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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Don Zakheim / Beryl Spunzio
John Covey / OMB General Counsel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Regist
OT

January 13, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN A. SVAHN, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
POLICY DEVELOPMENT

FROM: LINDA CHAVEZ, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Briefing for the American Jewish Congress, March
17, 1986, 4:00-5:15 PM, OEOB 476

I would like to invite you to speak at a briefing for the national leadership of the American Jewish Congress. Congress is one of the major Jewish defense organizations involved in domestic and international concerns. Its membership represents a major segment of American Jewry that has yet to be convinced of much of the Administration's domestic policy. Specifically, it disagrees with our stand on abortion, prayer in school and the church-state issues.

Nevertheless, I think both the Administration and American Jewish Congress would gain from your meeting with them. At the very least, you can dispel the many misconceptions that their constituency has about Administration domestic policy. Ideally, you would speak to the group for fifteen to twenty minutes and then field questions for an additional fifteen minutes.

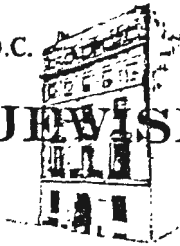
Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

BIENNIAL CONVENTION

SHOREHAM HOTEL, Washington, D.C.

MARCH 16-19, 1986

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84TH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028 • (212) 879-4500

December 27, 1985

The Honorable George Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

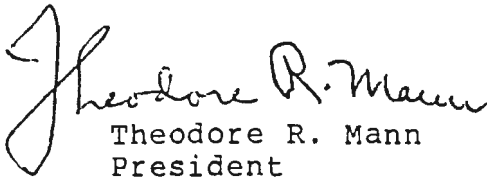
On behalf of the officers and members of the American Jewish Congress, we have the great pleasure of inviting you to address our National Biennial Convention. The Convention will be at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. from March 16-19, 1986. Our national leadership from across the U.S. has requested to hear your views on the challenges before us.

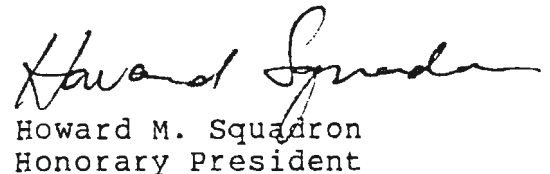
The Convention's theme is "The Jewish Experience in the American Democracy: 200 Years Under the Constitution," and we believe that your insights on this important anniversary would be particularly exciting and important.

The Biennial Convention is the primary policy-making body of the American Jewish Congress, attracting top present and future leadership from across the country. We hope that you will be able to address our banquet on Tuesday, March 18. If you are unable to attend the banquet, a more mutually convenient time can be worked out between our staffs.

Mr. Vice President, your presence would be the highlight of our Convention. We hope your schedule will allow you to join us.

Respectfully,


Theodore R. Mann
President


Howard M. Squadron
Honorary President

cc: Mr. Max Green, Office of Public Liaison

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



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Honorary Treasurer
BENJAMIN M. HALPERN

January 24, 1986

Max Green
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Max:

As we discussed on a number of occasions, the American Jewish Congress will be holding its National Biennial Convention in Washington, March 16-19, 1986.

Your office has been most helpful in the facilitation of special briefings for a number of our delegates. We would also like to take advantage of the presence of a few of our top national leaders, and ask your assistance in scheduling meetings between those delegates and the White House leadership.

Of course, a meeting with the President is most desirable, and if such could be arranged we would be most grateful. The executives of the AJCongress would also very much like to have the opportunity to meet with Chief of Staff Donald Regan and National Security Advisor John Poindexter. These sessions could be arranged for any mutually convenient time during the Convention, but would best fit into our schedule between 3:00-6:00 p.m. On Monday, March 17, when the delegates will be taking part in administration briefings.

I very much appreciate all your help in trying to coordinate our requests. These top leadership meetings are a crucial aspect of the Convention and will help to broaden the base of understanding between the Administration and the Jewish Community.

Sincerely,

Marc A. Pearl
Washington Representative

MARC A. PEARL, Esq.
Washington Representative
2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 332-4001

Barbara

Bullman

Steve (633-460)
Markman
Ant
Attorney
Gen
H
Lyn

Horace Mann And
1st floor

[Handwritten signature]

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



Shannon Sugano
732-3060

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Honorary Treasurer
BENJAMIN M. HALPERN

January 23, 1986

Max Green
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

MARC A. PEARL, Esq.
Washington Representative
2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 332-4001

3.5.86 3.50 pm Sprinkel

Dear Max:

The American Jewish Congress will be holding its National Biennial Convention in Washington, March 16-19, 1986. In addition to our regular program based at the Shoreham Hotel, we will be taking the delegates to a number of federal agencies for on-site policy briefings on Monday, March 17, from 3:45-5:45 p.m. Any help you can offer in the facilitation of these federal agency briefings would be greatly appreciated.

As we have previously discussed, two of the briefings will be held in the Old Executive Office Building on the subjects of Foreign Policy/Defense and Economic Policy/Policy Development. It is our hope that Beryl W. Sprinkel, together with John Svahn, will brief the delegates for the first session, and that Jack P. Covey and Dov Zakheim will speak to the second group.

Additionally, we would like to arrange the following briefings which would involve no more than 40 delegates specially selected for their interest and expertise in the subject to be discussed:

(1) A Justice Department briefing on the subjects of (a) Nazi War Criminals in the U.S.; (b) Civil Rights policy under this administration; (c) church-state policy. In addition to Mark Disler, whose name you mentioned to me previously, we would like to hear from Neal Sher and either Charles Cooper or Stephen Markman.

(2) A Department of Education briefing on the subjects of (a) Bilingual Education; and (b) the role of the Department in Private School education. We would very much like to have Secretary Bennett address the group, even if he would be unable to stay for the entire session. Additionally, we hope that Undersecretary Gary Bauer and Carol Penas Whitten could be the main discussants for this briefing.

*Start at 3:50
Deputy Director
Office of Private
Education
Bureau*

*Church-State
Gov*

*Ed Anthony
Deputy
Carol Whitten
1/2 hour*

→ Beth Gabrey

(8) Two State Department briefings on the subjects of the Middle East and Human Rights/Terrorism. I would like to arrange one session with a number of the desk officers, (e.g. Phil Wilcox, David Mack and/or David Dunford), possibly led off by Arnold Raphael. The second session (for a completely different group) would hear from Ambassador Schifter, to be followed by Michael Kraft.

3:50 pm

While I realize this is a most ambitious project, I do hope we can work together to make it succeed.

Thank you for your help.

Most sincerely,

Mark A. Pearl /se
Marc A. Pearl
Washington Representative

MAP/sl

Paula Kurnut: 647-1383

Mike Kraft: 647-7633 / Louis Eton: 647-8541 /

Abraham Sofaer /

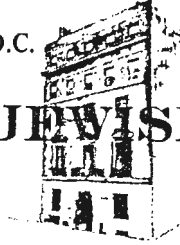
Teel Mann: Attorney: Phil
Paul Buzi: ATP
Henry Rodzowski: Foundr of Fa all 9th Floor
Howard McGowan: NY
Henry Speegman
Lewis Perlmutter: Goldman Sachs
Marshall Cogan: CEO, FELT Industries
Arthur Hertzberg: Honorary Pres- WJC

BIENNIAL CONVENTION

SHOREHAM HOTEL, Washington, D.C.

MARCH 16-19, 1986

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



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December 27, 1985

The Honorable George Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C. 20500

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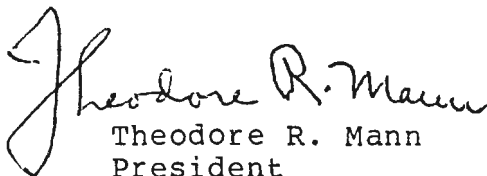
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Respectfully,


Theodore R. Mann
President


Howard M. Squadron
Honorary President

cc: Mr. Max Green, Office of Public Liaison

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Spunkes
& Loahn

Israel: Don Zuckerman
~~Howard Tenke~~
Jot Covey

- 1) Indian Treaty Room
- 2)

11
Beryl Sprinkel

confirm two separate groups

- 1) domestic
- 2) foreign

size locate

- 1) SDI + defense of Israel: Sue Kearney
- 2) Hawaii Tent + Joel Currey

2) Domestic: Beryl Sprinkel } → Mill
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633. 3845 - Bill Kuykendall
Mark Dool

→ Olmer, Sraha.

Small: Don Zakheim
Howard Tenke

Shorheam

DRAFT CONVENTION SCHEDULE - PERSPECTIVE SITES AND BRIEFINGS, BY SITE

Monday March 17, 3:00-6:00 *on Tuesday*

I. AJC National Leaders' Meeting with Top Administration Officials:

Donald T. Regan, Chief of Staff
John M. Poindexter, National Security Adviser
Edwin Meese III, Atty. General
Bill Brock, Secretary of Labor

II. Executive Branch and Other Briefings:

minutes
White House and OEOB 1600 Penn. Ave. (2 buses)

① Howard R. Teicher, Staff Member, National Security Council
Jack P. Covey, Special Ass't. to the Pres., Sr. Director,
Near East and South Asian Affairs NSC

② Clayton K. Yeutter, U.S. Trade Rep.
Lionel H. Olmer, Under Secretary, International Trade
Administration, Commerce Department
Albert J. Planagan, Director, Office of the Near East,
International Trade Administration, Commerce Department

③ Craig L. Fuller, Chief of Staff, Office of the Vice
President
John A. Svahn, Asst. to the Pres. for Policy Development
or
~~Roger Porter, Deputy Asst. to the President for Policy
Development~~

④ Beryl W. Sprinkel, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers
and/or

James A. Miller III, Director, OMB

⑤ Carolyn Sundseth, Assoc. Director, Off. of Public Liason -
Evangelical Christians and Women

Linda Chavez, Dep. Asst. for Public Liason

3-6
see here: also
3:45 - 5:45
OR: One briefing with 2 or 3 of the above speakers, for up to 80 people

State Department 22nd & C, NW (2 buses)

1. Richard Murphy, Asst. Sec., Near East & South Asian
Affairs Bureau
Arnold Raphel, Dep. Asst. Sec., Near East & S. Asian
Affairs Bureau
Phil Wilcox, Desk Officer, Israel
David Mack, Desk Officer, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iran
David Dunford, Desk Officer, Egypt
2. Richard Schifter, Asst. Secy. for Human Rights (awaiting
confirmation)
Michael Kraft, Director, Office of Counter-Terrorism
Kenneth L. Edelman, Director, US ACDA

Justice Department Constitution Ave. at 10th St. (1 bus)

1. William B. Reynolds, Asst. Atty. Gen., Civil Rights
 2. Stephen S. Trott, Asst. Attny. Gen., Criminal Division
 3. Charles J. Cooper, nominee Asst. Sec., Office of Legal
- to*
qu. 12:15

Counsel

and/or

Stephen J. Markman, nominee, Asst. Attny. Gen., Office of Legal Policy

Department of Education Maryland Ave. at 4th St. SW (1 bus)

1. William J. Bennett, Secretary

with

Gary L. Bauer, Under Secretary

and/or

Carol Penas Whitten, Office of the Secretary, Director of Bilingual Education & Minority Languages Affairs

Brookings Institution 1775 Mass. Ave. NW (1 bus)

1. Alice M. Rivlin, Director of Economic Studies

Charles L. Schultze, Sr. Fellow, Economic Studies

Joseph A. Pechman, Sr. Fellow, Economic Studies

American Enterprise Institute 1150 17th St. NW (1 bus)

1. Michael Novak, Director, Religion, Philosophy, and Public Policy Programs

Ben J. Wattenberg, Sr. Fellow (Public Opinion, Political Trends)

Walter Berns, Sr. Fellow (Constitutional and Legal Studies)

Michael Malbin, Resident Fellow (Political Trends)

Religious Action Center * 2027 Mass. Ave. NW (1 bus)

1. Ralph Neas, Executive Director, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Eddie Williams, Director, Jt. Center for Political Studies

Mario Moteno, Executive Director, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Discussion of Women and Family Issues (Location Depends on Speakers) (1 bus)

1. Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund

William W. Hamilton, Jr., Director, Washington Office, Planned Parenthood

Eleanor Smeal, President, NOW

International Drive * (1 bus)

1. Israeli Embassy

2. Mohammed Kamal, Ambassador, Jordanian Embassy

* 1/2 a bus may go to Egyptian Embassy

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Tues. - 18th - bumper -

Bush

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 11, 1986

It is a pleasure to extend greetings to the American Jewish Congress on the occasion of its Biennial Convention. I congratulate you on the richness of your theme: "The Jewish Experience in American Democracy: 200 Years Under the Constitution."

Those of us old enough to remember the dark days of Nazism recall that the American Jewish Congress, led by its great founder and president, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, was one of the first organizations to recognize the deadly threat of Hitlerism not only to the Jewish people but to democracy and civilization itself.

That tradition of foresight and activism has also been reflected in your staunch support for the State of Israel. Israel remains a steadfast ally and democratic partner of the United States. Though small in size, it is a defense of freedom against totalitarian expansion, a vital strategic asset to the West.

I also commend you for your well-deserved reputation as an organization concerned with the rights of Jewish Americans and the welfare of all Americans. Since the days of Dr. Wise, yours has been an admirable heritage of service on behalf of civil liberties and social justice. Yours is a commitment to the pluralism, tolerance, and brotherhood that have so enriched the American experience, making us truly a nation that is "one out of many."

Nancy joins me in extending best wishes for the success of your convention. May you be greatly blessed.

Ronald Reagan

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REMARKS BY

DR. DOV S. ZAKHEIM

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
FOR PLANNING AND RESOURCES

TO THE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

ON

THE U.S. ISRAELI DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP

st 2

MARCH 17, 1986

It is a pleasure for me to come before an AJC audience again. My introduction to the AJC took place some twenty years ago, when I participated as a college student at one of your Washington conferences. More recently, I had the privilege of speaking before the Washington chapter almost exactly two years ago. Then, as now, it was Purim season, a time when we are reminded of the bravery and courage that are essential both to Jewish values and to their preservation. I know that the AJC has often emulated Mordechai and Esther on many issues that have been of vital concern to Jews everywhere.

I would like to address my remarks today to two distinct but interrelated issues: first, some highlights of our defense relationship with Israel and second, a discussion of what might be termed new factors that are likely to affect that relationship for the foreseeable future.

I am proud to be serving in an Administration and in a Department of Defense that, on a day-to-day, sustained basis, has worked more closely with the Ministry of Defense of Israel than has been the case at any time since 1948. The list of cooperative efforts is long, and is growing longer. Let me name but a few:

First, I must mention the Joint Political Military Group. This body, a mix of military and civilian personnel, is chaired by the Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Defense and the Assistant Secretary of the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. The JPMG has only been in existence for about three years, yet it reviews a host of

joint projects that are of mutual military benefit to both the U.S. and Israel.

Secondly, there is the significant growth in official military visits and port calls. It was not all that long ago that official visits by high ranking U.S. civilian and military defense officials to Israel were somewhat rare. In recent years there has been a spate of such visits, however. For example, General John Vessey, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited Israel in 1984. His successor Admiral William Crowe, only took office this past June. He has already been to Israel, in January. (I should add that General Levy, IDF Chief of Staff, visited the U.S. in 1984). Moreover, Secretary Weinberger visited Israel in October 1984, while Secretary of the Navy John Lehman visited Israel in April 1985. Other senior visitors to Israel have included General P.X. Kelley, Commandant of the Marine Corps, in 1983, my immediate superior, Dr. Fred Ikle, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, in April of last year, and, only last month, Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization.

In many ways, however, visits at more humble levels can be of at least equal value. Less exalted military and civilian personnel can learn much about Israel, her people, her problems, her history, from even a short visit. As you all know, Israel's best advertisement is Israel herself. Therefore, I attach considerable significance to the large number of port visits that U.S. Navy ships made to Haifa and Ashdod last year: 45 to be exact.

Still another area of cooperation is our acquisition of Israeli-built systems and services. For example, Israeli industry provides support for a number of U.S. Air Force F-4 aircraft. We have acquired a dozen Kfirs for the U.S. Navy, which Israeli personnel will maintain. We have acquired Samson drones for the Navy, and Mastiff remotely piloted vehicles for the Marine Corps.

Furthermore, we are cooperating with Israel in a variety of ways to improve the weapons systems of both our countries. For example, U.S. and Israeli engineers and analysts are jointly evaluating developmental smart munitions for ground combat. We have also reached agreement on joint exploration of remotely piloted vehicle initiatives. In fact, we have 27 other exchange agreements that cover a host of technical matters.

There is also an entirely new area in which the United States and Israel can work together for their mutual benefit, that of the Strategic Defense Initiative. SDI has erroneously been labeled "Star Wars," although so much of our exploration addresses technologies quite firmly rooted to the ground. Equally erroneously, SDI is often confused with nuclear weapons, although it in fact will result in a blueprint for the use of non-nuclear weapons to defeat ballistic missiles, which are nuclear. But there are other ballistic missiles, such as the SS-21s based in Syria and directed toward the heartland of Israel, that are not necessarily nuclear, and against which SDI-related efforts could also be directed. Moreover, many of the technologies incorporated in the SDI

umbrella could be used in other battlefield applications, lasers are one example that readily springs to mind.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Israel has shown considerable interest in working with the United States on SDI projects. During his recent visit to Israel, SDIO Director Lieutenant General Abrahamson praised Israel's potential for technological contributions to the SDI effort, for example Israel's ideas for improving the rail gun, which we in the U.S. see as a means of defeating missiles, but which could also be mounted on a tank for land warfare. There have been many Israeli technical organizations that have indicated an interest in participating in the SDI program including Israel Aircraft Industries, Rafael Armaments Development Authority, SOREQ Research Laboratories and the Israel University Community. These groups have come up with numerous ideas--apart from the rail gun--ranging from electronics to countermeasures, to laser, and holography--that could be of significant value to the SDI effort.

We are currently working on mechanisms to facilitate Israeli participation in the SDI program. We welcome that participation as another example of our joint cooperation for our mutual benefit.

Finally, there is financial assistance. Such assistance may be broken down into three compartments: economic assistance, general military assistance, and assistance specifically directed to war acquisition of Israeli equipment in Israel, either for the Lavi fighter/attack plane, toward which the U.S. contributed \$500 million in the last fiscal year, or

other programs that Israel chooses to identify. The Lavi is a very special program. It is not meant for the U.S., nor do we consider it a candidate for future acquisition. The U.S. Air Force has absolutely no requirement, or interest in this plane, which is being developed to support Israel's unique air battle management plan (which differs from our own), and the Middle Eastern environment in which Israel's air forces must operate. Nevertheless, the United States has already committed over one billion dollars toward the development of this aircraft.

This is not the first time we have supported a local Israeli development effort, nor will it be the last. In the past, the most striking example of our support was the Merkava tank. Without the United States' support, this unique combination armored vehicle could have never have come into being. For the future, Israel looks to the United States for support in its submarine and surface ship modernization program, a significant portion of which will be indigenously developed. Again, the U.S. stands ready to support Israel's requirements as efficiently as possible.

It is at this point, however, that I must draw your attention to the new factors in our defense relationship that I briefly noted at the outset of my remarks. There are in essence, two such factors: one that affects America's internal political and budgetary dynamics, namely, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Budget Reduction legislation, and the other, which affects Israel's internal dynamic, that being the ability of the Israeli

system to cope with the demands imposed by a growing local military-industrial complex.

Let me deal first with Gramm-Rudman.

The legislation co-sponsored by Senators Gramm, Rudman and Hollings is as noteworthy as it is complex. It reflects a growing Congressional concern with the deficit, and with the need for far more rigorous control over expenditures than was previously the case. I recall the 1975 Budget Act, which at the time was hailed as revolutionary. That Act, while reorganizing the budget process and, indeed, creating the Congressional Budget Office, in which I happen to have served prior to joining the Department of Defense, nevertheless failed to provide Congress with the wherewithal to control expenditures that were piling up the deficit. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, with its provisions for automaticity, embodies the potential for far more imposing constraints upon deficit growth.

We have already felt the bite of this new legislation. My Department has to absorb a 4.9 percent reduction--some \$5.3 billion dollars--in our fiscal 1986 outlays. The security assistance program, as part of the non-defense portion of the budget subject to Gramm-Rudman sequestration, was reduced by 4.3 percent. In dollars terms, Israel had to return \$77 million in military assistance and about \$60 million in economic assistance grants. These sums are significant in the context of Israel's economic and military needs.

For fiscal year 1987, as I mentioned, our proposed military assistance budget for Israel again stands at \$1.8 billion. If Congress adopts the President's budget, in its entirety, we can protect this funding level. If it does not, Gramm-Rudman could well come into play. And it should come into play, the results are unlikely to be helpful to Israel's needs. What are the implications of these developments for the longer term?

First, the often-used approach of adding to the Administration's request once it came to Capitol Hill just will not work anymore. Unwanted additions to the President's budget are the best way to trigger Gramm-Rudman reductions.

Second, we must get used to the fact that military assistance levels for Israel simply will not grow in the future. The Gramm-Rudman legislation forces the deficit down to zero in 1992. Put another way, it exerts continuing downward pressure on expenditure. The President's five year program responds to that pressure by fitting inside the Gramm-Rudman limits. If the next several years budgets are approved, we can reach the Gramm-Rudman goal of no deficit by 1992. But in these circumstances, Israel will do well just to maintain the \$1.8 billion level until that time.

I should now like to turn to a second major area of concern, namely, that of the implications of Israel's growing role as a producer of military hardware. As I noted, the U.S. has been a strong supporter of Israel's efforts to advance its technological scope and capabilities. Indeed, such advances may go far beyond current realms of endeavor as Israel seeks

to cooperate actively with the United States on the Strategic Defense Initiative. I have found² in my interactions with Israel's defense establishment, that much has yet to be done in an administrative way to support the spawning of a major military-industrial complex.

Let me explain. The Department of Defense includes a web of organizations that are devoted to ensuring that we acquire quality systems at the best price. We can do nothing less for our forces in the field. No doubt, our system will evolve in the future. Nevertheless, for the past twenty-five years, DoD has operated with the planning, programming and budgeting system as its bedrock, and with a series of evaluations, cost controls and program reviews that have become ever more complex and detailed with the passage of time. Indeed, under Secretary Weinberger, we have strengthened this system to ensure, for example, that every major weapons system acquisition is subject to a fully independent cost estimate carried out by the Office of the Secretary. I should add that each of the Services support their own independent cost estimates.

These efforts demand people and time, and expertise and dedication of the highest order. I found that my Israeli counterparts are second to none in their dedication and expertise, but are far fewer in number, and as a result, have far less time to devote to critical program, system and cost evaluation tasks. These are matters that simply cannot be left to contractors--their job is to produce a product, not to critique themselves. Program managers likewise are not the appropriate people; their job is to deliver the product. Others must perform the

critical evaluation task. In the past, that task was performed second hand, as Israel acquired foreign systems that had already been subject to such evaluations. With Israel producing more and more of its own systems, however, second hand analysis is simply not enough. Israel must develop its own internal, independent program analysis and evaluation capability if it is to ensure that the weapons systems it develop are the most cost effective for its own unique mission requirements.

I should like to conclude where I began, with the relationship between our two countries. Israel is a key friend of the United States in a region that is critical to U.S. national security interests. We value Israel's stability, her democracy, her commitment to economic as well as political freedom, and our common spiritual heritage. Nevertheless, Israel is not our only friend in the region, nor can she be. The Middle East is too vast, our interests too far flung, the threats too disparate, and to be frank, Israel's own capability--beyond her ability to defend herself--too limited to permit us to rely solely on one ally. We recognize--how can we not recognize--the reality of ongoing tensions between Israel and her neighbors. Our response has been to try to resolve those tensions even as we go to those great lengths that I have described above, to ensure that Israel retains qualitative military superiority over her potential, and real, adversaries. We harbor no illusions about the prospects for quickly achieving peace; but peace still reigns between Israel and her largest and most populous Arab neighbor, and that does provide inspiration for pressing on.

Let us also draw our inspiration from the events that have prompted this time of the year to be among the most joyous in the Jewish calendar: from the bravery, faith, and optimism that led Mordechai and Esther achieve a victory that not only preserved the future of their people but enabled them to live at peace with their neighbors for many years thereafter. Thank you.