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File

ADDRESS BY
AMBASSADOR RICHARD FAIRBANKS
AT THE
NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL MEETING
CLEVELAND, OHIO
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1983

IT'S A PLEASURE AND AN HONOR TO BE HERE TODAY TO TALK ABOUT AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE ONGOING SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AS A PEOPLE AND AS A COUNTRY, WE AMERICANS HAVE LONG BEEN INVOLVED IN WORKING FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THAT VOLATILE REGION. IT MAKES A RECORD OF IDEALISM AND DEDICATION OF WHICH WE CAN ALL BE PROUD.

THE UNIQUE LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS THRUST UPON US CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT IN THESE PROBLEMS. OUR ROLE IN NEGOTIATING THE ORIGINAL ARMISTICE IN 1948 AND 1949 IS WELL KNOWN. AFTER THE 1967 WAR, THE UNITED STATES WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN PUTTING TOGETHER U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, WHICH REMAINS THE HEART OF THE PEACE PROCESS. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER'S "SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY" OF 1973 PRODUCED THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS FOR THE SINAI AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. PRESIDENT CARTER HELPED PRESIDENT SADAT'S PEACE INITIATIVE TO BEAR FRUIT IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PEACE TREATY. LAST YEAR, PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LEADERSHIP IN PROMOTING THE FORMATION OF MULTI-NATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES ALLOWED THE COMPLETION OF THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SINAI.

YET, THERE ARE SOME WHO SAY THAT THE U.S. IS NOT TAKING ACTIVE POSITIONS TO EFFECT PEACE. I THINK HISTORY WILL SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT BECAUSE OUR COUNTRY'S ACTIONS IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS OF OUR HIGHEST OFFICIALS CONTRAST STARKLY WITH SUCH VIEWS.

AMBASSADORS PHIL HABIB AND MORRIS DRAPER ARRANGED THE CEASEFIRE IN LEBANON IN 1982 AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF PLO FORCES FROM BEIRUT AND ARE CONTINUING EFFORTS TO BRING A BROADER SETTLEMENT IN LEBANON.

IN HIS NATIONAL ADDRESS ON THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER OF LAST YEAR, PRESIDENT REAGAN ANNOUNCED THE CENTERPIECE OF OUR CURRENT PEACE EFFORT: A "FRESH START" TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION TO THE BROADER ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT BY A REVITALIZED CAMP DAVID PROCESS.

AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST RESTS ON BOTH OUR IDEALISTIC BELIEF IN PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND OUR REALISTIC APPRECIATION OF THREATS TO OUR VITAL INTERESTS, AS WELL AS TO THE INTERESTS OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST CONTAIN BOTH THOSE ELEMENTS.

THE FOREIGN POLICY THAT FORSAKES IDEALS AND MERELY MANIPULATES INTERESTS OFFENDS OUR SENSE OF RIGHT. A POLICY THAT FORSAKES POWER MERELY TO PURSUE PIETIES OFFENDS OUR SENSE OF REALITY. WE MUST HAVE A VISION OF WORTHY IDEALS THAT CAN CAPTURE THE IMAGINATION AND A PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR ACHIEVING THOSE IDEALS TO COMMAND SUPPORT.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, OUR IDEALS AND OUR SELF-INTEREST ARE COMPLEMENTING SIGNPOSTS POINTING IN THE SAME DIRECTION. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID LAST SEPTEMBER, "OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE IS NOT A MATTER OF PREFERENCE. IT'S A MORAL IMPERATIVE. WE HAVE AN IRREVERSIBLE COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF FRIENDLY STATES. OUR TRADITIONAL HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS DICTATE A CONTINUING EFFORT TO PEACEFULLY RESOLVE THE CONFLICT."

THE VISION WE HAVE IS THAT OF A STABLE MIDDLE EAST, BASED ON A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE REGION. I BELIEVE OUR PROGRAM DESERVES YOUR SUPPORT AND I EMPHASIZE TO YOU THAT YOUR SUPPORT IS A KEY ELEMENT IN BRINGING OUR PRESIDENT'S POLICY TO FRUITION.

IN OUR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THAT VISION, WE ARE CURRENTLY ADDRESSING THE TWO MOST URGENT PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- RECONSTRUCTION OF A STABLE LEBANON THAT DOES NOT PRESENT A SECURITY THREAT TO ISRAEL AND A LASTING RESOLUTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

BUT THESE, OF COURSE, ARE NOT THE ONLY PROBLEMS IN THE AREA. EVEN IF THESE PROBLEMS WERE PERFECTLY RESOLVED TOMORROW, MANY SERIOUS DISLOCATIONS WOULD REMAIN AND THE REGION WOULD STILL BE TORN BY A HOST OF CONFLICTS SUCH AS THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, THE CONFLICTS IN THE YEMENS, AND THE ADVENTURISM OF COLONEL KHADAFFI. HOWEVER, A STABLE LEBANON AND RESOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION "IN ALL ITS ASPECTS" IS STILL RIGHTLY OUR PREDOMINANT VISION.

ON THE FIRST OF THESE, AS THE PRESIDENT HAS PUT IT, "A STABLE AND REVIVED LEBANON IS ESSENTIAL TO ALL OUR HOPES FOR PEACE FOR THE REGION." IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THAT GOAL, WE ARE CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS SEEKING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL EXTERNAL MILITARY FORCES, THE RESTORATION OF LEBANESE AUTHORITY OVER ITS TERRITORY, AND FULL SECURITY FOR ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER.

OUR OBJECTIVE IN LEBANON IS STRAIGHTFORWARD. WE SEEK TO RESTORE LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY AND INSURE ISRAELI SECURITY.

THESE ARE NOT SEPARATE OBJECTIVES. A STABLE, SOVEREIGN LEBANON AND A SECURE ISRAEL ARE TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. THE THREAT TO ISRAEL DOES NOT COME FROM THE LEBANESE PEOPLE BUT FROM THOSE FOREIGN FORCES THAT USURPED LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY AND ARE STILL CAMPED ON LEBANESE SOIL. IT FOLLOWS THAT A PEACEFUL LEBANON, FREE OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND SOVEREIGN OVER ALL ITS TERRITORY, WILL MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO ISRAELI SECURITY.

LEBANON HAS IDENTIFIED SOVEREIGNTY, CONTROL OF ITS TERRITORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES AS KEY ELEMENTS OF ITS POSITION. WHILE ISRAEL HAS CALLED FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP AND "A REAL INSURANCE POLICY" THAT SOUTHERN LEBANON WILL NOT BECOME AGAIN THE BASE FOR CROSS-BORDER TERRORIST ATTACKS.

WE HOPE THE NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDER WAY WILL LEAD TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE GOALS.

AS SECRETARY SHULTZ SAID IN A SPEECH TO THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL. "WHILE THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT MOVED AS RAPIDLY AS WE WOULD HAVE LIKED, AT LEAST THE PARTIES ARE TALKING. TO TALK. TO TALK ABOUT DIFFERENCES; TO TALK ABOUT ASPIRATIONS; TO TALK ABOUT PEACE. BUT IN ALL EVENTS, TO TALK. WE ASK FOR NOTHING MORE OF ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS. AND WE HAVE THE DEEPEST DUTY AND OBLIGATION TO ASK FOR NO LESS."

WITH REGARD TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, WE ARE ENGAGED IN A VIGOROUS EFFORT TO GET UNDERWAY THE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG ALL FIVE PARTIES CALLED FOR IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. { INDEED, THAT WAS THE INTENT OF THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE LAUNCHED HIS SEPTEMBER 1 INITIATIVE. THE PRESIDENT CALLED ON THE PARTIES TO RECOGNIZE THE REALITY OF THEIR POSITION. ISRAEL HAS MORE THAN ONCE DEMONSTRATED ITS MILITARY STRENGTH AND BRAVERY. BUT ISRAEL MUST RECOGNIZE THAT WHILE SECURITY REQUIRES MILITARY STRENGTH, STRENGTH ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH; REAL SECURITY CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN TRUE PEACE.

THE CHALLENGE ISRAEL FACES NOW IS TO COMBINE DIPLOMACY WITH POWER TO BUILD AN ENDURING POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

THE PRESIDENT CALLED ON THE PALESTINIAN ARABS TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR OWN POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS ARE INEXTRICABLY BOUND TO RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE. IT IS ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACE THAT THE PALESTINIANS CAN ENJOY THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS -- NOT "RIGHTS" EXPOUNDED IN COFFEE HOUSES OR AS POLEMICS IN SPEECHES AND PAMPHLETS, BUT RIGHTS ENJOYED BY A PEOPLE LIVING AT PEACE WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS AND ENJOYING THE DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT THAT COME WITH SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE PRESIDENT CALLED ON THE ARAB STATES TO ACCEPT THE REALITY OF ISRAEL -- AND THE REALITY THAT PEACE AND JUSTICE ARE TO BE GAINED ONLY THROUGH HARD, FAIR, AND DIRECT NEGOTIATION.

THUS, THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT SEEKING TO IMPOSE A PEACE OR DICTATE A SETTLEMENT. HE HAS CHALLENGED THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO MEET AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND TO CONCLUDE WHAT FORCE OR ARMS, TERRORISM, AND VIOLENCE HAVE NOT -- A JUST AND LASTING PEACE BASED ON MUTUAL RIGHTS AND MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE.

AS SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ PUT IT LAST SEPTEMBER,
"THERE IS NO NEED NOW TO AGREE ON ANY PRINCIPLE BUT ONE --
THE NEED TO COME TOGETHER AT THE BARGAINING TABLE."

THE UNITED STATES, AS A FULL PARTNER IN THE PEACE
PROCESS, STANDS READY TO HELP. AND WE REMAIN CONVINCED
THAT THE INITIATIVE BEGUN BY THE PRESIDENT LAST SEPTEMBER
CONSTITUTES A SOUND BASIS FOR AN EQUITABLE RESOLUTION OF
THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND, BEYOND THAT, FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUE PEACE AMONG ISRAEL AND ALL ITS
ARAB NEIGHBORS. THESE PROPOSALS ARE FIRMLY GROUNDED
ON UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS.
THE CHIEF PRINCIPLE UNDERLYING RESOLUTION 242 IS THE
EXCHANGE OF TERRITORY FOR PEACE AND THAT PRINCIPLE HAS
BEEN INCORPORATED IN THE PEACE PROCESS BUILT ON THAT
RESOLUTION. THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS
AND THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS ARE TWO -- FIRST A TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD OF AUTONOMY, DURING WHICH THE RESIDENTS OF THE WEST
BANK AND GAZA ELECT A SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY TO GOVERN THEIR
OWN DAY-TO-DAY AFFAIRS; AND THEN DURING THAT PERIOD, NEGOTIA-
TIONS AMONG ALL THE PARTIES -- ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN, THE
SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, AND
THE UNITED STATES -- TO DETERMINE THE FINAL STATUS OF THE
TERRITORIES AND TO ARRANGE FORMAL TREATIES OF PEACE.

LET ME REVIEW THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS FOR YOU VERY
BRIEFLY, BECAUSE THE PASSAGE OF TIME MAY HAVE DIMMED SOME
OF THE IMPORTANT ASPECTS. FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD, WE

BELIEVE THAT THE PALESTINIAN RESIDENTS SHOULD HAVE REAL CONTROL OVER THEIR DAY-TO-DAY LIVES, AND OVER THE STATE LANDS AND OTHER RESOURCES OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

(BURG STORY.) DURING THIS PERIOD, HOWEVER, WE WOULD OPPOSE ANY EFFORT TO DISMANTLE EXISTING ISREALI SETTLEMENTS OR TO PLACE ARBITRARY LIMITS ON THE OPEN BORDER WITH ISRAEL. THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD FORM THE "STRONG LOCAL POLICE FORCE" CALLED FOR IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, AND TAKE PROGRESSIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY AND LAW AND ORDER FUNCTIONS, AS THEY DEMONSTRATE THE ABILITY TO DO SO, WHILE LEAVING EXTERNAL SECURITY TO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ISRAEL.

FOR THE FINAL STATUS OF THE AREA, WE BELIEVE THAT NEITHER PERMANENT ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY NOR AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE IS THE WAY TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. RATHER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE BEST CHANCE FOR PEACE IS SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PALESTINIANS IN ASSOCIATION WITH JORDAN. IN THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS, THE ULTIMATE BORDERS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE TERRITORIES WILL BE DETERMINED AND SECURITY GUARANTEES HAMMERED OUT. WE REMAIN FULLY COMMITTED TO ISRAELI SECURITY, AND AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN HIS SPEECH, WE WILL NOT ASK ISRAEL TO RETURN TO THE INSECURITY OF THE PRE-1967 PERIOD. RATHER, IN THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN: "OUR VIEW ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH ISRAEL SHOULD BE ASKED TO GIVE UP TERRITORY WILL

BE HEAVILY AFFECTED BY THE EXTEND OT TRUE PEACE AND NORMALIZATION AND THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS OFFERED IN RETURN."

WHILE I AM ON THE SUBJECT OF SECURITY, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ONE OTHER POINT. THERE ARE THOSE WHO WORRY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IN ASSOCIATION WITH JORDAN WILL LEAD TO AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. AS SECRETARY SHULTZ SAID ON SEPTEMBER 12, "IT IS NOT BEYOND THE REACH OF DIPLOMACY TO CREATE, NOR ISRAELI MILITARY POWER TO ENSURE, THAT AGREED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE WEST BANK WILL NOT ERODE OVER TIME."

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~~LAST, WE BELIEVE THAT JERUSALEM SHOULD BE AN UNDIVIDED CITY. BUT ITS FINAL STATUS SHOULD BE DETERMINED THROUGH NEGOTIATION IN THE CONTEXT OF AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.~~

THAT, IN BRIEF SUMMARY, IS PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INITIATIVE FOR A FRESH START ON THE PEACE PROCESS -- AN INITIATIVE WHICH HAS CAPTURED CENTER STAGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL DEBATE ON THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS, WE HAVE VIGOROUSLY SOUGHT TO REINVIGORATE THE PEACE PROCESS THROUGH ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S CHALLENGE FOR EXPANDED DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

WHILE THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN A PUBLIC CHANGE IN THE RELUCTANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE, BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT'S APPROACH IS FULLY WITHIN THE CAMP DAVID FORMULA -- AS ALL AMERICANS WHO WERE PRESENT AT THE NEGOTIATIONS AGREE -- AND IN LIGHT OF THE RIGOROUS GUARANTEES OF THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ISRAEL WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM ANY DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS TO WHICH THE U.S. AND ISRAEL AGREE, I BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT MISS THE HISTORIC CHANCE FOR PEACE THAT THE APPEARANCE AT THE BARGAINING TABLE OF NEW ARAB PEACE PARTNERS WOULD PRESENT.

SUCH A DECISION CAN ONLY BE PRESENTED WHEN JORDAN PUBLICLY INDICATES CLEARLY ITS READINESS TO NEGOTIATE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. IN FACT, IT WAS THE ABSENCE OF BOTH JORDAN AND REPRESENTATIVE PALESTINIAN ARABS THAT HAMPERED THE NEGOTIATIONS FROM 1979 TO 1982. IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE FOCUS OF OUR EFFORTS AT THIS TIME IS JORDAN AND THAT THE NEXT STEP ON THE ROAD TO PEACE IS ONE WHICH CAN BEST BE TAKEN BY KING HUSSEIN.

WE UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS HE CONFRONTS IN MAKING HIS DECISION; WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT HE WILL OVERCOME THOSE PROBLEMS AND THAT HIS DECISION WILL CONTRIBUTE FURTHER TO THE FRESH START ALONG THE ROAD TO PEACE WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAS CALLED FOR.

IN THIS CONNECTION, LET ME CLARIFY FOR YOU TWO ASPECTS OF OUR CURRENT CONSULTATIONS WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE BECOME SOMEWHAT CONFUSED IN THE PUBLIC MIND. ONE IS THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK CALLS FOR JORDAN TO TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TOGETHER WITH EGYPT AND ISRAEL. THE FRAMEWORK ALSO SAYS THAT THE DELEGATIONS OF EITHER EGYPT OR JORDAN "MAY INCLUDE PALESTINIANS FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA OR OTHER PALESTINIANS AS MUTUALLY AGREED."

WE HAVE MADE VERY CLEAR TO ALL OF OUR ARAB INTERLOCUTORS OUR CONVICTION THAT -- FOR PURELY PRAGMATIC REASONS -- A JORDANIAN DELEGATION CANNOT INCLUDE MEMBERS OF THE PLO OR INDIVIDUALS CLAIMING TO REPRESENT THE PLO.

THUS PALESTINIAN ARABS WHO MAY JOIN THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION WOULD REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THEIR CONFRERES AND NOT THE INTERESTS OF ONE OR ANOTHER ORGANIZATION. SUCH PALESTINIANS FROM THE WEST BANK OR GAZA CLEARLY WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE INCLUDED IN THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION.

A SECOND AREA THAT MAY REQUIRE CLARIFICATION INVOLVES THE PACE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE FRAMEWORK SAYS THAT, AFTER AN ELECTION IS HELD AND THE AUTONOMY REGIME ESTABLISHED, NEGOTIATIONS TO DETERMINE THE FINAL STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WILL BEGIN "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BUT NOT LATER THAN THE THIRD YEAR..." CLEARLY THE ISSUES THAT WILL CONFRONT THE PARTIES AT THAT TIME ARE DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE THOSE ISSUES -- AND THUS TO ESTABLISH REAL PEACE -- SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

ALTHOUGH THE PROCESS SINCE SEPTEMBER HAS NOT MOVED AS FAST AS WE WOULD HAVE LIKED, WE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE SIGNIFICANCE AND THE POWER OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE HAS ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION AND FIRED THE IMAGINATION OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD -- PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND ARAB LEADERS ARE NOW TALKING ABOUT HOW TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL -- NOT WHETHER. A STREAM OF ARAB KINGS, PRESIDENTS AND FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE BEEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE TO PURSUE THIS VERY SUBJECT AND THEY ARE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS TO FIND THE WAY. ALTHOUGH THESE STEPS ARE STILL TENTATIVE, WE HAVE SEEN AT LAST A CHANGE FROM THE SELF-DEFEATING LITANY OF REJECTION. WHILE MANY HAVE SOUGHT TO NEGOTIATE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE WITH US, THE PRESIDENT'S UNYIELDING MESSAGE HAS BEEN THAT HIS POSITIONS ARE PUBLIC AND UNCHANGED ^{##} AND THE PLACE TO NEGOTIATE IS AT THE TABLE, FACE-TO-FACE WITH ISRAEL.

AS WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE REAL THE DREAM OF PEACE, THERE IS ONE VITAL COMPONENT I HAVE NOT YET ADDRESSED. IN NO AREA OF THE WORLD IS IT MORE IMPORTANT FOR ALL THE PARTIES TO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS PRESIDENT AND THIS COUNTRY WILL MAINTAIN OUR INTEREST, OUR PRINCIPLES, AND OUR RESOLVE.

TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST, AS THE PRESIDENT NOTED, THE QUEST FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN A STORY OF MISSED OPPORTUNITIES. MANY OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES HAVE EVAPORATED BECAUSE OTHERS DID NOT BELIEVE THE UNITED STATES WOULD FOLLOW THROUGH ON ITS COMMITMENTS AND ITS POLICIES. I ASSURE YOU, CATEGORICALLY, THIS PRESIDENT WILL.

BUT, HIS ABILITY TO DO SO, AND, JUST AS IMPORTANTLY, HIS PERCEIVED ABILITY TO DO SO, CAN ONLY BE STRENGTHENED BY THE ACTIVE AND INFORMED INVOLVEMENT AND SUPPORT OF THE CITIZENS OF AMERICA. THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE; IT IS NOT AN ISSUE WHICH SEPARATES AMERICANS -- INDEED, IT UNITES ALL OF US. HISTORY WILL JUDGE US HARSHLY SHOULD THIS OPPORTUNITY BE MISSED, BUT IF WE HAVE THE WIT AND THE WILL TO SUCCEED, GOD WILL BLESS OUR EFFORTS. THANK YOU AND SHALOM.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1984

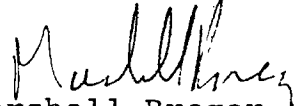
Dear Mr. Chernin:

I would appreciate it if you would kindly put me on your mailing list for memorandums on domestic and foreign affairs sent to your constituent organizations.

My address is Room 197, Washington, DC 20500.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,


Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to
the President for
Public Liaison

Mr. Albert D. Chernin
Executive Vice Chairman
National Jewish Community
Relations Advisory Council
443 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

PERSPECTIVE

NJCRAC Plan reflects ailments of Jewish agencies

By MARVIN SCHICK

Most of us know, I suppose, that the organized American Jewish community has an official position on job training, on the proposal for a constitutional convention, on energy conservation and on public education. These are subjects which for a greater or lesser period of time have been endowed by our leadership in its puny wisdom the bogus mantle of Jewishness, and no protestations that they are matters which should essentially concern us as Americans but not as Jews would alter the determination to issue regular statements proclaiming how important each is to the Jewish welfare.

We also have a Jewish position on Vietnam veterans, on

voting representation for the District of Columbia, on famine in Africa, on broadcast deregulation and the on budget deficit. These and other issues are covered in the 1984-85 Joint Program Plan for Jewish Community Relations which was recently adopted by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC).

A good case can be made for ignoring the cliché-ridden, predictable meanderings of the Joint Program Plan. This is, at its worst, one of the lesser evils of our billion dollar growth industry known as the organized Jewish community. Few pay attention to the document, and this includes our army of officials and staff persons who presumably are to receive direc-

tion from the positions which are embraced.

On the other hand, the Joint Program Plan is the point of convergence for two of the major ailments afflicting our community, they being our gargantuan organizational structure and our intellectual arrogance and imperialism in thinking that there must be some Jewish slant to almost every public issue. There just isn't any better opportunity to depict the madness that grips our organizational life than the one provided by the Joint Program Plan.

The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council was formed in 1944, although without "Jewish" in its title. That was added in 1968, a time when, through the courtesy of the Black Revolution, ethnicity became a more open and respectable subject than it had been a generation earlier. So "Jewish" came out of the closet and NJCRAC became NJCRAC. (Incidentally, that became something of a problem because previously the group was known familiarly as Nackrack.)

NJCRAC was originally composed of six national organizations and 20 local Jewish community relations agencies. Today, its membership consists of 11 national groups and, believe it or not, 111 local, county and state agencies — each, of course, with its own budget and staff.

It really is a lot of baloney that the American Jewish community is declining. We have been growing and for whoever doubts the accuracy of this assertion, there is the NJCRAC (and hundreds of other organizations) to prove the point. If this growth keeps up, in a century at the latest we will have at least one organization for every American Jew, thereby giving credence to the old joke about the two Jews who were stranded on a remote Pacific Ocean island and who have three synagogues among them.

The NJCRAC is, by the way, one of at least four large-scale national Jewish umbrella organizations whose members are other organizations. The others are the Synagogue Council of America, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. There are, additionally, national Jewish umbrella groups with specialized functions, such as for education. All told, we probably have more national organizations than all of the other major American ethnic and religious groups combined. And together they manage to spend a staggering sum of money, although if most of them disappeared, few would feel the loss.

Our rampage of organizations does have the virtue—if it can be so regarded—of providing frequent travel opportunities at community expense for staff members. There are enough annual conferences and the like to elevate the spirit of our professionals who are stuck in the sticks. From time to time meetings are held in Jerusalem, and this provides an additional bonus and opportunity for leaving town. I reckon that El Al has been saved from insolvency because of the thousands of annual trips to Israel at our community's expense.

MacIver Report Now Forgotten

The irony of the unbenign growth of organizations and budgets is that the NJCRAC was created in large measure to reduce the overlapping and competition which even in 1944—when our organizational life was almost primitive as compared to today's—plagued our community.

(It can be argued that the establishment of another agency is hardly an apt remedy for the malady of over-organization. But we just do not know of any other approach.)

In 1950, the NJCRAC chartered a major study of the Jewish community relation field by Professor Robert MacIver, the distinguished sociologist. The MacIver report made specific recommendations, including some which were aimed at simplifying our organizational activities. The report was heatedly debated for a time, but its main recommendations were never implemented, largely because of the strong opposition of the American Jewish Committee and Anti-Defamation League. Nowadays it is all but forgotten, but it continues to make worthwhile reading, especially for those who might be interested in weighing the validity of my claim that our community is foolishly organized.

The MacIver report was the last effort at Jewish educational reform. For a generation, there has been a tacit understanding that our agencies are free to overlap, compete and waste as they see fit.

I confess that in the 1960s, in an earlier incarnation of my communal life, I represented the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations at the NJCRAC. I should say in defense of this very minor transgression that even in those days I was regarded as a troublemaker and I constantly suggested that much of what we were getting into was none of our business as Jews.



"The only
thing necessary
for the triumph
of evil, is for
good men
to do
nothing"



Edmund Burke

VOTE

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PRESERVATION COPY

DEVAR TORAH

Story of Abraham foreshadows Jewish history

By ALVAN H. KAUNFER

In the Bible we see ripples and reflections from one story to another. We hear echoes of the past in later events. The rabbis said, "ma'asei avot siman levanim," the deeds of the fathers are symbols for later descendants. What befalls Abraham becomes a pattern for later history. The events of his life ripple through the later events of the Israelites.

In Lech Lecha, we stand at the crossroads of human history. Behind us lie the primeval events of mankind; ahead lies the destiny of the Patriarchs and the Israelite people. The turning point in human history we experience this week is a turning point, not only for one man, not for one moment. It is a streak of light which sets forth a Biblical process which grows and develops. Eventually an entire nation experiences the same burst of light in the darkness of history which Abraham witnessed in his dark moment in history.

The story of Abraham foreshadows the slavery and redemption from Egypt. One story prepares us for the other, one momentous event reflects the next. The parallels abound. Some allusions are explicit; "And He said to Abram: 'Know well that your offspring shall be strangers in a land not theirs and they shall be enslaved and oppressed four hundred years; but I will pass judgment on the nation they shall serve, and in the end

Rabbi Alvan Kaunfer is director of the Solomon Schechter Day School of Rhode Island. © 1984 National Havurah Committee.

"Whatever happened to Abraham befell his children," says the midrash.

they shall go free with great wealth'" (15: 13-14).

Other times the Torah emphasizes the parallels with more subtle literary allusion. The midrash (Tanhuma, Lech Lecha, 9) recognizes the allusions and calls them to our attention.

Anticipates Choosing of Israel

Abraham is chosen from a multitude of nations; he is singled out to leave his roots and homeland. This anticipates the choosing of Israel, "from among all other peoples on earth to be His treasured people" (Deut. 14: 2).

God bursts into Abraham's personal history when mankind has reached its nadir, to rescue humanity with the command "lech lecha," "go forth from your homeland," and follow an uncharted course to a distant land "that I will show you." Later, God again bursts into the history of an entire people, when all hope seems lost, to rescue them with the command "shalah et ami," "send forth my people." God again comes to

rescue, to bring out from one land and send on an uncharted journey to the Promised Land: "I have come down to rescue them from the Egyptians to bring them out of that land to a good and spacious land" (Exod. 3:7).

Similarly, Abraham's promise that "I will make of you a great nation... All of the families of the earth shall bless themselves by you" is mirrored in the promise to Israel, "the other peoples, hearing of all these laws, will say, 'surely, that is a great nation'" (Deut. 4:6).

Finally, Abraham descends into Egypt because of famine, confronts a Pharaoh, is

"sent out" (the Hebrew root is *shih*) with all his possessions, just as later his offspring, the children of Israel, go down to Egypt because of famine (Gen. 42, 43), confront a Pharaoh who finally sends them out (again the root *shih*), with all their possessions (Exod. 12: 31-33).

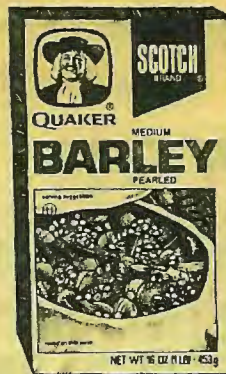
"Whatever happened to Abraham befell his children," says the midrash. We see in this week's portion the story of one person, but we hear in its depths the echoes of a nation to come. The paradigm is set. The promise has been made. It needs only to be fulfilled. And once fulfilled in Egypt, might it not be fulfilled at other times? □

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Agencies Have Changed Little

It has been 15 years since I last participated in the NJCRAC. Much has happened in these years—in Israel and in the Middle East and in this country. There have been vast political and social changes; the significance of much of what has happened is as yet too complex to understand. But a reading of the current Joint Program Plan suggests that our agencies (with a few exceptions) have learned little and they have changed even less. Some new ground is covered but only so that we can demonstrate that we remain faithful to the most trendy claims of pseudo-libertarian and pseudo-humanitarian dogma.

There are, for example, references to the "feminization of poverty," which is a silly phrase coined by persons who have no appreciation of what the words mean. What is intended, of course, is the notion that increasingly those who are poor are women (for several major demographic reasons), but what comes out is the suggestion that poverty is becoming effeminate.

For the most part, the NJCRAC recycles old positions. There is a fascinating tendency, to an extent that I have not seen elsewhere, for the organization to quote approvingly from its previous statements. Why bother too much with new clichés when the old ones will do? The recycling of rhetoric is, however, nothing compared to the recycling of ideas. On every social issue which it discusses, the NJCRAC's position is predictable, which means that it comes out on the side of the angels, even when the angels aren't certain which side they are on.

Sentimentality prevails when it comes to dispensing opinions on what some of us might regard as vexatious subjects. It always is sufficient to come out for justice, humanity, equality and, most importantly, for the expenditure of public funds.

Never is there a concession that the commendable principles which we advocate might be compromised by complexities or ambiguities, that the translation into public policy of noble ideals is a great deal more difficult than the articulation of these ideals. Never is there doubt about the efficacy of good intentions or of promiscuous spending. We remain the children of light, ever confident that society can be engineered.

Never is there a concession that the commendable principles we advocate might be compromised by complexities or ambiguities.

Fresh Thinking Alien to Process

Over a 20-year-period, from the Kennedy through the Carter Administrations, the federal government spent many hundreds of billions of dollars—probably as much as several trillion dollars—on the amelioration of a variety of social maladies. We are now told—the Joint Program Plan expresses this—that in area after area the situation is worse than it used to be. True, the Reagan Administration has instituted huge cuts and these have hurt. But if the programs which were amply funded over a two-decade period had even modest impact, we should be better off. Conversely, if there now are more poor Americans, there should be some fresh thinking as to whether the old approaches really worked.

Fresh thinking, however, is alien to the Joint Program Plan process or, for that matter, our approach to public issues. In *Commentary* and other serious publications there have been thoughtful articles questioning the assumptions underpinning an array of federal programs. Admittedly, *Commentary* is a bastion of neoconservatism, but that does not render the magazine *treife* (nonkosher). I wonder whether the policymakers at the American Jewish Committee, which sponsors *Commentary*, read the publication before they embark on their ritualistic incantation of libertarian doctrine.

In their rush to be on what they regard as the right and humane side on every issue, our organizations fail to see that what they espouse might have consequences which are harmful to other goals or values which they support. On immigration, for instance, there is a call for the increased admission of aliens, but there is no awareness that blacks are likely to be hurt in the job market if more persons are admitted into the United States. This may not be a good enough reason for curtailing immigration but it is a question which deserves consideration.

Or, on the Medicare system, which is out of control and in deep trouble, NJCRAC contends that efforts at cost containment "should not place an inequitable burden on the elderly or on institutions in the voluntary sector that service them." Yet, the institutions—and especially the volunteers, including the ones which are under Jewish sponsorship—are at the core of the Medicare problem and there cannot be any formula for preserving Medicare and the essential benefits of the elderly

without strong measures to harness the runaway cost at Medicare institutions.

More seriously, there is the dualism which typifies American Jewish attitudes toward the Soviet Union. On the Middle East and Soviet Jewry, we strongly urge that Washington oppose Soviet policies. At the same time, we are blind to the reality that the Kremlin which has caused so much harm to Israel and Soviet Jews is also responsible for much other mischief around the globe and that it might be equally appropriate for the United States to oppose Soviet policies in Africa, Europe and Central America.

We want the United States to help insure Israel's security through military aid and other support, but the Joint Program vigorously advocates significant cuts in American defense spending.

I know, of course, that there is a way to reconcile these positions, that they aren't necessarily contradictory. What is required, at the least, is an awareness that these are issues which complicate the certainty with which we express our libertarian views. This awareness is absent from the Joint Program Plan.

What is in the plan is a plethora of statistics which purport

to buttress NJCRAC positions. Some of these figures are a good deal less than convincing. The award for the most flagrant misuse of numbers goes to the claim that "the jobless rate for black teenagers continues to hover near the 50 percent mark." That is a fabrication and also a nasty, though unintended, bit of racism. It would be an awesome indictment of black America, if half of black teenagers were jobless, because there could be no way that racism or other real or imagined sins of white America could be responsible for such a horrible statistic. In fact, the unemployment rate of black youth is much lower, although black leadership would like the rest of us to believe that things are worse than they actually are.

The greatest defect of the Joint Program Plan is not its blind faith in tired doctrine, but its assumption that Judaism is a secular religion which has a mission to become involved in almost every issue that comes before the American public. In the eyes of our secularists, we are true catholic religion.

This is a distorted view of Judaism. I shall deal with this issue and the companion issue of ideological neutrality in my next article. □

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ELECTIONS '84

Ferraro blasts Reagan for 'exploiting Holocaust'

By WALTER RUBY

Three days after Ronald Reagan told a Jewish audience on Long Island that the Democratic Party owed them an explanation for its failure to condemn anti-Semitism at the San Francisco convention, Geraldine Ferraro blasted the President's charge as "incorrect and indecent" and demanded that the President apologize for making it.

In a speech at Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun in Manhattan sponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) and the New York Board of Rabbis, Ferraro said angrily, "I will not accept the base implication that my party is soft on anti-Semitism."

Ferraro said of Reagan's statement at Temple Hillel, "In an effort to impress his audience, President Reagan insulted it. In an effort to assail us, he debased himself."

The Democratic Vice Presidential candidate stressed that Walter Mondale and the Democratic Party had long stood for civil rights and equality and that "it was...President Jimmy Carter who stood up for human rights and made a peace between Egypt and Israel which had eluded those two nations for twenty centuries." She added, "So there was no need for my party to state again what Democrats have always stood for."

Attacks Holocaust Exploitation

In a wide-ranging speech clearly aimed at shoring up Jewish support for the underdog Democratic ticket, Ferraro attacked what she called Reagan's "cynical exploitation of the Holocaust" for his suggestion in his synagogue speech that he had sent the ill-fated Marine contingent to Beirut in 1982 in order to prevent massacres of Israeli Jews.

Ferraro also stressed that the close ties of the President and his party to evangelical leaders like Jerry Falwell and Jimmy Swaggart represent a threat to religious liberty in the United States, and she reaffirmed her opposition to prayer in public schools. Ferraro charged that the Reagan Administration has "squandered the promise of Camp David" and attacked it for "arms sales to the Arab states and ill-conceived efforts to pressure Jewish leaders."

In a discussion with the *Jewish World* after the Ferraro speech, Lynn Cutler, vice chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee, said that the famous "screwup" at the Democratic National Convention over the failure of the party to adopt a stand against anti-Semitism was caused by the failure of an unknown staff aide to deliver "a piece of paper" with a statement denouncing anti-Semitism and bigotry to party chairman Charles Mannett before the end of the convention.



Vice Presidential hopeful Geraldine Ferraro blasted President Reagan for his "cynical exploitation of the Holocaust" when she addressed a supportive crowd of about 500 this week at Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun in Manhattan.

Cutler warned that Jews ought not to back what she termed "the far right wing coalition behind the President, because traditionally we haven't survived right wing coalitions." She noted that the Rev. Jesse Jackson "has no title in the country or the party" and said that contrary to reports the Democratic ticket is not dependent on Jackson delivering the black vote since "the black vote will be delivered by people like Wilson Goode, Tom Bradley and Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX)."

Ferraro received a warm response and frequent applause from the largely partisan Democratic crowd of about 500 who crowded into the officially non-partisan event. Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the JCRC, said that it had longstanding invitations out to all four Presidential and Vice

Presidential candidates in this year's election, but had had little response to its invitations until Ferraro's campaign suddenly informed the JCRC on Thursday, the day before the President's appearance in North Woodmere.

Armageddon Isn't Near

In his introduction for the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, Mayor Ed Koch stressed the nuclear question in his remarks, stating, "We have a right to be concerned about the issue of war and peace and the future of humankind" and adding that unlike President Reagan, "we don't believe that Armageddon is around the corner."

Ferraro, who was received with sustained and enthusiastic applause, appeared tired but determined and upbeat, despite a bevy of polls pointing to a Reagan landslide on Nov. 6. Still, Ferraro evoked a poignant feeling of an impossible dream about to be blasted by a rapidly encroaching reality when she told the audience, "Look at the record of the last four years and think what the next four would be like. Look at the public record of Walter Mondale and at mine. And think what the next four years could be like."

Ferraro said that the present election differs from past political contests in America because "human rights, religious freedom, and respect for diversity have entered the debate." She added, "Individual freedom and the unfettered expression of religious belief are being questioned for the first time in years... It is a message for all Americans, and especially for those of us who are Catholic or Jewish or members of any other religious or racial minority—because when freedom is questioned, the rights of minorities are the first to be cut back."

Citing the growing power and influence of "moral monopolists" like Falwell, Swaggart, and Robison, Ferraro noted that "these individuals have not been spurned by the Republican Party. They have been welcomed into it...President Reagan himself has proclaimed that anyone who opposes the Constitutional Amendment permitting prayer in the public schools is intolerant of religion."

Ferraro declared, "We must keep government in our public buildings and out of our homes, our churches and our synagogues. The question is not whether we should put God back in our schools. We never put him there in the first place and we never took him out. It is whether we should put politicians in the business of writing our prayers. And to that we say no."

Ferraro commented, "We need a President who does

continued on page 10

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