

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection:

Green, Max: Files, 1985-1988

Folder Title:

National Jewish Coalition (5 of 10)

Box: 32

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Next: Rep Jew.
Coa to

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1984

Dear Dick:

Enclosed is a list of UJA Young Leadership Republicans whom you should involve in the coalition. I have already spoken to them.

I am also enclosing some business cards of interested others.

The meeting to which the letter refers was cancelled.

Very truly yours,

Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Mr. Richard Fox
The Fox Companies
150 Monument Road
Bala Cymoyd, Pennsylvania 19004

Enclosures

MJB:bjb

February 27, 1984

Mr. Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the President
Room 20500
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Sir:

The following are the people who have agreed to participate in the proposed meeting on Tuesday, March 13, 1984 at approximately 1:00 PM. There are several others who have expressed an interest in attending but they could not give me a definite answer. If any of these people contact me that they will be able to make it I will let you know.

<1>Bob Epstein
6463 Joyce Way
Dallas, Texas 75225

<2>Joe Bremen
1410 Barnsdale Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15217

<3>Jonathan Kislak
1101 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131

<4>Kenneth Murov
Goldstein & Murov
13195 Warwick Boulevard
Newport News, Virginia 23602

<5>David Brown
P.O. Box 606
Chamberino, New Mexico 88027

<6>Marshall Brachman
Computerized Business Systems
P.O. Box 8
Fort Worth, Texas 76101

<7>Ted Young
Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, & Kauffman
2600 The Fidelity Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

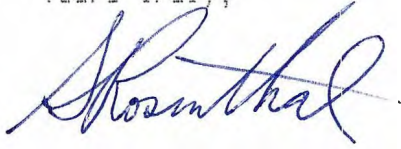
<8> Peter Alter
Honigman, Miller, Schwartz, And Cohn
2290 First National Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

<9>Bill Freedman
Dinsmore and Shohl
2100 Fountain Square Plaza
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

<10>Stephen Rosenthal
P.O. Box 333
Wagner, South Dakota 57380

Thank you so much for your effort in making this meeting a success. I look forward to meeting you.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Rosenthal", with a large, stylized initial "R" that loops around the first part of the name.

THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

March 22, 1984

Dear Dick:

I enclose some more cards of people who should be involved in the Coalition. Mel Estrin is a rich man with a big ego who should be handled with care; Ira Handleman is a young man who talks big; Frankel is a solid UJA Young Leadership type and Glaser is a 35ish attorney who was looking for a political appointment and I don't think she got it.

Very truly yours,

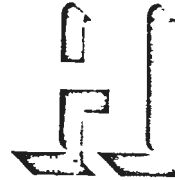

Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison

Mr. Richard Fox
The Fox Companies
150 Monument Road, Suite 100
Bala Cynwyd, PA 19004

STANLEY FRANKEL

3250 W. Big Beaver, Suite 529
Troy, Michigan 48084

Bus.: (313) 557-5050
Res.: (313) 851-5195



Ira David Handelman

**Handelman &
Associates, Inc.**
12304 Santa Monica Boulevard
Suite 211
Los Angeles, California 90025

(213) 820-0182

Financial Investors Corp.
5530 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Suite 1600
Washington, D.C. 20015
Telephone: (301) 654-9210



Melvyn J. Estrin
Chairman of the Board

LAW OFFICES
WYMAN, BAUTZER, ROTHMAN, KUCHEL & SILBERT
A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS

PATRICIA L. GLASER P.C.
ATTORNEY AT LAW

2049 CENTURY PARK EAST • L.A. CA 90067 • (213) 556-8000 • 879-8000
600 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037 • (202) 466-2222
500 NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE • NEWPORT BEACH, CA 92660 • (714) 760-9300

THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

March 22, 1984

Dear Dick:

The enclosed proposal was sent to me by Sandra Stein and is being pushed by Bobbi Fiedler. I would be happy to discuss it with you by phone.

Very truly yours,


Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to
the President for
Public Liaison

Mr. Richard Fox
Fox Companies
150 Monument Road, Suite 100
Bala Cynwyd, PA 19004

RICHARD J. FOX

File

150 MONUMENT ROAD
BALA CYNWYD, PA. 19004
March 26, 1984

Marshall J. Breger, Esq.
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Marshall:

After a period of planning and discussion, the outlines of the role of the Republican Jewish Coalition in the 1984 Campaign are now clear. The basic effort within the Jewish community to increase the support for the Republican Party and to reelect President Reagan and Vice President Bush will be divided in three areas of activity;

First: Within the Reagan-Bush Reelection Campaign Organization, I have been selected to head the National effort in the Jewish community. This effort will be staffed and headquartered in the Reagan-Bush Reelection Campaign Headquarters, 440 First Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.

The principal objective of this effort will be directed to organizing, coordinating and managing the reelection effort in the key States with substantial Jewish populations.

Second: In cooperation with the Republican National Committee, the Republican Jewish Coalition will undertake a significant program of increasing the breath and strength of support within the Jewish community for the Republican Party in the key States.

Third: In each of the targeted States an organization will be established with full time staffing to provide direction and logistical support for what otherwise will be a volunteer effort. Campaign leadership will be identified within each state during the next several weeks.

The program is ambitious and exciting. It provides the basis for a significantly increased presence of Jews within the second term of the Reagan Administration and the Republican Party.

In November, if the election is as close as many predict, the swing of Jewish votes in the key States can make the critical difference.

Longer term, after November, the organization created through this effort will provide the basis for continuing activity and presence within the Administration and the Republican Party.

The RJC has been growing rapidly over the last months, but as we move into a campaign mode, the need for additional members is obvious. Please contact your friends and associates. Send to us the names of any who are

Page 2
March 26, 1984

interested in working for the reelection of the President. Our experience indicates that it is imperative that you make personal contact before you send the name of a prospective RJC member to us.

I am enclosing a copy of President Reagan's speech to the UJA Young Leadership Conference in Washington on March 13th. I was present at the Conference with the President and shared the tremendously positive response the President received from the Conference.

In addition, I am enclosing a copy of the President's statement on the "International Day of Concern for Soviet Jews".

Real progress is being accomplished in implementation of the "strategic relationship" between the United States and Israel. This together with the change from loan to grant for military aid and the development of a Free Trade Zone will provide the most comprehensive and favorable support program ever given by a U.S. Administration to the State of Israel.

As the pace of the Campaign quickens over the next weeks, you will be hearing more about the effort of the RJC to help reelect the President and the role we hope you will play in that effort.

Please help us with new members and recommendations for staff positions.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,



Richard J. Fox, Chairman
Republican Jewish Coalition

RJF/a
Enc.

RICHARD J. FOX

*File
by
Jesse
Coalition*

**150 MONUMENT ROAD
BALA CYNWYD, PA. 19004**

April 19, 1984

Dear Coalition Member:

As part of our continuing effort to provide you with the background information which will enable you to engage in an informed discussion of the President's policies, I am enclosing copies of the President's speech to a group of Jewish community leaders in New York on April 5th together with Vice-President Bush's speech to AIPAC on April 9th.

Both speeches contain some of the most positive statements made by any President or Vice-President on issues of importance to the Jewish community.

I call your attention specifically to the statements made by Vice-President Bush concerning the failure of the Democratic Presidential candidates and the Democratic Party leadership to confront the anti-Semitic remarks made by members of Jesse Jackson's entourage.

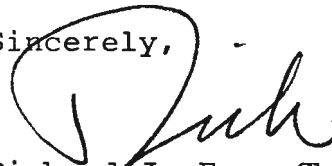
In addition, I am enclosing an article by Arch Puddington which appeared in the April 1984 Edition of Commentary Magazine concerning Jesse Jackson's foreign policy advisors.

A careful reading of the Commentary piece will give some significant insight into the background of a number of events and statements surrounding the Jackson Campaign.

I hope you and your families enjoyed a happy Passover.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,



Richard J. Fox, Chairman
Republican Jewish Coalition

RJF/a
Enc.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

April 5, 1984

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT MEETING WITH
NEW YORK JEWISH LEADERSHIP

The Plaza Hotel
New York, New York

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Please. Thank you very much. I know that you've been briefed here by some of our people -- do I know it -- (Laughter.) I wish I had heard them. It's always awful when you go on last. (Laughter.) You think everything might have been said. I'm glad that Jim Sanders of our Small Business Administration can be here with us. I'm sure that many of you must come in the framework of those that he does business with.

But, I'm delighted to have a chance to spend these few minutes with you. And I'm so glad to see New York getting back to normal. (Laughter.) It looks like the Mishuguna political activity ended Tuesday. (Laughter.)

But, back in the fall of 1980, I attended a rally that was held in the shadow of liberty -- the Statue of Liberty. There were many ethnic groups there, all reminding us that we're descendants from immigrants who came here looking for freedom and opportunity. And, while our country has its flaws -- and we still have some of them -- the American dream was, and is, real.

The first Jewish immigrants came to America nearly 330 years ago. Twenty-three Jews sailed from Brazil, and after a harrowing journey, arrived in New Amsterdam in September of 1654. And from that humble beginning, New York has been the port of entry, reaching out with open hands and an open heart to millions of Jewish immigrants.

From the 1850s until the early 1890s, Jewish immigrants spent their first hours in America in Castle Garden, an immigration center on a small island that's close to the west side of the Battery. Then in 1892, Ellis Island became synonymous with freedom to peoples all over the world.

And then it was on to New York City, and Hester Street, Delancy, Houston, East Broadway, and then Williamsburg, Harlem, Prospect Park, and Brownsville, and in a short time, New York had the largest Jewish population of any city in the world. Fleeing the persecution, pogroms of anti-Semitism and totalitarian ideologies, Jewish immigrants came to America to make a new life. It has to be a -- or it was to be a voluntary compact among good and decent people living together in freedom, respecting the rights of others, and expecting that their rights would be respected in return.

And here in New York, we see the miracle that is America. Yesterday's immigrants are today's scholars, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs, scientists and doctors. Through perseverance and hard work, New York's Jewish community has made the greater New York area a religious and cultural center of Jewish life. There's no place like New York, and this great city owes much of its success to its Jewish community. New York's neighborhoods are full of life and vitality, and that neighborhood spirit is what makes cities worth living in -- what keeps faith with the fine traditions of the past, while enabling us to build the future with confidence. The strength of New York depends on the strength of Flatbush, Boro Park, New Garden Hills, Rego Park and a hundred other neighborhoods. It's up to all of us to make sure that our neighborhoods offer a healthy family environment, excellence in education, and safety on the streets with drugs and crime off the streets.

MORE

From the earliest days, New York's Jewish community invested its heart and soul in an extensive network of community organizations -- Jewish hospitals, family services and community relations councils, charity organizations, and cultural centers like the 92nd Street Y, reflect your commitment to your fellow citizens.

This tradition continues with voluntary programs like Project Doro -- generations helping generations. Where young volunteers visit and provide care for the elderly. To promote this spirit, a HUD grant will be used by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies to help make New York's neighborhoods an even better place to live.

The American dream was real because American Jews helped build that dream by giving life to the bedrock values that make us a good and a worthy people.

I'm talking about principles that begin with the sacred worth of human life -- religious faith, community spirit, family, and the responsibility of parents and schools to be teachers of tolerance, hard work, cooperation and love. The values you cherish are the key to a prosperous and stable environment for your family and your children. But, for too many years, crime and the fear of crime, have stalked many of our neighborhoods, robbing them of their strength and security.

Well, common sense is beginning to pay off. People are banding together and working with law enforcement officers in your neighborhoods. And we've seen the rate of violent crime in New York falling for some time now. But we still face great challenges. The scales of criminal justice are still tilted toward protecting the rights of criminals. I think it's high time we restore a proper balance by doing more to protect our law-abiding citizens, and put criminals behind bars. You know, lenient judges are only lenient on criminals. They're very hard on society. We're cracking down on habitual criminals, organized crimes and the drug pushers. Federal task forces are stepping up the pressure. And our administration is working hard to get Congressional passage of the Comprehensive Crime Control Act -- the most important anti-crime legislation in more than a decade. It's passed the Senate; it's still bottled up in the House. If you'd like to write your Congressman, I wouldn't be at all offended. (Laughter.)

When it comes to keeping our people safe in their homes and in their neighborhoods, there should be no Republicans or Democrats -- only Americans working for the common good. Later this month, we will reaffirm our belief in the most meaningful truths of our Judeo-Christian heritage, through the celebration of Passover and Easter. The celebration of Passover commemorates the freeing of the Jewish people from the yoke of bondage and their exodus to freedom.

But even as we celebrate liberty, we continue to bear witness to the lingering darkness of persecution and anti-Semitism. We must, and we will, support Jews in their struggle for human dignity and religious freedom. (Applause.)

You -- many of you, are doing something that we, all of us, did for some persecuted prisoners of war in a far-away Asian country not too many years ago. And, I think, until justice is done, we should keep on now wearing these same kind of bracelets for those who are being persecuted in the Soviet Union. (Applause.) And let's not kid ourselves about something else. This so-called anti-Zionism that we hear in the United Nations is just another mask in some quarters for vicious anti-Semitism. And that's something the United States will not tolerate -- wherever it is. (Applause.)

MORE

Wherever it is, and no matter how subtle it may be, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has my explicit instructions: If Israel is ever forced to walk out of the United Nations, the United States and Israel will walk out together. (Applause.)

Israel and the United States are bound together by the ties of family, friendship, shared ideals and mutual interests. And I'm very proud that since we took office, the U.S.-Israeli relationship has grown much closer. For the first time in history, our strategic relationship has been elevated and formalized. But, that's why I must warn you -- if we follow those who would cripple America's defense rebuilding program, we will undermine our own security, and the security of our closest friends like Israel. And I'm not prepared to let that happen.

On another front, we're now working to establish a free trade area between the United States and Israel and this will usher in a new era of closer economic relations.

Finally, the United States will now be giving Israel military aid on a grant, not a loan, basis. And this will ensure that Israel maintains its qualitative edge. (Applause.)

The friendship between Israel and the United States is closer and stronger today than ever before. And I intend to keep it that way. I want to add one more thing. Let no one tell you that your support for Israel and your efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews are "special interest politics." All Americans have the right and obligation to speak out on issues that are important to them. (Applause.)

And in closing, I wish that I were more of a linguist than I am because I want to wish everyone a kosher and a Freilach Pesach. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

Thank you and God bless you all.

MR. KLEIN: Excuse me, Mr. President -- I just asked the President if he would agree to take a few questions. And he has agreed.

Mr. Morris Abrams?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Hi, Morris.

Q I think all of us are deeply interested in Israel, but I think we're also deeply interested, as you are, in the civic unity in the United States in the absence of intolerance. It is in that vein that I put to you this observation, though I won't expect to elicit from you any direct remedy. We've just had a campaign in this city in which a candidate who has declared Zionism, and that means more than Zionism, is a poisonous weed and has referred to this city in certain ways, but there was not a word said from the -- in the body politic with respect to that. And I think that has been deeply regrettable, and I'm awfully glad to hear what you've said today. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very much. That was an easy question. (Laughter.)

I think there was -- Are you --

MR. KLEIN: No, please, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: No, you field them -- Then, they can get mad at you if you don't -- (Laughter.)

MR. KLEIN: -- run for office then --

Rabbi Miller?

Q All of us were heartened and encouraged by your words and particularly the strategic cooperation and the free

trade zone, which was the result of your meetings last November with the Prime Minister of Israel. We understand that the strategic cooperation talks are going along as are the free trade zone. Since the free trade zone will require the passage through the Congress, will this be made a priority item of the administration and pushed through properly?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes. We are very serious about this. And I'm very optimistic about it going through.

All right.

Q : Rabbi Schoenfeld. I watched you last night at the press conference and your comments about King Hussein were interesting. There seems to be some hope that you have that he still might come around. Is that a pious hope or is it based on some real belief that he will come around to the negotiation table?

THE PRESIDENT: That -- oh -- that the King will -- We have to continue to hope for that. It is the only answer. Israel, for example, all of them need it, but Israel cannot go on living as an armed camp which it is. The proportion of their military defenses -- out of all proportion to their size. And the answer is for more Arab nations to follow the lead of Sadat of Egypt when he brought peace between them.

And what we're trying to do, and sometimes we have to be a little persuasive with our Israeli friends to convince them that such things as AWACs for Saudi Arabia and so forth, that if we're to be able to persuade and act as an intermediary -- we have no intention of ever trying to dictate what the settlement will be; that's to be negotiated out between them -- but we have to be seen as fair and evenhanded to get them to trust us enough to come in and forsake that statement that while none of them have stated it recently they still have never recanted their statement, that denial that Israel has a right to exist as a nation. And I just have to believe that there is enough desire for that same -- for peace among the people of the Middle East and that we can hope for this.

Some of the rhetoric that we've heard, I think, is a little exaggerated. I still have confidence that King Hussein -- he's greatly concerned about the neighbor to his north, Syria. And all of them have reason to be concerned about Syria because Syria is -- they're bent on becoming the top force in the whole of the Middle East. And, as you know, there've been five wars between Israel and Syria. And the great fount of hatred for Israel seems to be in Syria.

Q -- Sir, at a recent meeting of the Trilateral Commission, Secretary of State Shultz spoke of more forceful action against terrorism and also made some remarks about state-supported terrorism. Would you care to share your views on that with us please?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, what he was talking about is something we've been meeting and talking about very seriously. Terrorism is a different form of warfare. And it's a very vicious form of warfare and it's almost impossible to guard against. But, now, we're seeing evidence that -- from several sources -- this is state inspired. This isn't a little band of radicals out there on their own defying their own country's laws. These are government supported and practicing a strategic plan on behalf of some governments.

What we're all trying to deal with, and with our allies, is, first of all, how can we guard against, how can we if possible learn in advance and be prepared and forewarned of some of these attacks, but also then to have the intelligence capability, since it is state

supported, to be able to retaliate and show that they cannot get away with it.

Now, I will give away one thing here: When our Marines were so tragically slaughtered in Beirut, we set out to try and determine -- it isn't good to just retaliate against someone, then, you're as bad as the terrorists -- we set out to see if we could locate the source, where they came from and, then, retaliate directly there. You might be interested to know that just about the time that we were getting sure that we'd located it, Israel took it out with its planes. (Laughter.) We didn't get a chance to retaliate. It was done for us. Their intelligence worked, evidently, a little faster than ours.

Yes? And then I'll come over there to you.

Q I think we have a misunderstanding. We're very grateful for where your heart is and your constant support of Israel, all of us are. But I think there's a problem in the Middle East, as you said, about the Arab leaders going the way of Sadat. I think they're a little scared to go the way of Sadat -- not unfoundedly with Dr. Sartawi and Sadat and the whole mess of people. The threat to them doesn't come from Israel. We know that. It comes from each other. And I think all the AWACs and Stingers and so on that we give them or sell them isn't going to prevent them from being afraid of being rubbed out by their Arab neighbors gangland style.

And I'm a little nervous also because when we have had faith in Jordan and in Saudia Arabia, the weapons that they get from us that they're supposed to use against the Soviets aren't anywhere near the Soviet-invading area. They're right on the Saudi Arabia -- and was it -- near the Israeli border. It's not a very good situation. And since King Hussein begged us, please, not to meddle, why do we insist on putting him in a seat that he doesn't want to be in?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, no. We've had -- he and I have had talks on this, and he was -- he believed and knew that he was in position to take the lead in this negotiating.

Now, on the other hand, what you're saying, and the threats, there's no question that Syria threatens the more moderate states. I think there is a genuine desire on the part of the moderate Arab states to join in this peace operation. This is a place where, maybe, we are going to have to see how far we can go in reassuring them. But the type of threat they get from Assyria is not only direct from Assyria. Every one of those moderate Arab states has large segments of its population that are radicalized, that are fundamentalists and sympathetic to the things that the -- Khomeini is saying about an Islamic holy war.

And all of them are looking over their shoulder because the threat would not so much be of a state like Syria taking the action itself but of stirring up and causing the internal dissension within each one of their own countries. And we just have to keep working until together we can find some unity in which they will recognize that we're strong enough together to hold out against that. But that is one of their great problems -- fear, not a lack of desire for peace. They didn't hesitate to be the first. Egypt was big enough; Egypt was big enough to say, "We're going to do it." And -- But we just -- we have to keep working on this until we can bring them together in a coalition.

Q In his remarks, Mr. McFarlane said that with the withdrawal of Marines, it encouraged terrorism. And, yet, when we speak about the possibility of moving our Embassy to Jerusalem, the

answer we get is that this would perhaps incite a wave of terrorism against our embassies wherever they exist. So, I'm wondering whether the first attitude is the correct or the second -- that is, are we going to bow to terrorism or are we going to show that we intend to do what we think is right, what we should do? (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I think Mr. McFarlane was right in saying that this could be a result of that, but I think there is another consideration with regard to the Embassy. And we may -- maybe I let you ask one question too many -- we may not be in agreement on this answer. (Laughter.)

I have to say that I think that if we are to have a chance for legitimate peace negotiations, that this is one of the issues deeply felt on both sides that must be subject to the negotiation. And I think it would be self-defeating for us to take an action that made it appear as if we were attempting to affect the negotiations in advance. We must be an intermediary, standing by to help in the negotiations, such as started in the Camp David process. And that's what we're trying to continue.

But for us to take an action that would look as if we were kind of taking sides in the matters that have to be negotiated, I think that could render us pretty helpless to be an intermediary.

MR. BAKER: Your 4:30 p.m. appointment's in your room.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh.

MR. KLEIN: Thank you, Mr. President.

MR. BAKER: -- be there in 15 --

THE PRESIDENT: Well -- (laughter) -- I'll take -- What?

Q You ought to go, Mr. President. They're far more important. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: -- Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.) No, please. (Applause.) Let me -- I didn't -- (Applause.) It's a good thing -- Oh, wait -- (Applause.) I must tell you something. (Applause.)

I just -- I want to in leaving now -- I just want to tell you in this world of diplomacy just recently in Washington in the State Dining, I participated in what could have been a diplomatic crisis. President Mitterand of France and his wife were there. And as we followed everyone else into the State Dining Room, everyone standing around the tables, and Nancy and the President turned to go over here to -- where they would be at their table, and Mrs. Mitterand ahead of me to go through all the tables to the other side of the room, and she suddenly stopped. And the butler ahead of her was motioning to come on, and she said something very quietly over her shoulder to me in French, which I did not understand. (Laughter.) And, so, I said, "No, we go on," and I was motioning past her. And she stood there very calmly and repeated over her shoulder in French something. The interpreter hadn't caught up with us. And about that time the interpreter caught up. She was telling me I was standing on her gown. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

END

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR RELEASE: 10:00 a.m. EST
Monday, April 9, 1984

CONTACT: Shirley Green
Alix Reed
202/456-6772

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
BEFORE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE ANNUAL POLICY CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1984

In February America lost a patriot -- your president, Mort Silberman. Mort Silberman once said:

"There is neither vision nor strength in isolationism. Rather our interests as a nation are served when America asserts its values in international affairs. And in this process U.S.-Israel relations are enhanced."

This wisdom is my theme for this morning.

A fundamental change has come over the conduct of American foreign policy in the last four years.

A new mood of assuredness today characterizes America's entire posture abroad and our friendship with the State of Israel.

How can we forget -- it would be wrong to forget the condition of American foreign policy four years ago:

-- In the U.N. votes were cast, then disavowed.

-- In the Middle East, we saw paralysis in the face of a crisis in Iran that led to the replacement of a friendly Shah with a militantly hostile Ayatollah, unbelievable paralysis during a hostage crisis just a few months later, and our economic policies at home only increased our reliance on oil from that volatile region.

-- In Europe, allies took great political risks to accept deployment of the neutron bomb only to see the system cancelled without consultation in the face of a massive Soviet propaganda campaign.

-- In relations with the Soviet Union, hard lines turned to soft lines and back to hard lines, it seemed sometimes, overnight.

Today things are different.

-more-

-- The Atlantic Alliance is the strongest it has been in decades. It has just weathered a new storm of Soviet propaganda and successfully begun deployment of new intermediate range nuclear forces. These forces will protect the West against the Soviet SS-20 threat and strengthen our position in arms negotiations, as well.

-- The industrial world's dependence on Middle East oil is substantially diminished.

-- The Soviet Union is coming to appreciate that we are serious and steady and that we understand our own interests and those of our allies and acknowledge those of the Soviets.

-- And no one today doubts that Israel and the United States stand together.

What's different?

Some say it's strength. We're stronger today -- economically, militarily -- than we have been in years.

Some say it's people. Ronald Reagan heads the government. He is a strong, principled leader.

But men and women in public life are in many ways merely the embodiment of values and traditions, and strength is merely their instrument. I believe that the new American assuredness flows fundamentally from a new commitment to America's traditions.

It's very simple: Ronald Reagan and I believe that the western democratic tradition is fundamentally right for all mankind. And we aren't sheepish about saying it. President Reagan did, in fact, proclaim it as a matter of American policy in his June 1982 address to the British Parliament.

Freedom, justice and democracy: promoting these, we believe, is in the fundamental interest of the United States. And if you believe that you must believe it an absolute moral imperative to help strengthen and protect the State of Israel.

So unflinching commitment to democratic values and traditions -- this is the source of the new mood of assuredness in American foreign policy.

And one place you can see this new assuredness is in U.S.-Israeli relations. In the U.N., gone are the days in which our delegation didn't know whether it should vote for or against resolutions condemning Israel. Our delegation knows that this President and this Administration regard as obscene the anti-Semitism that has become so common in U.N. debate.

We will not shrug such talk off as mere rhetoric. And our

ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, will not let stand unchallenged equations of Zionism with racism.

And there's something else we won't let stand unchallenged. Ambassador Kirkpatrick has said it. The President has said it. I'm saying it to you: if Israel is ever voted out of the U.N., the United States will go out with it.

So there's new assuredness in our support for Israel at the U.N.

And there's new assuredness in other areas of our relationship, as well.

In the past year, the United States and Israel announced a new, formal relationship of strategic cooperation. Strategic cooperation means that the Israeli and the American governments now engage in regular, detailed discussions about the Soviet threat in the Middle East and how to cooperate to counter it. We recognize that it is imperative that our military services undertake cooperative planning, exercises, prepositioning of equipment and weapons research and development.

For the first time now, the U.S. and Israel have begun to consider these joint actions. For the first time the United States has acknowledged what Israel always has been -- our foremost strategic friend in the Middle East. And this, in turn, confirms America's longstanding commitment to ensure Israel's qualitative edge in armaments over any potential combination of adversaries.

This new mood of assuredness in U.S.-Israeli relations means more, however, than simply strengthening our military ties. It means, as well, an American commitment to bolster the Israeli economy. Israel is facing extremely difficult economic problems but knows that the United States cannot relieve it of the responsibility of confronting these problems. Still, there are ways we can help.

Let me give you some examples. After extensive talks, the United States has restructured its 1985 aid package to Israel. Military assistance that Israel once received on a loan basis will for now go by way of grants. For this coming year we have proposed that Israel receive economic aid totalling \$850 million and military grants totalling \$1.4 billion -- for a total aid package of \$2.25 billion.

These military grants will ensure that Israel maintains its qualitative edge on the battlefield, an edge that enhances, of course, the value to us of strategic cooperation. But they will also ensure that maintaining that edge doesn't bankrupt Israel's economy. Under this Administration, part of America's commitment to Israel is a guarantee that differences in financial strength between Israel and its adversaries do not translate into differences in military strength.

-more-

America is also committed to assisting in the development of Israeli economic self-sufficiency. The most important step we are exploring right now is the establishment of an Israeli-American free trade relationship. Of course, a free trade area is good for both America and Israel.

For Israel, a free trade zone would mean unimpeded access to the world's largest market. It would remove from Israeli exports the cap on duty-free access to the U.S. that the General System of Preferences legislation now imposes. It would help maintain and improve markets here for Israeli products.

For the United States, a free trade area would ensure that Americans will compete on an equal footing with Europeans in the Israeli market. The E.C. and Israel already have an agreement to reduce tariffs on industrial goods, while more than 50% of U.S. imports to Israel are subject to some form of duty.

So this is what America's new mood of assuredness has meant most directly to Israel: the confidence to acknowledge Israel as a strategic ally; the confidence to stand unflinchingly by Israel at the U.N.; the confidence to strengthen our military and financial assistance to Israel; the confidence to give unprecedented attention to strengthening the Israeli economy. More, perhaps, than any other country, Israel has benefitted directly from the new confidence, the new mood of assuredness that has come to American foreign policy in the last four years.

And let me pause here to say that we -- all of us -- should realize that this assuredness does not come free. We have had to spend increased money on our defense to redress ten years of neglect. You know it -- I know it: it is in Israel's interest to see America economically and militarily strong. And yet some, who loudly profess to be Israel's strongest friends, are leading the charge to weaken the defense budget in this country.

But for Israel, this new U.S. assuredness has meant something even broader. At a time of unusual turmoil in the region when Israel cannot afford vacillation by its most important friend, the new mood of American assuredness has meant a firm, decisive, unified American policy towards the entire Middle East.

In the Middle East today Islamic extremism is on the rise. One country, Iran, once on good terms with Israel and the U.S., has fallen to fanatics. And Iran is in a war with the announced objective of overthrowing the government of Iraq, which is the neighbor of Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Syria. Should Iran triumph, the resultant threat to the Gulf states and the entire region could be of a magnitude never known in the region. Like all fanaticism the variety being exported by Iran is a clear threat to all.

-more-

And that is not the only such danger. Syria is also bent on dominating the region. And in the shadows, sending weapons and supplies to both Iran and Syria and even to Iraq, is the Soviet Union.

The United States is acting in three areas to protect its interests in this time of Middle Eastern turmoil. And these are in Israel's interests, too.

First, of course, is that we have substantially reduced the entire region's power over the industrial world's economy. We brought down oil consumption in the U.S. and increased domestic supply. The way we did it was simple: we accelerated decontrol of oil prices, cut taxes on producers and stopped financing price increases with inflation. And you know the result. The world economy today -- vulnerable as it is -- is far less vulnerable to disruption of the Middle Eastern oil flow than it was four years ago. And that means that Israel's security is less vulnerable. The U.S. today depends on the Gulf states for only 3 percent of its requirements, although, of course, Japan and NATO are considerably more dependent.

Second, we are determined that Saudi Arabia and Jordan must not be left to the mercy of the radical states in the region. And the same is true for Bahrain, Oman and other Gulf states that have been friendly to the United States. A hostile, destabilized Gulf would indeed be against the best interests of the U.S.

Now let's be honest. AIPAC and the Administration have disagreed from time to time on whether we should go very far in helping the Saudis and the Jordanians. The President has made it clear he would not permit the sale of any equipment to these countries to threaten Israel's security. Nevertheless, these countries, which are directly threatened by the radical states, do need the wherewithal to defend themselves.

There's a third way we are protecting our interests and those of Israel in the region. It is through attempting to further a peace settlement between Israel and its neighbors.

The Administration remains committed to the President's September 1, 1982 peace initiative. That initiative fits squarely within the Camp David process. It conforms -- as any approach we endorse must -- to U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

We remain committed as well to a very simple proposition concerning negotiations of any kind. The PLO sponsors terrorism, and its charter still calls for the destruction of the "Zionist entity": So long as the PLO refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist and to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the United States will neither recognize nor negotiate with the PLO.

Despite setbacks in Lebanon and King Hussein's recent decisions, we believe that the time will come when all sides will see a negotiated settlement in their best interest. When that moment does arrive, it is overwhelmingly in Israel's interest for the United States to act as the honest broker, just as it has in the past.

Now, let me say something else that I know we disagree on. Nevertheless it must be said. Few actions could more undermine our capacity to play that broker's role with the Arab states than for the U.S. precipitously to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Jerusalem is just too emotionally charged a symbol for Moslems, as well as Christians and Jews. The U.S. position is clear: While Jerusalem must remain undivided, its final status can only be resolved in negotiations, not through unilateral acts.

But let me now be clear on one other thing -- this Administration will strive to facilitate such negotiations, but it will never attempt to impose a settlement.

Finding a path to real peace for Israel and its neighbors has long been a central objective of American policy. It was this commitment to peace that prompted the United States, France, Britain and Italy to send peacekeeping troops to Beirut. I believe America did the right and courageous thing in Lebanon. I believe it took a President of unusual courage and assuredness to send the Marines in, to give peace a chance, and, ultimately, when circumstances changed, to pull most of them back. A political storm has erupted on this, but history will show that the President, in concert with three staunch allies, was not afraid to act. Talks did start. There are 11,000 fewer terrorists in Lebanon than before. The bottom line is: We gave peace a chance. The President has spoken to Tom Dine personally to express his gratitude for AIPAC's support.

Here in essence is what President Reagan's policy has meant for Israel as it looks across the region: An America willing to stand up in difficult ways for peace between Israel and its neighbors; an America whose domestic policies have worked to move Middle Eastern oil from its position of overwhelming dominance on the world economic stage; an America willing to help see that the vast resources of friendly Arab states don't fall into more militant hands; an America wanting to see more statesmen like Sadat, more negotiation, less bloodshed; an America, in short, whose policy of strategic cooperation with Israel is tied to a firm, unified strategy towards the entire region.

In this time of turmoil, nothing could more undermine Israel's security than for that new mood of assuredness to dissipate and for us to return to the indecision of just a few years past.

-more-

What could precipitate a return? Less confident leadership could, of course. But other things could, too.

For example, we have in the past year been experiencing the first low inflation recovery in twenty years, the strongest job growth in more than thirty years and the largest number of new business incorporations ever. We've put the genie back in the bottle. That's a big part of why, for the first time since the mid-sixties, the optimism Americans report about their future and the nation's future has sharply increased during the past three years. And that broad and growing confidence is indispensable for maintaining political support for a confident foreign policy.

The new mood of assuredness is, as I said at the beginning, the product of a new confidence in democratic values. But the capacity to translate that mood into policy is a product of the success of this Administration's entire program.

And wherever men and women look with hope to the traditions of western democracy -- the traditions of freedom and justice -- America's new mood of assuredness is a beacon of hope.

For Jews around the world, this is especially true.

In Central America, for example, the regime in Nicaragua has driven practically every Nicaraguan Jew out of the country. How come we've heard so little on this from those who are running for President on the other side? They spend so much time slamming our policies in Central America on human rights grounds -- yet on this, not a word.

In the Soviet Union, Jews have also been unmercifully harrassed. Only fifty synagogues remain in the entire country, and private services are outlawed. The access of Jews to university educations has been sharply curtailed. Jews like Kim Fridman, Feliks Kochubievskiy, Iosif Begun and Anatoly Shcharansky are languishing in prison on specious and unfounded charges.

And I can tell you now that the Soviet leadership understands that if it wants to signal us that it is truly interested in a thawing of relations, this is one place where they can send a signal. And they understand as well that whenever, wherever, on whatever topic they meet with us, the issue of Soviet Jewry is potentially on the table.

We have and will continue to advocate publicly and privately and without letting up the cause of divided families and human rights. We have and will continue to care about the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union.

That caring is a matter of conscience. Through it we hope to give hope to oppressed people everywhere.

Now, let me digress for a minute -- I hope it's appropriate -- and say a few words about something that has been bothering me more and more over the last couple of weeks.

I've been keeping quiet about the Democratic Party's Presidential campaign. Whom the Democrats pick is their business. But some matters transcend party and concern the basic traditions of our republic.

Anti-Semitism, wherever it appears, is a disgusting disease -- but particularly when it appears in our country, where its presence defiles our most sacred traditions and institutions.

Recently a prominent supporter of the Reverend Jesse Jackson -- a Black Muslim minister -- got a lot of press when he threatened a reporter. In itself this threat was a revolting injection of the specter of violence into the campaign. But several weeks before he had threatened all Jews.

Yesterday's Washington Post noted that it's a "disgrace" that Reverend Jackson "has refused to disavow unequivocally" this kind of extreme statement and that he "continues to distance himself from his responsibilities in this affair."

Well, I agree. But as shocking as I find Reverend Jackson's behavior, I also cannot understand why Walter Mondale and Gary Hart have not continued to speak out loudly and clearly against this.

I tell you here and now for the President and the entire Administration that we denounce the intrusion of anti-Semitism into the American political process and believe it has no place in our system.

Around the globe, many people -- unseen, unheard, and too often, unremembered -- depend on the new American confidence, the new mood of American assuredness.

They depend on it for their hope of freedom and justice.

Those who are most oppressed and at greatest risk depend on it most.

They know, as we know, that in freedom and justice is the affirmation of life. They know, as we know, that without freedom, without justice, and without democracy (which is the one sure guarantee of both freedom and justice) life, however noble, withers. They remember, as we remember, the Scriptural injunction:

"I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life."

(Deuteronomy, 30:19)

Thank you.

#

Jesse Jackson, the Blacks & American Foreign Policy

Arch. Puddington

SINCE the time of Vietnam, when Martin Luther King, Jr. lent his considerable moral prestige to the antiwar cause, the participation of prominent blacks in the debate over American foreign policy has been a source of intermittent and sometimes heated controversy. The political landscape has undergone far-reaching changes, however, since King asserted that racism lay at the root of U.S. involvement in Vietnam in much the same way that racism had produced an unequal society at home. Then, the single act of publicly rejecting the war policies of the Johnson administration earned King a great deal of criticism, even hostility, with some of the criticism emanating from the civil-rights movement itself. Today, by contrast, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, one of King's lieutenants and currently a candidate for the Democratic party's presidential nomination, has developed a perspective on foreign policy sharply at variance with both the Reagan administration and the declared views of many leading figures of his own party. Yet while Jackson's positions on international affairs have been duly recorded by the press, they have not been subjected to anything approaching the intense scrutiny which the views of such other Democratic candidates as Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, John Glenn, or even George McGovern have evoked. This is unfortunate, for Jackson is altogether serious about foreign policy.

Jackson's ideas about foreign policy are often described as embodying a "Third World approach" to international affairs. He has criticized his Democratic presidential rivals for holding a "Europe-centric" attitude while ignoring or minimizing the needs of the underdeveloped countries, and he has condemned Americans in general for harboring feelings of "arrogance and contempt" for the impoverished nations of the Third World. Given his view that the U.S. should undertake a major reorientation in its policies toward the

Third World, his positions on many of the most controversial issues of the day provide few surprises. He favors normalization of relations with the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and a cut-off of aid to the government of El Salvador. He calls for the imposition of trade sanctions on South Africa and the elimination of policies which inhibit trade between the U.S. and black Africa. In addition, he advocates massive increases in the amount of foreign aid given African countries, and the elimination of special conditions—such as a country's support for U.S. positions in the United Nations—which the Reagan administration has attached to our assistance programs. He has also called for the U.S. to continue its membership in UNESCO.

Looked at collectively, these positions are not especially unusual. Nor is there anything outlandish in Jackson's endorsement of the nuclear freeze and a decrease in defense spending, or even his advocacy of a reduction in U.S. troop deployments in Europe. Indeed, with the exception of his strong sympathies for the PLO, there is little in the various policy prescriptions advanced by Jackson to distinguish him from many, perhaps most, liberal Democrats.

Where Jackson does diverge, however, is in his statements regarding the underlying values of American involvement in world affairs. Thus in a speech this past summer on America's role during and after World War II, he went so far as to say:

Psychologically, America emerged out of the Second World War arrogant, militarily victorious, with a sense of "We can conquer the world." It believed that might was right, and not that right was might.

More recently, Jackson has referred to the Reagan administration as a "repressive regime" and asserted, at a meeting of representatives of the Organization of African Unity at the UN, that "Third World nations are being raped and robbed of valuable raw materials" in the service of a coming nuclear holocaust. Jackson, born and raised in Greenville, South Carolina, refers to

ARCH PUDDINGTON is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and the editor of *Workers Under Communism*. His article, "The New Soviet Apologists," appeared in our November 1983 issue.

himself as having grown up as a "Third World resident in the first world," and of having been "born in occupied territory, having lived for all of my developing years under apartheid."

Jackson also makes repeated references to America's "obsession with Communism," an affliction from which he most certainly does not suffer. He has, for example, described the Berlin Wall as "a monument to a crisis in communications which has caused so much pain to so many people," a remark which betrays his entire attitude toward East-West relations. While Jackson cannot bring himself to acknowledge the Wall as a concrete symbol of Communist oppression, he does not hesitate to make the most sweeping attacks on the United States as a bastion of militarism and racism. His reaction to the invasion of Grenada is particularly revealing. Americans, he declared, "should feel a sense of outrage and disgrace" over the action, which "must be seen as part of a whole approach to foreign policy . . . characterized by gunboat and big-stick diplomacy, manifest destiny, militant adventurism, and racial insensitivity." And in a statement that is, to say the least, strange coming from a man who does not hesitate to criticize American "contempt" for the Third World, Jackson accused the Caribbean democracies which supported the landing as having "their hands stretched out, appealing for aid," and implied that Dominica Prime Minister Eugenia Charles had received a \$10-million grant from the U.S. as reward for her support for the action.

Jackson did not originate the proposition that America has evolved into a racist and imperialist world bully, that our postwar "arrogance" was responsible for the cold war, that the use of our military force in the Third World reflects a deep-seated contempt for non-whites, and that the super-power rivalry is really much less urgent today than the necessity of dealing with the inequities between the rich industrialized nations and the impoverished states of the Third World. These notions were embraced, in varying degrees, by many prominent Democrats in the past two decades, including the 1972 presidential nominee. Chastened by the 1980 returns, however, most Democrats have by now disavowed the party's flirtation with anti-Americanism, whether out of tactical prudence or because of a genuine change of mind. Not so Jesse Jackson. Paradoxically, however, Jackson's continued espousal of a world view dominated by the image of a militaristic and racially insensitive America has not damaged his public standing.

NOR is this the first time that Jackson has advanced highly controversial views about world affairs at minimal cost to his reputation or influence. Indeed, Jackson's notoriety owes as much to his statements and activities relating to the Middle East crisis as anything else he has done during his career as civil-rights leader and

politician. The history of Jackson's participation in the Middle East debate bears close examination. For while Jackson has successfully projected the image of a man vaguely sympathetic to the aspirations of the Palestinian people for a homeland, his statements reveal a combination of intellectual confusion, gross ignorance of modern Jewish history, a benign attitude toward the terrorist acts of the PLO, and a propensity to ascribe continued U.S. support for Israel to the money and votes of American Jews.

Jackson first became seriously involved in Middle East affairs after the 1979 dismissal of United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young for violating government policy by meeting with the PLO's representative to the UN. Along with a number of other black leaders, Jackson blamed American Jews for Young's ouster. In an address to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Jackson ominously noted that "the Klan didn't move on Andy," leaving no doubt as to who the responsible party was. Jackson further warned that the Young affair posed a serious threat to black-Jewish relations, a theme Jackson repeated again and again and again—to the point of contributing to the very outcome he was ostensibly trying to prevent.

In a similar vein, Jackson warned that continued Israeli refusal to deal with the PLO could provoke a wave of anti-Semitism here in the United States. "Israel must not push basic white America into a corner," he cautioned, "and allow an economic excuse to cause the biggest unleashing of racism and anti-Semitism yet." His solicitude for the Israelis notwithstanding, Jackson was at the same time doing his share to stir up black resentment by, for example, urging an investigation into charges that Israeli agents had spied on Ambassador Young.

In his efforts to advance the cause of Palestinian rights, Jackson has not limited himself to making speeches or issuing press releases. In 1979 he intervened on behalf of an accused PLO terrorist who was being held in the United States, requesting that the federal attorney in Chicago explore alternatives to extraditing the man to Israel because, Jackson said, it was unlikely that he would receive a fair trial there.* At about the same time, Jackson led a delegation on a mission to the Middle East, an event which would produce some of the most negative press coverage in his career. While the trip is mainly remembered for Jackson's embrace of Yasir Arafat and his warm words of praise for the PLO, other less publicized utterances provide a clearer insight into his beliefs, style, and strategy.

For example, when Prime Minister Begin declined to meet with Jackson on the ground that the American had made anti-Semitic remarks, Jackson responded that this represented "a racist

* The accused terrorist, Ziad Abu Eain, was, however, extradited to Israel and convicted of the bombing, which had killed two people and injured 36 others in the city of Tiberias.

decision based on skin color." He was also quoted by two American Jews traveling with his entourage as having declared himself "sick and tired of hearing about the Holocaust and having America being put in the position of a guilt trip. . . . The Jews do not have a monopoly on suffering." Jackson subsequently insisted that the statement had been taken out of context. It was during the same trip, however, that Jackson, following a visit to the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial, observed that: "The suffering [of the Jews during the Holocaust] is atrocious, but really not unique to human history," and added: "Genocide should not be allowed to happen to anyone, not even the Palestinians."

To compare the annihilation of European Jewry with the problems confronting the Palestinian refugees goes beyond even the intellectual sloppiness and moral insensitivity which mark many Jackson pronouncements. Furthermore, Jackson has on several occasions drawn the ludicrous (and, for blacks, insulting) parallel between the struggle for Palestinian "rights" and the struggle against segregation waged by the civil-rights movement in the American South. In a 1980 speech to an Arab-American organization in Birmingham, Alabama, Jackson likened the maiming of two Arab mayors, presumably by Jewish terrorists, to the 1963 bombing by white supremacists of a Birmingham church which killed four little black girls. "Let them take a few arms and legs," he exhorted his audience. "Let them bomb a few cars. But never let them take your mind and spirit." Given his equation of the Palestinians with American blacks, it seems that the role he would assign the Israelis in the Middle East drama is that of Southern white bigots.

Jackson has also launched something of a personal crusade aimed at encouraging Arab Americans to register, vote, and make their political presence felt in the debate over Middle East policy. At the same time, he has frequently decried the political influence of the Jewish community. Jackson does not hesitate to accuse the government or the Democratic party of mortgaging Middle East policies to Jewish votes and Jewish money. His observation, after the Democratic party had voted to support the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, was that the Democratic position was "perverted by a reaction . . . to the Jewish element within the party." Never one to pass up an opportunity for the rhetorical flourish, Jackson added that the relationship between Jews and Democrats amounted to "a kind of glorified form of bribery. Financial bankrolling and moral bankruptcy."

IN THE course of his presidential campaign, Jackson has become embroiled in controversy over whether he holds anti-Israel or anti-Semitic sentiments. Yet while he has apologized for using an abusive epithet in talking about Jews, he has not fundamentally changed his

mind about the Middle East. Most telling in this regard is Jackson's response to a question posed by journalist Lally Weymouth, in an interview published in *New York* magazine. In the aforementioned Birmingham speech to the Arab-American audience, Jackson had declared: "We have the real obligation to separate Zionism from Judaism. Judaism is a religion. . . . *Zionism is a kind of poisonous weed that is choking Judaism*" (emphasis added). Reminded by Miss Weymouth of the quote, and given the opportunity to retract, modify, or deny it, Jackson in fact defended his statement:

Let's deal with that one; let's deal with it one at a time. Zionism. A lot of controversy about Zionism and Judaism, you know. Zionism is rooted in race; it's a political philosophy. Judaism is religion and faith; it's a religion. And there are points on the curve where Zionism and Judaism are in conflict. To the extent to which the prophecy of Judaism is made silent by the policies of Zionism, it is a threat to the glorious flower of Judaism, which is in the Garden along with Christianity and with the Muslim religion. Again, that's not a personal position that I conjured up; that's a running debate. But I'm not ignorant of the differences between the two. There are many Jews who are not Zionists. I support the Jews in their struggle for a homeland. There are obviously extremists who've gone far beyond a homeland for the Jewish people into the occupation and suppression of other people—and that tension is gnawing away at the soul of that nation. That's [the cause] of its great internal agony right now.

Despite a certain imprecision of language, these remarks could easily be interpreted as signifying that Zionism is racism. Does Jackson really believe this reprehensible fiction? Does Jackson expect to be taken seriously when he declares that there is a great contradiction between Zionism and Judaism and, furthermore, that many Jews agree with him on this score?

Some would argue that it is not so important what Jackson's views are, that despite his current popularity, he will ultimately be perceived as a secondary figure, that his significance lies in his symbolic role as spokesman for black Americans, rather than in the specifics of his agenda. Yet if there is one thing we have learned from Jackson's controversy-filled career, it is the folly of underestimating his abilities or ambition. As has been the case with his earlier endeavors, Jackson has entered the presidential campaign with specific goals in mind. Of paramount importance is to win recognition from the white leadership of the Democratic party as the principal representative of black America. Furthermore, Jackson sees himself as the catalyst of a reconstituted Left within American politics. To this end, one suspects that it is not so much the rank-and-file of Jackson's vaunted "rainbow coalition" that he is primarily attempt-

ing to reach, but rather the more radicalized leadership of the various coalition groups.

ANOTHER reason to treat Jackson's foreign-policy views seriously has to do with the degree to which they reflect the dominant attitudes among black elected officials and those blacks who think and write about the question of what America's world role should be.

Here the most compelling evidence was the near-unanimous disapproval of the invasion of Grenada. Within a day or so of the initiation of military action, the Congressional Black Caucus without dissent approved a statement denouncing the intervention, a position which was subsequently reaffirmed after a meeting with Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, a strong supporter of the invasion. To Representative Parren Mitchell, Grenada made it seem "like a world gone mad." Representative Charles Rangel accused President Reagan of having "embarked upon a frightening course of gunboat diplomacy" and argued (against all evidence) that the administration's policies were "largely responsible" for having pushed former Prime Minister Bishop "into the arms of the Soviets and Cubans." Representative Edolphus Towns declared that "the internal political problems in Grenada should not have been resolved by foreign intervention. The time of the Monroe Doctrine has long passed." Representative Mervyn Dymally claimed that Grenada (which was in fact nearly bankrupt) had been "paying its debts and acquiring a reputation as one of the Caribbean's most efficient regimes."

But these remarks were relatively restrained when compared with the condemnations voiced by other members of the Black Caucus. Representative Gus Savage declared himself "angry and in agony over our country," and charged that the invasion was at least in part racially motivated. "Reagan calculated that whites would be less concerned by the use of our bombs against black people," he said, comparing the action with South Africa's incursions into the territory of neighboring black African countries. To Representative Ronald Dellums, Grenada represented "nothing less than a crime against humanity executed by people who deserve to be condemned as war criminals." In a letter to President Reagan, Representative John Conyers asked that "the government of Grenada be returned to its sovereign position prior to the invasion so that the Grenadians can chart their own political future." He also wrote: "The American public needs to know whether the United States was involved, in any way, in covert military actions . . . including the recent coup against Prime Minister Maurice Bishop."

Conyers, Dellums, and other members of the Black Caucus did not limit themselves to expressions of outrage. Five caucus members—Mitchell, Dymally, Conyers, Julian Dixon, and Mickey Leland—were among seven Democratic Congressmen

to sponsor a measure to impeach President Reagan on the grounds that the invasion violated the Constitution. In a separate move, Conyers filed suit to enjoin the American military from operating in Grenada; joining him in the action were seven Black Caucus members. Moreover, Conyers and Savage reportedly bolted in fury from the meeting with Prime Minister Charles; subsequently, speaking from the floor of Congress, Savage referred to Charles as "this puppet of our President" who "represents Aunt Jemima-ism."

The views expressed by the Black Caucus were by and large echoed by others in the black community. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference claimed that America had "become the villain of the Western Hemisphere." A statement issued by the National Conference of Black Lawyers called the invasion a "violent and criminal" act which "represents a further step in the effort of the United States to overturn the revolutionary process in Grenada." Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, an organization established to influence Congress and the administration on issues relating to Africa and the Caribbean, stressed the racial dimension of the invasion decision. "I can't imagine that the Reagan administration or any other administration would have invaded a white country," he said. Robinson, like others, struck the theme that the invasion deprived the Grenadians of the right to determine their political destiny. The intervention, he said, "reflects a disregard for the people of Grenada and their inalienable right to self-determination."

Similar attitudes were expressed in the black press. Colin Moore, a columnist for the *Amsterdam News*, New York's largest black newspaper, wrote that the invasion signified an upsurge in "American imperialism" and, echoing Jesse Jackson and others, characterized the Caribbean nations which had supported the action as "puppets." The *Amsterdam News* itself editorialized that, "Grenada is a black sovereign nation, one that has every right to choose its own form of government." The paper predicted that the island "will probably become for the short term one of those countries ruled by an imposed dictator supported and controlled by our CIA."

TO BE SURE, not all black elected officials, civil-rights leaders, writers, and academics shared the predominant posture. Norman Hill, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, pointed out that "the black population of the island has welcomed the American and Caribbean troops as liberators, and not invaders," adding that it is the Grenadians "who are probably more surprised at the cries of outrage of many world leaders." And Representative William Clay declared that "the so-called Marxist, ruthless, dictatorial government which took control only replaced a Marxist, ruthless, dictatorial government." Moreover, a number of prominent blacks,

while harboring misgivings about the Grenada action, were impressed by the pro-American views of the Grenadians and privately dismayed by the militant tone adopted by Conyers, Dellums, and other critics.

Unfortunately, those with moderate inclinations were, with few exceptions, unwilling to break with the prevailing view of all-out opposition. This is partly because black moderates tend to focus on domestic concerns, partly because of a reluctance to disrupt the appearance of racial unity, and partly, no doubt, because of a disinclination to deal with the inevitable charges of having become puppets of the President. In any event, the result is that with regard to Grenada, and most other foreign-policy controversies as well, it is the most extreme segments of the black political and intellectual elite who set the tone, rhetoric, and policy—and thus who ultimately determine what, insofar as the general public is concerned, the “black position” is on the issues of the day.

Yet even if we concede that the perspective of the black community may have been distorted by the intense criticism of more radical-minded figures, the appearance of absolute opposition remains deeply troubling. While the process of Sovietizing Grenadian society had not proceeded as quickly as the leaders of Maurice Bishop's New Jewel Movement would have preferred, there was sufficient evidence in the statements of Bishop and other New Jewel leaders to suggest that a single-party state along East European lines was the ultimate goal. Furthermore, testimony about the increasingly repressive nature of the Bishop regime presented by the growing community of Grenadian exiles, many of whom had initially welcomed the Bishop government, should have suggested to American blacks that a more detached attitude toward the New Jewel “experiment” was called for. Given the demonstrated willingness of the surviving New Jewel faction to insure control through violence, the glib demands that Grenadians be allowed to decide their own destiny could easily have amounted to a death sentence for opponents of the regime. The regime had the guns; behind the regime stood the Cubans, among whose functions was to serve as a praetorian guard for whichever pro-Communist group held the reins of power.

Even more disturbing were the shameful attacks leveled at the motives and character of the Caribbean leaders who supported and helped plan the invasion. On this score, the statements of Jesse Jackson and others were distressingly reminiscent of the heyday of Black Power, when moderate civil-rights leaders were routinely castigated as Uncle Toms who had been bought off by the white power structure. Some critics of the intervention refrained from questioning the motives of other Caribbean countries, but did express differences with the assessment that Grenada posed a danger to its neighbors. Yet that such a threat existed is undeniable. Maurice Bishop succeeded in over-

throwing the government of Sir Eric Gairy, and Gairy had maintained one of the largest security forces in the region. The New Jewel Movement was holding regular conferences with like-minded radicals from the Caribbean, and Grenada had built up, practically overnight, an army of unprecedented size by Caribbean standards. Add to this the long history of Soviet-Cuban subversion in Latin and Central America, and it becomes obvious why the Caribbean democracies summarily rejected the argument that they had “nothing to fear” from the New Jewel revolution.

IRONICALLY, the Caribbean leaders so casually dismissed as puppets of the United States did an altogether impressive job of enhancing the image of competent and decisive black political leadership during the early days of the invasion. The three most outspoken supporters of the intervention—Eugenia Charles, the Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga, and Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados—effectively put paid to the myth that the only viable Third World alternatives lie between a Pinochet and a Castro. During a discussion with Representative Dellums in the aftermath of the invasion, Adams, according to one report, cautioned the American: “Do not assume that you know better than we what is in our national interest.” Unfortunately, there is little evidence that Adams's message has reached those in the United States who most need to hear it.

For one thing, many black foreign-policy specialists and activists display a decided preference for revolutionary, “socialist,” and anti-Western regimes in the Third World. For them, a Maurice Bishop is preferable to a Eugenia Charles; in all likelihood a Fidel Castro is preferable to an Edward Seaga. (At least one prominent black political figure, Boston's Mel King, has stated a preference for Castro over Ronald Reagan because, in his view, Castro cares more about poor people.)

There is an analogous impulse to attribute domestic unemployment and poverty to American defense expenditures and to view our defense policies as the major threat to world peace. Perhaps the most striking example of this reflexive anti-defense posture was the statement by the Congressional Black Caucus condemning the defense policies of President Jimmy Carter. The statement, drafted by Dellums, was released in February 1980, shortly after Carter had announced the package of sanctions the U.S. was imposing on the Soviets because of the invasion of Afghanistan. The Soviet action was, briefly, condemned as “morally wrong and politically stupid.” Even here, however, the Black Caucus placed its emphasis more on the invasion's damaging political repercussions than on the unrestrained brutality of the Red Army. The intervention in Afghanistan, it said, would lead to “an inevitable swing to the Right in both political parties” and provide “an excuse for interfering in the internal affairs

of Pakistan on the pretext of aiding the Afghan rebels." As for American countermeasures, they were branded as "madness," "a threat to the constructive search for world peace," based on "political overreaction and alliance with corrupt dictatorships," and showing "obsessive concerns with overreactive responses to the real or imagined menace of Soviet expansionism."

AS CRITICAL of American policy as it was, the Black Caucus position paper was mild compared with the treatment of foreign-policy questions at the "March on Washington for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom," held this past August to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the original march, made notable by Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. The original march, it should be recalled, did not contain a foreign-affairs dimension: it focused on two goals—jobs and freedom, and specifically on the necessity of winning passage of civil-rights legislation then before Congress. But while foreign-policy issues were not placed on the agenda of the original march, the question of America as a democratic society was central to the message presented by King and the other speakers. King described his dream as "deeply rooted in the American dream," where "all men are created equal," and where "the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." America was a flawed society because of the injustice inflicted on its black citizens, but it nonetheless was a society based on the highest of political values—freedom, democracy, equality before the law.

By contrast, the prevailing atmosphere at the 1983 March for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom was one of castigation and chastisement, with the United States as principal target. As the march's declaration of principles put it, the American dream "is tarnished today as the tides of national self-doubt, aggressiveness, and chauvinism of race, sex, class, and nation are seriously undermining our national unity and sense of human solidarity." To counter what they saw as a growing national malaise, the march organizers called for the creation of a "Coalition of Conscience," a "community and a movement brought together by a common dream and human values."

This coalition, however, was quite different from the broad mass of Americans to whom King addressed his inspirational words twenty years earlier. Included in the official list of sponsors and speakers were a number of organizations and individuals who have devoted years to promoting and defending some of the world's most repulsive dictatorships, the Soviet Union among them. Nor could these groups and individuals have been disappointed by the treatment of defense and foreign-policy issues in the declaration of principles, which attacked a "military budget which . . . denies our people scores of absolutely essential human re-

sources and service programs." It also criticized the "militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America. . . ." No mention was made of Eastern Europe, Poland, Afghanistan, or even the Soviet Union, except insofar as could be implied by passing reference to "the super-powers."

The special slant given the sections on foreign affairs was not the result of haphazard phrasing by a drafting committee. The seriousness with which the event's sponsors regarded their formulations was demonstrated by the response to a series of moderate changes in the declaration of principles proposed by the AFL-CIO. A suggestion that a phrase condemning terrorism be inserted was rejected on the familiar ground that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." Similarly, a proposal to include an explicit condemnation of dictatorships of the Left and Right was rebuffed—because, an aide to Coretta Scott King explained, there is no such thing as a left-wing dictatorship. Nor was a request to add a phrase criticizing the violation of human rights in Poland taken up by the drafting committee. Finally, a suggestion to delete or modify language implicitly critical of Israel was rejected on the ground that Jesse Jackson felt strongly that this language should be retained.* (Further evidence of the determination of the march's sponsors to make clear their critical attitude toward U.S. support for Israel was the otherwise puzzling inclusion of former Senator James Abourezk, a strong PLO advocate, as a march convener.)

THEN there is the case of TransAfrica. Established in 1977, TransAfrica's major function, as noted above, is to provide information about and organize lobbying campaigns on behalf of the black nations of Africa and the Caribbean. The figure most prominently associated with the organization is its director, Randall Robinson, and it is a tribute to his energetic leadership that TransAfrica has gained recognition as the leading voice for "black" foreign-policy positions.

Much of TransAfrica's activity is devoted to persuading American policy-makers to adopt a tougher stance toward the apartheid regime in South Africa; not surprisingly, the organization has been sharply critical of the "constructive engagement" position embraced by the Reagan administration.

But it is on issues other than South Africa where the ideological presuppositions of TransAfrica are manifested most vividly. One theme which recurs in the organization's publications and position papers is the disruptive, destabilizing impact of American military involvement in the Third World.

* The failure of negotiations prompted the AFL-CIO, which endorsed the march itself, to withhold support from the declaration of principles.

On the other hand, Soviet and Cuban interference is viewed with a mixture of tolerance and approval. Thus a 1982 position paper took a critical attitude toward American support for Somalia in that country's struggles with Ethiopia, while ignoring the central role which the presence of Cuban troops has played in transforming the Horn of Africa into a geostrategic battleground. The same paper described Cuba as having achieved "an impressive record in health-care delivery, housing construction, and public education." Nothing was said about Cuba's systematic violation of human rights, the absence of press freedom, the persecution of artists and writers, the treatment of political prisoners, or, most relevant to TransAfrica's concerns, the export of Cuban soldiers and the Cuban political system to the Third World. In fact, except for its justifiable anger over the repression of South African blacks, the issues of human rights and democracy do not figure in TransAfrica's determination of what is and what is not worth supporting in the Third World. The intrusion of the issue of democracy would, of course, complicate TransAfrica's assessment of some of its preferred regimes—Castro's Cuba and Bishop's Grenada front and center.

TransAfrica also presents a seriously distorted picture of the role played by Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces in the Angolan civil war. Indeed, according to TransAfrica's version, no civil war exists in that country. Rather, we are told that the conflict there pits the Marxist Luanda regime and its Cuban allies on the one hand against the South Africans on the other. In this view, Savimbi's troops were militarily defeated in 1975, "discredited" by their association with the Pretoria regime, and have not been a factor ever since. No one, and certainly not Savimbi, denies that UNITA has received assistance from South Africa. Nevertheless, it is widely acknowledged that UNITA, largely through its own efforts, has gained control over large sections of Angola and has demonstrated impressive abilities as a guerrilla fighting force. What explains TransAfrica's refusal to concede UNITA's viability as an insurgent force with popular support in at least some areas of the country? The probable answer is that to acknowledge the existence of a popular resistance force would weaken Luanda's claim to legitimacy, and possibly even set off demands for negotiations, coalition governments, or the various other schemes for power-sharing that have been advanced regarding the conflict in El Salvador.

TransAfrica has also come down firmly in favor of American recognition of the PLO. This position, not unusual in itself, is nonetheless notable for the scathing criticism of Israel and the American Jewish community which accompanies it. In a statement issued shortly after Ambassador Young's 1979 dismissal, TransAfrica qualified its criticism of PLO terrorism by noting that such acts do not make the PLO "inherently terroristic, any

more than the former acts of Israel's leader [Begin] while in the Irgun, or the fact that the state of Israel has also resorted to terrorism in the name of state and national security makes the Israelis an inherently terroristic people." While TransAfrica placed itself on record as favoring Israel's right to exist, it found it necessary to include a phrase deploring "the circumstances under which it came into being" as "unfortunate." Furthermore, the statement supported "the Palestinian right of return and the restoration of the state promised in UN Resolutions 184 and 191." By citing these two resolutions, particularly resolution 184, which established the original partitioned state, TransAfrica went well beyond the usual calls for a Palestinian homeland on the West Bank. Some, in fact, would interpret this position as a de-facto call for Israel's dismemberment.

Two more elements of the document are worth noting. At one point, TransAfrica observes with approval that many Arab and African states have reached the conclusion that "Israel and South Africa represent examples of a similar phenomenon, 'settler colonialism,' or arrogant, aggressive, racialism." Finally, an outright accusation of dual loyalty is brought against American Jews:

We are styled "the black lobby for Africa," and sometimes compared with "the Israeli lobby" by people who wonder if we can "do for Africa what the Jews have done for Israel." We do not seek to do what they have done. We do not seek to hold American policy or action to ransom in the interest of this or that policy or ambition of any foreign country.

It should be stressed that, at least where Israel is concerned, TransAfrica's strident opposition does not represent the sentiments of the majority of black political and civil-rights leadership. An analysis of the voting records of the Congressional Black Caucus on issues relating to Israel and the Middle East since 1975 shows a degree of support for Israel roughly comparable to most liberal Democrats. Black Congressmen like Charles Rangel, Augustus Hawkins, Cardiss Collins, and William Clay have supported measures designed to strengthen Israel 90 percent of the time or more. The two major exceptions are Dellums and Conyers, with the latter having compiled one of the most anti-Israel records in Congress. Conyers also speaks out frequently on behalf of the PLO. This past August, for example, he sent a letter of greetings to the PLO and Yasir Arafat urging them to keep up their "struggle for peace."

THE parallel between the support for Israel among black Congressmen and their white liberal colleagues holds true (on the other side) for other foreign and defense issues as well. Indeed, for both groups, it is impossible to separate the harshly critical attitude toward American global policies from the general collapse of liberal anti-Communism as the prevailing ideology of the

Democratic party. The positions adopted by the Black Caucus may be more provocatively phrased than similar statements issued by Americans for Democratic Action, but the underlying assumptions are similar. The same can be said of the opposition of blacks to American interventionism in the Third World. The instinctive reaction of white liberal Congressmen to the rescue mission in Grenada was one of opposition; it was only after the overwhelming majority of Americans expressed support for the intervention that most Democrats underwent a reluctant shift.

Yet even by the standards of today's liberalism, the Black Caucus exhibits an unusually pronounced tendency to oppose both measures designed to strengthen the defense capabilities of America and its allies and policies designed to counter the influence of Communism. To cite several examples: in 1978 the Democratically-controlled House rejected by an overwhelming 301-88 margin a proposal to reduce U.S. troop levels overseas and to cut the level of active duty forces overall by 50,000 men; the entire Black Caucus voted for this measure. During the same term of Congress, a majority of black Congressmen voted to reduce American military aid to South Korea, a measure which was defeated, again overwhelmingly. Finally, last year, Democrats by 150-105 favored a measure to authorize funds for Radio Martí, the government-sponsored broadcast service established to provide information to Cubans; among the bill's supporters were such critics of American foreign policy as Barney Frank, Morris Udall, Michael Barnes, Don Bonker, and Barbara Mikulski. Yet only two of the 21 members of the Black Caucus—Cardiss Collins and Alan Wheat—voted favorably.

As is true of any Congressman, members of the Black Caucus are influenced in their votes by constituency pressures. However, with a few exceptions, black Congressmen represent districts where not simply a majority, but an overwhelming majority, of the voters are black. In these districts, comprised often of impoverished inner-city areas, foreign policy takes second place to the debate over economic issues and social-welfare programs. Those for whom the issue of America's world role is a matter of high priority often hold far-Left views or are attracted to black nationalist philosophies. Although it is impossible to estimate with any precision the degree of influence exerted by such groups, they do represent a more substantial factor in local black politics than would ordinarily be the case in predominantly white districts.

A STRIKING example of such influence can be found in Jesse Jackson's entourage. During the debate over the establishment of a national holiday to commemorate Martin Luther King's birthday, Senator Jesse Helms made pointed accusations about King's associates. At the heart of the controversy was the charge that the

late Stanley Levison, one of King's closest and most trusted advisers, was a secret Communist agent. The FBI strongly believed this to be the case; it was, in fact, because of concern about Levison's influence over the leading figure in the civil-rights movement that the bureau initiated its surveillance of King. King himself was clearly not a Communist; indeed he denounced Communism as an atheist dogma. But there is substantial evidence—gathered in David Garrow's *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.**—to suggest that the FBI's suspicions about Levison were warranted.

One of Levison's contributions was to recommend the hiring of Jack O'Dell as an assistant to King, which King subsequently did. According to Garrow, O'Dell had an association with the Communist party from the late 1940's until at least the late 1950's, a relationship which, Garrow notes, O'Dell himself has never denied. The FBI, furthermore, believed that O'Dell had been elected to the party's national committee in December 1959, under a pseudonym. Although he never occupied a leadership position within the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, O'Dell was considered one of the organization's most competent staff members.

The reason that O'Dell's past affiliations and present views are of some importance is that for some time (although we would scarcely know this from press coverage of the Jackson campaign) he has served as Jesse Jackson's chief foreign-policy adviser. As director of the international department of Operation PUSH, O'Dell has accompanied Jackson on many of his international trips, including several to the Middle East.

Since launching his presidential campaign, Jackson has on at least one occasion been asked about O'Dell's political affiliations, and has responded that O'Dell is not now a Communist. But the question of whether O'Dell is technically a party member is essentially irrelevant. On an organizational level, O'Dell has associated himself with several pro-Soviet institutions, serving on the editorial board of *Freedomways*, a political journal which consistently adopts a pro-Soviet position, and as a member of the World Peace Council, a transparent Soviet-front organization (O'Dell served as American delegate to the Peace Council in 1977). Furthermore, we know something of O'Dell's current attitudes from articles he has written for *Freedomways*; typical is a 1980 piece in which O'Dell claimed, *inter alia*, that the decisions to proceed with construction of the MX missile and B-1 bomber "have nothing to do with the defense of the United States" but have "everything to do with the federal government's guaranteeing favorable profit margins . . . to corporate giants." In a similar vein, he claimed that "the-Russians-are-coming" paranoia . . . has proven to be a very profitable

* See the review by Eric M. Breindel, COMMENTARY, January 1982.—Ed.

enterprise for the biggest conglomerates in the war industries." And finally:

An aspect of the world community's perception of Afro-Americans is the increasingly held view that while South Africa, with its ruthless apartheid system, represents the fullest expression of a racist state, the government and society which are the most consistent upholders of the racist doctrine of white supremacy in the world at large are these United States.

It goes without saying that O'Dell says nothing to challenge this alleged "perception."

IN RAISING the question of O'Dell's relationship with Jesse Jackson, it should be stressed that there is no suggestion that Communists have subverted the civil-rights movement or dominate the thinking of black political leadership. It is true that among the CP leadership today, the secretary of the central committee, the national chairman, the head of the youth wing, and the organization's most prominent public figure, Angela Davis (recently nominated as the party's vice-presidential candidate), are all black; it is also the case that prominent blacks regularly speak to or serve as members of various front groups, such as the World Peace Council or Labor Research Associates, which in 1982 honored the Black Caucus at its annual dinner. Nevertheless, the Communists have been notably unsuccessful in their attempts to gain the allegiance of the younger generation of black politicians, the more radical of whom seem to find nationalist or Pan-Africanist ideologies far more appealing.

Indeed, the continued disapproval of the Soviet

Union by black political leaders is a source of distress to some radicals. The issue was addressed with uncharacteristic bluntness by John F. Davis, a former editor of the *Amsterdam News*, shortly after the invasion of Grenada. Davis found it "amazing that the Congressional Black Caucus apparently does not recognize this invasion as an opportunity to organize and educate people to some of the Third World realities." The major reality, as Davis saw it, was that "All the liberation movements [in this hemisphere] have been and continue to be supported by the Soviet Union" and that "the threat to peace in the world today emanates from Washington and from the efforts of the American government to exploit the world's resources."

If nothing else, Davis's observations have the merit of candor. He realizes that the struggle for a more just sociopolitical order in the Third World cannot be separated from the broader competition between the United States with its democratic values and the Soviet Union with its totalitarian ones. It is tragic that neither Jesse Jackson nor many of the black political leaders for whom he speaks seem to recognize that democratic liberties are as essential to the nation-building process as economic development, and that those in the Third World who find inspiration in the Soviet "model" are not liberators but rather betrayers of the societies they seek to change. Given the near certainty that blacks will become an increasingly influential force in American political life, this attitude represents a serious obstacle to the refashioning of a national consensus around a policy aimed at the spread of democracy and the restraint of Soviet expansionism.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON


July 6, 1984

Dear Mrs. Sussman:

I was sorry to hear of your difficulty in attending the Republican Jewish Coalition briefing at the Old Executive Office Building on May 13, 1984. The unfortunate necessity of increased security measures, may at times cause a guest some inconvenience, particularly if a name was not placed on a list until the last minute. I am sure this will not happen to you again.

I look forward to seeing you at future Republican Jewish Coalition meetings.

Sincerely,


Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison

Mrs. Sidney Sussman
1621 North Olden Avenue
Trenton, New Jersey 08638

TBF, ILL. ORG'S,
JULY 1984



July 13, 1984

Mr. Marshall Breger
2141 Wyoming Avenue N.W.
Apt. 22
Washington D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Breger:

While I have not had an opportunity to meet you personally,
I do know your wife from a common interest in rare Hebrew
books.

I am anxious to do what I can to move Jewish voters out of
the Democratic camp for this election. I believe I have
some influence both in Chicago and nationally and would
like to be advised as to what I can do specifically for
the campaign in relation to Jewish voters. Do advise me.

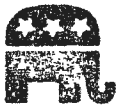
Sincerely yours,


Rabbi Samuel H. Dresner

MORIAH CONGREGATION

200 Hyacinth Deerfield, Illinois 60015

Rabbi Samuel H. Dresner, DHL



Republican National Committee

Jewish
Coalition

21 July 1984

Jacque Friedman
Publisher-Editor
Boro Park Community News
4424 8th Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11220

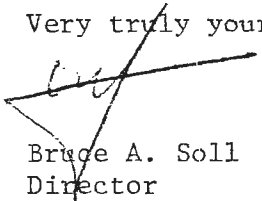
Dear Mr. Friedman:

I have received a copy of your letter in which you write of your strong desire to support the reelection of President Reagan and his Republican Team. We appreciate such a demonstrative statement.

In order to keep you more fully informed of our activities I am forwarding your name and a copy of your letter to Neal Levin, Staff Director for New York Jewish Coalition. Mr. Levin is in charge of coordinating the Jewish effort for the President in New York state.

Once again, we appreciate your strong support of the President and the Republican Party and look forward to working with you in the very near future.

Very truly yours,



Bruce A. Soll
Director

cc: Neal Levin, MB ✓

BAS/ts



Republican
National
Committee

Jewish
Coalition

22 July 1984

Rabbi Samuel H. Dresner
Moriah Congregation
200 Hyacinth
Deerfield, Illinois 60015

Dear Rabbi Dresner:

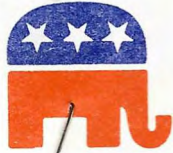
I have been informed of your interest in supporting the Republican Party by Marshall Breger. He has told me of your interest in helping to show Jewish voters that there is an alternative to some of the alarming trends in the Democratic party.

The Jewish Coalition has a staff person in the Illinois area. His name is Ari Mark Neuman. I have passed along your name to him so that you may be kept better informed of our efforts. Furthermore, we look forward to calling upon you for assistance in coordinating Marshall Breger's upcoming visit to the Chicago area in mid-August.

Very truly yours,

Bruce A. Soll
Executive Director

cc: MB, AMN
BAS/ts



Republican
National
Committee

Jewish
Coalition

Memo

To: Marshall Breger
From: Bruce A. Soll
Re: State Updates

30 July 1984

For your information--

STATE UPDATE- JULY 29, 1984

PENNSYLVANIA

7-23-84

1. Met with Faye Olivieri- Women's Jewish Coalition Chair
2. Met with Syd Mayer- Potential for Senior's Vote
3. Met with Wendy Rickles- Assistant Pennsylvania Jewish Coalition State Chair

7-24-84

Jack Kemp Luncheon- Locust Club in Philadelphia, 28 attendees at \$1000. a plate.

7-25-84

1. Met with Stanley Newman- Professor of Political Science at Temple University, will be handling Academics for Reagan within the state.
2. Met with Alex Endy- Attorney in Chester County, is helping with list gathering in Chester County.

7-26-84

1. Met with David Snyder- Campaign Manager for Congressman Larry Caughlin, 13th District.

7-27-84

1. Met with Flora Fox.

7-30-84

1. Meeting with Malcolm Lazin and Charles Dougherty, the Philadelphia Jewish Coalition Chair and the Coordinator for N.W. Philadelphia, respectively.
2. Meeting with Mo Levin and Shirley Miller- Committee people in Upper Marion.

7-31-84

1. Meeting with Bernard Borine- Potential Jewish Coalition Chair for Montgomery County.
2. Meeting with Tommy Judge- Republican County Chairman, Delaware County.

8-1-84

1. Meeting with Malcolm Lazin- Philadelphia Coalition Chair
Faye Olivieri- Women's Coalition Chair
Richard Molish- Bucks County Coalition Chair

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UPDATE CONT...

Robert Fox- Pennsylvania Jewish Coalition
Chairman

Marty Kallish- Pennsylvania Jewish Coalition
State Coordinator

STATE UPDATE CONTINUES...

CALIFORNIA

7-23-84

1. Met with Margaret Brock- Victory '84 Chair for California
2. Reagan advance work for L.A. Olympics, will be in town July 28th.
3. Met with Ruth Singer, Jewish Coalition State Chair and Mark Spiegel, Vice-Chair for Jewish Coalition and Reagan-Bush California.
4. Met with Larry Field, Finance Chairman for California Jewish Coalition.

7-24-84

1. Tuesday evening conference call.
2. Volunteer meeting
3. Sites checked for Jack Kemp event on August 27th or 28th.
4. Met with Dick Zelle and Frank Maas, two new Executive Committee members.

7-25-84

1. Interviewed possible state phone bank coordinators
2. Met with David Shell, Tom Hayden's opponent
3. Executive Committee meeting

7-26-84

California State Executive Committee Meeting

1. Discussed phone bank, spoke with Richard Fox
2. Discussed Phil Abrams event, on September 7th.
3. Appointed Marshall Ezralow, Jack Kemp Event Chairman, Cocktail Party, \$250. per couple, and \$1000. plate dinner.
4. Discussed Phil Abrams Event
5. Organized Speakers Bureau
 - training session
 - talking points

6. Lunch with Margaret Brock, Ruth Singer and Mark Spiegel

7-27-84

1. Reagan Advance for tomorrow's arrival at the Olympic Games

STATE UPDATE CONTINUES...

ILLINOIS

7-23-84

1. Mark Neuman started as Jewish Coalition State Coordinator
2. Met with Bob Asher, President of AIPAC, and Clem Caditz founder of JINSA, received checks totaling \$5000.
3. State total of contributions to date- \$11,000.

7-24-84

1. Contacted Executive Committee prospects
2. Met with Pat Hurley, Executive Director of Cook County Republican Office

7-25-84

1. Put operating budget and initial memoranda together

7-26-84

1. Met with Bob Mazer, set up computer system agreement

7-27-84

In D.C., speaking at the AIPAC Conference

Week of July 30th, meeting with Chris Atchison, the State Republican Executive Director
Also more Fundraising