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✓ MAX-

Still in Committee.
What next?

Pratt

America
Jewish
Congress



Howard Kohr
Deputy Director

9

Dear Max,

This letter was sent to all members of the
Armed Services Committee and to Senate
leadership.

Regards,

(202) 547-7701
415 SECOND STREET, N.E.
SUITE 100
WASHINGTON, DC 20002



NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION

September 10, 1986

Max M. Fisher
Honorary Chairman

Richard J. Fox
National Chairman

George Klein
Gordon Zacks
Co-chairmen

Ivan Boesky
Finance Chairman

Executive Committee

Bernard H. Barnett

Paul Borman

Marshall Breger

The Hon. Matthew Brown

Joseph B. Gildenhorn

Leonard Greenberg

Samuel Kane

Robert R. Mazer

Ruth Miller

Louis A. Morgan

Jacob Stein

Philip Winn

Chris Gersten
Executive Director

Howard Kohr
Deputy Director

A. Mark Neuman
Political Director

The Honorable Strom Thurmond
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Thurmond:

On behalf of the National Jewish Coalition, I would like to express our opposition to the proposal currently pending before the Senate that would reduce drastically the threshold for underground nuclear tests. It is my sincere hope that the Senate will recognize the considerable weakening of U.S. security that will inevitably result if the Aspin-Gephardt-Schroeder amendment passed by the House were to become law.

The question of nuclear testing is one which has received considerable attention in recent months. The Kremlin, having completed its testing requirements for the present, has adopted and extended a unilateral nuclear-test moratorium in an effort to put pressure on the United States to follow suit.

For Congress to succumb to this Soviet pressure would be to reward Mr. Gorbachev for what is widely-regarded as a publicity stunt: the Soviet Union still refuses to permit the kind of on-site verification of a test ban which the United States has insisted must be included in any comprehensive test-ban treaty. Given the Soviet's history of violating agreements with the U.S. and other nations, such measures are indispensable if the United States is to be certain of Soviet compliance.

In the absence of an agreement on verification, however, restrictions on U.S. testing such as those proposed by Reps. Aspin, Gephardt and Schroeder, would permit the Soviet Union to retain and even increase the testing advantage it gained during the months preceding its moratorium. Unable to test the reliability of existing weapons, the United States would lose confidence in its existing nuclear arsenal--a condition which would severely weaken the nuclear deterrent that constitutes the mainstay of the West's defenses.

Moreover, such a ban would prevent the development of new weapons, including the small, mobile ICBM known as

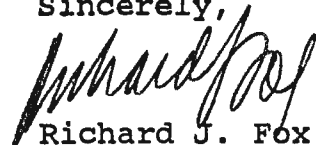
"Midgetman," thereby permitting the Soviets to retain the advantage they have gained by the deployment of their own mobile missile, the SS-25. This, in turn, would result in a destabilization of the nuclear balance, and a situation in which the U.S. deterrent is seriously undermined.

Throughout its history, the Jewish people have learned of the importance of vigilance in the face of its enemies. We have also learned that weakness and appeasement serve only to embolden those who wish us ill.

I, therefore, respectfully urge that you adopt a position against the imposition by Congress of unilateral restraints on nuclear testing by the United States. For, instead of forcing disarmament and reducing the likelihood of a nuclear war, such restraints would render the West increasingly impotent in the face of the Soviet Union's massive conventional and nuclear forces--a condition that vastly increases the likelihood of war.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Richard J. Fox", written in a cursive style.

Richard J. Fox
National Chairman



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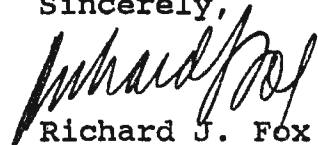
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Chris Gersten
Executive Director
Howard Kohr
Deputy Director
A. Mark Neuman
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October 15, 1986

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the National Jewish Coalition, we would like to express our profound appreciation for the courage and commitment to freedom that you demonstrated in Reykjavik.


In particular, we commend you for declining to accept severe restrictions on the further development of the Strategic Defense Initiative in exchange for deep cuts in the superpowers' strategic arsenals. We agree that an arms-control accord that does not provide for real guarantees against violations would leave the West weak and vulnerable. SDI seeks to provide such guarantees, to the United States, to Western Europe, to Israel and to our allies everywhere. As such, it must not be bargained away for pledges which may not be met.

In addition, we would like to thank you for making the issue of human rights in general and Soviet Jewry in particular a focus of your discussions with Mr. Gorbachev. The attention that you and your administration have paid to Soviet human-rights violations and to specific cases of abuse is unparalleled. Your efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and your commitment to winning their freedom are greatly appreciated by us, and by Jews throughout the world.

Sincerely,


Max M. Fisher


Richard J. Fox


George Klein


Gordon Zacks


Ivan Boesky

November 4, 1986

HIGH DIVIDENDS FROM A U.S.-ISRAELI PARTNERSHIP ON STRATEGIC DEFENSE

INTRODUCTION

The Israeli decision to participate in research on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) promises to be the most important project ever formally undertaken between the two nations. Never before has a joint U.S.-Israeli military project offered so many strategic, technological, economic, and political benefits for both countries. The U.S. stands to gain not only a stronger ally in the Middle East, but a much improved technology base for the SDI program. Israel stands to gain a stronger defense capability and access to the technical and economic benefits of participating in the world's most advanced technology research program.

Specifically, building an Israeli defense against Soviet-supplied SCUD-B, SS-12, SS-21, and SS-22 surface-to-surface missiles deployed in Syria would serve U.S. interests by strengthening Israel's defenses, which should help stabilize the Middle East's military balance. It would benefit SDI by calling on Israeli expertise in laser technology, aero-mechanics, computer software, microelectronics, and propulsion systems. It would accelerate the SDI program by taking advantage of the rapid weapons acquisition process in Israel. It would create technological spinoffs for conventional armaments that would improve Israel's ability to coordinate its military forces and stop attacks by enemy tanks and heavy armored vehicles. And it would stimulate the Israeli economy by imparting to Israel some of the estimated \$5 trillion to \$15 trillion commercial value of SDI high technology spinoffs.

To reap these benefits, it is vital that the U.S.-Israeli cooperation on SDI be allowed to develop fully. Thus the Reagan Administration should:

1) vigorously oppose congressional efforts to reduce allied participation in the SDI research program;

2) establish a U.S.-Israeli working group as soon as possible to accelerate research and development on an anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) system for Israel; and

3) begin working with Israel to upgrade the Israeli air defense system around air bases, mobilization centers, and cities as a first step toward a more comprehensive defense system against tactical ballistic missiles.

THE TACTICAL BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT TO ISRAEL

When Ronald Reagan unveiled his Strategic Defense Initiative in March 1983, he offered U.S. allies the opportunity to participate in the project. Three years later, in May 1986, with the unanimous support of the Israeli Cabinet, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed a Memorandum of Understanding with U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger signaling a go ahead for Israeli involvement in the program. This prompt Israeli response derives in large part from the growing threat to Israel from ballistic missiles armed with conventional, chemical, and nuclear warheads.

Arab states confronting Israel have accumulated weaponry that totals well over \$100 billion. Israel's chief adversary is Syria, which boasts Soviet-supplied SCUD-B, SS-12, SS-21, and SS-22 surface-to-surface missiles. These missiles--even when carrying non-nuclear warheads--can destroy Israeli military control centers, storage depots, and airfields almost without warning. Virtually all of Israel's airbases north of Jerusalem would be vulnerable to attack and could be neutralized for up to 24 hours. This would allow Syria to overrun Israeli forces on the Golan Heights.

Israel currently has ten airbases potentially vulnerable to Syrian short-range missiles.¹ Ten direct hits by either a chemically armed or conventionally armed SS-21 could completely incapacitate a base. The Syrians now possess about two dozen SS-21s. In the near future, the Soviets could supply Syria with enough missiles to knock out all of Israel's bases with a first strike.

1. For a detailed analysis of the Syrian missile threat to Israel airbases and major cities, see Seth W. Carus, "The Threat to Israel From Tactical Ballistic Missiles," testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Strategic Nuclear Forces, January 30, 1986.

The Syrian SS-21 short-range ballistic missiles have a range of 75 miles and an accuracy reported to be within 100 yards. They can strike major Israeli population centers. A surprise attack by these missiles would seriously disrupt the call-up of reserves, the lifeline of the Israel Defense Forces. Israel believes, moreover, that Syria will soon receive the SS-23 with greater accuracy and more than four times the range of the SS-21. It could hit almost any point within Israel.

The use of surface-to-surface missiles in the Iran-Iraq war has revealed to Israeli officials the vulnerability of population centers. One of Israel's most pressing needs thus has become to develop technologies to counter this threat. That SDI offers a promise to remedy this vulnerability is understood by the Israelis.

THE ADVANTAGES OF ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN SDI

The U.S. invitation to its allies to participate in SDI stated that the program will "examine technologies with potential against shorter-range ballistic missiles." One of the first technologies likely to emerge from SDI research will be for anti-tactical ballistic missiles. SDI technologies thus could enable Israel to defend itself rather than rely upon the risky strategies of deterrence by threat of retaliation or preemptive attack. The development of an Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile System (ATBM) or a theater defense system offers a near-term deployment option for Israel. Interceptor weapons such as kinetic energy kill systems, ground-launched hypervelocity interceptor missiles, Rail guns, laser beams, particle beams, and various other intercept technologies are already being tested.² Defense against SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23 missiles could employ a wide range of current technologies since the trajectories of the missiles are lower, and the speeds are slower than those for ICBMs.

What Kind of System

Upgrading existing air defense systems to meet the short-term ballistic missile threat would be the first step in creating a theater defense system. Newer technologies, however, offer great promise. An ideal candidate for an Israeli defense against the Syrians' SS-21 is the U.S. Navy's "Aegis" acquisition radar deployed with a two-stage

2. Israel is reported to be able to deploy a ground-based free electron laser weapon system capable of intercepting ballistic missiles as part of an ATBM system during the 1990s. The system could use a single system to defend the entire country and would rely upon ground-based relay/fighting mirrors instead of space-based systems. Aviation Week and Space Technology, October 20, 1986, p. 27.

hypervelocity missile being developed by Rafael Corporation in Israel. Many of the major components for the missile have already been flight tested. Also promising are a modified version of the U.S. Army's "Patriot" air defense missile and the French "Aster" anti-ballistic missile, which could engage warheads inside the atmosphere.

A point defense at a lower altitude could be composed of proved "off the shelf" anti-ballistic missile technologies, which might also include Patriot surface-to-air missiles. Newly devised "Swarm Jets," hypervelocity Rail guns, lasers, and various other ground-based interceptors could serve as a second layer to catch missiles in the terminal phase of their trajectories that permeate the higher altitude defense.

Each layer when utilized alone would have an 80 percent reliability rate, and when combined, could produce a 96 percent reliability rate. Syria, therefore, would need to target 500 missiles per base, instead of ten missiles, to guarantee destruction of each base. To wipe out all Israeli bases then would require 5,000 SS-21s. Logistics, costs, and political and strategic constraints make this an almost impossible number for Syria to deploy. Without SDI, the Syrians now require only 200 SS-21s to achieve the same results.

Enhancing Israeli Conventional Warfare Capability

SDI technologies should spill over considerably on Israel's conventional capabilities. Weapon designs and battlefield management systems, for instance, could be upgraded via cooperation with the U.S. in developing and sharing such state-of-the-art technologies as electronics, optics, computers, and energy. Domestic defense production enhanced by SDI contracts and shared expertise will contribute to Israeli self-sufficiency and the development of advanced weapons systems necessary for Israel's survival. Writes Avram Schweitzer, an Israeli journalist for the widely respected Ha'Aretz newspaper: "A system that can make out, identify, hone-in-on, and destroy an object less than 100 feet long, moving at near Mach 1 speed at a distance of 10,000 miles, is essentially a [ballistic missiles defense] system, the application of which could do to the foot soldier, the artillery piece, the tank, or the helicopter, what its space-progenitor is supposed to do to strategic missiles. To be in on this kind of technology...could mean the purchase of peace for Israel, or more realistically, the imposition, by non-aggressive means, of a permanent state of non-belligerence along its borders."³

The Israelis are already researching the possibilities of converting offshoots of SDI hypervelocity Rail guns into weapons capable of being mounted on tanks and armored vehicles. Because of

3. Midstream, June/July 1985, pp. 6, 7.

SDI, Israel will be in a better position to update aviation electronics and keep combat command and control systems close to state-of-the-art. The 1982 Lebanese conflict demonstrated the importance of these components for military success during Israel's confrontation with Syria.

Reducing the Likelihood of a Future Arab/Israeli Conflict

Unable to match the numbers of men and weapons fielded by its adversaries, Israel has had to rely on its qualitative advantage. But because of economic restraints, and the influx of Soviet, British, French, and even American weaponry to its adversaries, Israel's qualitative deterrent has eroded seriously. Syrian short-range missiles, for example, soon may be able to destroy Israel's fighter aircraft on the tarmac in a surprise attack. Israel's only way to counter such an imminent attack from surface-to-surface missiles would be by a preemptive strike against the missiles before they can be fired. Such a preemptive strike, of course, could ignite a new war in the Middle East. SDI, however, could enable Israel to regain its qualitative edge and thus be able to counter an impending missile strike without having to take preemptive action. Such a capability to deter Syrian aggression would not only enhance Israeli security immeasurably, but stabilize the entire region as well.

Insurance for Israel's Reserve System

The bulk of the Israeli Defense Forces consists of reserves. Israel's standing armed forces number 174,000. The reserves bring IDF to around 500,000--and most of this can be done within 72 hours. Israel's strained economy, however, cannot bear the cost of a constant reserves mobilization.

An ATBM system for Israel would help protect such Israeli mobilization capabilities as storage depots, roads, and supply lines which could seriously disrupt the call of the reserves. Moreover, by providing Israel defensive cover for calling up the reserves, an ATBM system would give the Israelis more time to decide and prepare for mobilization.

Strengthening the U.S.-Israeli Relationship

The U.S.-Israeli relationship will grow as the SDI program expands. Shared research and development between industries and applications of weaponry in the conventional arena will build a new array of relationships. This could lead to heightened strategic cooperation beyond anything envisioned at present.

Israel also will benefit from SDI relationships with those other U.S. allies that have accepted the President's offer. Great Britain and West Germany already have begun discussions on hybrid technological ventures for theater defenses. With an SDI role, Israel

could assume a de facto allied membership by helping to guard the southern flank of NATO.

Economic Benefits

U.S. federal budget constraints could restrict future U.S. aid to Israel. Possible aid drops, however, could be offset by SDI contracts awarded to Israeli defense industries. The Pentagon already has signed three contracts with Israel. Israeli research facilities and firms already have submitted some 150 science and technology proposals (including a project for the study of the basic features of regional anti-tactical ballistic missiles systems) to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative Organization. Since high-tech products now account for 40 percent of Israel's industrial exports, the rapid development of SDI-related industries will boost economic growth.

Technological spinoffs could include new computer systems, energy sources, communication devices, medicines, and thousands of consumer products. SDI also will channel research funds to Israeli universities and will help revitalize the Israeli scientific community.

Israeli defense-related industries will receive contracts, strengthening strategic and economic cooperation between Israel and the United States. Major General David Ivry (Ret.), former Chairman of Israel Aircraft Industries, confirmed that Israeli industry is committed to playing a significant role in the SDI program. Such high-tech firms and organizations as Ivry's, Technion, Tadiran, Rafael, Elbit, El Op, Elisra, and the Sofek Nuclear Research Centre will be the likely recipients of the initial SDI subcontracts.

New opportunities in high-tech jobs surely could prevent Israeli scientists from leaving the country to seek opportunities in the West. In fact, an expanded high-tech industrial base in Israel may serve to be an attractive incentive for Jewish scientists abroad to move to Israel. In a sense, the economic importance of SDI to Israel is equally as important as the strategic benefits toward ensuring Israel's survival.

ISRAELI CONTRIBUTIONS TO SDI

Israel can contribute substantially to the SDI effort.

Technological Innovations and Battlefield Experience

Israel leads the world in the share of its population employed in research and development. There are approximately 300 engineers and scientists per every 10,000 people in Israel. Israel excels in the development of lasers, aero-mechanics, computer software, and

propulsion systems. Israel's vast battlefield experience, meanwhile, can be of great value to SDI. Example: the development of such U.S. weaponry as the F-16 Fighting Falcon interceptor aircraft was enhanced by lessons Israel learned during the Lebanon war.

The Israeli Defense Forces' battle experience ranges from remotely piloted vehicles (drones) to command, control, and communications (C³). This could enhance development of SDI.

A Catalyst for the SDI Program

Because of the precarious nature of the Middle East, the Israelis cannot afford long research and development time spans to move weaponry from the drawing board to the field. The Israelis team the military with scientists to conceive new technologies quickly. The Israeli Weapons Acquisition Cycle, therefore, provides a quick reaction capability and an emergency "surge" production capability. This could catalyze the entire SDI program by accelerating its pace.

The Israeli military/industrial partnership has advantages over the American. Since the Israeli military is small, it has a more fluid organizational structure, and there is more room for individual initiative in weapons proposals. Israel, moreover, need not contend with a strong anti-national security political network. Israel's historical experience dictates that military strength is the best insurance for survival.

CONCLUSION

Deployment of a ballistic missile defense system in Israel is feasible and necessary. An SDI system in Israel should prevent its adversaries from contemplating attack. Such a system also could guard against a conflict arising from an accidental launch or conventionally armed shorter-range missiles. A joint U.S.-Israeli project, moreover, will not only improve the SDI program with Israeli technical expertise but produce important technical spinoffs for conventional armaments, and it could stimulate economic growth in Israel by encouraging the development of marketable high-technology spinoffs. Finally, U.S.-Israeli cooperation on SDI will set a good example in participation for Western Europe.

For both Israel and the United States, the Strategic Defense Initiative is an opportunity and insurance policy for survival. Recent congressional efforts to restrict SDI contracts to allies was vigorously and successfully opposed by SDI supporters in Congress and by the Reagan Administration. The Administration must continue to

oppose amendments designed at reducing allied support for SDI by undermining competitive bidding on projects.

To facilitate research on a tactical ballistic missile defense system for Israel, the U.S. should form a working group with Israel and NATO allies to accelerate research and expedite cooperative development not only of an ATBM system but improved air defense systems as well. Establishing ATBM defenses in Israel and in Western Europe would greatly reduce the chances of a successful preemptive attack against Israeli and NATO forces. This would, in turn, deter aggression and thereby help preserve the peace in two regions of vital interest to the U.S.

SDI cooperation serves the interests of both the U.S. and Israel. It strengthens U.S. and Israeli ties as well as the SDI program itself. But clearly cooperation is most important for Israel. For the ability to defend itself against a growing Syrian short-range ballistic missile threat may some day be necessary for Israel's very survival.

Prepared for The Heritage Foundation
by Charles Brooks,
an official of the Washington-based
National Jewish Coalition

Labor Peace For Construction Industry Predicted For Next Year

Past - 11/8/86

By William C. Lhotka
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

St. Louis can expect another year without major strikes in the construction industry next year.

Only three contracts between contractors and construction unions expire next year; 24 were renegotiated



Mantia

this year. This year's final contract, between contractors and the Glaziers Union, was resolved recently.

Richard Mantia, co-chairman of PRIDE and executive secretary-treasurer of the St. Louis Building and Construction Trades Council, reported only three minor work stoppages in the construction industry this year and said none was on the horizon next year.

The only areawide contracts that will expire next year involve lumber haulers (in May) and pipe haulers and bricklayers (in June), Mantia

said.

PRIDE is an acronym for Productivity and Responsibility Increase Development and Employment. The organization consists of contractors, unions, engineers, architects, builders and suppliers.

It was founded amidst economic chaos in 1972 and is the oldest continuous management-labor group of its kind in the country, says Alfred J. Fleischer, Mantia's management counterpart and the managing partner of Fleischer-Seeger Construction.

On Thursday, PRIDE presented its

first "Leadership Award" to Dennis P. Long, president of Anheuser-Busch, at a luncheon gathering of 400 at the Sheraton Hotel downtown. Long and the brewery were honored for their confidence in the St. Louis construction industry.

The brewery has spent about \$200 million since 1972, when PRIDE was formed to promote economic growth and end long construction industry strikes.

Long said the company completely remodeled its brewery, built a new world headquarters and renewed oth-

er facilities on the city's near South Side. Without PRIDE's being formed to bring labor peace to St. Louis, Long said, "We would not have done that kind of development."

Long predicted that the brewery would spend about \$150 million in the next three to five years in St. Louis. He said the construction projects were in the planning stage. He declined to disclose what the brewery was considering.

Fleischer said the contracts negotiated this year with the 24 construction unions contained wage increases

of approximately 3 percent a year. "That is at or slightly below the national norm," Fleischer said.

The contracts concluded this year involved 25,000 craftsmen. The contracts included work-rule changes to make union contractors competitive with non-union companies.

Mantia estimated that 96 percent of all construction work in this area — residential, commercial and industrial — was being performed by members of AFL-CIO unions.

PRIDE Leaders & Anheuser-Busch exec. cite strength of St. Louis construction industry at Leadership Award event

ST. LOUIS—Dennis P. Long, president of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., received the first PRIDE Leadership Award Nov. 6 from PRIDE, the St. Louis, Mo. labor/management cooperative organization representing the area's construction industry.

The luncheon gathering in downtown St. Louis marked the 14th anniversary of PRIDE, an acronym for Productivity and Responsibility Increase Development and Employment. In presenting the award, PRIDE Co-Chairman Alfred J. Fleischer Sr. noted the continued utilization of St. Louis contractors and craftsmen in corporate and community development by Anheuser-Busch. Fleischer is managing partner of Fleischer-Seeger Construction Co.

Accepting the award before a crowd of more than 400, Long credited the reliability of the St. Louis construction

industry with the beer company's completion of more than \$200 million in construction projects in the metropolitan area.

"We could not and would not have ventured into this kind of program without the cooperation of the St. Louis construction industry," said Long, citing the cost-effectiveness of building in St. Louis. "I see quality as your basic commitment -- pride in the quality of your workmanship, pride in the record you have achieved, pride in what you have taught the rest of the country about a job well done -- done on time, done on or under budget, and done in a manner which achieves the individual and mutual objectives of contractor and craftsman alike."

In recent years, Anheuser-Busch has funded the development of the St. Louis Soccer Park, the Bevo production facility, new corporate head-

quarters at One Busch Place, and extensive remodeling in and around the brewery on the city's South Side. If current expansion plans proceed, Long said Anheuser-Busch could spend up to between \$150 million and \$200 million on construction in St. Louis over the next three to five years.

"If we didn't have good labor/management relations in this town," said Richard Mantia, PRIDE co-chairman, Anheuser-Busch would build elsewhere."

In an unexpected gesture, Long presented PRIDE with a commendation award from the brewery's board of directors on behalf of its 40,000 employees worldwide. The award recognized the people of PRIDE for their "inestimable contribution to the quality of our community and the endurance of the human spirit."

"PRIDE has proven to anyone who would take the time to listen that management and labor can work together as a team, can combine their considerable resources to make

See PRIDE page 7



PRIDE leadership awards

Dennis P. Long (left), president of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., accepted PRIDE's first Leadership Award from PRIDE Co-Chairman Alfred J. Fleischer Sr. (center) and Richard Mantia (right) Nov. 6 in downtown St. Louis. PRIDE, the labor-management organization of the St. Louis construction industry, honored Long and Anheuser-Busch as a major construction user employing the resources of the St. Louis construction industry in developing numerous corporate and community projects. PRIDE is an acronym for Productivity and Responsibility Increase Development and Employment.



Presented with 'PRIDE'

Dennis P. Long (center), president of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., presents a proclamation to PRIDE Co-Chairmen Alfred J. Fleischer Sr. (left) and Richard Mantia (right) at the PRIDE Anniversary luncheon Nov. 6.

The event marked PRIDE's 14th year and honored Long and Anheuser-Busch for leadership in using the resources of the St. Louis construction industry in corporate and community development projects. Long surprised PRIDE leaders with the commendation recognizing the organization's "inestimable contribution to the quality of our community, and the endurance of the human spirit."

PRIDE, a cooperative labor/management organization, represents construction contractors, union craftsmen, owners, architects, engineers, and suppliers in metropolitan St. Louis. Long received PRIDE's first Leadership Award before a capacity crowd of more than 400 people.

● ***PRIDE***

From page 3

things happen for a community, and can do so without losing their individual identities of surrendering their responsibilities to both themselves and their associates," Long said.

Mantia and Fleischer have been involved with PRIDE since its founding in 1972. Since then, the two men have frequently advised those forming similar programs in other cities.

"Fifteen years ago, we were running industry out of St. Louis," said Mantia, executive secretary/treasurer of the St. Louis Building and Construction Trades Council. "Today, we have something here that is a model for the rest of the country. We tell people in other cities that a group like PRIDE will keep their members working, keep contractors competitive, and give the buyer his money's worth."

PRIDE is comprised of all segments of the metropolitan St. Louis construction industry, including contractors, union craftsmen, owners, architects, engineers and suppliers. At regular meetings of the board, representatives resolve issues related to new construction projects and other construction activity.

The group has been instrumental in cutting the number of jurisdictional strikes from three to four per month in 1972 to less than one per year in 1986, and facilitating resolution of contract negotiations. Recently completed negotiations of 24 construction contracts increased wages approximately three percent annually, said Fleischer, and included work rule changes to make union contractors more competitive with non-union construction firms.

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DECEMBER 1986

The Iran Crisis and the Foreign-Policy Process

Richard J. Fox

The controversy surrounding the Reagan administration's arms sales to Iran and the attendant transfer of funds to the anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua have puzzled and perplexed the American people. Indeed, as the media focus on the issues arising from the Iran initiative, the President's popularity has plunged by some twenty points since the news broke.

As so often happens when a mistaken policy comes to light, positive achievements, however numerous, are over-shadowed in the public eye by a negative action. Though the Reagan administration's Iranian initiative was mistaken, the public should bear in mind that it comes after six years of a largely successful Reagan foreign policy. From rebuilding America's defenses, to halting the Soviet expansion of the late 1970s, to helping return democracy to Grenada and the Philippines, these successes have reestablished America as the committed leader of the free world.

But the current controversy has also re-focused attention on one of the most pressing constitutional issues of our time: how responsibility for U.S. foreign policy should be divided between the President and Congress. For many in Congress, the mistakes made by the administration in ransoming American hostages, and in handling of the profits from the arms sales, provide justification for increasing congressional control over U.S. foreign policy. Congress should be cautious, however, in proceeding with any new legislation that would involve it more closely in

the conduct of foreign affairs. For, in the past, its efforts to do more than oversee the President's conduct of foreign policy have succeeded in lessening, rather than increasing, the effectiveness of the process.

The Constitution authorizes the President to make treaties and appoint am-

bassadors, and names him as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The powers these provisions grant—the powers central to the conduct of foreign policy—are executive in nature. While the Constitution grants Congress a role in the foreign-policy process, that role is clearly limited both by the Constitution and, more importantly, by the legislature's own capacity to deal with such matters in a proper and timely fashion.

In recent years, however, Congress has shown itself reluctant to accept these limitations. Indeed, in the backlash against Watergate and the Vietnam War, Con-

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Boschwitz Wins Key Post

Minnesota's Republican senator, Rudy Boschwitz, has been unanimously elected to the chair of the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), replacing Senator John Heinz (R-Pa.). The NRSC is responsible for coordinating the campaign strategies of GOP senators and Senate candidates. With a staff of 100, the NRSC raised a total of some \$80 million for Senate campaigns during the 1986 election cycle.

During his eight years in the Senate, Boschwitz has become known as one of Israel's foremost supporters in Congress. A former chairman of fund-raising for the United Jewish Appeal in Minneapolis, Boschwitz has taken the lead in helping to improve U.S.-Israel relations, while at the same time working to preserve Israel's security.

Boschwitz has been uniquely placed to play a leading role in support of Israel. A Republican who served as chairman of

the Foreign Relations Committee's subcommittee on the Near East, Boschwitz also enjoys the trust and respect of Senate Democrats. These factors have enabled him to build bipartisan support in Congress for policies favorable to the Jewish state. He has led efforts to increase the levels of U.S. aid to Israel, and was in

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Senator Rudy Boschwitz

Mr. Fox is the NJC's national chairman.

CAPITAL Wire

TREASURY SECRETARY ON ISRAEL

James Baker, the secretary of the Treasury, has reportedly told members of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations that recent press reports of Israeli violations of U.S. customs laws were unfounded. According to reports by *Kol Israel*, the Israeli radio service, Baker stated that he was making a "public apology for allegations of military and technical espionage against Israel, all of which were without foundation."

The allegations were the result of the increased scrutiny to which the Israeli government and Israeli companies and individuals were subjected in the aftermath of the Pollard spy case. Jonathan Jay Pollard, an American Jew, was arrested and pleaded guilty earlier this year to charges of spying for Israel.

For several weeks after Pollard's arrest, the national press published a variety of accounts of Israeli espionage activity in the United States. Many of the accounts were based largely on innuendo and speculation and, as a result, were subsequently shown to be groundless.

Some of the allegations included suggestions that Israel had illegally exported American weapons and spare parts, and had also gained knowledge of classified weapons' technologies. Israeli citizens were charged in two separate cases with customs violations, but the charges against them were later dropped.

Mr. Baker reportedly said that Israel was blameless of the recent charges of customs violations. In fact, he added, Israel was involved in the investigation of only 72 cases of customs violations during a five-year period. The worst offender, the United Kingdom, was involved in some 449 cases.

KIRKPATRICK ON ISRAEL, THE U.S. AND IRAN

Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, has described as "marginal" Israel's role in arranging for the sale of U.S. arms to the

government of Iran. Speaking at a forum named for her at Tel Aviv University, she added: "I do not believe the relationship between Israel and the United States will suffer because of the events surrounding Iran and the hostages."

Dr. Kirkpatrick also addressed the question of whether Israel was involved in efforts to support Nicaragua's anti-Sandinista forces, who are popularly referred to as "Contras". Without asserting that Israel had assisted the Contras, she said, nevertheless, that "Israel has every reason of its own" to do so, given that the Sandinistas are "sworn enemies of Israel." She added that the Sandinistas have "forged ties of blood" with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), noting: "The first embassy to open in Nicaragua was that of the PLO." Dr. Kirkpatrick also referred to experiences of Nicaragua's small Jewish community, which was forced into exile by the Sandinistas after they seized power in 1979.

While admitting to a limited role in arranging for the sale of U.S. arms to Iran, the Israeli government has denied categorically any knowledge of or involvement in the process by which profits from the sales were transferred to the forces in Nicaragua.

KREMLIN TIGHTENS EMIGRATION

The Soviet Union is to introduce new emigration rules that are expected to result in a further reduction in the number of Jews allowed to leave the country for the West. Under the new rules, which will take effect on January 1st, only those with immediate relatives living abroad will be permitted to apply for exit visas. The rules define immediate relatives as parents, children, siblings and spouses.

The rules also prohibit the emigration of those with "knowledge of state secrets," and permit the authorities to deny permission "in the interest of ensuring the preservation of public order, the health or morality of the population." These provisions formalize long-standing practices by Soviet emigration authorities.

Responding to news of these tighter restrictions, Nathan Shcharansky, the Soviet-Jewish human-rights activist who

emigrated to Israel in February, 1986, said: "These new regulations demonstrate the hypocrisy of Gorbachev [the Soviet leader] who is trying to appear in the West as a liberal leader." Shcharansky added: "This is a serious step backward, and it will close even tighter the doors of the Soviet Union."

In recent years, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has declined sharply from the high level of 1979, when more than 51,000 were permitted to leave. During the first eleven months of 1986, only 867 Jews were allowed to leave, and the total for the year is expected to be only a little higher than the 1984 figure of 944, which was the lowest ever. Some 400,000 Jews have taken the first steps towards seeking permission to emigrate.

U.S. IMPOSES SANCTIONS ON SYRIA

The Reagan administration, "in response to Syria's continued support for international terrorism," has imposed sanctions against the Damascus regime of Hafez Assad. The sanctions followed Britain's action in severing diplomatic relations with Syria and came at a time when limited sanctions against Syria were agreed to by the members of the European Economic Community.

Accompanying the announcement of the sanctions, the State Department issued a list of terrorist incidents in which Syrian complicity is strongly suspected. These include last April's attempt in London to blow up an El Al airliner with some 400 passengers on board. Evidence implicating Syria in this crime emerged during the trial of Nezar Hindawi.

Although the U.S. actions do not include the severing of diplomatic relations, they do include sizable reductions in the staffing levels at the U.S. embassy in Damascus and a ban on visits by high-level officials of each country to the other. In addition, the sanctions prohibit the sale to Syria of a range of sophisticated weaponry and related items, including aircraft, computers and communications equipment. They also block Syrian access to U.S. agricultural subsidies and other trade credits.

Iran, *Cont'd from page 1*

gress passed a variety of laws which stretched the concept of oversight as they expanded the congressional role in the foreign-policy process.

This assertiveness succeeded in making the executive branch more "responsive" to congressional wishes. The CIA, the State and Defense Departments, and other foreign-policy agencies had their every move closely scrutinized by one or more congressional committees. Moreover, while denouncing such laws as the War-Powers Act, presidents have been forced to take into account the restrictions the laws impose.

It has become evident, however, that Congress is woefully ill-equipped to play such an expanded role. Unlike the President, who is elected by the entire nation, members of Congress must bear in mind the parochial interests of the fraction of the nation which elected them. Concerned about re-election, and sometimes aspiring to higher office, members of Congress often welcome the publicity that they can achieve by exploiting controversial issues. This is true even if those issues fall beyond a member's area of expertise or outside the issues covered by his committee assignments. Such conditions detract from the ability of each individual member to

take foreign-policy positions based on the national interest.

At the same time, though, each member has his own ideological agenda. In a way that often also serves political purposes, members are able to pursue this agenda, safe in the knowledge that they will seldom be held accountable for any policies they may thwart or help enact. With 535 individuals each seeking to implement his own preferred policy, attempts to reconcile differing positions often produce controversy, heated debate, and foreign-policy deadlock. When this happens, the hands of the president, and thus of the nation, are tied.

Experience has also shown that Congress cannot be trusted to preserve the secrecy that is often necessary in the conduct of international relations today. While increased congressional oversight has meant that many of the nation's secrets must be revealed to congressional committees, leaks from Capitol Hill—even of the most confidential information—have become commonplace. All that is needed for such secrets to be revealed is a single staff member who has access to confidential information and who disagrees with the policy under consideration. With more than 18,000 peo-

ple employed in various capacities by Congress, the potential for such leaks is great.

It was partially the constraints that such conditions imposed on the process that brought about the growth in the influence of the NSC staff. Operating within the White House, the NSC staff was subject to only minimal oversight, and was thus able to operate expeditiously and with the necessary secrecy.

The NSC staff, though, is neither mandated nor structured to fulfill such an expanded role. As a result of this, and in the absence of internal, institutional checks and balances, mistakes were made—mistakes that might have been averted had the policy been conducted by the appropriate agency.

The lesson of the Iran debacle, then, is not that Congress should involve itself even more closely in the foreign-policy process: it was just such involvement that helped bring about the current crisis. Congress's oversight role will continue to be vital if abuse is to be averted. But both constitutionally and practically, the authority and freedom to conduct foreign policy must reside with the President, and with the executive agencies that have been established to assist him.

Boschwitz, *Cont'd from page 1*

the forefront of the opposition to the 1981 AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia and the recent proposals to sell sophisticated U.S. arms to Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Boschwitz has also been active on other issues of importance to the Jewish community. He has led efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and also worked behind the scenes to bring about the rescue of Jews from Ethiopia in 1984 and from Iran in 1979 and 1980. He has also gained national attention for his sponsorship of regular "singles" events for young Jews in Washington. The events, often attended by as many as 1,000 people, have earned him the title of "the Matchmaker of Capitol Hill." So well known have his efforts in this area become, in fact, that he receives frequent calls from Jews around the country seeking Jewish marriage partners for their children.

Born in Berlin shortly before Hitler's rise to power, Boschwitz immigrated to the United States with his parents in 1935. Trained as a lawyer, he became a self-made millionaire by building a chain of home-building supply stores that helped

pioneer the do-it-yourself industry.

After several years as Minnesota's member of the Republican National Committee, Boschwitz was elected to the Senate in 1978. Although he represents a heavily Democratic state, Boschwitz' work in state politics has helped build enough support for the GOP in Minnesota to ensure that both he and his GOP colleague, Sen. David Durenberger, won re-election by comfortable margins.

Boschwitz' election to the chairmanship of the NRSC was the result of the Senator's reputation as a highly-adept campaigner who has also been willing to use his skills on behalf of his colleagues. In 1984, he wrote a memorandum to senate candidates, providing them with a variety of innovative ideas about how to campaign, and in 1986, he travelled more and campaigned harder for GOP Senate candidates than any other senator.

Boschwitz has also been a strong, though independent, advocate of Reagan administration policies. A firm believer in the merits of free enterprise, Boschwitz has helped build support for such policies as aid to the anti-Sandinista forces in

Nicaragua and the Strategic-Defense Initiative. As chairman of the NRSC—one of the most influential bodies in the Republican Party—Boschwitz' stature among his colleagues will be greatly enhanced, as will his prominence as a policy-advocate.

Boschwitz will be retaining several members of the NRSC staff who served under Senator Heinz. However, several new members of staff have been appointed, including the executive director, Jann Olsten, and the communications director, Tom Mason.

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ANTONY KORENSTEIN
Editor

Learning the Truth About Kurt Waldheim

When the Austrian people elected Kurt Waldheim as their president, they chose to ignore strong evidence of his complicity in war-crimes while an officer in Hitler's Wehrmacht. Throughout his career as a diplomat, Waldheim had succeeded in concealing his membership in Nazi organizations and his service as an intelligence officer during the most brutal period of the Nazi occupation. Even once they had been made public, though, the Austrian people chose to view Waldheim, not as a possible criminal, but as a statesman whose two terms as secretary general of the United Nations had earned him universal respect.

But instead of the respect for their country they expected, Austrians have found that Waldheim's election has caused them to be shunned. The U.S. ambassador stayed away from Waldheim's swearing-in ceremony, Israel withdrew her ambassador to Vienna, and several other nations have indicated that Waldheim would not be welcome as a visitor to their capitals. Now the Justice Department is reviewing the Waldheim case in order to decide whether his Nazi record would disqualify him from entry into the United States. A formal ban on the Austrian president would represent a rare expression of U.S. disapproval and a diplomatic embarrassment for Austria.

Recently, further details of Waldheim's background have emerged, details that deserve close scrutiny by the U.S. government. The new information relates to his post-War record, when he was first Austria's foreign minister and later, the United Nations' secretary general.

The evidence in question suggests that his war-time record became known to the Soviets who used it to recruit Waldheim into the Kremlin's service. In a recent article, Juliana Pilon, a specialist on U.N. affairs, cited statements on the subject by two former Yugoslav intelligence officers. One of the officers stated that he had provided the Soviets with a file describing Waldheim's Nazi activities, while the other stated that "Waldheim was recruited" by the Kremlin.

The policies pursued by Waldheim in

subsequent years are sufficient to make these statements seem eminently plausible. As Austrian foreign minister during the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, for instance, he ordered Austria's borders closed to Czech refugees—an order that violated existing practice. Moreover, during his ten years as U.N. secretary general, Waldheim breached a number of policies in a manner that helped ensure the growth of Soviet influence at the world body. Arkady Shev-

The U.N.'s worst excesses occurred during Waldheim's tenure.

chenko, the celebrated Soviet defector who served at the Soviet U.N. mission during Waldheim's tenure, confirms that Waldheim cooperated with the Soviet Union. Shevchenko said: "Mr. Waldheim's willingness to help the Soviet Union resulted in substantially increased numbers of Soviet nationals working in the [U.N.] Secretariat."

The Soviets clearly have a strong interest in working to promote their own interests at the United Nations. It was

not until after Waldheim took office, however, that the Soviets began to make substantial progress in transforming the United Nations into a virulently anti-Western and anti-Israel body.

It was during Waldheim's tenure that the worst excesses of the organization occurred. In 1974, two years after Waldheim assumed his post, Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, addressed the U.N. General Assembly. With Soviet encouragement, anti-Israel sentiment reached new heights with the granting of U.N. "observer status" to the PLO. A "Committee for the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinians" was set up, and was later complemented by the "Special Unit of the Palestinian People," attached to Waldheim's own office. During this period, too, the General Assembly passed the infamous resolution equating Zionism with racism.

Throughout this period resolution after resolution was passed condemning both Israel and the United States. While the Soviets might have achieved this change without Waldheim's connivance, his cooperation would undoubtedly have eased the process. In considering the extent of this connivance, moreover, it is constructive to note that since Waldheim left office in 1982, Soviet influence at the U.N. has declined noticeably.

The question of whether Waldheim should be barred from the United States may be moot, since he is unlikely in the near future to try to enter the country. Nevertheless, a thorough investigation should be launched to determine the extent both of Waldheim's Nazi past and his involvement with the Soviets. Once the facts are known, America and the entire world will be better equipped to make an appropriate demonstration of revulsion by denying him the respectability that he and his countrymen seek.

C.G.

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JANUARY 1987

Closing the PLO's American Offices

Juliana Geran Pilon

The Reagan administration is currently considering whether to close two offices operated by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the United States. The offices are the PLO's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York and the Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington, D.C.

Some members of Congress believe that the United States can and should close the offices immediately. Many believe that allowing them to remain open implies an American stamp of approval on PLO activities. Indeed, ten Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee wrote to the President on October 17 urging him "to use every available legal option to order the closing of the PLO office [in Washington]." The letter was answered on October 27 indicating that the President shares the senators' abhorrence of international terrorism and promises "prompt and careful attention."

While Yasser Arafat has sought in recent years to conceal his organization's participation in terrorist activities, the October 15 attack at Jerusalem's Western Wall demonstrates that the PLO is still very active in the area of international terrorism. Arafat's wing of the PLO has also been responsible for many other such acts in the past, most of them involving innocent civilians, several of whom were Americans. Prominent among

these is the murder in 1973 of U.S. Ambassador to the Sudan, Cleo Noel, and his charge d'affaires, George Moore. The Justice Department is believed to be in possession of tape recordings of a telephone call in which Arafat ordered the terrorists to murder the American diplomats.

Indeed, the PLO poses a threat, not only to Israel, but to the entire free world of which the United States is the leader. In November 1985, Arafat expressed his enmity towards the United States in the clearest possible terms: "We are on the threshold of a fierce battle," he said. "Not an Israeli-Palestinian battle, but a Palestinian-U.S. battle." Despite this and other expressions of hostility, and despite repeated attacks by PLO members on U.S. citizens, the U.S. government still allows the PLO to operate officially in the United States through its offices in Washington and New York.

Other arguments favoring the closure of the offices include evidence linking the PLO to criminal activities, such as racket-

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Taking a Fresh Look at Civil Rights

In recent years, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been the focal point of a debate over civil-rights policy. Although the debate has been dominated by personalities, it is the ideas that the main protagonists have advocated that have caused so much dissention and that today threaten the Civil-Rights Commission's very existence.

Recently, the Commission's newly-appointed vice-chairman, Murray Friedman, assumed a peace-making role aimed at charting for the civil-rights community "a consensus program for the remainder of the 1980s." In a memorandum to his fellow commissioners, Dr. Friedman, who is also the Middle-Atlantic Director of the American Jewish Committee, sought to defuse the conflicts that brought liberals and conservatives together in an effort to eliminate the Commission's funding.

The current conflicts date back to the earliest days of the Reagan administration when the Commission became the focal point of disagreements over civil-

Continued, page 3



Dr. Murray Friedman

Dr. Pilon is a senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based research organization.

CAPITAL Wire

REAGAN SAVES ISRAEL \$1 BILLION

Under a plan recently approved by the Treasury Secretary, **James Baker**, Israel is to be offered new terms for the repayment of her outstanding military debts. Similar repayment options are to be offered to several other U.S. allies now facing economic difficulties, including Egypt, Spain, Pakistan and Morocco.

The new plan will allow these allies to choose between paying off all outstanding debts now and refinancing their debt at lower rates of interest. Those choosing the first option will benefit by having the future interest on their outstanding loans forgiven by the U.S. Treasury. Those choosing the second will benefit from the new interest rate of 7.5 percent, a substantial reduction from the 10 percent or more that these countries are now paying on their military-sales loans.

The Israeli government owes the United States \$5.5 billion for arms purchased in recent years, and is expected to refinance the debt at the lower interest rates. **Under the Reagan plan, Israel will save more than \$1 billion** in interest repayments over the next four years. Egypt, whose military debt is \$4.6 billion, is also expected to select refinancing.

The decision to make these options available follows efforts by **Sen. Robert Kasten** (R-Wisc.), the chairman of the Foreign-Operations subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. With the help of **Sen. Daniel Inouye** (D-HI), the subcommittee's ranking Democrat, Kasten supported the plan as a way of easing Israel's debt burden at a time of severe economic difficulty.

TUTU: "JEWS MUST SUFFER"

The Archbishop of Cape Town, **Desmond Tutu**, has stated that "the Jews are the biggest exploiters of blacks in South Africa so they must suffer," adding, "There will be no sympathy for the Jews when the blacks take over." The remarks, reported in the *Boston Jewish Times*, were made in a speech given by Tutu at

a meeting of the Board of Deputies of South African Jews shortly after he was awarded the 1984 Nobel Prize for Peace.

The Board of Deputies, the representative organization of South African Jewry, chose to keep Tutu's remarks secret until recently out of fear that their revelation would further incite him to anti-Semitism. However, Tutu also gave vent to anti-Semitic sentiments during a 1984 tour of the United States. While in Connecticut, he compared Jewish attitudes towards non-Jews to those of whites towards blacks in South Africa. Later, in a speech before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he accused the Jews of "an arrogance" borne of Jewish power in the United States. He also charged Israel with having "connived" in the murder of Palestinian Arabs in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps, and of "making refugees of others."

NEW NAMES AT NSC

In the wake of the Iran arms affair and the resignation of Admiral **John Poindexter** as the President's advisor for national security, several new appointments have been made to the staff of the National-Security Council (NSC).

Poindexter's replacement as national-security advisor is **Frank Carlucci**, a career diplomat and former assistant secretary of defense under **Caspar Weinberger**. Although he is filling a position held by four other men during the Reagan administration, Carlucci is expected to be secure in his new post. His background in both the State and Defense Departments, and his solid reputation among legislators on Capitol Hill, make his appointment popular at a time of controversy over the NSC's role in the Iran arms sales.

Among the new staff members appointed by Carlucci is **Jose Sorzano**, a Cuban-born specialist on Latin-American affairs who previously served as deputy U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under **Jeane Kirkpatrick**. A close friend of the National Jewish Coalition, Sorzano will serve as the NSC's senior specialist on Latin America. Carlucci has also named **Fritz W. Ermarth**, a top Soviet-affairs analyst under the CIA director, **William Casey**, to head the Soviet-

affairs section.

Robert B. Oakley, a career diplomat who has served for two years as head of the State Department's office on counter-terrorism will assume responsibility for Middle-Eastern affairs. Oakley, who studied with Carlucci at Princeton, served in the same office under President **Ford**.

HUMAN-RIGHTS DAY OBSERVED

At a White House ceremony on December 10th—Human-Rights Day—two former Soviet-bloc dissidents, **Yuri Orlov** and **Armando Valladares**, were honored for their work in the field of human rights. Among those attending the ceremony was **Natan Shcharansky**, the Soviet-Jewish human-rights activist who recently emigrated to Israel.

A physicist by profession, Orlov's courage as a dissident dates back to 1956, when he was dismissed from his job and expelled from the Communist Party for proposing that those responsible for the excesses of the Stalin era be brought to justice. In 1972, he became active in human-rights issues, working with Jewish and non-Jewish dissidents, including Shcharansky and **Andrei Sakharov**, until his arrest and imprisonment in 1977 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was allowed to emigrate in 1986.

Valladares, a journalist and author, survived twenty-two years as a political prisoner in Cuba before the Castro regime released him in 1982. While a civil servant in Castro's revolutionary government in the 1960s, Valladares spoke out against Marxism and the role of Communists in the government, for which he was sentenced to thirty years imprisonment. Now living in Spain, Valladares remains active on behalf of his fellow political prisoners in Cuba and writes a weekly newspaper column that is published throughout Latin America.

Following the ceremony, President Reagan met privately with Shcharansky to discuss the problems facing Soviet Jewry. Shcharansky expressed concern over the Soviet Union's new, tighter emigration laws, and sought the President's help for several prisoners of conscience.

PLO, cont'd from page 1

earing, in the United States. Several members of Congress have linked the PLO to a food-stamp trafficking ring that was uncovered in New York, Denver, Chicago, and San Francisco in early 1980. The PLO is also deeply involved in drug-smuggling. Indeed, intelligence sources state that some 40 percent of its light weapons have been purchased with money generated by narcotics produced in PLO laboratories in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

In fact, not only does the PLO operate freely in the United States, but it does so in violation of U.S. law. In the registration statement it filed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), the PIO declared: (1) that it "is not subsidized by any foreign government" and; (2) that it is financed in part by "direct financial aid from Arab states." Clearly, the PIO can't have it both ways. And if it is indeed financed by governments, it is required by law to state the exact extent of such subsidy.

But it is not "Arab states" that the PIO names as its "foreign principal", but the PLO itself. According to its registra-

tion statements, the office receives some \$250,000 per year from the PLO. FARA also requires the office to provide a "comprehensive statement of...the character of the business or other activities" of its foreign principal. It is not surprising that no such statement is available.

Moreover, the PIO is less "an information office" than a lobby-cum-diplomatic mission for the PLO. The director of the office, Hasan Rahman, pursues a rather select clientele, many of whom are foreign nationals. Rahman has frequent lunches with Soviet-bloc diplomats, the most notable of whom are the Czech counsellor, Dzenek Sokol, the Hungarian press counsel, Bela Jüszel, and—most prominent of all—Oleg Derkovsky, the first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

While the PLO's Washington bureau may be obliged to operate under the facade of an "information office", no such obligation applies to its office in New York. Thanks to the virulent anti-Israel and anti-American sentiment that prevailed at the United Nations during

the 1970s and early '80s, the PLO has been accorded recognition and "observer status" at the General Assembly. As such, it is free to maintain a permanent mission at the United Nations headquarters.

Nevertheless, the United States is permitted to close the PLO's permanent mission, just as it is permitted to close the PIO in Washington. The 1947 U.S.-U.N. agreement establishing the U.N. headquarters in New York states that "nothing in the Agreement shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the U.S. to safeguard its own security." The PLO's role in terrorist activities clearly threatens the security of U.S. citizens, amply justifying the closure of the mission.

The presence on American soil of such terrorist outposts is damaging to U.S. efforts to combat world terror. By closing the U.S. offices of the world's pre-eminent terrorist organization, the Reagan administration will provide a moral example to the world, and at the same time uphold the laws of the United States.

Civil Rights, cont'd from page 1

rights policy. The Commission, an independent agency of the federal government, is responsible for monitoring the status of civil rights and for advising the president and Congress on abuses.

As such, the major civil-rights groups view the Commission as essential to the struggle for civil rights. These groups have come to regard the positions of some of the Commission's other members as evidence of the administration's hostility to civil rights. Several members of the Commission have opposed efforts to expand affirmative-action programs to include such policies as quotas for minorities in hiring and education.

Ironically, several civil-rights groups joined forces in the effort to cut the Commission's budget with some of the Commission's more conservative critics outside the administration. For these conservatives, the Commission was seen as a symbol of the unnecessary government intrusion into the area of civil rights. The government's role, they believed, should have ended with the enactment of federal legislation safe-guarding the rights of minorities. Indeed, some arch-conservatives believed that the federal government should not even have become involved with such matters, but should have allowed the states to set policy in this area.

In light of these disagreements, Dr. Friedman suggested that the Commission should "hold up on moving forward with most of our current programs...and reassess our direction." He urged the Commissioners to set aside issues about which they disagree in order to be able to "go about the task of forging a new consensus..."

Dr. Friedman proceeded to outline his own views about the direction those involved in civil rights should be taking. Citing recent opinion polls showing that blacks rank civil-rights issues sixth among their top twenty concerns, Friedman suggested that "the central organizing principle of our thinking should be the interaction of economics and civil rights... Indeed," he continued, "it is probably no exaggeration to suggest that economics is the new frontier of civil rights."

Dr. Friedman set forth several initiatives, including the establishment of urban enterprise zones in areas designated as poverty zones. These, he pointed out, "are often areas with a high concentration of minorities." Such enterprise zones, he wrote, would use tax incentives and other legal and political means to encourage businesses to establish or expand their operations in the designated areas. Suggesting that enterprise zones might be an important element of a future consen-

sus, Dr. Friedman pointed out that the idea enjoys bipartisan support. Supporters include many in the Reagan administration, as well as Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) and Reps. Jack Kemp (R-NY), Robert Garcia (D-NY) and William Gray (D-PA).

Another element of Dr. Friedman's proposal was the expanded involvement of non-governmental "intermediate institutions", such as church and civic groups, in bringing about greater prosperity for minorities. Citing examples of how such groups had worked successfully to eliminate inequalities, he suggested that their work would complement, rather than supplant, efforts currently being conducted by the government.

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Editor

Remembering the Persecuted

Reflecting on the seasonal tradition of focusing on the plight of America's needy, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, drew a lesson for those concerned with human rights. At this time of year, she suggested in a December 22nd article, "we should focus on just a few of the world's neediest political prisoners who are being denied their most basic human rights." The publicity generated on behalf of such prisoners, she wrote, our very awareness of their individual suffering, is often instrumental in bringing about their release.

Kirkpatrick gave examples of three such Soviet citizens. The first, Josef Begun, a Soviet Jew, is currently serving a seven-year prison term, to be followed by five years' internal exile. His offenses, which include teaching Hebrew and cultivating Jewish culture, were deemed to be "especially dangerous crimes against the state." While in prison, the harsh treatment he has received, the periods spent in a punishment cell for wearing a yarmulke, and his halved daily rations, have caused his health to deteriorate seriously.

But there are many others—not all of them Jews—suffering under the Soviet system. A Ukrainian psychiatrist, Anatoly Koryagin, is currently serving an extended prison sentence. In prison, surviving on a meager diet, he suffers periodic beatings placing his life in jeopardy.

Koryagin is now paying the price for bravery that may have saved others. In the 1970s, he exposed the Soviet practice of condemning healthy dissidents and religious observers to psychiatric hospitals. While imprisoned in these "hospitals" they are subjected to mind-altering and pain-inducing drugs. Thanks to Koryagin, this aspect of Soviet brutality is now well-known throughout the West.

Kirkpatrick also related the tale of Pastor Pyotr Rumachik, vice president of the Soviet Council of Evangelist Baptist Churches, who is also serving an extended sentence in the Soviet Gulag. His crime? Engaging in the activities of an "unregistered" church. For this offense, Rumachik has suffered similar abuse to that endured by Begun and Koryagin.

And Rumanchik's health, too, may have been irreparably damaged.

A few days before Kirkpatrick's article appeared, a former victim of such oppression, the Soviet-Jewish dissident and human-rights activist, Natan Shcharansky, addressed the question of Soviet human rights abuse. While in Washington to attend Human-Rights Day ceremonies at the White House on December 10th, Shcharansky heard of the death of his fellow human-rights activist, Anatoly Marchenko. Marchenko, a non-Jew who

Shcharansky called for a boycott against the Soviet Union as severe as that against South Africa.

had joined Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov in founding the Helsinki monitoring group in Helsinki, had died in a Soviet prison following a fifteen-week hunger-strike. Marchenko's wife, after viewing her husband's body, told of the many bruises covering it.

Shcharansky suggested Marchenko's death, and the suffering of many others like him, were due partly to the indifference of the West. He believes that it was

only because of the publicity that he himself received that he was allowed to survive and later to emigrate. Indeed, it was Western publicity that forced the Soviet authorities to relent and allow Sakharov to return to Moscow on December 23rd after seven years of internal exile in the closed city of Gorky.

Without such publicity, many, many Soviet dissidents are imprisoned or exiled, starved, beaten and tortured. Ignorant of the specific suffering those individuals must endure, we in the West quickly forget that there are people who are suffering at all. Shcharansky believes that a full-scale publicity campaign must be launched on behalf of those persecuted by the Kremlin. Calling for a boycott against the Soviet Union every bit as severe as that against South Africa, Shcharansky chastised Jews for failing to generate a public outcry against Soviet persecution of Jews similar to that achieved by blacks against apartheid.

His comments come at a time when Soviet emigration laws are being tightened and when the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, is engaged in a publicity campaign of his own. This campaign, aimed at persuading the Western public of the Kremlin's new conciliatory nature, seeks also to show that the Soviet Union has become a benign, tolerant place under Gorbachev's leadership.

Unlike Western journalists in South Africa, those in Moscow fear the authorities too much to risk filming dissident activities regularly. Moreover, the Soviet Gulag is inaccessible to foreigners. It is precisely because Soviet repression often occurs unseen and unnoticed that American Jews must speak out, and keep the publicity spotlight shining on Soviet Jewry. But, even as we redouble our efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews, we must ensure that the courage and suffering of all dissidents, non-Jews as well as Jews, remain prominent in our minds.

C.G.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1987

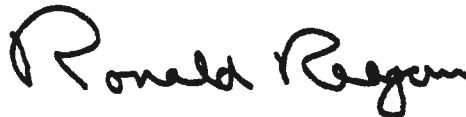
Dear Catherine and Michael:

Nancy and I are delighted to send warm congratulations on your marriage. We know it will be a special day, one which you will remember always.

With the many challenges we all face in life these days, there are few greater strengths or comforts than the love and support of a family. So it is with special joy that we celebrate this union forming your new family. May your words and your love join you together as one, and may the happiness of your wedding day be yours to share throughout your life together.

God bless you both.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Ronald Reagan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "R".

Mr. and Mrs. Michael Gildenhorn
Apartment 404E
4620 North Park Avenue
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

NJC Bulletin

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION

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FEBRUARY 1987

Gorbachev's Reforms and Soviet Jewry

Bill Kritzberg

At the Reykjavik summit, President Reagan demonstrated the proper way of dealing with the issue of emigration for Soviet Jewry. At the start of the opening session, Mr. Reagan gave the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, a packet of information including charts and graphs on Jewish emigration. Later, he made clear to the Soviet boss that there could be no real improvement in superpower relations without a change in Soviet policy on emigration and human rights.

Of course, there is nothing new in this approach. Experience teaches us that, in dealing with totalitarian powers, vigilance and toughness are prerequisites to effective policy. Yet this bears reiteration in light of Gorbachev's new "openness," or *glasnost*, program, which has sparked speculation that real changes are being made in the Soviet system, changes that could influence the emigration picture.

The changes fall into five or six categories: arts and literature, press and television, the economy, the government and the party as well as dissent and the re-writing of history. The most publicized step has been the release of physicist, Andrei Sakharov. But other measures have included the admission by the head of the KGB secret police that some of his men acted "illegally," the announced intention to publish works by previously-banned authors are to be published, and the legalization of certain small-scale "capitalist" enterprises.

Most notable, though not yet fully adopted, is Gorbachev's proposal to allow voters the choice of more than one candidate for local government and party

offices. Although this reform falls far short of "democratization," it has been endorsed enthusiastically by some dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov.

Taken together, these reforms clearly indicate that something important is hap-

pening in the Kremlin. While it is always difficult to guess at the motives of officials behind the Iron Curtain, Gorbachev's program of reform appears to be spurred by a desire to raise the efficiency and productivity of the Soviet system. Another motive appears to be the desire to mount a "charm offensive" as a means of subduing opposition to Soviet foreign policy among Western public opinion.

The reforms, however, are limited in scope, and are intended to improve the

Continued, page 2

Debating the Sanctuary Movement

Editor's Note: Writing recently in the NJC Bulletin, Max Green, associate director of the White House Office of Public Liaison, criticized the Sanctuary Movement and Jewish leaders who participate in its activities. The Movement shelters illegal immigrants from Central America, believing that their repatriation would endanger them.

Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), takes issue with Mr. Green's earlier assertions. Mr. Green responds to the criticisms levelled against him.

David Saperstein

Max Green's assertion that rabbis and lay Jews assisting Central American refugees have been naively manipulated by the Sanctuary Movement demeans the intelligence and integrity of people whose work embodies Judaism's highest values.

The Sanctuary Movement and its Jewish component differ from the picture painted by Green in five distinct ways. First, he dismisses the assertion that people in El Salvador and Guatemala face persistent human-rights problems. Though there has been some progress, in some areas (e.g. the plight of political prisoners and the military's attacks on civilian targets) the situation continues to deteriorate. As Amnesty International reported: "Despite periodic fluctuations in the level of human-rights violations

Saperstein, cont'd page 3

Max Green

David Saperstein doesn't like my description of Jewish leaders of the Sanctuary Movement as "naifs." Perhaps I was mistaken but I assumed that they were not familiar with the facts. If I was wrong, they are as culpable as anyone of spreading falsehoods about the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as the United States.

Saperstein reveals much by his omission of even the slightest acknowledgment of the democratization of Guatemala and El Salvador. A free press, internationally-supervised elections, involved conservative, centrist, and socialist parties—all are features of today's Guatemala and El Salvador. One would think these are the most important measures of progress. Yet Saperstein apparently agrees with **Green, cont'd page 3**

Bill Kritzberg is a writer on international affairs based in Washington, D.C.

CAPITAL Wire

DODD BILL COULD HURT ISRAEL

Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT), the new chairman of the subcommittee on western-hemispheric affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has proposed a bill designed to bar all U.S. aid to Nicaragua's anti-Sandinista resistance, who are also known as "contras." The bill may seek to block, not only future appropriations of aid, but also the transfer of \$40 million in aid approved by Congress last year.

In addition to preventing U.S. funding of the resistance, the Dodd bill would also prohibit the United States from providing economic or military aid to any foreign country that itself materially or financially assists the "contras." This provision has raised considerable concern in the pro-Israel community, which believes it to be directed specifically at the Jewish state. While Israel denies having provided such aid, the Iran-"contra" affair has resulted in rumors that the Israeli government did in fact do so at the request of the Reagan administration.

Although feted as a friend of Israel by many Democrats, Senator Dodd also promoted a similar anti-Israel provision adopted last year as an amendment to the South African sanctions law. The amendment, originally sponsored by Senators Dan Evans (R-WA) and Charles McC. Mathias (R-MD), sought to deny U.S. aid to any nation found to have sold arms to the South African government. Israel has been the subject of numerous press allegations that she has engaged in such trade. Although defeated in a vote by the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Dodd revived the amendment which subsequently passed, over President Reagan's veto, as part of the sanctions legislation.

HELMS WINS COMMITTEE POST

In a dramatic vote by his GOP colleagues, conservative senator, Jesse Helms (R-NC) defeated the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard Lugar (R-IN), to become the committee's ranking minority member.

The vote was 24 to 17 in favor of Helms. The vote by the Senate GOP caucus came after the Republican members of the Foreign Relations Committee had voted 7 to 0 in support of Lugar.

Helms' subsequent victory was the result of a concerted effort in which he argued that, as the more senior senator, he had prior claim to the position. Awarding the position to Senator Lugar, he claimed, would irreparably damage the seniority system and risk future contests which could cause divisions in the GOP ranks.

S. AFRICAN SANCTIONS "COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE"

In a reversal of its earlier position, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has issued a report critical of the economic sanctions recently imposed by many Western nations against the white government of South Africa. The report, which was prepared by the Conference's Commission on Economic Pressure, follows a 1986 statement by the bishops endorsing the imposition of sanctions.

The report, issued in January, states that rather than convincing the South African government to dismantle its policies of racial segregation, the economic measures have instead "consolidated the government in its retreat from meaningful and, indeed, any reform." The report added that although "there is no doubt that sanctions are . . . hurtful to the economic and therefore the social fabric of the country", they have had a "totally counter-productive effect on government thinking."

The report comes at a time when some former advocates of sanctions in the United States are re-evaluating their approach to U.S. policy towards South Africa. Late last year, the Rev. Jesse Jackson expressed his concern about the counter-sanctions imposed by the South African government against neighboring black states. Furthermore, in an article on January 28, syndicated columnist William Raspberry, a former sanctions supporter, agreed that the policy had backfired, bringing "an end to any pretense of reform on the part of the white government."

Gorbachev, cont'd from page 1

current system, not to change it. But even though they do not challenge the monopoly on power enjoyed by the Communist Party elite and the *nomenklatura*, the reforms have encountered strong opposition from party officials who fear change of any kind. This opposition has prompted Gorbachev to seek broader support for his program, particularly from among intellectuals. The result has been the current effort to lighten the heavy hand of the KGB, to ease censorship and to free some better-known dissidents.

According to the Reagan administration, however, any optimism that Gorbachev's policies at home could affect Jewish emigration is misplaced. There is much evidence to support this view. In 1986, for example, the Soviet government allowed just 914 Jews to leave—the second lowest figure since 1968.

Moreover, Natan Shcharansky and other Soviet emigres believe that a new Soviet law, touted by the Kremlin as an effort to "systematize" emigration procedures, will probably make emigration even more difficult than it is now. This is because, while the new law recognizes for the first time that departures are legal, it allows emigration only on the basis of family reunification and gives officials wide latitude in excluding those who have "knowledge of state secrets."

Some observers believe that freedom for Soviet Jews can only result from fundamental change in the Soviet system—change far more extensive than anything being undertaken by Gorbachev. The issue of Soviet Jews, they believe, is tied to the broader Soviet problem of how to treat all of its non-Russian minorities. If this is true, the Kremlin will not, of its own accord, substantially ease Jewish emigration under today's conditions.

Nevertheless, emigration figures from the 1970s, when more than 250,000 Soviet Jews left, indicate that the Soviets will allow Jews to leave under the right circumstances. In the absence of basic changes to the Soviet system, though, it falls to the West to create these circumstances by providing the Kremlin with an incentive to release Soviet Jews.

By tying freedom for Soviet Jewry to better superpower relations, President Reagan manifested a fundamental understanding of the Soviet system. He also showed that he recognizes that only strong and steady pressure, together with a readiness to bargain, can provide the Soviets with a powerful enough incentive to free Soviet Jewry.

Saperstein, cont'd from page 1

[by Salvadoran security forces] since President Duarte assumed power, the pattern of human-rights violations has not dramatically changed."

Second, Green argues that refugees who enter the U.S. legal process receive a fair hearing. In fact, this administration, which treats them as economic refugees and denies the existence of political or human-rights problems, makes it virtually impossible for them to win asylum. In 1984-85, political asylum was granted to only 74 refugees out of 2,373 who applied. Further, the systematic denial of asylum has prevented most of the 600,000 Salvadoran refugees in this country from taking the risk of applying. In constant fear of deportation, they appeal to people of conscience to assist them in their struggle for safety and freedom.

Third, Green maintains that returning refugees face no danger, citing the Inter-governmental Commission on Migration (ICM) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Yet, the ICM itself wrote that the findings cannot "be considered as a scientific data-base upon which to construct definitive analyses." As to the ACLU, it identified in Congressional testimony in 1985—two years after Green's citation—112 likely cases

of governmental persecution of deported refugees, including 52 political murders, 47 disappearances and 13 unlawful arrests.

Fourth, Green condemns the use of the Holocaust analogy in the discussion about sanctuary, arguing that because the Holocaust was unique, no lessons can be drawn from it that apply to non-Holocaust situations. Yet, one can believe that El Salvador is infinitely different from Nazi Germany and still believe that the Holocaust teaches us not to stand idly by as people are sent by our government to danger and possibly to their deaths. Elie Wiesel has taught us: "indifference always helps the oppressor and never the victim."

Until the refugees' safety is assured, the Jewish community will be active in the Sanctuary Movement. I am proud that the community supported the De-Concini-Moakley legislation to suspend deportations to El Salvador until the plight of returning refugees could be carefully studied and their safety secured. It is a shame that the NJC did not use its own political influence in this effort.

Finally, Green states that the rabbis involved in the Sanctuary Movement are "naifs," manipulated by the Chicago Religious Task Force. No one familiar with the Movement could agree. Rabbis who work in the Movement do so out of

compassion and an age-old religious commitment to help the stranger. If, as a result of their encounter with refugees, some rabbis also oppose U.S. policy, it is not because of manipulation but because they hear of attacks, primarily by government forces, supplied with U.S. arms, which often target civilians.

My own organization, the UAHC, has long believed that reducing the Central American dispute to the question of militarily rebuffing Soviet expansionism—as the administration would do—is to misperceive the conflict's nature. At stake are century-old struggles for land-reform, the right to organize and political freedom. Only when the United States provides a persuasive alternative to Communism will we deter the expansion of Soviet influence. To ignore the basic nature of the dispute is to play into the Soviets' hands and allow them to manipulate the frustration and despair of Central Americans for their own purpose.

Whatever our differences, I hope Green agrees that rabbis who have helped needy Salvadoran refugees, sometimes in the face of great personal risk, deserve respect and praise. Their deeds reflect our tradition of caring for the stranger and heeding the cries of refugees. "If we are only for ourselves, what are we?"

Green, cont'd from page 1

Amnesty International that the "pattern" of violations hasn't improved.

Saperstein implicitly acknowledges that El Salvador's death-squads are a thing of the past, but asserts that political prisoners are being treated worse, and that the army is going after civilians as never before. He offers no proof of these charges, and that is because they are without factual basis. Remember, El Salvador is now a democracy where being arrested for one's political views is a rare exception to the rule of political freedom. The charge against the army is propaganda that Saperstein should be ashamed to repeat. In 1984, President Duarte issued rules requiring approval of the military high-command for all air attacks and that all targets be identified as military objectives by army spotters. The purpose: to reduce civilian casualties. Since then, the Communist guerrillas have launched a propaganda campaign against bombings—for obvious reasons. But independent observers have exposed its lies. For example, in July, 1985, the *New York Times* reported that: "Interviews indicated that the [Salvadoran] air

force had become more accurate and more careful in its bombings . . . and that fewer civilians were being killed or wounded."

In Guatemala, too, the situation is vastly improved, despite Saperstein's belief in "persistent human-rights problems". Doesn't he know of the democratic developments there, or that political killings in Guatemala have declined by 95 percent in the past five years?

Saperstein's assessment of the treatment Salvadorans receive in the United States is similarly inaccurate. Political appointees do not control the asylum process. It is civil service employees, and then, on appeal, independent federal judges, who rule on cases. The reason why relatively few Salvadorans receive asylum is not political, but because they cannot establish a "well-founded fear of persecution on return" as required by U.S. law. They are unable to do so, for the most part, because the situation in both El Salvador and Guatemala has dramatically improved under their democratic governments.

Saperstein cites an ACLU study without noting that ACLU did no on-ground investigation. All on-ground studies, ICM's and the State Department's, have failed

to substantiate claims about the fate of deportees. Even the Sanctuary Movement—for all its talk about "certain death" of deportees—has failed to identify by name a single deportee since 1981 who was assassinated upon return to either El Salvador or Guatemala.

What does this tell us about those who draw the analogy between the Nazi Germany and the new, fragile, yet very real Central American democracies? That for the Jews involved in the Sanctuary Movement nothing is sacred, not even the memory of Jewish history. They "use" the Holocaust demagogically because the facts are against them. Surely this is not in the "Jewish tradition."

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ANTONY KORENSTEIN
Editor

U.S.-Israel Relations in the Wake of Iran

Max M. Fisher

One senses a certain smugness in reading the nation's Jewish press and speaking with some of the pro-Israel community's leaders. For six years, President Reagan, assisted by a GOP Senate, had sought to institutionalize the alliance between the United States and Israel. During this period, aid to Israel increased from \$1.5 billion to \$4.5 billion and was converted from a combination of grants and loans to all grants. The administration also formalized bilateral strategic cooperation and established a free-trade area between the two countries.

For many Jews, this unprecedented friendship was perplexing. The administration's efforts on Israel's behalf challenged what had been an axiom of Jewish political thinking: that Democrats alone could be trusted to protect Jewish interests, particularly with regard to Israel.

For some Jews, this challenge led to a reassessment of their traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party. But others responded differently. For them, the Democrats' past preeminence in support for Israel reinforced political biases and provided a strong argument for keeping Jews loyal to the Democratic Party. Mr. Reagan, widely recognized as "the best friend Israel ever had in the White House," denied them this argument.

For Jewish partisan Democrats, this posed a problem. How could they convince their fellow Jews to continue to support a Democratic Party increasingly influenced by radicals such as Jesse Jackson while the GOP was becoming ever more pro-Israel?

One solution was to argue that Jews should not be a "single-issue" community, that mere support for Israel by Republicans should not justify a realignment of Jewish voting patterns. But this raised more problems than it overcame. On a wide range of issues—from affirmative-action quotas, to domestic anti-Semitism and Soviet Jewry the Reagan administration pursued policies beneficial to American Jews.

Mr. Fisher, one of the nation's most distinguished Jewish leaders, is the NJC's honorary chairman.

At the same time, the Democrats were making headlines by refusing to condemn anti-Semitism at their 1984 convention. Opposition by Democrats to the President's foreign policies was undermining America's commitment to democracy around the world. And Democratic

Today's closer U.S.-Israel ties will overcome the present crises and emerge stronger.

attempts to force the President to accede to Soviet demands on arms control reduced the Kremlin's incentive to compromise either on arms control or on Soviet-Jewish emigration.

But then came the Iran-"contra" affair. And as the country scrutinized the arms sales and the alleged transfer of funds to the Nicaraguan "contras", the Israeli government was found to have played a role. As this role continues to be investigated, partisan Democrats interpret administration statements as attempts to blame the mess on Israel.

Among some Jewish Democrats, the crisis was quietly welcomed as an issue that would dispel what they considered

a myth: that Republicans could be friends of the Jewish community. As a result of the administration's response to the Iran crisis, they claimed, ties between the Reagan White House and Israel would be irreparably harmed, a fact that would be reflected in Jewish political support in 1988.

Recent administration personnel changes seemed to reinforce this claim. Writing recently, Jewish columnist, Wolf Blitzer, suggested that the departure of such friends of Israel as CIA director, William Casey, and national-security advisor, John Poindexter, confirmed that U.S.-Israel relations are at a low ebb.

Hence the smugness. In the view of partisan Democrats, an administration bereft of its most pro-Israel figures and resentful of Israel's alleged role in bringing about the Iran crisis, could not possibly continue to pursue pro-Israel policies. As a result, they believe, the Democratic Party will benefit handsomely, attracting Jewish support in 1988.

But reality is different. To begin with, the White House has made clear that it does not hold Israel accountable for the Iran-"contra" affair. The warm welcome given by President Reagan, Vice-President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz to Israel's prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, on his recent visit to Washington confirms this. The administration also reaffirmed its confidence in U.S.-Israel ties by conferring on Israel the status of "major non-NATO U.S. ally".

The President has ensured that today's closer, stronger U.S.-Israel relationship, no longer depends on the presence in the administration of certain personalities. It survives on its merits. And like any close relationship, it will overcome crises such as the Iran-"contra" affair and the Polard spy scandal, and emerge stronger than before. This news will be reassuring to all Jews for whom the community's interests and Israel's security take precedence over partisan politics.

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Republican National Committee

Grace Moe
Director, Speakers Bureau
Office of the Co-Chairman

February 6, 1987

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

ATTENTION: MATT ZACHARI

Dear Mr. Green:

On behalf of the Republican National Committee, I would like to ask you to be the guest speaker for a forum on SDI to be held at Johns Hopkins University on April 8 or 9, 1987. The enclosed letter from Martin Citardi, a member of the College Republicans at Johns Hopkins who are sponsoring the event, explains it in more detail.

Basically, they would like someone from the Administration to support the SDI program against an opponent of the program. The opposing viewpoint will be addressed by Mr. Jack Mendleson, currently the Deputy Director of the Arms Control Association.

If you are unable to speak at this event, I would appreciate any suggestions you may have to fill this request.

Thank you for your consideration. If you have any questions, I may be reached at 863-8708.

Sincerely,

Kathleen M. Riley
Event Coordinator

Enclosure

*Toby declined 3/12
Told Kathy Riley 3/13*

The Johns Hopkins College Republicans

The Johns Hopkins University
SAC Office
Baltimore, MD 21218

January 15, 1987

Republican National Committee
Speakers' Bureau
210 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Kathy Reilley:

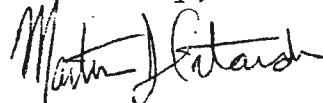
On April 8 or April 9, the Johns Hopkins College Republicans would like to sponsor a debate/forum on SDI. At this time, we would like to formally request your assistance in finding a speaker to present the Administration's position.

For the logistics of this event, the JHU CR's would be responsible for all planning and publicity. An honorarium of approximately \$150 is available. The event would be open to the entire University community and would be held at Hopkins's Homewood campus, in Baltimore, MD. The Hopkins Debate Council will moderate the event.

I can be reached at my home number, (301) 243-5948. It is also possible to leave a message at the Student Activities Office, (301) 338-8209.

Thank-you very much.

Sincerely,



Martin J. Citardi
President



MEMORANDUM

TO: Charles Dutcher
FROM: Chris Gersten
DATE: February 27, 1987

	<u>Current Position</u>	<u>Desired Position</u>
Alice R. Milder	Minority Chief Counsel Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Courts; Senate Judiciary Committee	*NSC: Legislative Affairs *USIA: General Counsel
Michael Gale	Senior Legislative Assistant: Senator Arlen Specter	DOD: Office of Trade Security Policy; Deputy Director Outreach Program (Governmental Affairs)
Catherine Zacks, Gildenhorn	Marketing Manager, R.G. Barry Corpora- tion	Public Affairs Position: *National Endowment for the Humanities *National Endowment for the Arts USIA: *Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs *Bureau of Programs *Office of Program Co- ordination and Development *Exhibit Services
Charles Brooks	National Jewish Coalition staff	DOD: Strategic Defense Initiative Office: External Affairs *Brooks has clear- ance for schedule C appointment

NJC Bulletin

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION

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MARCH 1987

The New Energy Crisis

Milton Copulos

For most Americans, last year's collapse of oil prices held nothing but good news. Yet, the short term benefits of the collapse may hold the seeds of a long-term disaster. The predatory pricing practices of the Arab members of OPEC that precipitated the world oil-price collapse also dealt a near-fatal blow to America's independent oil industry, the sector that seeks out and finds new domestic supplies. What is worse, the OPEC policies have resulted in an alarming decline in U.S. domestic production, a decline that shows no signs of slowing.

To underscore just how dramatically America's dependence on imports has changed as a result of the price collapse, one need only note that imports from Saudi Arabia increased by 442.7 percent in the first eleven months of 1986 alone. Moreover, this increase came, for the most part, at the expense of domestic producers. For the most recent reporting period, domestic oil production was down 8.6 percent from a year earlier.

Throughout 1986, the loss of domestic oil production capacity accelerated, and, as we enter the second quarter of 1987, the depletion shows no sign of abating. Should it continue at the present rate for the remainder of the year, an additional 1-1.2 million barrels per day of domestic capacity will be lost.

The prospects for reversing this dependence on the volatile supply-sources of the Middle East are not encouraging. Last year, the number of oil rigs operating in the United States reached its low-

est level since World War II. Early figures for 1987 indicate that drilling activity will fall to even lower levels this year.

Indeed, the current rig-count—about 800—is only one-third the number active just two years ago, and scarcely one-fifth that during the peak year, 1981. The future looks even bleaker. Since it is unprofitable to begin exploiting new

fields when prices are depressed, there has been little new exploration since the oil-price collapse. The effects of this are not immediate. It takes three years for a new on-shore field to come into production, eight to ten for one off shore. Thus, it will be several years before the full effects of low prices are felt.

Still, the immediate effects are bad enough. During the third quarter of 1986, U.S. dependence on Middle Eastern imports was 331.5 percent higher than during the same period a year earlier. Imports from OPEC as a whole are up by 75.6 percent, while imports from Mexico have dropped by 16.8 percent.

Continued, page 3

Four Questions About Gorbachev's Reforms

Jeane Kirkpatrick

In Moscow, there are more visitors and more assurances. "Revolutionary changes are under way," Mikhail Gorbachev assures an international audience of hundreds. "Broad democratization" of Soviet society is now "irreversible." There is not only talk of "opening" Soviet society, but also of "restructuring" it. And we should all understand this is not just a line for foreign consumption. The Central Committee hears it. *Pravda* prints it.

The general secretary has assured a worldwide audience that the "new thinking" has already passed from theory to practice: "Our new approach to the humanitarian problem is there for all to see." The presence of dissident Soviet scientist Dr. Andrei Sakharov at international discussions and the release of Josef

Begun and Anatoly Koriagin seem to illustrate his point—even though most Soviet political prisoners still languish in their cells.

Obviously, Americans welcome indications of a liberalizing trend in this society whose citizens have been deprived so long of rudimentary freedoms. Americans desire the liberalization of the Soviet Union for their sake and for ours.

Americans are therefore an eager audience for Gorbachev's campaign of change. They would rather applaud the general secretary's declarations than analyze them. But because the Soviet Union has great military power and is an extremely dangerous potential adversary, it is important that we approach the Soviets' "new thinking" with some straight thinking of our own.

1. Do the "sweeping reforms" proposed by Gorbachev represent a change of heart or direction in the Soviet system,

Continued, page 3

Mr. Copulos is a senior policy-analyst at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based think-tank.

Ambassador Kirkpatrick was formerly the United States' Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

CAPITAL *Wire*

"CONTRA" AID UPHELD

Efforts by congressional Democrats to prevent the release of \$40 million in aid to Nicaragua's anti-Sandinista "contra" forces have failed. The money represents the final installment of the \$100 million in U.S. assistance voted by Congress last year.

In a dramatic Senate vote on March 18, a resolution to block the transfer of the funds was defeated by a vote of 52 to 48. Fourteen Democrats—including four freshmen—voted to support the administration, while eight Republicans voted with the Democrats to defeat the aid.

The Senate vote represents an important foreign-policy victory for the administration. Its policy towards Central America has been the subject of considerable controversy as a result of the Iran arms affair and the suggestion that profits from the U.S. arms sales to Iran may have been diverted to the "contras". The effort to block the sale was widely viewed as an attempt by the new Democratic majority in the Senate to exploit the controversy in order to de-rail the President's Central America policy.

A week earlier, the House of Representatives passed—by 230 to 196—a similar Democratic measure intended to bar transfer of the \$40 million until the administration accounts for funds that have already been allocated. Forty House Democrats opposed the resolution barring the transfer, while seventeen Republicans supported it. Only one freshman Republican—Rep. Constance Morella (R-MD), who replaced former Democratic representative, Michael Barnes—voted to block the transfer.

SOVIET FORCED-LABOR PROVISION PASSED

The Senate Finance Committee has passed an amendment offered by Senator William Armstrong (R-Colo.) banning the import into the United States of goods manufactured by Soviet forced-labor. The measure, proposed on March 11 as an amendment to the Customs Authorization Bill, would cover five cate-

gories of Soviet products, including gold ore, agricultural machinery and certain petroleum products. It was adopted overwhelmingly by the committee, with only two members dissenting.

There are believed to be more than a thousand forced-labor camps in the Soviet Union, in which an estimated four million people are imprisoned, many for political offenses. Conditions in these camps are notoriously harsh, with prisoners being subjected to extreme cold, near-starvation diets and deprivation of medical attention while they are forced to work.

The proposed ban is the latest in a series of attempts by Sen. Armstrong to enforce a provision in the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act prohibiting the import of goods made with forced labor. In 1983, the Commissioner of Customs issued a finding based on a CIA report stating that there is reason to believe that Soviet-made goods being imported into the United States may be manufactured by forced labor. The finding should have triggered an import ban, but the Treasury Department has resisted efforts to enforce the prohibition.

ARMS-SALES REFORM CONSIDERED

The House Foreign-Affairs Committee has held hearings on a proposed measure that would increase Congress's power to prevent the administration from transferring arms to foreign nations. The measure, sponsored by Senator Joseph Biden (D-Del.) and Rep. Mel Levine (D-Calif.) would restore to Congress some of the power it lost in this area as the result of a 1983 Supreme Court decision that ruled the so-called legislative veto unconstitutional.

Prior to the 1983 ruling, Congress was able to block arms transfers with a simple majority in both houses by passing a concurrent resolution, which is not subject to presidential veto. In order to adhere to the Court's ruling, however, transfers are now blocked by joint resolution. Since joint resolutions are subject to a veto, opponents of a sale require a two-thirds majority in order to pass the resolution over the president's objections.

The Biden-Levine legislation would enable Congress to block a sale with a simple majority, by requiring that Congress specifically authorize the president to transfer arms to foreign nations. Sales to NATO countries, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and Egypt, would not require specific authorization.

The measure would make it easier for Congress to block sales of U.S. arms to Arab nations. Although the measure enjoys the support of some in the pro-Israel community, it is being opposed by those who fear that it would unduly constrain the president in his conduct of foreign policy. Others feel that the measure would result in frequent and public clashes between Congress and the administration over necessary sales that presently are allowed to proceed without controversy.

ZORINSKY REPLACEMENT NAMED

Kay Orr, the Republican governor of Nebraska, has appointed a Republican to fill the senate seat that became vacant with the death on March 6th of the state's Democratic senator, Edward Zorinsky. Zorinsky, one of the Senate's eight Jewish members, was a life-long Republican who had changed parties in 1976 to seek election to the Senate.

The new senator is David Karnes, an Omaha lawyer and businessman, who served as campaign manager to Mrs. Orr during her 1986 gubernatorial campaign. Relatively unknown in political circles, Karnes' appointment was received with surprise by many in Nebraska and in Washington. He will serve the remainder of Senator Zorinsky's term and is expected to seek the GOP nomination in 1988 for election to the seat in his own right. As a result of his appointment, the Democratic majority in the Senate is reduced to eight votes.

A self-described "moderate to conservative", Karnes is expected to support the administration on a range of issues. While his political experience is limited, Karnes has good ties to members of Omaha's Jewish community, and leaders of the National Jewish Coalition are expected to meet with him soon.

Copulos, cont'd from page 1

Overall, U.S. imports hit 38.5 percent during the third quarter of 1986, a level roughly ten percent higher than at the time of the first OPEC oil embargo.

The threat that this dependence poses to America's political, economic and military security cannot be ignored. Indeed, a recent analysis by the National Defense Council Foundation of Defense Department petroleum needs revealed just how extensive this threat is. The study found

that, in the event of a major conflict, America would simply be unable to meet its military fuel requirements if access to Persian Basin oil were denied. Its "worst-case" scenario—a loss of Persian Gulf crude in the wake of a Middle East War, and "full mobilization" of U.S. forces—revealed that the United States would be able to meet just over fifty percent of its oil requirements. Such conditions would, obviously, critically restrict our nation's ability to field an army.

Twice in recent years, Americans have

found themselves waiting in lines to purchase limited amounts of gasoline at exorbitant prices. Unless action is taken now, a similar experience may lie just over the horizon. Even if shortages and gas lines are not an immediate result, high levels of imports will certainly constrain the nation's ability to protect its interests abroad.

Whether Congress elects to move on this incipient crisis remains to be seen. It is, however, a situation that the nation can ignore only at its peril.

Kirkpatrick, cont'd from page 1

or are they only a tactic designed to help Gorbachev consolidate and expand power at home and abroad? Some specialists, especially those in France, have been quick to note that proposed election "reforms" calling for multiple candidacies and a secret ballot would provide Gorbachev a needed procedural mechanism for replacing the Brezhnev team with his

burden are inclined to think so. But, as French Foreign Minister Jean Bernard Raimond observed, "The Soviet leadership is not as gloomy about that country's economic and political prospects as Westerners believe they ought to be."

Gorbachev's own statements indicate that while he desires a more efficient economy, harder work and higher productivity, he is also confident of the

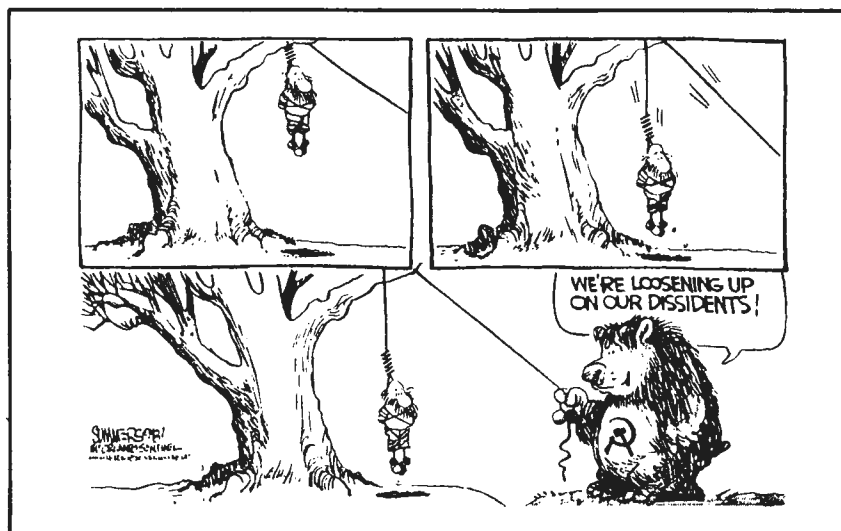
Afghanistan, no withdrawal has taken place. No progress has been made in U.N. negotiations towards a diplomatic settlement of the Afghan war.

4. Will Gorbachev's desire for more constructive relations with the United States lead to new negotiations and actual arms reductions, or is his interest in arms control limited to a desire to stop the development of a U.S. defense against Soviet missiles? At Reykjavik, he seemed interested only in stopping the Strategic Defense Initiative. But before the Iceland meeting, Soviet negotiators displayed an interest in agreements on other subjects. At Reykjavik, it seemed clear that real, even dramatic, reductions in arms would not be too difficult to negotiate—if Gorbachev were interested.

He likes to say the ball is in our court, but the decision on deep, verifiable arms reductions is, in fact, his to make. As Raimond said, "If they [the Soviets] want to join the new global industrial revolution, they should cut defense spending, agree to truly effect arms limitations and liberalize their economy and society."

Raimond warned that all this might take time, and that therein lay the historic Soviet advantage over the West: the West is too impatient. Finally, however, the Soviet Union seems to have a leader whose impatience matches our own.

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own men while leaving the system of one-party bureaucratic dictatorship intact.

That is doubtlessly true if all candidates are handpicked by the leadership and the results are rigged. But if open discussion and criticism are permitted and real competition occurs, even restricted elections could be an important step toward democratization of the ruling party. We cannot know which will occur. We can only wait and see whether election reforms provide a contest or only a device for purging rivals.

2. Does Gorbachev "need" international peace in order to concentrate on economic modernization in the Soviet Union? Americans who see our own high defense costs as a terrible economic

Soviet capacity to meet any challenge. When the United States imposed a grain embargo and blocked the sale of computers to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union responded by working to develop its own industries. Now Gorbachev claims his country is self-sufficient in grain and has a major computer industry. *3. Does Gorbachev's campaign for change foreshadow a less expansionist Soviet foreign policy?* In fact, there has been an increase in the quantity and quality of weapons provided to Third World client states during Gorbachev's tenure. There has been no move toward internal reconciliation of violent regional conflicts. And though the Soviet government affirms a desire to withdraw from

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ANTONY KORENSTEIN
Editor

Supporting Israel's Role In SDI

Senator Rudy Boschwitz

For two decades, America's defense against nuclear attack has relied on the theory of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). MAD presumes that the ability to respond to a nuclear attack deters a would-be aggressor from attacking in the first place.

In fact, MAD amounts to a hope that the world's leaders will act rationally at all times. As a result, we have sought to bolster deterrence by forbidding the superpowers to defend against such attack, thereby holding the two nations hostage to each other. We have also tried to deal with the threat through arms control. But our efforts in this area have fallen short: nuclear arsenals continue to grow, and several new countries have acquired the bomb or are about to do so.

I believe that today we are at a point of historic decision. To take one avenue is to hope that MAD will continue to work—not only for the superpowers, but for any country that comes to possess the bomb. This would be combined with the continued hope of reducing weapons through negotiations. The problem that this approach poses is that a single mistake carries with it the possibility of massive destruction and rapid escalation.

A second choice lies in developing a defense against nuclear attack through the Strategic-Defense Initiative (SDI). SDI could potentially reduce the threat of nuclear war, and also provide a safety-net against accidental missile-launch—a benefit which, alone, is reason enough for it to be pursued.

One of the most promising elements of SDI is its search for a defense against tactical, or short-range, ballistic missiles. If successful—and indications are that a viable anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) defense system can be developed in the near future—it would provide protection not only against tactical nuclear warheads, but also against missiles armed with conventional or chemical warheads.

This aspect of the program has been

of particular interest to Israel. In recent years, Syria has acquired from the Soviet Union SS-21 missiles whose range is sufficient to target Israel's major population centers, and whose accuracy could threaten Israeli air-defense and mobilization facilities. The flight-time from Syria to Israel's heart-land is only about three minutes.

The accuracy, speed and range of the SS-21s pose one of the gravest threats to Israel's security to emerge in recent years. Israel's defense depends heavily on its control of the skies. Syria demonstrated its understanding of this dependence during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, when the Syrian army fired missiles at Israeli air bases. But where those older, less-accurate missiles failed, the SS-21s could quickly neutralize Israel's air force.

Current technology provides only one possible defense against the missiles: staging a pre-emptive strike to destroy the missiles' launchers before firing. But such a defense not only makes war more likely, it is also a strategy fraught with risks.

Hence Israel responded enthusiastically to President Reagan's invitation to U.S. allies to participate in SDI research, and signed a memorandum of understanding last May with the United States on SDI cooperation. In fact, only in Israel have all parts of the political spectrum united in their support for SDI. The Israelis have no choice.

Israel has so far been awarded some \$6 million in SDI research grants, and

the Israeli government is currently seeking further U.S. funding for the development of a workable ATBM system. This project, which would take two years to complete, would result in a system which would demonstrate the capability of intercepting and destroying the Soviet-made SS-21s during their three-minute flight time.

When I was in Israel last December, I saw for myself how far the Israelis have come. They have already developed the prototype of a rocket that can hit a missile head-on in its boost phase. This isn't surprising: using similar technology over the skies of Lebanon in 1982, the Israelis countered air-to-air and ground-to-air missiles so effectively that they lost not a single plane while shooting down 92 of their opponents.

The success of the Israeli program would provide a critical boost to developing a successful SDI, and illustrate the viability of the program. Moreover, the Israelis propose to conduct the research on what, in terms of weapons-development costs, amounts to a shoe-string budget. Israel is seeking a two-year grant of only \$100 million. Given the tight budget constraints under which SDI is currently operating, it is doubtful that Israel will get full funding this year—although I believe that the SDI people are enthusiastic about the Israel project, principally because the enormous need of Israel to defend herself will bring about results far more quickly than elsewhere.

In proposing the Strategic-Defense Initiative, President Reagan demonstrated vision and foresight. In inviting allied participation, he provided Israel with the hope that her survival may be assured in the years ahead. By providing the funds for SDI's ATBM project, the United States can ensure that this hope is soon realized.

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Senator Boschwitz (R-Minn.) is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.



NATIONAL
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Personnel

ACTION MEMORANDUM

TO: Chip Dutcher
Max Green

FROM: Chris Gersten

RE: Personnel Matter: Michael Gale

DATE: March 5, 1987

Please take note of the following change in status for Michael R. Gale, one of the names we discussed in our meeting 2/27/87.

Mr. Gale is now being considered for a Schedule C appointment as Special Assistant for Technology Transfer in the Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense Trade Security Policy (DOD). This is the same office, but the position for which he is now being considered is a Schedule C, rather than a career slot (which should make things easier from your end).

Recommendation:

1) That you implement stated request for action

Action Requested:

- 1) Expedite the clearance process upon receipt of personnel from Department of Defense
- 2) Allow Mr. Gale to maintain at least his current salary level which would require a GS-14 Step 8.

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SERVING THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF BERGEN COUNTY

11 ADAR 5747 March 12, 1987

OPINION

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By MAX. M. FISHER

Washington JEWISH WEEK

VOL. 23, NO. 10

CANDLELIGHTING 5:48, HAVDALAH 6:48

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By Max M. Fisher

One senses a certain smugness in reading the nation's Jewish press and speaking with some of the pro-Israel community's leaders. For six years, President Reagan, assisted by a GOP Senate, had sought to institutionalize the alliance between the United States and Israel. During this period, aid to Israel increased from \$1.5 billion to \$4.5 billion and was converted from a combination of grants and loans to all grants. The administration also formalized bilateral strategic cooperation and established a free-trade area between the two countries.

For many Jews, this unprecedented friendship and commitment was perplexing. The administration's efforts on Israel's behalf challenged what had been an axiom of Jewish political thinking: that Democrats alone could be trusted to protect Jewish interests, particularly with regard to Israel.

For some Jews, this challenge led to a reassessment of their traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party. But others responded differently. For them, the Democrats' past pre-eminence in support

for Israel reinforced political biases and provided a strong argument for keeping Jews loyal to the Democratic Party. Mr. Reagan, widely recognized as "the best friend Israel ever had in the White House," denied them this argument.

This posed a problem for Jewish partisan Democrats. How could they convince their fellow Jews to continue to support a Democratic Party increasingly influenced by radicals such as Jesse Jackson while the GOP was becoming ever more pro-Israel?

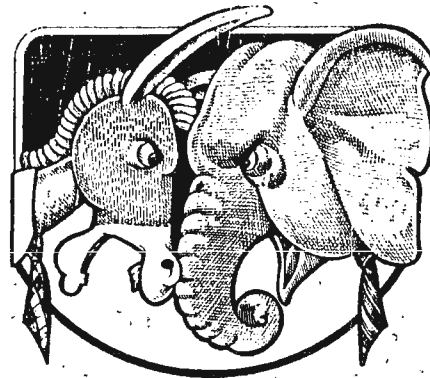
One solution was to argue that American Jews should not be a "single-issue" community, that mere support for Israel by Republicans should not justify a realignment of Jewish voting patterns. But this raised more problems than it overcame. On a wide range of issues—from affirmative-action quotas, to domestic anti-Semitism and Soviet Jewry—the Reagan administration pursued policies beneficial to American Jews.

At the same time, the Democrats were making headlines by refusing to condemn anti-Semitism at their 1984 convention. Opposition by Democrats to the president's foreign policies was undermining America's commitment to

democracy around the world. And Democratic attempts to force the president to accede to Soviet demands on arms control reduced the Kremlin's incentive to compromise either on arms control or on Soviet-Jewish emigration.

But then came the Iran-contra affair. And as the country scrutinized the arms sales and the alleged transfer of funds to the Nicaraguan contras, the Israeli government was found to have played a role. As this role continues to be investigated, partisan Democrats interpret administration statements as attempts to blame the mess on Israel.

Among some Jewish Democrats, the crisis was quietly welcomed as an issue that would dispel what they considered to be a myth: that Republicans could be friends of the Jewish community. As a result of the administration's response to



the Iran crisis, they claimed, ties between the Reagan White House and Israel would be irreparably harmed, a fact that would be reflected in Jewish political support in 1988.

Recent administration personnel changes seemed to reinforce this claim.

Writing recently, Jewish columnist Wolf Blitzer suggested that the departure of such friends of Israel as CIA Director William Casey and National Security Advisor John Poindexter confirmed that U.S.-Israel relations are at a low ebb.

Hence the smugness. In the view of partisan Democrats, an administration bereft of its most pro-Israel figures and resentful of Israel's alleged role in bringing about the Iran crisis could not possibly continue to pursue pro-Israel policies. As a result, they believe, the Democratic Party will benefit handsomely, attracting Jewish support in 1988.

But reality is different. To begin with, the White House has made clear that it does not hold Israel accountable for the Iran-contra affair. The warm welcome given by President Reagan, Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz to Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, on his recent visit to Washington confirms this. The administration also reaffirmed its confidence in U.S.-Israel ties by conferring on Israel the status of "Major non-NATO U.S. ally."

Moreover, the president has ensured that today's closer, stronger U.S.-Israel relationship no longer depends on the presence in the administration of certain personalities. It survives on its merits. And like any close relationship it will overcome crises such as the Iran-contra affair and the Pollard spy scandal, and emerge stronger than before. This news will be reassuring to all Jews for whom the community's interests and Israel's security take precedence over partisan politics.

Mr. Fisher, is the honorary chairman of the National Jewish Coalition, an organization formed to build closer ties between the Jewish community and the Republican Party.

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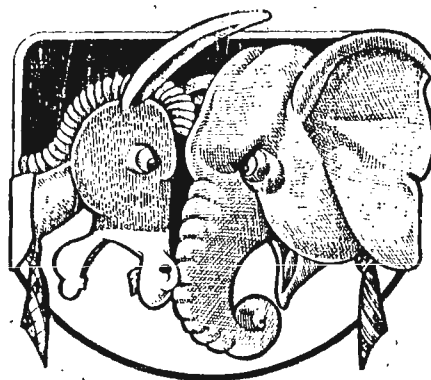
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Political Director

March 30, 1987

Mr. Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liason
OEOB Room 196
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

On behalf of the National Jewish Coalition I want to express my appreciation for the very professional effort you and your staff made for the White House briefing of March 26th. The speakers you secured, Elliott Abrams, Richard Murphy and Fritz Ermarth were excellent. All of our participants left feeling they had had a unique opportunity to meet and talk with top Administration decision-makers.

Thanks again for all of your help.

Sincerely,

Richard Fox
National Chairman
National Jewish Coalition

cc: Mari Maseng

CG/sb