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December 16, 1985

TO: NJCRAC Member agencies

FROM: Albert D. Chernin, Executive Vice Chairman

RE: Joint Program Plan Propositions for Plenary Session Action

Enclosed is a draft of the propositions that will provide the frame of reference for the drafting of the Joint Program Plan for 1986-87 subject to the debate and action of the Plenum, which, as you know, will be held February 16-19, 1986 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York.

The Plenum will debate and act upon only those propositions when one or more member agencies have advised us in writing by Monday, February 3rd that they differ (and why) from the substance of any of the propositions. Otherwise, it will be assumed that the propositions are acceptable. The judgment of member agencies on the propositions must be transmitted from either the Chairperson or the Executive on behalf of that particular member agency, rather than from individual delegates.

If your agency disagrees with the substance of any of the propositions and believes that it should be debated by the Plenum, you should then state the essence of your difference in one or two sentences. Please identify those propositions on which you are commenting by checking the appropriate box on the enclosed form that lists all the propositions. Also, please feel free to submit alternative propositions or new propositions.

There is no need to give us editorial revisions of the propositions. The propositions are only intended to succinctly distill the positions which will be amplified in the draft of the Joint Program Plan, which will be acted upon by the Executive Committee in June. On receipt of agency responses, a Subcommittee described below will review the agency comments to determine which of the judgments meet the criteria for submission to the Plenum. So that the critical major issues can be fully debated, the Subcommittee must, of necessity, be highly selective in their submission of propositions to the Plenum for debate. The criterion is whether a member agency response is substantively different from the proposition. The Subcommittee will not submit to the Plenum:

- observations judged as editorial in nature;
- new issues or positions which have not been previously debated within the NJCRAC process, unless they require immediate and urgent action;
- positions that are in essence consistent either with the propositions or previous policies adopted by NJCRAC.

(over)

February 16-19, 1986 • Waldorf-Astoria Hotel • New York

The Subcommittee will be comprised of the Co-Chairs of the Joint Program Plan Committee; the Chair of the NJCRAC Task Force on Domestic Concerns; a Co-Chair of the Israel Task Force, and the Chair of NJCRAC. At least three days before the Plenum, member agencies will be advised as to how their submissions will be handled. If a member agency disagrees with the Subcommittee's disposition of its recommendations, its delegates may share their views in person with one of two panels that will meet concurrently Saturday evening before the opening of the Plenum. One panel will deal with the International Concerns; the other, Domestic Concerns. Appointments for meeting with these panels must be arranged at least 48 hours in advance of the Plenum. The panels will be comprised of the Co-Chairs of the Joint Program Plan Committees; Co-Chairs of the Israel Task Force; the Chair and Vice Chair of the Task Force on Domestic Concerns, and the Chairs and Vice Chairs of the five NJCRAC Commissions.

The propositions, which are based on NJCRAC policy positions, cover those policy goals that have been judged as being significantly affected by changes in conditions and thus require special emphasis in the program year beginning September 1st, 1986. The key question is whether we foresee trends and conditions that either threaten or advance our policy goals.

From this perspective does your agency agree with the judgments set forth in the changing conditions? Does it agree with the comments explaining the judgments? Does it feel that the strategic goals are responsive to the changing conditions? Does it feel that any of the issues covered by the propositions do not require special emphasis in the coming year? Are there issues omitted that have been significantly affected by changes in conditions? Does your agency have any recommendations for new strategic goals or does it propose any modification of the strategic goals?

The Joint Program Plan is introduced by a section entitled "Overview." It is intended to identify the most compelling concerns of the Jewish community relations field in order to give those concerns urgent priority. It also seeks to provide a broader perspective that goes beyond the issue-by-issue review which is covered in the balance of the Joint Program Plan. The Overview grows out of the discussions of the Plenum and will be acted upon by the Executive Committee at its meeting in June. Thus the process for developing the Overview begins at the Plenary Session with the Executive Vice Chairman of NJCRAC presenting on the last day of the Plenum a summary of the underlying currents and themes that were reflected among the delegates in all the sessions that took place the previous three days. Such a summary, which is not binding on the delegates, will provide the basis for the formulation of the first draft of the Overview.

If you would like to have a copy of the PROCEDURES GUIDING THE DEVELOPMENT AND ADOPTION OF THE NJCRAC JOINT PROGRAM PLAN FOR JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS (adopted by the Executive Committee, June 25, 1984), just drop us a line.

ADC:ej
Enclosures
O,X-EC,X,
CHAIR,A,CS,I,IF,EO,INT,W,DTF,ITF-NJ

Draft Joint Program Plan Propositions

For Action of NJCRAC Plenum, February 16-19, 1986

(The Plenum will discuss only those propositions with which member agencies disagree and have so advised NJCRAC in writing by February 3, 1986.)

ISRAEL PROPOSITIONS

PROPOSITION 1 IS: Israel and the Middle East - U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS

Changing Conditions: The relationship between the United States and Israel, which the U.S. government has described as mutually beneficial, continues to grow into one characterized by an extraordinary degree of cooperation and trust. The relationship is likely to continue along this path for the foreseeable future.

Background: The United States and Israel have embarked on new ventures which enhance and deepen the degree of cooperation between them. The Free Trade Agreement of 1985 enables each nation greater access to the other's markets and should prove beneficial to both economies. Similarly, the Strategic Cooperation Agreement, signed in 1981, provides the United States with secure military access in a troubled and volatile region of vital importance to American national interests.

Under the coalition agreement reached following Israel's October 1984 election, the National Unity government will transfer its leadership to Yitzhak Shamir in October, 1986. Given the good working relationships which Mr. Shamir established with American officials during his previous term as Prime Minister, the scheduled transfer of the Prime Ministership is not likely to have significant impact upon the overall contours of U.S.-Israel relations.

The only major difficulty to arise between the United States and Israel during 1985 emerged in the wake of the arrest of an American naval intelligence official who was charged with unauthorized passage of classified information to Israeli diplomats. Both nations moved quickly to minimize potential damage to their relationship, and it is expected that temporary frictions will be overcome.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to emphasize that Israel is the United States' most reliable strategic ally in the Middle East and should continue to receive American political, moral and economic support;
- encourage increased people-to-people exchanges between Israel and the United States through tourism, leadership missions, and academic, cultural and scientific exchanges.

PROPOSITION 2 IS: Israel and the Middle East - U.S. FOREIGN AID

Changing Conditions: The Administration and Congress continue to be favorably disposed to assist Israel in achieving economic recovery. However, enactment of the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget legislation may have ramifications on the amount of the foreign aid package.

Background: Despite intense budgetary pressures, Congress's approval of the Administration's package of \$1.8 billion in defense and \$1.2 billion in economic grant aid to Israel during Fiscal Years 1986 and 1987, along with supplemental grants of \$750 million in both years, demonstrated the U.S. government's nearly universal recognition of Israel's status as a strategic ally and of the need to provide assistance its economic recovery plan. Strong bipartisan support was also manifested for a proposal introduced by Senators Inouye and Kasten to reduce interest on outstanding U.S. loans to Israel, which amount to approximately \$1 billion per year. The proposal was withdrawn in return for a commitment by Secretary of State Shultz that in 1986 the Administration would submit legislation providing for across-the-board reductions in interest rates for all recipients of foreign aid loans. This commitment is consistent with the Administration's previous revision of the foreign aid process so as to provide aid in the form of grants only, in recognition of the overwhelming debt burdens of most recipient countries. These welcome developments have been clouded by the as yet undetermined impact of the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget legislation. This measure, designed to reduce the nation's federal deficit by 1991, provides that in the event Congress and the President cannot agree on budget packages which meet predetermined ceilings, automatic across-the-board cuts will be made in appropriations according to formulas set forth in the legislation. Since foreign aid is not exempt from the legislation's provisions, assistance to Israel may be affected.

While the recent appropriation assures that foreign aid to Israel will not be the occasion for Congressional action for another two years, Arab Americans lobbied against the legislation and their anti-Israel aid campaign is not expected to abate, despite its notable lack of success or public impact.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to interpret to the Administration, Congress and the American people the reasons why assistance to Israel is in America's national interest;
- support measures to reduce interest payments on foreign aid loans;
- continue to monitor and develop appropriate responses to media campaigns directed against U.S. aid to Israel.

PROPOSITION 3 IS: Israel and the Middle East - U.S. ARMS SALES TO ARAB COUNTRIES

Changing Conditions: Congress, by overwhelmingly approving in 1985 the sale of sophisticated American arms to Jordan, appeared to establish the principle that Arab countries must enter into direct and meaningful negotiations with Israel before such sales will be authorized. In agreeing to defer its proposed sale to Jordan, the Administration accepted this position.

Background: In response to President Reagan's formal notification of the Administration's request for an authorization to sell \$1.6-1.9 billion of sophisticated arms to Jordan, Congress, by overwhelming majorities in both the Senate and House of Representatives, took the position that the sale would be disallowed unless the Administration withdrew it. On taking this stance, Congress appeared to establish the principle that it will approve future arms sales to Jordan only if Jordan is engaged in "direct and meaningful negotiations" with Israel. Congress's action moves in the direction, long advocated by the Jewish community relations field, that American arms should be sold only to those Arab states that have concluded peace treaties with Israel. The President's unwillingness to withdraw his proposal indicates that the Administration has not yet abandoned those considerations which in the past have led it and previous administrations to propose other arms sales.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- oppose the sale of sophisticated American arms to any Arab state not actively engaged in direct and meaningful negotiations with Israel.

(NOTE: During 1986, Congress and the Jewish community will face two critical tests: (1) renewed Congressional consideration of the Jordan arms package; and (2) final determination as to whether or not Saudi Arabia has met the conditions previously set forth for final delivery of the AWACS. The Executive Committee or the Plenum will make the ultimate judgment on the wording of this proposition.)

PROPOSITION 4 IS: Israel and the Middle East: THE PEACE PROCESS

Changing Conditions: Greater diplomatic activity than at any time since the late 1970s was devoted last year to initiating direct talks between Israel and Jordan. Israel again demonstrated its willingness to be flexible in accommodating some of the preconditions set forth by Jordan in order to undertake direct peace negotiations. However, the obstacle to peace continues to be the unwillingness of Jordan and other Arab states to come to the negotiating table.

Background: Nineteen eighty-five saw an intensified round of diplomatic initiatives designed to bring about direct peace talks between Jordan and Israel. While serving to produce some favorable media comment about Jordan's and Egypt's roles as "moderates" in the Middle East conflict, consultations involving President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, Assistant Secretary Murphy, Prime Minister Peres, King Hussein, President Mubarak, and PLO chief Yasser Arafat yielded little that was positive or substantive in moving the Arab side toward direct peace negotiations.

Indeed, in some respects events declared indicative of movement toward peace talks often evaporated within days after being proclaimed. Despite the fact that it once again generated a flurry of intimations about readiness to accept UN Security Council Resolution 242, the PLO continued to reject it. Hussein's insistence on coordinating Jordan's moves with the PLO, despite such continual reversals and embarrassments created by Arafat, has caused the monarch to deadlock his own proposals.

Searching for ways to gain acceptance for his proposals, Hussein reopened diplomatic relations with Egypt during 1985, hoping that the only Arab state to have a peace treaty with Israel would, in return for Jordan's restoration of its status in the Arab world, exercise leverage with the United States and Israel. President Mubarak's reiteration of support for the PLO and Arafat as essential partners in the peace has served only to stalemate further Jordan's advance toward the negotiating table, and to underscore Egypt's ambivalence about its relationship with Israel and about its role as a force for peace and moderation in the Middle East conflict.

In marked contrast to the actions of Jordan and Egypt, Israel has demonstrated increasing readiness to be flexible in meeting a number of key demands set forth by Jordan as preconditions for opening direct negotiations. Reiterating his government's readiness to meet King Hussein without setting any preconditions, Prime Minister Peres used the occasion of an address before the UN General Assembly in October, 1985 to respond to Hussein's call for talks under UN Security Council auspices. Israel, the Prime Minister declared, welcomed the support of the Council's five permanent members for direct Israeli-Jordanian negotiations--an indication that Israel was willing to search for a way to accommodate a key precondition of Hussein's while still preserving Israel's insistence (with respect to a Soviet or Chinese role in the peace process) that other parties involved in negotiations must have diplomatic relations with Israel. (On this point, too, Israel demonstrated flexibility. Prior to the November, 1985 U.S.-Soviet summit meeting, Prime Minister Peres indicated that if the USSR allowed Soviet Jews to emigrate, Israel would be ready to accommodate Soviet participation in the peace process without pressing the USSR to restore diplomatic relations.) The critical element is that whatever international arrangement is utilized, it must immediately lead to direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. Israel's government is also open to the active participation of a Palestinian delegation in such negotiations so long as such a delegation does not include members of the PLO.

In sum, Israel remains ready to find grounds upon which to move the peace process forward with Jordan. For his part, however, Jordan's monarch seems as yet unable to understand that his articulation of an intention to negotiate with Israel is no substitute for the actual act of negotiation.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to support and interpret to the American public the reasons why the United States insists that any Middle East negotiations must take the form of direct, bilateral talks between Israel and each of its neighbors;
- continue to interpret to the American public the reasons why the United States refuses to deal with the PLO;
- interpret to the U.S. government and the American people that King Hussein holds the key to Middle East peace negotiations, and that his continued insistence that the PLO be accorded a role in the peace process serves only to block progress toward negotiations;
- highlight Israel's flexibility on details of preconditions demanded by King Hussein for opening negotiations, especially as demonstrated in Israel's readiness to accommodate in some fashion participation by Palestinians and support by the international community.

PROPOSITION 5 IS: Israel and the Middle East - THE PLO

Changing Conditions: Despite increasing recognition that the PLO commitment to terrorism is a fundamental and immutable element of its nature, the Arab states and a significant number of western European governments continue to invest the PLO with the status of "the legitimate representative of the Palestinians," and therefore an essential participant in any Middle East peace negotiations.

Background: Revelations of the PLO's complicity in planning and carrying out the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro provided graphic confirmation that the PLO remains fundamentally committed to terrorism despite attempts to portray itself as pursuing its ends through peaceful, diplomatic initiatives. When pressed by Jordan and Egypt to repair damage to the PLO's image wrought by the Achille Lauro incident, PLO chief Yaser Arafat issued a statement in Cairo that, invoking a pledge made in 1974--but never observed--the PLO would not conduct attacks against civilians outside of Israel. Apart from being a bald reassertion of the PLO's commitment to the use of terror against Israelis--no Israeli civilians, including children, are innocents, according to the PLO Covenant--two days later Arafat declared to the Arab press during a visit in Abu Dhabi that his statement was merely intended to placate adverse western reactions to the Achille Lauro affair.

The United States sees the PLO for the terrorist organization it is and remains the only major western nation to have a clear, firm policy rejecting any recognition of the PLO until it accepts UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, recognizes Israel's right to exist, and unequivocally renounces terrorism. France, however, continues to reaffirm its support for a PLO role in the peace process; and even after the attack on the Achille Lauro, one of Italy's merchant ships, that nation's prime minister was willing to weather a cabinet crisis in order to reiterate his belief that the PLO's use of violence was legitimate.

So long as Arab states, including Jordan and Egypt, continue to sanction the PLO as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians," they will continue to give the PLO a virtual veto over any peace process. Such a posture suggests the unwillingness or unreadiness of Arab governments to make concrete steps toward peace with Israel.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- expose attempts to characterize Arafat and the PLO as "moderate";
- educate the public about the true terrorist and intransigent nature of the PLO and its factions.

PROPOSITION 6 IS: Israel and the Middle East - KAHANEISM

Changing Conditions: Members of Israel's government and Israelis in general have demonstrated increasing recognition of the need for programs to improve relationships between the Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel. This need has been brought home particularly by the findings of public opinion surveys conducted in Israel which attest to the small but troubling expressions of sympathy and support for the anti-Arab policies advocated by Meir Kahane.

Background: The continuing pressures of dislocation upon Israel, created by unrelenting war and terrorism, political isolation, and economic difficulty, were manifest in disturbing increases of support for anti-Arab policies advocated by Meir Kahane. The Brooklyn-born founder of the Jewish Defense League, Kahane is now a member of Israel's Knesset after receiving barely 1% (approximately 26,000) of the votes cast in Israel's 1984 general elections. He now takes advantage of his parliamentary status to seek legitimation of his goal of expelling all Arabs from Israel, the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and Gaza. Alleging that Judaism and democracy are incompatible, Kahane seeks to appeal to the fears and insecurities of Israelis, particularly those born since the 1967 war, whose attitudes toward the possibilities of Arab-Jewish coexistence have hardened.

During the past year, Israel's government and all the nation's major political parties, along with major American Jewish organizations, have forcefully repudiated such policies and supported measures to reinforce the democratic and pluralistic character of the State of Israel. A growing number of citizen groups and universities within Israel are now finding increased demand for their intercultural education programs designed to foster better understanding and relationships among the nation's Jewish and Arab citizens. In the wake of Meir Kahane's demagogic activities, Education Minister Yitzhak Navon has inaugurated meetings with these groups to indicate the government's support for and encouragement of their work. Their work follows traditions established by the founders and early leaders of the Zionist movement, including Theodor Herzl, and Israel's Prime Ministers beginning with David Ben-Gurion.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to speak out forcefully against Meir Kahane's policies and anti-democratic forces in Israel;
- encourage programs launched by the government and private groups in Israel to counter anti-democratic forces which seek to abridge the civil rights of Israel's Arab citizens;
- interpret to the American Jewish community the dangers of Kahaneism;
- interpret to the American public the efforts being undertaken in Israel to maintain the pluralistic, democratic nature of that country.

JEWISH SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM PROPOSITIONS

PROPOSITION 7 JS: Jewish Security and Individual Freedom - ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Changing Conditions: The activities of extremist groups in the nation's farm belt and positive responses to Louis Farrakhan in America's black community run counter to the long-term decline of anti-Semitism during the past four decades and are a matter for intense national concern. Nevertheless, the status and security of American Jews remain strong.

Background: Extremists in the midwest are attempting to exploit severe economic conditions among farmers in order to advance an anti-Semitic and racist agenda. In many cases members of groups such as Aryan Nations, Posse Comitatus, The Order, and the Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord seek to convert farmers to their movements by preaching a theology which holds that Jews are in reality "children of Satan." Of special concern are the violent actions committed by some of these movements' members. State and federal law enforcement officers have been killed while attempting to arrest or question group leaders, and the existence of a "hit list" containing names of prominent Jewish figures was revealed during the trial of an extremist leader accused of murdering a Denver radio talk show host who was Jewish.

Federal authorities have moved aggressively to prosecute extremists for violent acts and many state government and national church, farm and labor organization leaders and the news media have been swift to reject these groups and expose the dangers they pose. The degree to which anti-Semitic extremists have made inroads among America's midwest farm belt population is uncertain. Questions have been raised as to whether local law enforcement officers been sufficiently vigorous in prosecuting extremist violence. There is also concern that local elected officials in rural areas of the plains states have not been sufficiently vigilant in challenging the rise of extremist political movements in their midst. (NOTE: NJCRAC has established a committee to examine farm-belt anti-Semitism. The committee will have met prior to the Plenary Session.)

Equally disturbing has been the response to Louis Farrakhan during his nationwide tour of major American cities during 1985. The Jewish community is concerned that Farrakhan may be contributing to a spreading of anti-Semitic attitudes in the black community. (NOTE: The proposition on "Black-Jewish Relations" addresses these developments and related strategic goals more fully.)

These uses of anti-Semitism to appeal to key groups in American society represent disturbing developments which bear close scrutiny and firm responses. However, judged according to criteria long established to assess the degree of danger anti-Semitic activities pose to American Jews, the Jewish community relations field believes that recent responses to extremist leaders in the nation's midwestern and black communities do not reflect a national rise of anti-Jewish attitudes and actions.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to encourage law enforcement agencies to prosecute vigorously anti-Semitic extremists who commit violent crimes;
- continue to assess the depth and breadth of inroads anti-Semitic extremists have made in gaining support among farm belt residents;
- encourage member agencies to convene meetings with local public officials, civic and religious groups, law enforcement agencies, news media and agricultural college officials to discuss appropriate ways to curtail the activities and impact of anti-Semitic extremists;
- develop guidelines regarding campus appearances by extremist spokespersons.

PROPOSITION 8 JS: Jewish Security and Individual Freedom - ANTI-ZIONISM

Changing Conditions: Well-founded concern among Jews that expressions of anti-Zionism are used to cloak anti-Semitic attitudes and actions have not proven to be a major problem in the United States. While such manifestations have been noted on the nation's campuses, the media and public opinion reject anti-Zionism as a legitimate category of political belief or opinion. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in western Europe, Africa and Latin America.

Background: The final document adopted by the UN End of Decade of Women Conference, held in Nairobi, Kenya during the summer of 1985, reflected none of the anti-Zionist references contained in previous statements; indeed, the entire conference, including both the official sessions and their parallel non-governmental forums, were marred by far less anti-Zionist rhetoric than most close observers had expected. That this was so was attributable to two factors: extensive coordination among American Jewish women in preparing for participation at the gathering; and the firm resolve of the official American delegation to accept no such conduct or language in the final document. This stance on the part of the American representatives was an outgrowth of a policy established under President Ford, and subsequently adhered to by Presidents Carter and Reagan, to grant no legitimacy to the doctrines of anti-Zionism propounded by the Soviet Union and other supporters of the PLO cause. Indeed, in November, 1985, on the tenth anniversary of the UN's adoption of its anti-Zionism resolution, President Reagan announced that the U.S. delegation to that international body will seek to have the resolution rescinded.

In similar fashion, American public opinion and the media have rejected the notion of anti-Zionism as either a meaningless category of political discourse, or a codeword for anti-Semitism, which remains in wide disrepute. On college campuses anti-Zionism manifests itself among ineffective political fringe groups.

This is not the case, however, in many nations throughout western Europe, Latin America and Africa. There, active Communist parties, the presence of PLO officials, and the existence of or sympathy for Third-World liberation movements or ideologies combine to ensure the injection and diffusion of the anti-Zionist ideology into the media, student political activity and, in some cases, official government policy.

Thus, while American Jews remain relatively unscathed by the impact of anti-Zionism, the security of Jewish communities abroad, depending upon their particular locations, are more vulnerable to its insidious manifestations.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- encourage the United States to analyze the changing nature of alliances within other international forums in order to utilize opportunities to block promulgation of or to secure rejection and repudiation of anti-Zionist statements;
- support the United States government in pursuing diplomatic initiatives that encourage other governments to move away from supporting anti-Zionism in their international diplomacy;
- encourage the United States to seek support from other western nations in its campaign to convince the United Nations to rescind its infamous anti-Zionist resolution.

PROPOSITION 9 JS: Jewish Security and Individual Freedom - ATTACKS ON SUPREME COURT DECISIONS CONCERNING THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Changing Condition: The Attorney General has opened a major debate about U.S. Supreme Court decisions interpreting the Bill of Rights' protections of individual freedoms. Congressional legislators and civil liberties and civil rights advocates have expressed concern that the Administration is seeking to reinterpret or reverse landmark Supreme Court decisions not only through advocacy but through its authority to nominate federal judges.

Background: In speeches to bar associations and other civic groups during 1985, Attorney General Edwin Meese took exception to landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions protecting individual rights. He challenged as "intellectually shaky" Court rulings holding that the Fourteenth Amendment obligates states to apply the Bill of Rights in their legislation and administration of justice. He described as "somewhat bizarre" recent decisions upholding separation of church and state, and challenged the Court's Miranda ruling requiring law enforcement officials to inform individuals of their constitutional rights before conducting interrogations. Justices William Brennan and John Paul Stevens took the unusual step of publicly disagreeing with Mr. Meese's comments. Both observed that the Attorney General's opinions are at wide variance with accepted understandings about these matters.

The Court's decisions and the legal principles with which the Attorney General disagreed have long been supported by the Jewish community relations field as cornerstones for protecting and advancing pluralism, civil liberties and civil rights and good intergroup relations in the United States. Should the Attorney General's views become accepted policy regarding the way the nation's laws are enforced, radical shifts could take place in a variety of constitutional protections of individual freedom. In this regard, the Attorney General's views represent a radical departure from a consensus about these issues established during the past forty years, and it is the views of constitutional interpreters such as Justices Brennan and Stevens which serve to conserve this consensus.

An unusually high number of vacancies in the federal judiciary provides the Administration with opportunities to appoint judges who share the Attorney General's positions. In the past it has been the practice of the Executive and Legislative branches to screen, nominate and appoint federal judges on the basis of legal and scholarly qualifications rather than political ideologies. However, in November, 1985 half of the nominees considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee had received the lowest positive rating given by the American Bar Association. Such professional peer judgments raise questions about whether the Administration, in making such nominations, is attempting to evade or subvert a well-established understanding about criteria for filling judicial posts in order to place on the federal bench appointees whose primary qualification to serve is ideological agreement with the Attorney General's criticisms of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Bill of Rights' individual freedom protections.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- conduct educational programs drawing upon long-standing U.S. Supreme Court decisions which buttress the Jewish community's concerns about maintaining individual freedoms in a pluralistic society, and which interpret the dangers the Attorney General's views present to such protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights;
- assess concerns about the Administration's nominations procedures regarding federal judiciary posts in order to determine whether such procedures constitute threats to the traditional independence of the judiciary and to individual freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights;
- examine such assessments with a view toward formulating criteria for offering recommendations regarding nominations to federal judiciary posts.

PROPOSITION 10 JS: Jewish Security and Individual Freedom - CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Changing Conditions: During 1985 lawmakers in the State of Michigan narrowly defeated legislation calling for a Constitutional Convention to adopt an amendment mandating a balanced federal budget. The last state to pass such a call was Missouri, in 1983. Approval by only two more states is needed for a convention to be convened. The chances that such approval may be forthcoming are enhanced by the fact that virtually all state legislatures will meet early in 1987.

Background: Enactment of the Gramm-Rudman legislation to balance federal budgets has undermined the rationale for convening a Constitutional Convention to pass an amendment requiring such action. Nevertheless, convention advocates continue to press their call. Continuing pressure for a convention to consider a balanced budget amendment suggests that some of its proponents are seeking to use a convention to institute other constitutional revisions, such as banning abortion or mandating school prayer, which have previously failed to muster state legislative approval. Legal scholars believe that were a Constitutional Convention convened its deliberations could not be limited solely to consideration of the proposal upon which the call was based. The convention could conceivably make wholesale revisions in existing constitutional protections of individual freedoms enumerated in the Bill of Rights.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to interpret to state legislators in states which have not passed a call for a Constitutional Convention the dangers inherent in such action;
- continue interpretive efforts in states which have passed such legislation in order to seek revocation of approval for a Constitutional Convention.

PROPOSITION 11 JS: Jewish Security and Individual Freedom -
RIGHT TO REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE

Changing Conditions: While Congress remains unreceptive to proposals prohibiting or restricting abortion, the Administration and anti-abortion advocates continue to press measures that would narrow reproductive choice by seeking to overturn the Supreme Court's landmark Roe v. Wade decision and by sponsoring legislation to curtail family planning services.

Background: In 1985 the House Appropriations Committee defeated a proposal sponsored by Representative Jack Kemp and Senator Orrin Hatch to prohibit family planning clinics receiving federal funds from using non-federal funds to perform abortions, provide abortion counseling, or refer women to abortion clinics. Since existing legislation already prohibits direct use of federal family planning funds to provide abortions, the Kemp-Hatch proposal represented an extension of anti-abortion legislative advocacy into the domestic family planning policy arena. The tactic of attaching anti-abortion riders to appropriations and non-related bills has disrupted consideration of vital legislation, such as the Civil Rights Restoration Act.

The Administration continues to enter amici briefs in appeals of lower court decisions regarding regulation of abortion and family planning services, seeking to persuade the Court to overturn its ruling in Roe v. Wade. It appears unlikely that the current Court will reverse itself in this respect. However, if the Court upholds state laws being challenged in two pending cases--Thornburg v. American College of Obstetricians, and Diamond v. Charles--the effect will be to discourage women from seeking family planning and abortion services.

(Thornburg concerns a Pennsylvania law requiring physicians to keep certain records for the state and to give women seeking abortion specified information concerning risks and alternatives. Diamond challenges an Illinois statute mandating physicians who prescribe contraceptives that prevent development of fertilized ova to tell patients such drugs cause fetal death. In previous rulings against these laws, federal appellate courts held that both laws require doctors to endorse the state's theory of life.)

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to oppose attempts in Congress and state legislatures to restrict the right to reproductive choice, whether through constitutional amendment or other forms of legislation;
- support federal and state legislative action to make the full range of reproductive choice options available to all women, including Medicaid funding for abortion, and oppose efforts to withhold federal and state funding for agencies supporting family planning services;
- undertake efforts to educate the Jewish and non-Jewish communities to better understand the traditional Jewish reverence for the sanctity of life, while at the same time reiterating support for freedom of reproductive choice.

PROPOSITION 12 JS: Jewish Security and Individual Freedom - CENSORSHIP

Changing Conditions: Textbooks edited to meet fundamentalist objections about treatments of evolution have been rejected by two major state educational systems.

Background: In September, 1985 California's statewide Board of Education rejected all textbooks submitted by four nationally respected publishers after a review panel found the books had "systematically omitted" thorough discussions of evolution in order to avoid controversy. Announcing the Board's decision, the state's Superintendent of Public Instruction observed that the decision was based on adverse evaluations of the 20 textbooks' educational quality, of which their treatment of evolution was an example. The state's Board of Education is evaluating all texts in a similar light. Education experts observed that California's decision was significant since texts accepted there are often adopted by other states and school districts across the nation. The state school board in Texas, another major textbook market, has begun to resist pressures from self-appointed censorship groups to adopt or reject certain texts because of depictions of evolution and other topics.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- encourage state and local boards of education, where appropriate, to apply similar standards of educational quality in adopting school textbooks, and to reject texts edited to meet censorship demands made by rightwing and fundamentalist groups;
- encourage pluralistic-minded parents and civic groups to support decisions by educators and textbook publishers to resist censorship efforts of such groups.

- - - ENERGY PROPOSITION

PROPOSITION 13 EN: ENERGY

Changing Conditions: Despite OPEC's attempts to perpetuate its power over its members' production of oil and thereby maintain high prices, increases in production by non-OPEC nations have caused the petroleum cartel to lose its control over prices. As a result, prices are falling and are expected to continue to do so.

Background: Due to conservation measures taken by businesses and individuals in response to the steep increase in prices a decade ago, there has been a marked reduction in oil consumption since 1979. Yet even at these reduced consumption rates, the percentage of foreign oil consumed by the United States rose to approximately 30% in 1985. Moreover, our nation's domestic oil reserves continue to decline in comparison to the world's total reserves. The long-range outlook is that U.S. dependence on foreign energy will grow, rather than diminish, unless preventive measures are taken.

If the United States permits current reductions in prices to be passed along to consumers, consumption is likely to increase. This is what OPEC wants because increased consumption would absorb current overproduction of oil and thus help OPEC regain its leverage over prices. But if Congress and the Administration take advantage of the glut to impose a tax on cheaper oil, incentives to conserve energy would be maintained, and OPEC's cartel power would be kept at low ebb. Moreover, an oil import tax, in the form of a \$10 levy added to every barrel of foreign oil, would produce an estimated \$40 billion a year in revenues, thereby helping to achieve the goal of balancing the federal budget.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to seek policies to lessen American energy dependence, particularly on Persian Gulf oil, by taking advantage of OPEC price reductions through:
 - promotion of energy conservation;
 - seeking Congressional enactment of a \$10 per barrel fee on imported oil;
 - increasing daily deposits in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve;
 - development of additional alternative energy sources.

CHURCH-STATE AND INTERRELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS PROPOSITIONS

PROPOSITION 14 CS: Church-State and Interreligious Relationships -
RELIGION AND PUBLIC POLICY

Changing Conditions: Although thwarted by a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions, the drive to secure legislation and judicial support for aid to religiously-related institutions and public sanction for displays of religiously-related symbols was manifested in Congress's moving closer toward adopting a constitutional amendment permitting silent prayer in public schools. Pressure for this momentum to continue can be expected to increase with the approach of Congressional mid-term elections in November, 1986.

Background: Recent Supreme Court decisions in cases such as Aguilar v. Felton, Jaffree v. Wallace, and Grand Rapids v. Ball have reaffirmed previous rulings barring prayer in public schools and limiting public aid to religiously-related schools. While Congress has previously indicated unwillingness to sanction a constitutional amendment to permit vocal prayer in the public schools or to enact legislation stripping federal courts of their jurisdiction over such church-state issues, Congress has been willing to vote in favor of measures such as equal access and silent prayer or meditation in public schools. Thus, the Supreme Court's recent rulings have triggered calls by members of Congress for passage of a constitutional amendment permitting such prayer. The Administration has also proposed legislative enactment of an educational voucher system that could be used toward tuition payments to religiously-related schools.

The Jewish community relations field has long opposed silent meditation as a subterfuge for introducing school prayer, explicitly banned by the courts. Although any student can, at any time, pray or meditate silently, institutionalizing either meditation or prayer in public school settings fosters what is in fact a religious exercise.

The Administration's educational voucher proposal revives a form of aid to religiously-related schools which the Jewish community relations field has long opposed, and was expressed in NJCRAC's Joint Program Plans of 1970-71 through 1972-73. Under the Administration's plan put forth in response to the Supreme Court's 1985 ruling in Aguilar, approximately \$3.2 billion of Chapter I Federal Education Aid Program funds targeted to disadvantaged children would be

converted into vouchers of approximately \$600 annually which would be made available to parents of five million children now eligible for such assistance. These vouchers could be used to pay for tuition in private schools or for remedial programs in the public schools. The Jewish community relations field has long held that vouchers provide a form of federal aid to religiously-related schools. It would also drain resources from schools most in need of additional funds to educate disadvantaged children.

In view of growing sentiment in Congress for enactment of a silent prayer measure, as well as the Administration's educational voucher proposal in response to Court decisions against aid to religiously-related schools, church-state issues are likely to be a major focus of many Congressional midterm election contests in November, 1985.

Religious displays, such as creches and menorahs, erected on public property continue to remain a subject for public policy controversy. Supreme Court rulings rendered during 1984-85 were of a nature that did not set clear precedents. In its non-decision in the McCreary case, concerning permission the City of Scarsdale granted to a private group to erect a creche on public park property, the Court rendered a 4-4 vote without issuing a ruling. Thus, without setting a precedent for application to other similar situations, the Court, by virtue of its deadlocked vote, allowed that particular creche to stand. Even the Court's 5-4 decision in its Lynch ruling, upholding the City of Pawtucket's use of municipal funds to purchase and display a creche, leaves many questions open about the legal status of other public displays of religious symbols. (NOTE: See the 1984-85 Joint Program Plan for fuller explanations of these rulings.)

The Jewish community relations field continues to press its opposition to displays of religious symbols on public property through litigation and advocacy. These challenges are consistent with the Jewish community relations field's long-held view that such placements of religious symbols on public property contravene the principle of separation of church and state.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to oppose school prayer amendments to the Constitution, including those permitting silent prayer;
- continue to support litigation and public advocacy that opposes public sanction of displays of religious symbols on public property;
- conduct educational programs interpreting the Jewish community's stake in opposing placement of religious symbols on public property, including menorahs;
- continue to interpret the Jewish community's objections to government aid to religiously-related schools in the form of direct grants, vouchers, or tuition tax credits;
- continue to monitor the implementation and impact of equal access in public school districts.

PROPOSITION 15 CS: Church-State and Interreligious Relationships:
JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS

Changing Conditions: Statements issued by the Vatican on matters related to the Second Vatican Council's impact on the Roman Catholic Church since 1965 generated questions within the Jewish community about future progress in Jewish-Catholic dialogue.

Background: The Vatican's publication of "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church" occurred as Jews and Catholics throughout the world together marked the 20th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council's papal encyclical "Nostra Aetate," and as an extraordinary synod of bishops met in Rome to consider Vatican II's impact on the Church.

The "Notes" were intended to restate the Church's key understandings about grounds for dialogue with Jews. Among its positive aspects are its mention of the State of Israel (the first in an official Vatican document), its reaffirmation of Christian responsibility in the Holocaust, and its reassertion that Judaism is a living tradition of faith. However, there is concern that the "Notes" referred to Israel only as a theological, rather than a political, homeland for the Jewish people; reasserted that the Catholic Church is the all-embracing means of salvation; and contained no call to Christians to consider the Holocaust as a challenge to their faith. Responding to these concerns, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations has offered different interpretations of these passages, and has welcomed discussion about them as opportunities to renew dialogue on theological and social topics. Moreover, the bishops, in their final report of their synod, reaffirmed that the Church "denies nothing which is true and holy in other non-Christian religions," leavening some concerns about the "Notes."

The Vatican's reassessment of the impact of the Second Vatican Council will generate considerable discussion among Catholic clergy and laity, and between Jews and Catholics during the coming year.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- seek appropriate occasions for dialogue with Catholic clergy and laity to explore the import of the "Notes" and the 1985 Vatican Synod as part of ongoing efforts to advance Jewish-Catholic understanding.

CONTINUING AND URGENT: Church-State and Interreligious Relationships

Proselytizing Activities

Proselytizing activities in the U.S. as well as Israel by a variety of missionary groups, primarily certain Protestant groups, in the U.S. as well as Israel are increasing. Continuing proselytizing activity by cults and cult-like groups is particularly distressing to the Jewish community. It has led to growing cooperation on the local level between the Catholic, Protestant and

Jewish communities, both clergy and laity, on counteracting such activities. The Jewish community relations field should conduct a broad-based educational campaign within the Jewish community about the danger of proselytizing missionary groups, and groups that engage in cult-like activity, including information about the various groups and ways to refute them; encourage development of outreach efforts in local communities to increase the Jewish identity among those who might otherwise be vulnerable to the appeal of missionaries; encourage interreligious statements deploring the deceptive nature of proselytizing groups which claim to be both Jewish and Christian at the same time; and foster awareness by appropriate Jewish agencies of needed services that are being provided to youth, the elderly and others, by proselytizing groups.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE PROPOSITIONS

PROPOSITION 16 SEJ: Social and Economic Justice - FEDERAL POLICY AND POVERTY

Changing Conditions: Despite general national economic recovery from the 1981-83 recession, the number of Americans living in poverty remains at near-record levels. The federal government, led by the Administration and supported by Congress, continues a pattern established four years ago of paring funding for domestic social programs. Enactment of the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget legislation is likely to accelerate this pattern.

Background: The nation's economic recovery has had only modest impact on America's poor. In 1983, U.S. Census Bureau data reported that 15.3% of Americans--35 million people--lived at or below the official poverty line. In 1984, despite declines in unemployment rates, Census Bureau statistics revealed only a modest 0.9% drop in the poverty rate. In other words, 14.4% of the population--or 33.7 million Americans (4.5 million more than when President Reagan took office in 1981)--did not participate in the economic recovery. Among those who remain in poverty are 13.1% of all American families, 34.4% of female-headed families, 21.3% (or one in five) of children under the age of 18, and 33.8% of the nation's black population.

Action to ameliorate poverty's impact was overridden by consensus among the Administration and Congress that reducing the national deficit and balancing the federal budget, rather than restoring cuts in human services programs, should take priority in decisions about national expenditures. Thus, the Gramm-Rudman legislation mandates annually decreasing ceilings for federal budgets until 1991. Across-the-board spending cuts, half in defense and half in domestic programs, will automatically be imposed if Congress and the White House cannot agree on an appropriate package that meets each year's budget reduction target, or if Congress and the Administration cannot agree on tax increases that satisfy the bill's deficit ceilings. Certain key anti-poverty human services programs will remain exempt from such automatic cuts. These include Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) nutrition program, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), food stamps, and child nutrition. It should be noted that these programs have already been substantively reduced since 1981. Medicare, will be subject to reductions not to exceed 1% in 1986 and 2% thereafter, with the decreases to come from whatever cost-of-living raises are to be provided for that year.

While this legislation protects these key elements its effect will be to increase pressures to reduce further, or even eliminate, other programs vital in responding to the needs of those living in or struggling to escape poverty; to cities' attempts to house and educate the poor; and to middle class Americans who rely upon education, health and other social programs to maintain their economic independence and productivity.

When tax reform was originally taken up in Congress, there was concern that these vital services might be severely affected by the proposals then being advocated by the Administration. The original proposal would have seriously limited the deduction for charitable contributions. Some of the concerns voiced by non-profit voluntary agencies which provide vital services have been met in the bill enacted by the House, although there still remain problems that could adversely affect charitable giving. Concerns were also raised that elimination of the federal deduction for state and local taxes would have a chilling effect on state and local government services supported by these taxes. The House bill has been responsive to this concern and has maintained the deductions. The Senate is now considering this bill, and it is uncertain how these provisions will fare.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- oppose budget reductions that further curtail or eliminate vital social and economic programs that alleviate the plight of the poor, the unemployed and our nation's cities, and which assist the middle class to become and remain productive;
- interpret to Congress and the American people that further reductions in domestic and defense appropriations are not the sole means by which federal budget ceilings need be reached;
- undertake programs to reawaken the nation's awareness that special economic and social problems still exist;
- interpret to the Jewish community the extent and impact of unemployment and rising poverty in the general and Jewish communities;
- urge Congress to adopt a comprehensive national attack on unemployment, reflecting the goals of the Emergency Jobs Program of the Full Employment Action Council (See: 1984-85 Joint Program Plan, page 37), and encourage public-private to provide job training and permanent job opportunities in the private sector;
- forge coalitions with social service agency networks to secure these goals.

PROPOSITION 17 SEJ: Social and Economic Justice - CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

Changing Conditions: Enforcement of federal civil laws rights continues to erode under the Reagan Administration. While Congress has been increasingly concerned about the Administration's posture on civil rights, civil rights issues have not been given high priority on the legislative agenda.

Background: The Administration's posture on civil rights enforcement was reflected in its proposal to revise Executive Order 11246, and in its decision to submit an amicus brief concerning a voting rights case being heard before the U.S. Supreme Court. The proposed revision of the Executive Order, originally signed by President Johnson in 1965, would have eliminated Labor Department affirmative action requirements for federal contractors. The revisions prompted protests from the business community and even members of the Cabinet, as well as civil rights organizations, Congress and trade unions. These protests led the President to postpone issuing the order. With regard to voting rights, the Justice Department filed an amicus brief in Thornburg v. Gingles, a case pending before the Supreme Court. The case stems from a federal court ruling that the state's creation of new, multi-member legislative districts were illegal because, in the context of the state's history of racial discrimination, they resulted in discrimination against blacks. North Carolina appealed the ruling, and the Administration is supporting the appeal. In response, a bipartisan group of 10 members of Congress, including Senate Majority Leader Dole, filed an amicus brief rejecting the Justice Department position; and the Republican National Committee and North Carolina's Republican governor also submitted similar briefs. With regard to elimination of housing discrimination, the Administration continues to rely on voluntary compliance rather than remedies such as affirmative market agreements that are provided under existing fair housing laws. In addition, federal housing lawsuits have been narrowly focused on individual landlords and management companies rather than groups of management companies, municipalities, or practices affecting large segments of a community.

Indicative of the low priority Congress has given to the civil rights agenda has been its failure to give final consideration to the Civil Rights Restoration Act, first proposed in 1984, which would remedy a Supreme Court decision (Grove City) permitting federal funds to be given to educational institutions which discriminate in some of their programs. Similarly, action on fair housing legislation pending before the Congress has lain dormant.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been sharply criticized for failing to meet its mandate as an independent watchdog over civil rights enforcement by the federal government. Since the Commission's reconstitution in 1983 it has not published any reports or statements on the enforcement record of any federal agency. Its only fact-finding study, issued in 1985, concerned pay equity and was undertaken after key Commission members had indicated publicly their opposition to the concept of comparable worth. Following its publication, an analysis conducted by the independent General Accounting Office faulted the study for containing distortions, inconsistencies and mistakes of fact. With respect to a school desegregation study planned by the Commission, a nationally recognized expert in the field resigned from the project's advisory committee after charging that the undertaking was technically flawed and biased against busing, showed little concern for the effects of school desegregation on black and Hispanic children, and focused almost exclusively on the departure of white children from desegregated districts.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- seek vigorous enforcement of federal civil rights laws by federal enforcement agencies;
- assess the directions taken by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission since its reorganization in 1983, in light of the mandate Congress has placed upon it.

PROPOSITION 18 SEJ: Social and Economic Justice - BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

Changing Conditions: Black-Jewish relations have become more strained by perceptions that sectors of the black community are receptive to Louis Farrakhan's unabated anti-Semitism, and that important leaders in the black community were hesitant to challenge Farrakhan's anti-Semitism.

Background: Louis Farrakhan's anti-Semitic rhetoric during a nationwide tour in 1985 continued a pattern of demagoguery long known to the Jewish community. More worrisome than his rhetoric, however, was the fact that his appearances in major cities across the nation attracted large audiences, heightening concern about the extent to which anti-Jewish attitudes may be growing in the black community. The reluctance of some black leaders to denounce Farrakhan was difficult for the Jewish community to comprehend, but it was recognized that these leaders view Farrakhan with repugnance. Many black community leaders have explained their hesitance to repudiate Farrakhan as a fear of possible political consequences. Farrakhan's use of anti-Semitism is but the latest in a series of episodes since the mid-1960s--including the Oceanhill-Brownsville controversy over community control of education in New York City, Andrew Young's resignation as U.N. Ambassador, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Democratic presidential primary campaign--in which black-Jewish relations have been strained. Corroborating the Jewish community's perceptions that Farrakhan's anti-Semitic rhetoric strikes a responsive chord among his audiences is data derived from public opinion surveys conducted during the 1970s and 80s indicating that young, educated and middle-to-upper income blacks are more likely to hold anti-Semitic attitudes than other segments of the black community. Such findings are in direct contrast to nationwide patterns showing that those most likely to hold such views are older, less educated and of lower income.

Despite these sources of tension, there continues to exist a shared concern among leaders of both communities for a domestic agenda that meets the social and economic needs of their nation. It is reflected in the voting patterns of both the black and Jewish communities. It is reflected in voting patterns in Congress, where members of the Black Caucus consistently provide strong support for legislation on foreign relations and civil liberties and civil rights issues of vital interest to American Jews. These shared concerns have led to increased joint community projects and dialogue on the local level. Such patterns point to the bases upon which the two communities can focus mutual examinations of recent tensions while continuing to work together to mutual advantage.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- identify and give emphasis to those issues upon which it and black leaders can act in concert with other groups;
- continue to pursue steps, nationally and locally, to rebuild working relationships with black leadership, based on a recognition of each community's interests, priorities, needs and differences;
- continue efforts to deepen the Jewish community's awareness of current and emerging program priorities of key groups in the black community, including the agenda of black political leadership, in order to identify and act upon issues of shared concern; and to sensitize the black community to issues of primary concern to the Jewish community;
- actively communicate to black community leaders and media Jewish community relations position on issues of special interest to the black community.

PROPOSITION 19 SEJ: Social and Economic Justice - IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE LEGISLATION

Changing Conditions: Legislation to reform the nation's immigration laws has moved closer to passage in Congress, but lack of final action continues to exacerbate a growing national crisis. Meanwhile, bipartisan support is building for legislation to address the plight of Salvadorans seeking refuge in the United States.

Background: As both houses of Congress began their fifth year of debate about different versions of legislation to reform our nation's immigration laws, a series of compromises were adopted on employer sanctions and amnesty and legalization programs for undocumented aliens, thus diminishing objections raised by constituencies that would be affected by such provisions. Nevertheless, significant differences in the measures passed by the Senate in September, 1985 and in the proposal currently before the House, which the Jewish community relations field has judged to be more compatible with its principles and goals, ensure that further compromises will be needed if any immigration reform act is to be signed into law. A major obstacle to reconciling the two versions will be the Senate's provision to allow up to 350,000 guest workers to enter the U.S. each year to harvest perishable fruits and vegetables. This provision has been opposed by Senator Alan Simpson, the legislation's sponsor, as well as Hispanic, Jewish and labor groups, and did not receive the Administration's backing. Should compromise on this and other items prove unreachable, the danger will remain that if illegal immigration continues Congress will be tempted to enact harsh legislation that will restrict legal as well as illegal immigration.

Similarly awaiting Congressional action is legislation to address the refugee status of Salvadoran asylum-seekers who have entered the United States illegally after fleeing political and civil unrest in their homeland. The Administration, particularly the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department, contend that the vast majority of such asylum seekers do not have a "well-founded fear of persecution based upon membership in a religious, political or social group"--the internationally accepted criteria to be received as refugees. Rather, the Administration contends, the Salvadorans have come to the United States for economic reasons. Proponents of accepting Salvadoran asylum seekers as refugees argue that the federal government's application of the criteria for granting refugee status to Salvadorans is overly strict and inconsistent when compared to the manner in which these criteria are applied to other groups, and that an undue proportion of Salvadorans' requests for refugee asylum are rejected with inadequate investigation. To remedy this situation, Senator Dennis DeConcini and Congressman Joe Moakley have introduced legislation to suspend deportation of Salvadoran asylum-seekers until Congress's General Accounting Office can assess the extent of danger they would face should they be returned to their native country.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to support basic immigration reform legislation, in accordance with the policy principles previously adopted by NJCRAC;
- urge Congressional passage of the DeConcini-Moakley legislation regarding Salvadoran asylum seekers.

PROPOSITION 20 SEJ: Social and Economic Justice - U.N. CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Changing Conditions: The success achieved in keeping 1985's U.N. End of Decade of Women Conference in Nairobi targeted on substantive issues has focused attention on securing U.S. ratification of the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

Background: The idea of an international convention addressing discrimination against women emerged from the 1975 Mexico conference that launched the United Nations Decade of Women, and was certified by the U.N. six years ago. The treaty includes 30 articles setting forth principles and measures to achieve equal rights for women. Broadly, it calls for national legislation to ban discrimination, temporary measures to speed equality, and action to modify social and cultural patterns which perpetuate discrimination. Fifty-one countries, including the U.S., signed it during a special ceremony at the 1980 Copenhagen Mid-Decade conference. President Carter submitted it to the Senate for ratification on November 12, 1980, but to date the Senate has failed to do so. It has been pending in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for five years. As of June, 1985, 92 nations had signed the Convention, and 69 had ratified it.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

-- urge Senate ratification of the Convention.

NOTE: NJCRAC has not yet taken a position on the Convention. NJCRAC's Task Force on Women has recommended support for Senate ratification, and the Plenum will be asked to take action on this recommendation. Background material on the Convention will be sent to member agencies in a separate memo.

CONTINUING AND URGENT -- Social and Economic Justice

1. Equal Rights Amendment

Virtually all state legislatures will convene in 1987. Efforts to pass equal rights amendments to state constitutions will continue. Although prospects for passage of a federal Equal Rights Amendment appear dim, advocates may press for Congressional action.

2. Economic Equity

Advocates of women's rights will continue to press for passage of provisions of the wide-ranging Economic Equity Act. In the 99th Congress, major laws encompassing its provisions on child-support enforcement and private pension reform were passed. During the next Congress, the focus is likely to be on expansion of pensions covering working women, providing more options for child care, and revising Social Security benefits for women. Non-discrimination in insurance remains a prime concern, but advocates are expected to focus efforts on the courts and state legislatures, rather than on Congressional action.

3. Child Care

The changing role of women in the American economy has focused growing attention on the need for national, state and local action to provide quality and readily available child care. In the United States, available child care resources are woefully inadequate, with this nation lagging far behind other industrialized nations in day care facilities. The Jewish community relations field should evaluate comprehensive federal, state and local child care proposals with the goal of supporting proposals to promote and provide adequate cost-effective day care.

INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS PROPOSITIONS PROPOSITIONS

PROPOSITION 21 IC: International Concerns - SOVIET JEWRY

Changing Conditions: A fundamental change in the atmosphere of U.S.-Soviet relations emerged in November, 1985 when after a lapse of more than six years the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Soviet Union held a summit meeting. While there are no indications that decisions were reached on substantive issues, including future emigration of Soviet Jews, there was agreement that high-level dialogue between the two nations should continue and that the two leaders will meet again in the United States during 1986 and in Moscow in 1987. These future summit sessions will provide new occasions to press the issue of Soviet Jewry.

Background: The Geneva summit negotiations took place at a time when Soviet Jewish emigration remained at an all-time low and harassment of Jewish activists, particularly Hebrew teachers, steadily increased. No details have been divulged about the content of President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev's discussion concerning Soviet Jewry, but there is strong reason to believe that the President was a forceful advocate for Soviet Jews, and that he took the position that the West looks upon the Soviet Union's adherence to international human rights agreements as a measure of its credibility in living up to international agreements in other areas. This is a position long advocated by the Jewish community relations field. The extent to which this view is widely held among Americans was illustrated by the Rev. Jesse Jackson's pointed questioning of General Secretary Gorbachev about Soviet Jewish emigration when, as a member of a private group of Americans concerned about nuclear disarmament, he spoke with the Soviet leader during the Geneva summit.

The first stages of discussions begun in Geneva will be continued in follow-up meetings in the United States during 1986 and in Moscow during 1987, and will be reinforced by all the other diplomatic contacts these summits will require. With the first summit having significantly improved the atmosphere in U.S.-Soviet relations, there will be greater pressures on the other summit sessions to produce agreements on substantial questions. In this context, the position taken by the President on Soviet Jews, and reinforced by similar concerns expressed by various Americans, will have to be even more forcefully put forth by the President.

Among the bilateral agreements approved during the summit meeting was one concerning resumption of cultural exchanges between the two nations. The Jewish community relations field does not oppose renewed visits of Soviet artistic troupes and intellectuals. Indeed, for more than a decade we have urged that Americans should use such occasions as opportunities to impress upon and remind influential Soviet citizens, through reasoned and reasonable means, of Americans' concerns for the human rights of Soviet Jews.

One area in which future bilateral agreements are likely to be reached is trade. Although General Secretary Gorbachev has stated that no large-scale U.S.-Soviet trade will develop so long as political obstacles to trade exist (in other words, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment), Soviet officials appeared to welcome resumption of contacts with American business leaders and to hold out the prospect of entering into joint ventures utilizing American high technology in such fields as oil exploration. If trade prospects do increase as the climate of bilateral relations improves, Jackson-Vanik's provisions would no longer be an obstacle were the Soviet Union to permit increased emigration, since under those conditions the legislation permits the President to exercise a waiver to suspend application of its provisions to the USSR.

Meanwhile, until greater Jewish emigration is forthcoming from the Soviet Union, the world Jewish community will continue to face the challenge of maintaining contacts and providing resources to help Soviet Jews retain their Jewish identities in an inhospitable environment.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- step up efforts to ensure that when the scheduled 1986 and 1987 Soviet-American summit meetings convene their participants understand that Soviet Jewry's human rights are of critical concern to the American people, and that the status of Soviet Jewry will be one of the criteria against which bilateral agreements on other issues will be judged;
- encourage U.S. officials to continue to press the Soviet Jewry issue in all contacts with Soviet officials in follow-ups to the Geneva summit and in preparation for future summit sessions;
- continue to broaden the base of the Soviet Jewry movement by reaching beyond the Jewish community, particularly to those to whom the Soviet leadership may be more receptive, as illustrated in the initiative the Rev. Jesse Jackson undertook when, as a member of the American peace delegation, he raised Soviet Jewry issues with General Secretary Gorbachev during the Geneva summit;
- increase efforts to interpret to American academics, educators and intellectuals the plight of Soviet Jewish Hebrew teachers subjected to harassment and arrest;
- urge member agencies to give higher priority to encouraging visits with Soviet Jews.

PROPOSITION 22 IC: International Concerns - ETHIOPIAN JEWRY

Changing Conditions: While the majority of Ethiopian Jews now reside in Israel, concern increases for those who remain in Ethiopia, yearning to fulfill their centuries-old dream of making aliyah. Opportunities for them to join their community in Israel have become more complicated as a result of recent developments in the region.

Background: Thousands of Ethiopian Jews have found new, more secure lives in Israel. The Jews of Israel have warmly received this newest aliyah, and have extended every effort to ease their absorption into the country. The absorption process has placed enormous strain on Israel's already-strained human services resources. As was true of all previous aliyot, Beta Yisrael also brings its own rich traditions and its own special problems: an estimated 35% of its family units now in Israel are single-parent households. An additional source of strain in the absorption process has been the conflict about Beta Yisrael's religious status.

The overthrow of the Numiery regime in the Sudan in early 1985 and the subsequent trials of its vice-president and chief security official have radically altered political conditions in the region, with profound implications for future rescue efforts.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- intensify educational efforts within the American Jewish community about the continuing needs Israel must meet in absorbing Beta Yisrael;
- persist in efforts to keep lines of communications open with the Ethiopian Jewish community;
- continue to explore effective ways to facilitate aliyah for Ethiopian Jews.

PROPOSITION 23 IC: International Concerns - APARTHEID

Changing Conditions: Despite mounting racial strife and death tolls due to police actions, the government of South Africa resisted taking additional meaningful steps during 1985 to dismantle its apartheid system. This led the United States to express growing impatience through a variety of measures. These actions reflected a growing national consensus in the United States in opposition to South Africa's apartheid system.

Background: President Reagan in September 1984 issued an Executive Order imposing economic sanctions, including bans on exports of nuclear technology and computers for use by South Africa's military police and security forces; U.S. export assistance to companies not observing fair employment practices; imports of kruggerands; and loans to the South African government (except for purposes that would improve opportunities for South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid). The Executive Order was especially significant because it constituted a marked departure from the Administration's policy of "constructive engagement," which NJCRAC criticized as inadequate in its 1985-86 Joint Program Plan.

Nonetheless, these sanctions were more limited in scope than those proposed in a variety of measures, including the Kennedy-Gray Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, which Congress had under consideration when the Executive Order was issued. Congressional anti-apartheid leaders have indicated they may renew efforts to enact stronger sanctions, pending assessment of South Africa's response to sanctions imposed by the U.S. and other nations.

A growing number of American public and private institutions are turning to divestment as a means to pressure Pretoria for reform. A New York Times poll conducted in November, 1985 showed that the proportion of Americans who support such action has grown to nearly half. As of late 1985 nine states and 31 cities have passed, and 20 other states are considering, legislation restricting or prohibiting investment of public or pension funds in companies doing business in South Africa; colleges and universities divested their portfolios of more than \$251 million; and 16 American corporations closed subsidiaries in South Africa.

The effectiveness of such sanctions depends upon the extent to which Western Europe, Japan and the United States coordinate their pressures. The 11 Common Market countries have agreed to sanctions, including an embargo on oil, arms and law enforcement equipment, a ban on military cooperation, and the withdrawal of military attaches. They have also banned exports of armaments and nuclear material, and military cooperation. But only France and Denmark, along with Japan, prohibit direct investment in companies doing business in South Africa. The effectiveness of these policies is directly related to America's role because the United States is the dominant Western economic and military power.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- encourage Jewish communal institutions to examine their policies on divestment, including application of divestment to their own portfolios;
- continue to advocate passage of the Kennedy-Gray Anti-Apartheid Act;
- encourage Congress to monitor and evaluate the impact of President Reagan's Executive Order imposing limited economic sanctions on South Africa;
- engage in coalitional activities with other responsible citizens' groups to press our government to take the lead in formulating an overall western strategy of pressure upon the South African government;
- undertake educational programs within the Jewish community to interpret our stake in the fight against the racial policies which the apartheid system represents and embodies.

NOTE: NJCRAC is seeking to formulate a position on divestment for action by the Executive Committee no later than June, 1986. Such a position would then be reflected in the 1986-87 Joint Program Plan.

PROPOSITION 24 IC: International Concerns - INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Changing Conditions: The capture in October, 1985 of hijackers who seized the Italian liner Achille Lauro demonstrated the increased readiness of the United States to deal forcefully with terrorism. While Western European nations' citizens and facilities are frequently affected by terrorism, these nations have been reluctant to join the United States in effective, coordinated action against terrorists. They continue to pursue policies that seek to appease the PLO, a chief sponsor of world terrorist activity.

Background: While the United States' bold action demonstrated the potential available for bringing terrorists to justice for their crimes, other events connected with the episode, such as Italian Prime Minister Bruno Craxi's decision to release Abu Abbas, the hijacking's mastermind, illustrated the degree to which many of our western European allies remain unwilling to undertake effective, coordinated action in response to terrorism. Such failures stem from calculations that appeasement of the PLO, which provides training, arms and funding to many of the major terrorist groups around the world, will insulate their nations from further terrorism. Experience, however, demonstrates that although Americans, Jews and Israelis are the main targets, citizens not only of western Europe but also the Soviet Union and even Arab states continue to be victims of terrorist violence.

Secretary of State Shultz pointed to both the problem of and solution for effective action to counter terrorism in a speech delivered in London during December, 1985. Contrasting European states' recognition of the PLO with America's refusal to do so until the PLO renounces terrorism and recognizes Israel, Mr. Shultz declared: "Extremists must be resisted, not appeased. Unlike some of our European friends, we feel that gestures toward the PLO only mislead its leaders into thinking their present inadequate policy is gaining them international acceptance and stature." It follows from these principles, long a cornerstone of U.S. Middle East policy, that a major priority of America's efforts to counter terrorism should be to press its European allies to join in developing a comprehensive strategy against terrorism, including intelligence sharing, coordinated rescue efforts, extradition treaties, and imposition of sanctions against nations offering terrorists sanctuary.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- examine the adequacy of current U.S. and international laws to enable governments, both individually and collectively, to impose sanctions upon nations that do not cooperate in apprehending and prosecuting terrorists.
- press the Administration and Congress to pursue an active, comprehensive anti-terrorism policy with its western allies and the entire community of nations;
- support the principle that acts of terrorism must be met by swift action to bring terrorists to justice;
- give higher priority to interpreting to the American public the unchanging nature of the role of terror as a fundamental instrument of PLO policy.

CONTINUING AND URGENT -- International Concerns

1. Jews in Arab and Muslim Countries

The position of the small Jewish communities remaining in the Arab and Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa continues to be precarious.

They may at any time be threatened by a sudden change of regime, by arbitrary actions of the rulers or by violence on the part of individuals or groups who choose to scapegoat Jews when local or regional tensions erupt. During 1985 three Jews were killed and 11 others wounded while attending Simhat Torah services in Jerba, Tunisia, when a crazed security guard opened fire. The Tunisian Prime Minister attributed his action to the influence of a renewed campaign of radio broadcasts from Khadaffi's Libya calling on Tunisians to kill the Jews and overthrow the pro-Western regime, following Israel's raid on the PLO headquarters. In Lebanon, several prominent members of the Jewish community in Beirut were kidnapped by Shiite fundamentalist bands, and efforts to obtain their release have thus far been unsuccessful. Rumors of a recent largescale pogrom and mass conversion of Jews in North Yemen proved to be unfounded. However, Yemeni Jews remain largely isolated and they, like the larger Jewish community in Syria, are denied the right to emigrate. Travel from Iran is severely restricted and there are fears for the future of the Jewish community should Khomeini pass from the scene. These conditions must be closely monitored; whatever responses are required should be undertaken on the basis of interagency consultation and coordination.

2. Genocide Convention

Despite President Reagan's endorsement of U.S. ratification of the U.N. Genocide Convention, the Senate has thus far been unable to bring the treaty to the floor for a vote. The Jewish community relations field should continue to work with the Executive branch and Senate leadership, in concert with other organizations, to ensure that support and momentum for ratification are sustained.

3. Famine in Africa

World attention has focused on the catastrophic famine sweeping across much of sub-Saharan Africa, threatening over 150 million people. Many countries, including the United States, have responded with famine relief, which will continue to be critically needed throughout the coming year. But a long-term production crisis, reaching beyond the immediate famine into the next decade, may be anticipated. The Jewish community relations field should continue to urge massive American famine relief for the threatened populations of Africa, and support concerted international governmental efforts to assist African countries in addressing long-term structural, agricultural and ecological problems.

4. Holocaust Programming

Many decades after the Holocaust even more needs to be done to convey a deeper understanding of the Holocaust's meaning. A major focus of the Jewish community relations field in the coming year should be on what programs are required to more effectively deepen the understanding of the lessons of the Holocaust, especially an awareness about the conditions that brought it about. The waning of the immediacy of the events, the ageing of the generation of sur-

vivors and actual witnesses, and the coming of age of post-war generations make this complex task all the more difficult but even more compelling. This vital educational effort should be undertaken on an ongoing basis, particularly in public and private schools, in the media, and in special observances on notable occasions.

5. Nazi War Criminals

Prosecution of Nazis in the U.S. can be expected to continue during the coming year. Public interest will be essential to assure effective continuation of the Justice Department's investigation, deportation, and denaturalization work and to counter the efforts of some ethnic groups to curtail the Justice Department's work.