmoil Spills Into U.S. Classrooms".

The Tucson Jewish Community Council, mentioned in the Times article of December 25th, became involved when parents and students reported pro-Arab/anti-Israel programs in Tucson schools. These activities were part of a Middle East Outreach network, funded in part by the U.S. Department of Education and designed to move off the campus and into elementary and high schools. No objection was ever raised, nor would it be, to academic functions within the University itself.

The Tucson Unified School District, largest in Arizona, conducted an independent investigation. Finding evidence of bias and impropriety, the school district disassociated itself from the Outreach Program.

Middle East Outreach activities in the pre-college setting are particularly vulnerable to propaganda. Teachers will tend to take for granted the fairness and objectivity of a program with university sponsorship and federal funding. In fact, the Outreach activities are prime targets for abuse for 3 reasons:

12/30/83

page 2.

[1] The Middle East, to say the least, is conflictive, emotional, and complex. To attempt to simplify it for a school child, while retaining necessary objectivity, is exceedingly difficult.

[2] In recent years a major effort has been made to improve the Arab image. The Times article picks this up when it describes a professor's mission to "combat stereotypes". Image rectification indeed has been the cornerstone of the federally funded Middle East Outreach Programs. Although benign in the abstract, when image correction becomes a concrete goal, the results can be insidious. In the case of the Middle East, boosting the Arab image often translates into the exclusion and denigration of Israel and her legitimacy as a Middle Eastern State.

[3] Arab governments, organizations and oil companies, notably Mobil and Exxon, produce and finance much of the Outreach material as well as contribute directly to the Centers. At the University of Arizona nearly 50% of the budget for 1982-83 was provided by petroleum interests. Moreover, oil executives consult with and advise outreach coordinators.

Even assuming the best of intentions from Arab governments and oil company personnel, when it comes to teaching children about the Middle East, how objective can they be?

The pitfalls then are clear. The question is: Who is going to prevent the "turmoil from spilling into the classroom"?

The U.S Department of Education? No. They are on record as precluding substantive review as a matter of policy.

Universities? Maybe. But experience shows otherwise.

If Tucson's example is instructive, responsibility to protect our children will ultimately have to be exercised by public school administrators and community leaders. A vigilant press may well be the best safeguard.

Sincerely,

Carol W Karsch

Carol Karsch, Secretary
Tucson Jewish Community Council

CK:vs

New York Times
Letters to the Editor
New York, New York

January 17, 1984

To the Editor:

The article on "Middle East Turmoil" (News in Review, December 1983) was brought to my attention because it was to our public school classrooms that we wished to avoid the spillage.

The Tucson Unified School District conducted its own investigation of the Middle East Outreach Program as it related to the public schools. Our compliance officer found instances of misrepresentation, bias and noncompliance with civil rights legislation. As a result, notice was sent to District teachers and librarians informing them that this School District does not recognize the so-called "Survey History of the Mid-East" for credit nor will it allow the materials to be used in our classrooms.

There is room in the academic community for many points of view. But the public schools should be honored as places where students can learn and grow, free from the pressures of propaganda.

Eva K. Bacal, Governing Board
Tucson Unified School District
1010 East 10th Street
Tucson, Arizona 85717
(602) 882-2438



National Council of Jewish Women

15 East 26th Street
New York, New York 10010
212-532-1740

Telex: 428540 NCJW UI

File for
this event

President
Barbara A. Mandel

January 20, 1984

Executive Director
Dadie Perlov, CAE

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1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
202-296-2588

Israel Office
NCJW Research Institute
School of Education
Hebrew University
Mount Scopus
Jerusalem, Israel 91905
NCJW Office: 02-882-208
Institute Office: 02-882-016

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617-244-8000

Dr. Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dr. Breger:

National Council of Jewish Women leaders are looking forward to a White House briefing by Michael J. Horowitz and Faith R. Whittlesey on Wednesday, February 1, 1984 from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M. in the Old Executive Office Building of the White House Compound.

In order to make this a meaningful dialogue, we have identified the following areas that will be of concern to our members:

- The major domestic issues encompassed in the "gender gap."
- The question of fairness in regard to the economic program of budget and tax cuts and the perception that the poorest families have lost the most, especially female-headed households.
- The issue of individual rights - Federal government's responsibility to uphold and protect the rights of the individual.
- Civil rights - In the past the Federal government assisted women's progress in employment and education through equal opportunity and affirmative action programs. Federal support for such programs appears to have eroded.
- Legal services - NCJW volunteers in community services are aware of the increasing difficulty their clients have in gaining access to legal services. We would therefore be interested in a review of current policy on these issues.
- The NCJW delegates would be interested in exploring administration policy with regard to child care. Despite the dramatic increase in employment of working mothers who are often single parent heads of household, the national response to this issue does not appear to match the need.

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- NCJW is interested in data on the delivery of services since the block grant system went into effect.

We hope to have the opportunity for at least fifteen minutes of questions to each of the speakers.

As soon as the list of NCJW participants in this briefing is complete, we will forward it to you.

Sincerely,

Barbara A. Mandel

Barbara A. Mandel
National President

BAM:ids

MARSHALL BREGER'S ADDRESS BEFORE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH
WOMEN'S ANNUAL DINNER - JANUARY 30, 1984

I am still new on the job - less than a month - thus I am still in awe of assignments like this - speaking to you both for and from the President of the United States. I am privileged to offer you the following greetings from the President of the United States:

I am pleased to extend warmest greetings to those who gather for the National Convention of the National Council of Jewish Women.

As the country's oldest Jewish women's organization, the Council has assisted women, minorities, and underprivileged youth in the United States and throughout the world. Your members have played a major role in advancing equal rights, education, and other important causes during periods of great change. You are to be commended for your willingness to get involved in projects that make life better for all of us.

I congratulate the National Council of Jewish Women for your contributions to our nation and wish you continued success in the years to come.

I wish to make a personal note - NCJW is just entering its 91th year. It was begun in a time when the Jewish community was less certain of its relationship to American public and the American polity. Nonetheless even in those early years, NCJW focused not only on Jewish issues - the problem of integrating immigrants or "greeners" into American society, but also on civic matters of public concern - child labor - juvenile justice, among others. The twinning of the particularist and universalist impulse is particularly characteristic of NCJW. It falls, as well, in the best tradition of classical Jewish thought.

As many of you know, we read in synagogues and temples recently the portion of the week called Mishpatim or Laws. That bible portion includes a laundry list of laws which the rabbis are fond of telling us that this list begins not with laws of temple worship, rules of prayer, or of commercial relations, but rather laws related to the treatment of a servant by his master - a code, so to speak, of master-servant relations. This classical Jewish focus on the primacy of this worldly concerns is evocative of the spirit of NCJW.

I am delighted to have the pleasure of sharing this evening with you. Thank you very much.

laws and regulations that we are



ncjw

NCJW Joint Program Institute

**The Mayflower Hotel,
Washington, D.C.**

January 30–February 2, 1984

TODAY'S INVESTMENTS—TOMORROW'S DIVIDENDS

Sunday, January 29

9:30 AM–10:00 PM
Colonial Room

National Executive Committee Meeting

1:00 PM–10:00 PM
South Carolina Room

State Public Affairs Training Institute
Chairwoman: Ellyne Steele
National SPA Coordinator

Monday, January 30

JPI – DAY ONE

9:00 AM–Noon
Colonial Room

National Executive Committee Meeting

South Carolina Room

SPA Training Institute

10:00 AM–5:00 PM
Promenade

INSTITUTE REGISTRATION

1:00 PM–2:30 PM
Senate Room

Israel Affairs National Committee Meeting

East Room

National Affairs/Community Services National Committee Meeting

3:00 PM
Grand Ballroom

OPENING SESSION: Working in Washington Orientation

Chairwoman: Florence Schornstein,
National Vice President
Chairwoman, JPI Committee

Invocation: Lenore Feldman,
National Vice President

Speaker: *Mark E. Talisman, Director
Council of Jewish Federations
Washington Action Office

4:00 PM–5:15 PM
Colonial Room

Advocacy Workshops

Leader:
Lenore Feldman
National Vice President

Resource:
Amy Tanne
National Vice Chairwoman, SPA

East Room

Bebe Mann
National Assistant Treasurer

Ellyne Steele
National SPA Coordinator

State Room

Diane Marowitz
National Vice President

Sue Plastrik
Chairwoman, NACS Committee

Chinese

Carole Stein
National Board Member

Anna Mae Ross
Vice Chairwoman, NACS Committee

Senate Room

Claire Wolf, Chairwoman
JPI Special Recognition Award Committee

Claudia Gold
Michigan SPA Chairwoman

6:15 PM
East Room & Promenade

No Hostess Reception

**All speeches/sessions so marked will be audio-cassette recorded.
Cassettes will be available for purchase during JPI and by mail order afterward.*

7:00 PM
Grand Ballroom

OPENING DINNER

Chairwoman: Joan Bronk, Vice Chairwoman
JPI Committee

Invocation: Eleanor Marvin, Honorary Vice President

Greetings: Marshall Breger, Ph.D.
Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

Award: Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro (New York)

Presenter: Diane Marowitz
National Vice President

Award to NCJW for Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA)

Presenter: Dorcas Hardy, Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services
Department of Health and Human Services

Acceptance by: Barbara A. Mandel
National President

Keynote Address: *Barbara A. Mandel

Speaker: *Max Lerner, Ph.D., Syndicated Columnist
New York Post
Professor, American Studies
University of Notre Dame
"Choosing a President in the Media Age"

**Tuesday,
January 31**

JPI – DAY TWO
8:00 AM–Noon
Promenade

INSTITUTE REGISTRATION

7:45 AM
Grand Ballroom

CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST

8:30 AM–9:45 AM

PLENARY—"The Social Costs of a Viable Economy"

Chairwoman: Sue Plastrik, Chairwoman
NACS Committee

Speakers: *Robert Kuttner, Contributing Editor
The New Republic

*Alfred Kahn, Ph.D., Professor
Social Policy and Planning
Columbia University School of Social Work

10:15 AM–Noon
Senate Room

Social Policy Seminars

Seminar: Crime

Chairwoman: Lynn Lyss, National Vice President
Vice Chairwoman, JPI Committee

Speakers: Alfred Regnery, Esq., Director
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
Department of Justice

Jerome Miller, D.S.W., Executive Director
National Center on Institutions and Alternatives

Resource: Diana Aviv, Director, Program Services

Recorder: Betty Hornstein
National Board Member

East Room

Seminar: Dependent Care

Chairwoman: Julie Gertler
National Board Member

Speakers: Helen Blank, Director
Child Care and Family Support Services
Children's Defense Fund

JoAnn Gasper, Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Social Service Policy
Department of Health and Human Services

Resource: Carolyn Kunin, Program Coordinator

Recorder: Dorothy Lasday
National Board Member

State Room

Seminar: Employment

Chairwoman: Nan Wood
National Vice President

Speakers: Joyce Kaiser, Associate Assistant Secretary
Employment Training Administration
Department of Labor

Jeri Palast, Legislative Coordinator
Service Employees International Union

Resource: Deborah Kaniewski, NCJW Government Liaison

Recorder: Grace Hudson
National Board Member

Chinese Room

Seminar: Health Care

Chairwoman: Diane Kessler
National Board Member

Speakers: Judith Waxman, Director
National Health Law Program

Jack Meyer, Ph.D., Director
Center for Health Policy Research
American Enterprise Institute

Resource: Holly Sloan Smith, Program Coordinator

Recorder: Naomi Parker, Vice Chairwoman
Joint Foreign Policy Committee

Colonial Room

Seminar: Hunger/Poverty

Chairwoman: Sue Plastrik, Chairwoman
NACS Committee

Speakers: Diana Pearce, Ph.D., Director of Research
Center for National Policy Review
Catholic University School of Law

Tony Pellechio, Deputy Assistant Secretary
of Income Security
Department of Health and Human Services

Resource: Sammie Moshenberg, Professional Assistant

Recorder: Andi Salsberg, Vice Chairwoman
Women's Issues Priority

Noon

Silent Vigil For Soviet Jewry

Coordinator: Marilyn Brafman, Chairwoman
Soviet Jewry Subcommittee

Lunch On Your Own

2:00 PM–3:00 PM
Grand Ballroom

Briefing on American Foreign Policy and Israel

Chairwoman: Hortense Tonner, Chairwoman
Joint Foreign Policy Committee

Speakers: Thomas A. Dine, Executive Director
American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)

Marilyn Flanzbaum
National Israel Affairs Committee

3:15 PM

Board buses (17th Street entrance) for trip to State Department

4:00 PM–5:30 PM

Briefing at State Department

Chairwoman: Florence Schornstein
National Vice President

Introductions: Eleanor Rubin, Vice Chairwoman
Israel Affairs Committee

Speakers: Hon. Lawrence S. Eagleburger
Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Hon. Caspar Weinberger
Secretary of Defense

Dinner On Your Own

7:45 PM

Grand Ballroom

PLENARY—Public Education in America Today

Chairwoman: Lynn Lyss
National Vice President

Award: Rep. George Miller (California)

Presenter: Nan Wood, National Vice President

Introductions: Bernice Frieder
National Board Member

Speakers: *Dr. Iris C. Rotberg, Assistant Director
National Institute of Education

*Joanne T. Goldsmith, Executive Director
National Coalition for Public Education
and Religious Liberty

**Wednesday,
February 1**

JPI—DAY THREE

7:45 AM

Grand Ballroom

Continental Breakfast

8:30 AM–10:00 AM

PLENARY—Legislative Briefing

Chairwoman: Anna Mae Ross, Vice Chairwoman
NACS Committee

Award: Rep. Dante B. Fascell (Florida)

Presenter: Elinor Multer
National Treasurer

Speakers: Deborah Kaniewski
NCJW Government Liaison

Evelyn Dubrow, Vice President
International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

10:30 AM–Noon	State Caucuses — Ellyne Stele, National SPA Coordinator Joan Suall, Associate Director, Program Services, Resource
<i>East Room</i>	Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina Chairwomen: Mara Giuliani Florida SPA Co-Chairwoman Margie Steiner Georgia SPA Chairwoman
<i>Chinese Room</i>	New York Chairwomen: Arden Slavin Lenore Weintraub New York SPA Co-Chairwomen; Nancy Jorisch, Co-Vice Chairwoman
<i>Colonial Room</i>	New Jersey Chairwoman: Meryl Fogelson New Jersey SPA Chairwoman
<i>State Room</i>	Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia Chairwoman: Gloria Wolfson Maryland SPA Chairwoman
<i>Rhode Island Room</i>	Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island Chairwoman: Gail Weinstein Connecticut SPA Chairwoman
<i>Pennsylvania Room</i>	Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Kansas Chairwoman: Barbara Newmark Missouri SPA Chairwoman
<i>Massachusetts Room</i>	California, Oregon, Washington Chairwoman: Amy Tanne National SPA Vice Chairwoman Oregon SPA Chairwoman
<i>Maryland Room</i>	Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia Chairwoman: Barbara Rabkin National SPA Vice Chairwoman Ohio SPA Chairwoman
<i>New York Room</i>	Indiana, Michigan Chairwoman: Claudia Gold Michigan SPA Chairwoman
<i>North Carolina Room</i>	Pennsylvania, Delaware Chairwomen: Mildred Hand Sally Friedman Pennsylvania SPA Co-Chairwomen
<i>Virginia Room</i>	Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois Chairwomen: Lenore Holt-Darcy Illinois SPA Chairwoman Judy Ravine Minnesota SPA Chairwoman
<i>South Carolina Room</i>	Texas, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado Chairwoman: Dee Dee Ostfeld Texas SPA Chairwoman
<i>Senate Room</i>	Alabama, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi Chairwoman: Janet Lubow Tennessee SPA Chairwoman

Lunch On Your Own

1:15 PM–2:30 PM **Meeting with Congressional/House Committee Members and Staff**

2:45 PM–5:00 PM **Visits to Senators and Representatives on Capitol Hill**

4:00 PM–6:00 PM

White House Briefing
Old Executive Office Building
17th Street Entrance
White House Compound

(The White House limited attendance to 200 JPI participants, with advance registration and security clearance required.)

Speakers:	Faith R. Whittlesey Assistant to the President for Public Liaison	Michael J. Horowitz, Esq. Counsel for the Director Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
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7:30 PM

ISRAEL DINNER

Grand Ballroom

Chairwoman:	Barbara A. Mandel National President	Introduction:	Lois Zaas, Chairwoman Israel Affairs Committee
Invocation:	Bette Miller, Vice Chairwoman Israel Affairs Committee	Speaker:	Barbara Leslie NCJW UN Representative Update on UN Decade for Women Conference
Reports:	Florence Schornstein, White House Briefing Ellyne Steele, Capitol Hill	Speaker:	*Hon. Meir Rosenne Israeli Ambassador to the United States
Greetings:	Dalia Ganor NCJW Israel Representative		

**Thursday,
February 2**

JPI – DAY FOUR

7:45 AM

Grand Ballroom

Continental Breakfast

8:15 AM–9:30 AM

PLENARY—“Living in a Nuclear Age”

Chairwoman:	Joan Bronk, Chairwoman National Field Service Committee
Speaker:	*Anne Cahn, Ph.D., Director Committee for National Security

9:30 AM–10:00 AM

“The NCJW Change Agent: Commitment, Action, Achievement”

Speaker:	*Dadie Perlov Executive Director
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10:15 AM–Noon

Workshops:

Leaders:

Speakers:

<i>Chinese Room</i>	Aging	Grace Gutman, Chairwoman Aging Priority	Holly Sloan Smith Program Coordinator
<i>State Room</i>	Children and Youth	Judy Bluestone Vice Chairwoman Children and Youth Priority	Diana Aviv Director, Programs
<i>Senate Room</i>	Israel	Eleanor Rubin Vice Chairwoman Israel Affairs Committee	Hannah Levin Director, Israel Affairs
<i>East Room</i>	Jewish Life	Diana Silverman, Chairwoman Jewish Life Priority	Carolyn Kunin Program Coordinator
<i>Colonial Room</i>	Women's Issues	Judy Milton, Chairwoman Andi Salsberg Vice Chairwoman Women's Issues Priority	Marjorie Fine Section Fund Raising Coordinator

12:15 PM–3:00 PM
Grand Ballroom

Closing Luncheon

Chairwoman: Florence Schornstein
National Vice President

Invocation: Luna Diamond, President
Washington, D.C. Section

Annual National Support: Marjorie Weil, Chairwoman
Financial Development Committee

Award: Ted Koppel, Host, ABC-TV "Nightline"

Presenter: Barbara A. Mandel, National President

Presentation of the NCJW Social Action Award to the
Hon. Edward M. Kennedy by Barbara A. Mandel

Acceptance
Remarks: Senator Kennedy

Benediction: Bebe Mann
National Assistant Treasurer

1984 JPI Committee

Florence Schornstein, Chairwoman, Greater New Orleans, LA
Lynn Lyss, Vice Chairwoman, St. Louis, MO
Joan Bronk, Vice Chairwoman, Greater Teaneck, NJ

Diana Aviv, Director, Program Services
Michael Blady, Assistant Director, Program Services
Lenore Feldman, Peninsula, NY
Julie Feuerberg, Seattle, WA
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Bernice Frieder, Denver, CO
Iris Gross, Director, Central Services
Betty Hornstein, Baltimore, MD
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Carolyn Kunin, Program Coordinator
Ronnie Lapinsky, New York, NY
Hannah Levin, Director, Israel Affairs
Shirley I. Leviton, Peninsula, NY
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Sue Plastrik, Lakeville, NY
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Charlene J. Thorne, Convention/Meetings Coordinator
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File -
Jewish speeches

ADDRESS BY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
JANUARY 31, 1984

THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NO ONE IN THIS ROOM WOULD ARGUE WITH THE PROPOSITION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN ENORMOUS STAKE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NOR WILL ANYONE ARGUE AGAINST THE VIEW THAT WE HAVE A VITAL, AND POSITIVE ROLE TO PLAY THERE. YET WHEN WE MOVE BEYOND GENERAL STATEMENTS OF THIS KIND TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS OF HOW BEST TO IMPLEMENT POLICY WE TIME-AND-AGAIN FIND OURSELVES DEEPLY ENMESHED IN DEBATE WHICH OFTEN ASSUMES MAJOR PROPORTIONS.

TAKE OUR MARINES IN BEIRUT, FOR EXAMPLE. WHEN WE MADE OUR ORIGINAL COMMITMENT WE ENJOYED SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT OR, AT LEAST, ACQUIESCENCE; NOW THE DEBATE HAS BEGUN ANEW OVER THIS COMMITMENT AND PROPOSALS TO LIMIT IT. OR, TAKING ANOTHER EXAMPLE, ALMOST ALL AMERICANS AGREE THAT WE NEED TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE MODERATE ARAB STATES; BUT LET US MOVE BEYOND OUR GENERAL STATEMENTS OF INTENT TO POINTS OF SPECIFIC POLICY AND WE AGAIN FIND OURSELVES ENMESHED IN ENDLESS AND HEATED DEBATE.

ONE OF ISRAEL'S FOREMOST STATESMEN, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ABBA EBAN, NOTED THE IMPORTANCE AND THE BREADTH OF THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHEN HE WROTE RECENTLY THAT "THE UNITED STATES IS TODAY THE GUARANTOR OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY, THE PROTECTOR OF THE GULF OIL STATES, THE SOURCE OF

THE REGION'S DEVELOPMENT AID PROGRAMS, THE FRIEND AND SUPPORTER OF EGYPT, LEBANON, JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA, AND THE ASSIDUOUS CONCILIATOR WHENEVER REGIONAL TENSION THREATENS TO BURST INTO FLAME."

WE ARE ABLE TO PLAY THIS ROLE BECAUSE WE HAVE EARNED THE TRUST OF MANY OF THE REGION'S NATIONS. DURING THE PAST DECADE, ESPECIALLY, WE HAVE SHOWN OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE RESULTS IN THE SEARCH FOR A LASTING PEACE IN THAT REGION. SINCE THE END OF THE 1973 OCTOBER WAR ISRAEL HAS SIGNED A PEACE TREATY WITH EGYPT, THE MAY 17 AGREEMENT WITH LEBANON, AND A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT WITH SYRIA. ISRAEL, EGYPT AND THE UNITED STATES ALSO SIGNED THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK, WHICH DEALS WITH THE FUTURE OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE UNITED STATES HAS PLAYED AN INDISPENSIBLE ROLE IN ALL OF THESE AGREEMENTS.

THE BASES OF OUR POLICY

AS SECRETARY SHULTZ SAID ON NOVEMBER 19 BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, THERE IS A CENTRAL CORE TO OUR DIPLOMACY WHICH PULLS TOGETHER ALL OUR STRATEGIC, POLITICAL AND MORAL CONCERNS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT CORE IS OUR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A SECURE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS. LET ME TODAY REVIEW THE

BASES OF OUR POLICY IN THE REGION. FIRST IS A FIRM, UNSHAKEABLE COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. CLEAR AND FREQUENT REAFFIRMATION OF THIS COMMITMENT CONTRIBUTES TO PEACE, BY ASSURING ISRAEL THAT IT CAN PURSUE A JUST SETTLEMENT WITH ITS NEIGHBORS WITH CONFIDENCE IN ITS STRENGTH, AND BY REMINDING ISRAEL'S ADVERSARIES THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO GAIN BY WAITING IN THE HOPE THAT ISRAEL WILL BECOME ISOLATED FROM THE UNITED STATES AND MILITARILY VULNERABLE.

OVER THE PAST THIRTY-ODD YEARS EIGHT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS HAVE SHOWN THAT ISRAEL HAS THE UNITED STATES' FIRM SUPPORT. WE HAVE MAINTAINED THIS BASIC SUPPORT FOR THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL THROUGH GOOD AND BAD TIMES. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION STANDS BY THIS HISTORIC COMMITMENT.

THE SECOND BASIC FACTOR IN OUR MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY IS OUR FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR THE MODERATE ARAB STATES, WHICH HAS HELPED BRING ABOUT IMPORTANT CHANGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST'S POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. FOR TOO LONG, WE HAD TO CONTEND WITH VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS ARAB HOSTILITY TO ISRAEL. THIS SITUATION, WHILE BY NO MEANS YET SATISFACTORY, HAS EVOLVED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. ISRAEL AND EGYPT HAVE SIGNED A PEACE TREATY. KING HUSSEIN IS TRYING TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR JORDANIAN ENTRY INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL. WE SUPPORT HIS EFFORTS.

IT IS TO OUR, AND ISRAEL'S, ADVANTAGE THAT WE MAINTAIN A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARAB WORLD. OUR FRIENDSHIPS WITH THE MODERATE ARAB STATES ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH OUR CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL. WE HAVE A CLEAR INTEREST IN ENSURING THAT ALL THESE NATIONS CAN DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST THE THREAT OF OUTSIDE DOMINATION. OUR FRIENDSHIPS WITH ISRAEL AND THE MODERATE ARAB STATES COMPLEMENT ONE ANOTHER, AND ENABLE US TO PLAY A MORE EFFECTIVE ROLE IN THE REGION.

THE DIPLOMACY OF PEACE

WE KNOW A SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IS POSSIBLE, THANKS TO AN EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT WHO HAD THE COURAGE TO TRAVEL TO JERUSALEM IN SEARCH OF PEACE, AND AN ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER WHO HAD THE VISION TO WELCOME HIM WARMLY. SADAT'S AND BEGIN'S PEACE DIPLOMACY REVEALED THAT THERE WAS A MIDDLE GROUND ON WHICH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES COULD MEET. THEIR DIPLOMACY ALSO PROVED THAT THE EQUATION "PEACE FOR TERRITORY," AS ESTABLISHED BY UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 WAS WORKABLE AND COULD BE IMPLEMENTED. ISRAEL MADE DIFFICULT SACRIFICES IN THE INTEREST OF ACHIEVING PEACE WITH EGYPT. YET THE OUTCOME WAS THE TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP--PEACE WITH SECURITY--WHICH ISRAEL HAD SOUGHT SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

PEACE WITH ISRAEL HAS HAD IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES FOR EGYPT, TOO. OF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS, ONLY EGYPT HAS REGAINED TERRITORY LOST IN THE 1967 WAR, AND EGYPT DID SO BY TALKING WITH, RATHER THAN SHOOTING AT THE ISRAELIS. EGYPT ALSO BROKE THE CYCLE OF WAR IN THE REGION, AND IS NOW ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE FAR MORE OF ITS RESOURCES TO ITS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ALTHOUGH THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP IS NOT AS WARM AS WE WOULD LIKE IT TO BE--AND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO IMPROVE THAT SITUATION--SADAT'S PROMISE OF "NO MORE WAR" APPEARS TO HAVE BECOME REALITY.

THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT OTHERS RECOGNIZE IT IS TIME TO MOVE TOWARD PEACE. WE HAVE HELPED ISRAEL AND LEBANON NEGOTIATE THE MAY 17 AGREEMENT, THE SECOND AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED DIRECTLY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND AN ARAB COUNTRY. RECENT BLOODY CLASHES AMONG PALESTINIAN GROUPS MAY CHANGE PALESTINIAN PERCEPTIONS SO THAT THEY REALIZE THAT THEIR INTERESTS LIE IN A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. EGYPT, SO WIDELY OSTRACIZED AFTER THE 1979 PEACE AGREEMENT, HAS REJOINED THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION.

SO, WHILE MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, THERE HAS, NONETHELESS, BEEN PROGRESS. WE STAND NOW AT A CROSSROADS. THE TIME IS RIGHT TO MOVE TOWARD SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO EXAMINE FOUR ASPECTS OF THE

MIDDLE EAST SCENE: THE SOVIET ROLE, THE CONFLICT IN LEBANON, THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, AND OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

THE SOVIET ROLE

THE MIDDLE EAST'S IMPORTANCE TO THE WEST MAKES IT A TEMPTING TARGET FOR SOVIET MISCHIEF-MAKING. ONE NEED ONLY CONSIDER THE SOVIET EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, OR OBSERVE THE HEADSTRONG RUSH TO REARM SYRIA AFTER ITS 1982 CLASHES WITH ISRAEL, TO REALIZE THAT THE SOVIET ROLE HAS NOT BEEN A POSITIVE ONE.

YET, THE SOVIETS ARE PLAYING WHAT IS BASICALLY A WEAK HAND. SOVIET SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES ARE ANATHEMA TO THE ISLAMIC WORLD. MOREOVER, LEADERS THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD ARE BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT THE SOVIET UNION OFFERS A LESS THAN IDEAL MODEL FOR SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. RECENT EVENTS HAVE ACCELERATED THIS TREND, AS SOVIET AND EAST BLOC AID RECIPIENTS DISCOVER NOT ONLY THE INEFFICIENCY BUT THE PRICE OF THIS AID. AFTER GRENADA, A NEW PHRASE--"TO BE BISHOPED"--HAS ENTERED THE INTERNATIONAL VOCABULARY, WARNING OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF ALLYING ONESELF TOO CLOSELY WITH THE EAST--OR, PERHAPS, OF HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT IT.

FORTUNATELY, THERE IS THROUGHOUT MUCH OF THE ARAB WORLD, AN AWARENESS OF THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET ROLE AND INTENT IN THE REGION. IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT SO MANY OF THE NATIONS THERE LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES: AS A NECESSARY MEDIATOR IN PEACE-MAKING; TO CONTRIBUTE TO REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY; AS A SOURCE OF DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY; AND AS A PARTNER IN MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TRADE.

THE LEBANESE TRAGEDY

FEW OF THE WORLD'S TRAGEDIES MATCH THAT OF LEBANON, WHERE A DELICATE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BALANCE HAS BEEN UPSET, PRIMARILY AS A RESULT OF THE INTERPLAY OF OUTSIDE FORCES ON ITS TERRITORY. THE PRINCIPAL VICTIMS, AS ALWAYS, ARE THE INNOCENTS: MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN CAUGHT IN THE CROSS-FIRE. OUR MORAL VALUES COINCIDE WITH OUR BELIEF THAT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST REQUIRES THAT WE HELP LEBANON FIND A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO ITS PROBLEMS.

A UNITED LEBANON IS IN THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS. ISRAEL AND SYRIA HAVE SECURITY INTERESTS THERE; NEITHER WANTS TO SEE A LEBANON DOMINATED BY THE OTHER. THE ANSWER TO THEIR CONCERNS IS A UNITED LEBANON, ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST OUTSIDE DOMINATION, ALIGNED WITH NEITHER OF ITS

NEIGHBORS, BUT FRIENDLY TOWARDS BOTH. SUCH A SOLUTION WOULD ALLOW A LEVEL OF DISENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA THAT DOES NOT CURRENTLY EXIST, AND WHICH WOULD BE EQUALLY IMPOSSIBLE IF LEBANON FAILS TO REGAIN CONTROL OVER ALL ITS TERRITORY.

ISRAEL AND LEBANON SIGNED AN HISTORIC AGREEMENT LAST YEAR THAT WOULD LEAD TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM LEBANESE SOIL, ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN ISRAEL, AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO ACHIEVE ITS SOVEREIGNTY THROUGHOUT ITS TERRITORY. WE HAD HOPED THAT THE MAY 17 AGREEMENT WOULD BEGIN A PROCESS THAT WOULD LEAVE LEBANON, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A DECADE, FREE OF FOREIGN FORCES.

SYRIA'S ROLE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN--TO PUT IT MILDLY--UNHELPFUL. SYRIA IS CAPABLE OF ACTIONS THAT CAN IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE; THE RELEASE OF LT. GOODMAN IS AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH BEHAVIOR, FOR WHICH THE PRESIDENT FULLY EXPRESSED OUR GRATITUDE.

BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE MISLED BY ONE COMMENDABLE ACT. SYRIA ROUTINELY FACILITATES TERRORIST ACTS IN LEBANON AND OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS ALLIED WITH IRAN AND LIBYA. IT HAS A DEPLORABLE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. IT HAS WORKED TO BLOCK POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN

LEBANON. THESE ARE NOT MERE ALLEGATIONS; THE EVIDENCE IS STRONG.

SYRIA SHOULD NOT MISTAKE THE QUALITY OF OPENNESS INHERENT IN OUR DEMOCRACY--WHICH ALLOWS US TO GIVE CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE, AS IN THE GOODMAN CASE, AND STIMULATES DEBATE OVER OUR POLICIES--FOR WEAKNESS OR LACK OF DETERMINATION. IF THE SYRIANS THINK THEY CAN SMUGLY SIT BY AND WAIT FOR INTERNAL PRESSURES OR THE "VIETNAM SYNDROME" TO FORCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AMERICAN PRESENCE, AS THEY HAVE AT TIMES SUGGESTED TO US AND TO OTHERS, THEY ARE WRONG. I HAVE FAR MORE FAITH IN THE FUNDAMENTAL WISDOM AND DISCIPLINE OF THE AMERICAN BODY POLITIC. WE WILL NOT HAND SYRIA POLITICAL DOMINATION OF LEBANON ON A SILVER PLATTER. AND THOSE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ADVOCATE AN AMERICAN RETREAT SHOULD BE ASKED TO CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH AN ACT. CAN THEY HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT TO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON TODAY WILL NOT BRING FAR MORE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES TOMORROW? DO THEY REALLY BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS AND SYRIANS WOULD NOT BE ENCOURAGED TO ACT EVEN MORE AGGRESSIVELY WITH THE MODERATE ARAB STATES, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES AS THEIR PRINCIPAL TARGETS?

WE HAVE FOUR INTERRELATED GOALS IN LEBANON. THE FIRST IS COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. THE SECOND IS EFFECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS TO PREVENT ATTACKS

AGAINST ISRAEL FROM LEBANESE TERRITORY. THE THIRD IS TO SUPPORT LEBANESE EFFORTS TO REACH AN INTERNAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ON LEBANESE, RATHER THAN EXTERNAL TERMS. THE FOURTH IS TO STRENGTHEN THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND ARMY SO THAT THEY CAN EXTEND THEIR AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT THE LAND.

WE, JOINED BY THREE OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES, HAVE COMMITTED SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES TOWARDS THIS END. THE EXTENT OF THE ATTACKS AGAINST US INDICATES BOTH THE IMPORTANCE OF LEBANON AND HOW DESPERATELY SOME WANT TO THWART OUR EFFORTS. OUR SACRIFICES, AND THOSE OF OUR FRENCH ALLY, HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL. WE ALL DEEPLY MOURN OUR LOSSES; I SAY THIS HAVING GONE TO BEIRUT IN APRIL TO ESCORT THE EMBASSY DEAD BACK TO THE UNITED STATES. YET IF WE CAN HELP BRING PEACE TO THAT SAD CORNER OF THE EARTH, THEIR SACRIFICE WILL NOT HAVE BEEN IN VAIN.

THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE

THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE HAS ALSO BEEN UNFORTUNATE. THOSE WHO CLAIM TO BE THEIR LEADERS HAVE CHASED THE ILLUSION OF MILITARY OPTIONS AND FOOLISHLY REJECTED THE ONLY POSSIBLE PATH TO SOLUTION OF THEIR PROBLEMS: SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. OTHER SO-CALLED, "FRIENDS" HAVE BEEN ALL-TOO-WILLING TO MANIPULATE THE

PALESTINIANS TO ADVANCE THEIR OWN INTERESTS, BUT UNWILLING TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS TO ALLEVIATE THEIR SUFFERING. TOO MANY OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THE PALESTINIAN DRAMA HAVE CARED VERY LITTLE FOR THE VERY PEOPLE THEY PURPORT TO REPRESENT.

I CANNOT SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ABOUT THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM WITHOUT MENTIONING THE PALESTINIANS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THEIR WELL-BEING AND DESIRE FOR A GREATER VOICE IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN DESTINY MUST BE ANOTHER ISSUE OF MORAL CONCERN FOR US, EVEN AS WE CONTINUE TO SEEK A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE STATUS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IF THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PALESTINIANS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA OF A PEACEFUL FUTURE IS TO BE NURTURED, THEY MUST BE GIVEN A STAKE IN THAT FUTURE BY GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, FAIRER ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES, AND GREATER CONCERN FOR THE QUALITY OF THEIR LIVES.

ISRAEL HAS MET THE CHALLENGES OF WAR AND PEACE, AND HAS BEEN FOUND WILLING TO MAKE THOSE SACRIFICES THAT EACH HAS CALLED FOR. ALTHOUGH WE HEAR OFTEN OF THE STRAINS BETWEEN ISRAELI AND ARAB, THEY ARE DESTINED TO BE NEIGHBORS. MILITARY MIGHT AND CONTROL OF TERRITORY HAVE PREVENTED ISRAEL'S DEFEAT ON THE BATTLEFIELD, BUT TRUE SECURITY CAN ONLY BE GAINED WHEN ISRAEL HAS THE ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION OF ITS NEIGHBORS. THAT IS WHY, EVEN AS WE ASSIST ISRAEL TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST

ANY POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR, THE PROMOTION OF ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATION REMAINS THE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY OF OUR DIPLOMACY IN THE REGION.

WHITHER OUR EMBASSY?

IT IS IN CONNECTION WITH THIS SEARCH FOR PEACE THAT I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS AN ISSUE THAT HAS BEEN RAISED BEFORE, AND IS NOW BEFORE THE CONGRESS. AS YOU KNOW, SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE THAT WE MOVE OUR EMBASSY FROM TEL AVIV TO JERUSALEM. ALTHOUGH ISRAEL MOVED ITS GOVERNMENT FROM TEL AVIV TO JERUSALEM IN 1949, THE ULTIMATE STATUS OF THE LATTER CITY HAS NOT BEEN RESOLVED, AND WE HAVE JOINED MOST OTHER COUNTRIES IN MAINTAINING OUR EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV. ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSAL TO MOVE OUR EMBASSY IS WELL MEANT, I BELIEVE THAT DOING SO WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE.

THE ULTIMATE STATUS OF JERUSALEM CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT. IT IS A HIGHLY EMOTIONAL ISSUE FOR JEWS, MUSLIMS, AND CHRISTIANS, ONE WHICH HAS MEANING FOR PEOPLE FAR BEYOND THE MIDDLE EASTERN SCENE.

MOVING OUR EMBASSY WOULD DO ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO ADVANCE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS. INDEED, IT COULD DO MUCH HARM. IT WOULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CHANGE IN

OUR LONGSTANDING APPROACH TO DEALING WITH THE JERUSALEM ISSUE. IT WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERCUT OUR ABILITY TO ACT AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE PARTIES. SUCH A STEP WOULD ALSO MAKE IT HIGHLY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN THE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT ESSENTIAL TO CARRYING FORWARD OUR INITIATIVES FOR PEACE.

FINALLY, BY SHIFTING OUR DECADES-LONG POLICY, WE WOULD UNDERCUT THE NECESSARY GIVE-AND-TAKE OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH IS THE VITAL BASIS FOR RESOLUTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. THIS IS NOT IN OUR INTERESTS; NOR IS IT IN THE INTERESTS OF ARABS AND ISRAELIS. CHANGES IN OUR DIPLOMACY SHOULD FACILITATE OUR EFFORTS AT PEACE-MAKING, RATHER THAN COMPLICATE THEM.

OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, OUR ADMIRATION FOR ISRAEL'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND ITS DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT, AND OUR COMMON STRATEGIC INTERESTS ALL UNDERLIE AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF AMERICAN AND OVERALL WESTERN SECURITY, OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IS A GOOD INVESTMENT IN THE DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

ISRAEL STANDS GEOGRAPHICALLY AT ONE OF THE WORLD'S CROSSROADS. LIKE MOST SUCH CROSSROADS, TENSIONS AS WELL AS

TRADERS AND TRAVELLERS CONVERGE THERE. THE MIDDLE EAST'S RESOURCES MAKE IT A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AREA TO THE DEMOCRATIC WEST. OUR DEPENDENCE ON THE REGION'S RESOURCES ALSO INCREASES ITS IMPORTANCE TO OUR ADVERSARIES. IN THIS DIFFICULT SITUATION, WE HAVE IN ISRAEL A NATION THAT SHARES OUR PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS.

SHARED PRINCIPLES HAVE BOTH MORAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS. ISRAEL IS LIKE US IN SO MANY RESPECTS. ITS ADHERENCE TO LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC VALUES HAS GUARANTEED IT A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STABILITY--A VITAL FACTOR WHEN ONE CHOOSES ONE'S ALLIES. I HAVE NO IDEA, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO WILL BE ISRAEL'S PRIME MINISTER FIVE YEARS FROM NOW; BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT HE WILL BE CHOSEN BY A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT, THAT HE WILL BE LIMITED IN HIS ACTIONS BY ISRAEL'S LAWS AND BY THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, AND THAT HE WILL RESPECT HIS FELLOW CITIZENS' HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS. HE MAY BE ANNOYED BY THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION, BUT HE WILL NOT FEAR IT. WHEN THE TIME COMES, THAT PRIME MINISTER WILL LEAVE OFFICE ACCORDING TO ACCEPTED LEGAL PROCEDURES AND NORMS.

IT IS A SAD FACT THAT SUCH POLITICAL STABILITY IS RARE IN TODAY'S WORLD. IN OUR ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN A FIRM AND COHESIVE POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, FRIENDSHIP WITH A NATION THAT ENJOYS IT IS NOT A BAD PLACE TO START. OTHERS CAN BOAST IF THEY WANT

OF THEIR WARM RELATIONS WITH THE SYRIANS AND THE LIBYANS; WE HAVE REASON TO BOAST ABOUT OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL.

FORTUNATELY, THE REGION'S MOST DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY IS ALSO ONE OF ITS STRONGEST. WE HAVE BEEN CONSISTANTLY IMPRESSED BY ISRAEL'S DETERMINATION TO DEFEND ITS FREEDOM AND INTEGRITY, TOO OFTEN AGAINST LONG ODDS. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD THAT ISRAEL IS NOT ONLY A GUARANTOR OF SECURITY FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE, BUT ALSO A POWERFUL FORCE FOR FREEDOM AND A WORTHY PARTNER FOR THE WEST.

OUR COMMON STRATEGIC GOALS ALSO CEMENT OUR FRIENDSHIP. ISRAEL, TOO, GAINS BY PEACE AND OVERALL STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ISRAEL, TOO, RECOGNIZES THE DANGERS OF SOVIET PENETRATION IN THE REGION. ISRAEL, TOO, REALIZES THAT NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST MUST BE INDEPENDENT, FREE FROM EXTERNAL PRESSURES. AND ISRAEL, TOO, REALIZES THAT IF WESTERN VALUES ARE TO SURVIVE, WESTERN DEMOCRACIES MUST REMAIN STRONG.

THESE GEOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL AND MORAL FACTORS CONVINCE ME THAT A STRONG, CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL MUST BE THE BASEMARK OF OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY. WE BEGIN FROM THERE. A COROLLARY TO THIS POLICY IS THAT WE MUST GUARANTEE THAT ISRAEL REMAINS STRONG. WE HAVE A MORAL INTEREST IN ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL; WE ALSO HAVE A PRACTICAL INTEREST IN ENSURING THAT AS OUR

PRINCIPAL ALLY IN THE REGION IT HAS THE MILITARY POWER TO DETER ITS ENEMIES. A STRONG, CONFIDENT ISRAEL INCREASES THE CHANCES OF PEACE; A WEAK, UNCERTAIN ISRAEL MAKES PEACE UNATTAINABLE.

IT IS IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT OUR CLOSE RELATIONS HAVE ONCE AGAIN BEEN UNDERLINED DURING RECENT MONTHS, BY MY OWN CONSULTATIONS IN ISRAEL, BY PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S DECEMBER VISIT TO WASHINGTON, AND BY THE RECENT POLITICAL-MILITARY TALKS JUST CONCLUDED. THESE CONSULTATIONS REFLECT A BASIC TRUTH ABOUT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. EFFORT IS OFTEN WASTED IN THIS CITY TRYING TO DISCERN WHETHER THE ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IS A DEGREE WARMER OR A DEGREE COOLER THAN USUAL. TEMPERATURE-TAKING IS UNNECESSARY. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL IS A WARM ONE. IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN, AND IT ALWAYS WILL BE. OTHER NATIONS MUST TAKE OUR STRONG FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL AS A GIVEN AS THEY DEVELOP THEIR OWN MIDDLE EAST POLICIES.

TOWARD A SETTLEMENT

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND THE SEARCH FOR PEACE HAS TAKEN A PREEMINENT PLACE IN THE POLITICS OF THE REGION AND, INDEED, IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS ITSELF. IF WE MERELY MEASURED THE RHETORIC PRODUCED IN THE UN AND ELSEWHERE BY THIS CONFLICT, WE WOULD THINK IT VIRTUALLY THE WORLD'S ONLY

PROBLEM. AND, IF WE BELIEVED THE RHETORIC, WE WOULD THINK THAT ISRAEL WAS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST EVIL STATES--RATHER THAN A GREAT HUMAN SUCCESS--AND THAT ITS ENEMIES--EVEN ITS MOST VIOLENT AND UNPRINCIPLED--WERE CARRYING THE BANNER OF THE ANGELS.

IT IS A FACT OF LIFE IN THE REGION THAT EVEN IF ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS SETTLED THEIR DIFFERENCES TOMORROW, WE WOULD STILL BE CONCERNED WITH THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, A HANDFUL OF SMALLER BUT STILL VIOLENT DISPUTES AMONG ARAB STATES, TERRORISM, COLONEL QADHAFI, AND STILL OTHER RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FANATICS WHO SEEK TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL UPON OTHERS.

YET THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE HAS TAKEN AN ENORMOUS HUMAN TOLL; AND IT HAS CREATED DANGEROUS OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUPERPOWER CONFLICT. BUT THERE IS A BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT OF THIS DECADES-OLD DISPUTE. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SEPTEMBER 1, 1982 INITIATIVE, WHICH IS BASED ON THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK AND UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, REMAINS AVAILABLE TO THE PARTIES. WE WILL PERSEVERE IN ADVOCATING IT. THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE IS THE ONE ALTERNATIVE THAT THE ARAB STATES (EXCEPTING EGYPT) HAVE NEVER OFFERED ISRAEL. IT IS ALSO THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE THAT WILL, IN THE LONG RUN, WORK.

THE UNITED STATES IS IN A UNIQUE POSITION TO ENCOURAGE PEACE. AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE THIS OBLIGATION AND RESPONSIBILITY SERIOUSLY. PRESIDENT REAGAN, IN HIS SEPTEMBER 1 INITIATIVE, OUTLINED THE ONLY REALISTIC BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION THAT WOULD LEAD TO A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. HIS EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A BROADENING OF NEGOTIATIONS BY THE EARLY ENTRY OF JORDAN INTO DIRECT TALKS WITH ISRAEL WOULD GIVE RENEWED MOMENTUM TO THE PEACE PROCESS. THE ARAB STATES--AND ISRAEL--SHOULD SUPPORT EFFORTS TO ENABLE KING HUSSEIN TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WITH ISRAEL.

FOR MORE THAN THIRTY-FIVE YEARS ISRAELIS HAVE FOUGHT TO MAINTAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE, OFTEN AGAINST OVERWHELMING ODDS. ISRAELI SOLDIERS HAVE FOUGHT BRAVELY ON THE BATTLEFIELD; THEIR FAMILIES AND FRIENDS HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE SACRIFICES AT HOME. HISTORY HAS PROVEN THAT ISRAEL IS BOTH TOO DETERMINED AND TOO STRONG TO BE DEFEATED MILITARILY. YET HISTORY HAS ALSO PROVEN THAT ISRAEL CAN SACRIFICE IN PEACE AS IT HAS SACRIFICED IN WAR. THE PATH FOR THE ARAB STATES, THEN, IS CLEAR: PEACE WITH ISRAEL, FOLLOWED BY A SINCERE DIALOGUE BETWEEN EQUAL, SOVEREIGN NATIONS, IS THE ONLY ROAD TO SETTLEMENT. WE STAND READY TO ASSIST ISRAEL AND THE MODERATE ARAB STATES IN RESOLVING THEIR DIFFERENCES IN A WAY THAT WILL GUARANTEE THE MIDDLE EAST GENERATIONS OF PEACE RATHER THAN CONTINUED ACRIMONY AND BLOODSHED.



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August 23, 1984

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am grateful to you for the opportunity to meet with you Thursday, August 16th, at the White House.

Each of the members of our group was very pleased that you spent time with us explaining your views and allowing us questions. In addition, we enjoyed meeting with Edwin Meese and Robert McFarlane.

The arrangements and briefing as implemented by Faith Whittlesey and Marshall Breger were superb. Also, we had an outstanding luncheon session with Faith and Marshall in the White House Mess.

On a personal note, I was thrilled to see such a great picture of both of us on page three of The New York Times dated August 17th. Believe me, I intend to frame it.

Thank you again for the warm and gracious way you received us.

Sincerely,

Barbara A. Mandel

Barbara A. Mandel
National President

BAM/fth

MB.

AUG 28 1984

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