

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

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

Collection:

Green, Max: Files, 1985-1988

Folder Title:

Israel I (2 of 3)

Box: Box 12

To see more digitized collections visit:

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

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

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

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

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

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

stinian residents of the West Bank than it spends on programs intended to serve them.

More important, in some key aspects of daily life — such as the imprisonment of Palestinian activists or the reunification of families — residents of the West Bank assert that there has been a change for the worse.

"Improvement in the quality of life?" said Zafer el-Masri, the newly appointed Mayor of Nablus. "I have not even seen the minimum yet. The things that really matter to people have not been touched. If I had to give this Government a grade, I would give it an 'F.'"

Col. Ephraim Sneh, the head of the Israeli Army Civil Administration, which runs day-to-day affairs in the West Bank, says he sees the situation differently. He said that for the vast majority of the population not involved in what he called terrorist activities, the Israeli administration was making steady improvements in every field, from health care to roads.

Israeli officials point to the appointment of Mr. Masri as Mayor of Nablus in December as the most prominent symbol of their intention to improve living conditions for Palestinians.

Difficulties Under Military Rule

Nablus, with a population of 100,000, is the biggest Arab town on the West Bank and a center of Palestinian nationalism. It had been run by an Israeli military officer and his staff since 1982, when Israel deposed the former elected mayor, Bassam al-Shaka, because of suspicions of pro-Palestine Liberation Organization activity.

During the period of military rule, garbage collection, roadwork and electricity got steadily worse as the city employees and local population cooperated as little as possible with the Israeli officers who ran their town.

In the last two years, under the leadership of Mr. Masri, one of the wealthiest men on the West Bank, the Nablus Chamber of Commerce sought a way to get the city back into Palestinian hands. Late in 1985, a deal was hammered out with the Israeli military Government under which there would be no free elections but Mr. Masri would be appointed mayor and the 10 other members of the Chamber of Commerce would serve as his council.

There was a major debate among Nablus residents over whether to cooperate with the Israeli military government in the appointment of Mr. Masri. A pro-P.L.O. group, led by Mr. Shaka, argued that such cooperation amounted to collaboration. But Mr. Masri, who is widely respected as a Palestinian nationalist, argued that the only results of Mr. Shaka's statements of the previous three years had been that City Hall did not function and that an Israeli officer was sitting in the mayor's chair.

we paid a heavy price
"The negative approach did not bear fruit, and we paid a heavy price for that," said Mr. Masri, 44 years old, in an interview in his freshly painted office. "People are desperate. They want to be free of the occupation however they can. At least this way we will get more of our rights and services. I don't believe in a head-on collision when I am not strong enough."

Mr. Masri's endorsements from the Nablus public have come in many forms — most notably the payment of long overdue bills. Under the Israeli administration, it usually took half a day waiting in line to pay utility bills. "Many people let them pile up."

When he arrived, people have been waiting in line to pay utility bills. "It is a funny way to greet a new mayor."

In addition to Nablus, Israeli military officials point to several other towns in the West Bank where they maintain they have improved the quality of life. They contend that direct international dialing and new telephone switching systems, installed for the first time in major Arab towns, have eased the sense of isolation.

The number of censored books has been reduced from 1,500 to 350, and some new medical equipment has been installed in hospitals in Ramallah and Nablus, according to Israeli officials.

In addition, greater flexibility is being shown in approving economic projects that do not compete with Israeli industries. Israeli officials also say the restrictions on the amount of money Palestinians can bring in from abroad have been lifted, and private voluntary aid organizations that help Palestinians develop services are no longer being obstructed.

West Bank residents acknowledge these improvements but argue that they must be viewed in the wider context of the occupation as a whole.

They note that the national unity Cabinet revived the policy of expelling those suspected of being P.L.O. sympathizers or putting them in prison under administrative detention — a policy suspended by Menachem Begin in 1979 when he was Prime Minister.

Under the rules of administrative detention, anyone suspected of Palestinian nationalist activism or incitement can be arrested by the army and held in jail for six months without trial.

Since the summer, 106 Palestinians — most of them student leaders, labor union organizers and suspected P.L.O. sympathizers — have been put into prison for three to six months without trials. Ten others have been ordered expelled across the Jordan River.

The detention orders handed down by the army must be reviewed by a judge, but defense lawyers are not allowed to see most of the evidence against their

U.S. Official in Talks in Egypt

CAIRO, Jan. 4 (Reuters) — The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs discussed Libya and other major African issues with Egyptian officials today. "We covered a whole range of issues, including, of course, Libya," the American official, Chester A. Crocker, told reporters after meeting with Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali. He did not elaborate.

In West Bank, Israeli Policies to Improve the 'Quality of Life' Get Mixed Reviews

clients — the part collected by Israeli secret agents or through informers.

"It is the same every time," said Mona Rishmawi, a Ramallah lawyer who has represented many of the detainees. "I go to the court and say, 'What is the evidence against my client?' They say, 'This is all we can show you; the rest is secret.' How can I plead for someone if I can't see the evidence? My clients all ask me the same thing: 'Why am I here? If they have real evidence against me, why don't they put me on trial?'"

Administrative detention, Miss Rishmawi says, seems to have become a convenient tool for the military government to punish some activists and deter others without going through time-consuming legal proceedings that might not produce convictions.

Another area in which there has been a deterioration is in the issuing of permits for reunions within the many West Bank families that have relatives living in Jordan. In some cases a father or brother who has lived outside for years wants to be reunited with his family. In other cases, a marriage might be arranged between an East Bank resident and someone living on the West Bank.

Before this year, the average annual number of permits granted by the military authorities for moves to the West Bank under the family reunion pro-

gram was between 900 and 1,200. Military sources say confirm that in 1985 only about 300 were given, apparently in order to help slow the increase in the Arab population of the West Bank.

In Palestinian eyes, some aspects of daily life have neither become worse nor improved but have merely remained bad. Economic development is the one most often mentioned.

West Bank residents have always been convinced, by comparing the state of many of their schools, hospitals and village road networks with those in Israel, that although they have been paying virtually the same income taxes as Israelis since 1967, they have been getting far less in return.

Those assertions receive support from a new study, based on Israeli Government statistics, that is about to be published by the West Bank Data Project, a widely respected Israeli research organization financed by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

"The Israeli occupation has been economically beneficial, providing a protected market for Israeli goods and a pool of cheap labor," Meron Benvenisti, author of the study, said. "Yet the occupation does not constitute even a fiscal burden on the Israeli treasury. On the contrary, Palestinians contribute large sums to Israeli public expenditure."

In the budget for the West Bank, Mr. Benvenisti said, all taxes collected in the region are used for activities of the military government, with the deficit made up by the Israeli Ministry of Defense. In 1984, that deficit was about 33 percent of the total budget. But he said the actual cost to the Israeli treasury was different, because income taxes are also levied on about 80,000 West Bank Palestinians who work inside Israel.

Since 1984, the amount collected in those taxes has exceeded the size of the deficit, he said.

This surplus does not include millions of dollars worth of import duties paid by Palestinians for goods brought into the West Bank through Israeli ports, and value-added taxes they pay on Israeli-manufactured goods.

When these are added in, Mr. Benvenisti's study concludes, "West Bankers pay an occupation tax to the occupying authorities that can be estimated after 19 years at a conservative figure of \$700 million. This fact refutes Government claims that the low level of Israeli expenditure on Palestinian infrastructure derives from budgetary limitations."

On a different level, Palestinian farmers and industrialists are still being restricted in the types of crops they can grow or factories they can

open. The Defense Ministry recently reaffirmed that the only crops or manufactured goods permitted are those that will not compete with or drive down the prices of existing Israeli farm or factory products.

But Israeli farmers and factory owners enjoy various Government subsidies. Palestinian farmers, for instance, still pay almost four times what Israeli farmers do for water. There are few restrictions on what Israeli producers can sell, and in some cases dump, on the West Bank market.

"Economic policies of preventing any Palestinian competition with Israeli economic enterprises remained unaltered since the national unity Government took office and discouraged the growth of a viable Palestinian economic sector," Mr. Benvenisti said.

Because of the restrictions on industrial growth, it is estimated that there are 5,000 to 10,000 college graduates unemployed on the West Bank.

When Al Najah University in Nablus advertised for two janitors, it received 300 applications, 120 of them from people with bachelor's degrees, according to Saeb Erakat, a lecturer at the university.

Ban on Nationalist Activism

In the field of political expression, newspaper editors report a slight reduction in censorship that they con-

sider insignificant.

The general ban on Palestinian nationalist activism continues. The same week that Mr. Masri was being reinstated as Mayor of Nablus, a delegation of 14 West Bank moderates led by Hanna Seniora, editor of the newspaper Al Fajr, were turned down in their request to the military government for permission to go to Amman to try to persuade the P.L.O. chairman, Yasir Arafat, to recognize Israel's right to exist.

From the Palestinian perspective, the perceived deterioration in the "quality of life" is taking place against a backdrop of expansion of Jewish settlements, accompanied by restrictions on Palestinian town planning and land use. Although only one new settlement has been opened in the last 15 months, the 114 existing settlements and new towns have continued to expand. Between October 1984 and October 1985 their total population increased from 42,500 to 52,000.

"The Israelis want to have it both ways," Miss Rishmawi said. "They want to have more settlements and still be able to claim to be improving the quality of life of Palestinians. Sure, they build new roads and put in new phones. But it is not to improve our lives. It is to better integrate the West Bank with Israel. That doesn't improve my life. It deprives me of my future."

Sports, Luxury and Classic Cars

MANHATTAN

FORD LINCOLN MERCURY

NO PRICE INCREASES!

THERE'S NO NONSENSE - WHAT YOU SEE IS WHAT YOU PAY!



BUY IT FOR ONLY **\$19,995**

OR LEASE IT **\$399⁸⁴** PER MO. FOR 48 MOS.

Lease consists of 48 monthly payments of \$399.84, 1 month's rent & 1 month's refundable security deposit required at inception. That's all you pay except for sales tax. There's no gimmicks and you can put on up to 60,000 miles at no additional charge.

OPTIONS INCLUDED: Air conditioning, AM/FM stereo, cruise control, tilt steering, power locks, power windows, power antenna, power steering, remote mirrors, power trunk, remote gas door, rear defroster, power seat, electronic instrument panel, automatic transmission and much more.



BUY IT FOR ONLY **\$18,495**

OR LEASE IT **\$345⁸⁹** PER MO. FOR 48 MOS.

Lease consists of only 48 monthly payments of \$345.89, 1 month's rent & 1 month's refundable security deposit required at inception. That's all you pay except for sales tax. There's no gimmicks and you can put on up to 60,000 miles at no additional charge.

OPTIONS INCLUDE: Air conditioning with automatic temperature control, speed control, tilt wheel, interval wipers, power windows, power door locks, power trunk, power driver's seat, electronic AM/FM stereo, power antenna, electric defroster, automatic transmission, opera lamps, and much more.

The Above Offer Open To Credit Qualified Lessees Only All Prices INCLUDE Dealer Prep & Freight!

MANHATTAN FORD MERCURY LINCOLN
555 WEST 57TH ST. CORNER 11TH AVE.
 OPEN MON.-FRI. 9AM-7PM SAT. 11-5PM (212) 581-7800 FREE PARKING Lic. No. 693163

BUY LOW. SELL HIGH.

Now the only feeling to surpass the sheer enjoyment of driving a high performance European car is knowing you've purchased a smart personal investment vehicle.

Save Up To \$22,000

Import Direct From Europe at European tax-free prices

FACTORY PRICES FROM 1986 EMar CATALOG

- Audis from..... \$ 6,995
- BMW's from..... \$ 7,775
- BMW's (U.S. Models) from... \$15,900
- Honda Accord LXI..... \$15,100
- Jaguars from..... \$20,580
- Mercedes 500..... \$28,875
- Mercedes 300 D..... \$15,495
- Nissan Maxima Sedan..... \$15,695
- Porsches from..... \$16,666
- Saabs (U.S. Models) from... \$10,985
- Toyota Cressida..... \$16,845
- Volvos (U.S. Models) from... \$11,995

EMar imports over 1200 models U.S. spec models available at similar savings

6 Year Unlimited Mileage Warranty Available Financing and Leasing On Any European, Japanese or American Car

Order Your EMar Catalog Today Create a European car worthy of distinction and well within your reach with our comprehensive 190 page catalog. Know the base prices - get the straight facts - complete price lists of optional equipment and creature comforts - step by step import procedures - simple to follow order forms. Send Check or Money Order For \$39.87 Money Back Guarantee

For VISA, MC and AMEX Orders Call 212-714-0600

(Radar detector included with car purchase) EMar International, Inc. 1 Penn Plaza, Suite 3300 New York, NY 10119 212-714-0600

EMar Since 1982 More Car For Your Dollar Copyright 1986 EMar Int. Inc. Mem. AICA



The British Sports Car Experience Aluminum Body, Limited Availability
Silver Chrysler, Port Jefferson
 516-473-3636

For EXOTIC, CLASSIC or EUROPEAN Model Imported Cars

- SATRA gives you these special services:
- Custom, hand-detailed.
 - Emissions laboratory and cert.
 - Expert tuning and repair.
 - Pick-up & del. from your home.
- FREE indoor parking and security for your car. FREE pick-up, delivery and Valet service when you fly from Newark International Airport. Call Mr. Alex Kulesha, Dir.

SATRA Auto Grooming & Service Center (201) 242-7909

Now you can sell your

Sports, Luxury and Classic Cars

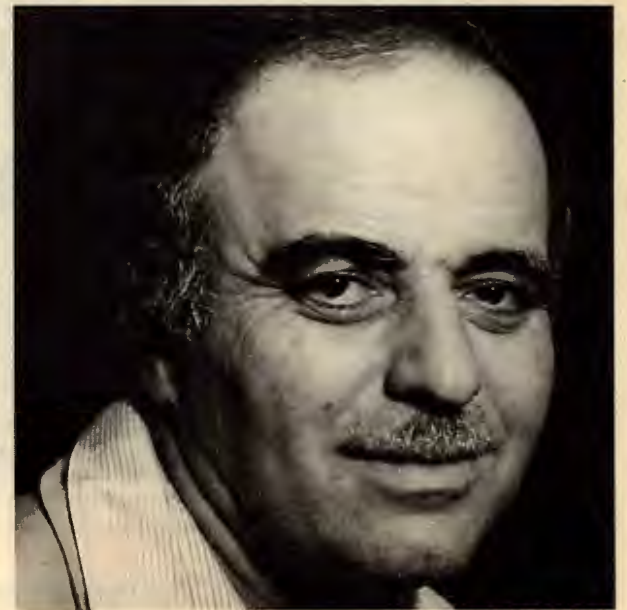
The New York Times Magazine

For details, call (212) 556-1409.

ISRAEL

Continued from Page 30

Ya'acov Tzur, Israel's Minister of Immigrant Absorption, worries about the increasing number of Soviet Jews who choose America over Israel when emigrating.



ALON RENINGER/CONTACT

the legitimacy of Reform or Conservative rabbis by stipulating that anyone converted to Judaism by them would not be considered Jewish, and would be ineligible for automatic Israeli citizenship. The vast majority of affiliated American Jews are associated with either the Reform or Conservative movements.

"There is a danger of a real religious schism," said Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, who represents the Reform movement in Israel. "We are creating two Judaism's, one for Israel and one for America and the rest of the world. If the 'who is a Jew' amendment passes, there is no question that a lot of American Jews are going to be turned off to Israel." The Rabbinical Assembly of Conservative rabbis in America has already passed a resolution banning from speaking in its synagogues any Knesset member who voted in favor of the "who is a Jew" amendment. The ban includes representatives of religious parties as well as most members of the Likud Party.

There is astonishingly little awareness on a popular level in Israel of just how serious the situation might become. The majority of Israelis are nonobservant Jews who express their Judaism through living in a Jewish state, not by praying. But when Israelis do think of religion, they think of the Orthodox Jews who have monopolized religious life in their country. American-style Reform and Conservative Judaism are totally alien to them.

Before the who-is-a-Jew amendment came to a vote last year (it was narrowly defeated), a delegation of American Reform and Conservative rabbis went to lobby (vainly) Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's Foreign Minister, against voting in its favor. Mr. Shamir began the meeting by asking the delegation, "Is it true that in America you can get a conversion to Judaism over the telephone?"

In a way, the 71-year-old Mr.

Shamir's question was highly revealing of his generation's belief that the Diaspora does not really count and that Jewish life outside Israel is not authentic. After all, for the founding fathers of Israel, so many of whom came out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe, it is difficult to accept that American pluralism and tolerance will prove real or lasting.

But for many younger Israelis, who are attracted to America or moving to America, this attitude no longer holds true. The emigration statistics make that quite clear. It is for them in particular that America now poses a serious ideological challenge. Zionism essentially set out to provide a safe haven for the Jews and at the same time to widen the range of experiences and occupations available to them — to make them "normal," so to speak, and a nation like all others. But, as some Israelis ask, what is the meaning of this ideal when there is an America over the horizon where a Jew can be as safe, if not safer, and as normal, if not more normal — with almost the full range of human opportunities open to them.

"When the early Zionists spoke of life in the Diaspora," argued Rabbi Hartman, "they never had America in mind, with such a vibrant Jewish community and such a vibrant American community. What this means is that Israel can't anymore simply say to American Jews, 'Come because you are either going to assimilate or suffer a pogrom.' That isn't sufficient, especially when Israel's own future depends in a way on there being a vital American Jewish community. No, the challenge of America to Israel is to revitalize itself, to build a society that will be compelling, meaningful and attractive and make living here as a Jew significant and exciting. It is not enough anymore for Israel to proclaim its 'centrality.' With America out there, it is going to have to prove it." ■



Three 1951 teachers at the Iowa Writers' Workshop, from the left: Robert Penn Warren, Paul Engle, who was also director at the time, and Robert Lowell.

IN THE EARLY 1950'S, ROBERT Lowell found Iowa City "tame and friendly." His old classmate from Kenyon College, Robie Macauley, who'd been to the Workshop as a student in the late 40's, likened the community in Iowa to a European cafe or Greenwich Village in the 20's. John Cheever loved Iowa City. So does Jim McPherson, who calls himself a booster. The fine old capital building, now administration offices for the university, sits high at the center of the town, the capital itself long ago removed to Des Moines. The rest of the campus slopes down to where pretty footbridges span the muddy Iowa River and lead on to the huge modern establishments that house the medical school and performing arts. A real university town — you can easily walk it — with a few smart shops, a couple of decent restaurants, and on Dubuque Street a local landmark, the Prairie Lights Bookshop, where the Workshop students give readings of their work, where books are not only loved but actually in stock.

Iowa City is a queer, lovely place seen from Paul Engle's window. The river curves below; a hideous bit of university housing, soon to be screened by lush midwestern growth, looms to the right. A tall sturdy man, Engle is 78, and the legendary energy is still apparent. He remembers it all: the hospitality of the university to the Writers' Workshop as he came on strong, settling in for the long run as its director; the hard work of raising money; the morning when a shy Southern girl, Flannery O'Connor, appeared in his office to announce she wanted to write fiction; the risk he took hiring Robert Lowell, just out of a sanitarium, to teach poetry. And, of course, he speaks of the tremendous success of his students. From his speech, you feel that Engle could list every publication, every prize won over the years, and that he made the Iowa Writers' Workshop himself, with all his young brilliance and force. A boy from Cedar Rapids who became a poet, a Rhodes Scholar who

did not linger long in artistic circles abroad, Engle brought it all home. "After all," he has written, "has the painter not always gone to an art school, or at least to an established master, for instruction? And the composer, the sculptor, the architect? Then why not the writer? Good poets, like good hybrid corn, are both born and made."

As he talks, his vision reappears, fresh, ambitious as it must have been in the 1930's. Things aren't what they used to be, is one of his themes, but Paul Engle would not want to bill himself as an old geezer who's seen better days. He has gone on to found the International Writing Program, now run by his wife, the Chinese novelist Hualing Nieh, which invites foreign writers to Iowa for 90-day sabbaticals. For the 50th anniversary of the Writers' Workshop, Engle should have the parental satisfaction of knowing that his Workshop has had built-in staying-power.

The mood has been upbeat for the Golden Jubilee. Questionnaires have been sent out to the graduates and they've been asked to list their publications. Some will have a bibliography longer than the space allotted, with Pulitzers and Guggenheims; others must leave the page painfully blank. "There are not 2,500 famous writers in America," Jack Leggett says, calculating the facts of 50 years, "but we would hope those students received a tremendous education, not only exploring the language itself, but the basic knowledge of the human condition." For some, it may be enough to have been to Iowa, and maybe even the pure pleasure of writing was a good enough end. One can speculate that a lot of talk and a lot of beer is going down with the flood of memories, but one might hope that by the last pitch of the softball game at Happy Hollow Park, both sides, the famous and the obscure, might entertain Jorie Graham's tough proposition: "Esthetic choices are moral choices. We must write out of full lives." ■

A REGISTERED RELEASE

Korbel Natural is a special champagne... rare and lovingly created. Each bottle carries a registration number on the back label to document its noble lineage from harvest to cuvée to the very bottle you pour.

Bottle No. **C 768532**

Enjoy one of our Registered Release Champagnes; Korbel Natural, Blanc de Blancs or Blanc de Noirs. Share one with someone special... very special!

Uncork the magic!



real impact in improving the quality of life in towns all across Israel.

But, on the other hand, there is a hint of resentment among Israelis over being someone else's vicarious symbol of courage. Maybe the best way to describe the relationship, remarked Ze'ev Chafetz, is to compare it to that between "players and fans."

"They think we are all heroes," said Mr. Chafetz, "and like good fans they won't tolerate a negative word about us. They go to the off-season banquets and hear the coaches and quarterbacks — the generals and politicians — tell them what it is like down on the field. They follow us every morning in the newspapers. They even send their kids to the little leagues here — the summer camps. But, ultimately, they see us as a bunch of dumb jocks. Like all players, we enjoy the adoration, but when it's you getting your head bashed in every day on the field, when it's your son going off to Lebanon, then it's hard not to look on the fan with a little bit of contempt."

This resentment, however, does not find official expression. It is no secret to Israeli officials that Washington gives the extraordinary amounts of aid it does both because Israel is a strategic and ideological ally and because of the efforts of the American Jewish community to preserve the Jewish state; not only American Jews' lobbying of Congress, but also their lobbying of the American public

at large, the way in which they keep Israel on the American agenda and reiterate its affinity with American values. "Pull the American Jews out of the relationship," remarked Zvi Rafiah, a former congressional liaison of Israel's Embassy in Washington, "and the whole thing will start to shake."

In other words, Israel's future security depends, in part, on a vibrant American Jewish community that does not move to Israel. Therein lies Israel's dilemma: It has to help strengthen and perpetuate the American Jewish community for its own security, but in doing so, it encourages a viable alternative to Zionism. Worse, Israelis know that in many ways American Jewry came of age in terms of fund raising, institutional life, pride and self-confidence through a collective identification with Israel.

No wonder Israelis are slightly ambivalent toward American Jewry: They have nurtured and given vitality to a community with which they are now in competition and which undermines their own centrality.

To avoid confronting this situation head on, Israeli and American Jewish leaders play out something of a charade. When American Jewish leaders come to Israel for a visit they are constantly asked to intone that they are committed to the "centrality of Israel," and they might even drop in a line about how their "grandchildren

will come on *aliyah*," or immigration, but not themselves. It is not surprising that Israelis often quip that an "American Zionist is someone who tells someone else to go to Israel."

Still, the relatively small numbers of American Jews who have settled here have not been without influence, observed Charles Liebman, an expert on Israel-Diaspora relations at Bar-Ilan University. In the past, American Jewish immigrants, and the links between America and Israel, have helped buttress trends toward liberalism in Israel and provide a counterweight to the pressures to become a more fanatical and closed society. Israel's feminist, civil-rights and peace movements are all top-heavy with immigrants from America.

The problem, some Israelis contend, is that even the small numbers of American and European immigrants imbued with liberal Western values have stopped coming, and without their voting weight the more right-wing fundamentalist elements in the society are gaining strength. The few American immigrants coming to Israel today are largely ultra-Orthodox messianic Jews or right-wing extremists, such as Rabbi Meir Kahane. "The Americans used to send us at least a few of their best and brightest," remarked Mr. Barnea, the journalist. "That is no longer the case."

At the same time, some American

Jews are playing a less obvious, but, to some, a possibly more ominous, role in Israel. American Jews, fearing growing assimilation among their own youth, frequently give financial support to ultra-Orthodox religious schools or movements in Israel, believing that this will somehow strengthen Judaism, or "save Jewish souls" from assimilation.

While these Israeli religious parties and yeshivas present themselves abroad as people saving Jews from assimilation, within Israel they have become political activists with their own agendas. Many of these institutions are essentially antidemocratic, antipluralistic and non-Zionist, opposing everything from a bill outlawing racism to daylight saving time to contacts between Jews and Arabs or between religious Jews and secular Jews. Through their contributions, some American Jews may be unwittingly helping to create an Israeli society in which they themselves — not to mention many Israelis — could never live.

This is only one reason why in the coming years Israel could become religiously, and maybe politically, unrecognizable to many American Jews. The Orthodox stream of Judaism, which is the only stream recognized in Israel, has been trying for several years to pass a law in the Knesset, the "who is a Jew" amendment, which would in effect undercut

(Continued on Page 50)

When Your Travel Plans Expand, So Should Your Garment Bag.



Ah, the bag's packed and you're enjoying that last cup of coffee.

Ring.

"I'll get it."

One phone call, and your three-day trip has just become a six-day trip.

A quick zip and your three-day garment bag has just become a six-day garment bag. That's why we call our zipper the FasTrac™ and it's on a garment bag where the main clothing compartment can instantly double in size.

It's the Lark Expand-Able™ Garment Bag, one of seven Lark Expand-Able™ luggage styles.

And by the way, if you're not as wild about our new Pewter or Classic Black as we are, well, there are seven other colors to choose from.

So, finish the coffee and kiss your family goodbye. They may find the three extra days hard to take, but your garment bag won't.



Lark®

Luggage For Your Expanding Needs.™

SHISEIDO B.H-24 DAY/NIGHT ESSENCE

BIO-RHYTHMIC SKINCARE. 2 MINUTES. 4 DROPS. 24 HOUR TREATMENT.

Your skin has a biological clock all its own. And now there is a skincare made to respond to it. From the Shiseido Life Science Laboratories of Japan, where skincare science is an art, Shiseido bio-technology has duplicated one of nature's most powerful moisturizers. And concentrated it in every drop of new B.H-24 with Bio-Hyaluronic Acid.

B.H-24 Day Essence gives concentrated protection when light and environment can be most damaging.

B.H-24 Night Essence concentrates nourishment when cell rejuvenation is at its fastest rate. Used day and night, B.H-24 responds to the particular needs of your skin. Without a complicated regimen. Now 4 drops a day is all you need for the smooth, clear radiance of younger-looking skin.

Shiseido B.H-24 Day/Night Bio-Rhythmic Skincare. At last, you have time for younger-looking skin.



SHISEIDO
bloomingdale's



It's the only Palace
in the world
where the Queen stands guard.

From the glow of the tapers on the 4-foot candelabra to the 100-year-old pastel panels of a royal court in amorous play, Leona Helmsley ensures the grandeur as a promise that each function held in the elegant oval-shaped Versailles Ballroom is one to remember. What better way to lavish her royal family. You. Her guests.

It's The Helmsley Palace

455 Madison Avenue (at 50th Street), New York, NY 10022.
For reservations call toll-free: 800/221-4982 or in NY, 212/888-1624.
TELEX: 640-543. Or call your travel agent.

The only hotel in New York ever to receive the
Five Diamond Award

The Leading Hotels of the World



ALON REININGER/CONTACT

Rabbi David Hartman, philosopher: After the 1967 war, "The Israeli Jew was heroic. American Jews suddenly started visiting Israel in droves and identifying with it like never before."

gets the money is responsible for paying it back."

Israeli officials concede that there is no question that Israel's economic dependence on America has meant a loss of political independence. Some Israelis try to cover up this reality with the kind of cockiness reflected in a T-shirt now being sold in Jerusalem. It is emblazoned with an Israeli F-16 fighter-bomber and the words: "America don't worry. Israel is behind you." T-shirts aside, notes Amos Eiran, a former director general of the Prime Minister's office, "The dependency relationship affects our ability to take a different line, even when we disagree."

"One kind of dependency is when you are told what to do," explained a senior Israeli policy maker. "That rarely happens with the United States. The other form of dependency is when you act on the basis of anticipated reactions. That happens all the time. It is now a built-in feature of daily policy making here that we ask ourselves: 'What will the Americans say if we do this, what will they say if we do that?'"

By and large, America and Israel do think alike on most issues, and Israelis almost universally admire America's values and democratic way of life. There is virtually no anti-Americanism in Israel, even on the left. In fact, the left in Israel is far more pro-American than the right. The most pro-American Israeli newspaper is the far left

Al-Hamishmar, which often appeals to America to get more involved in saving the Israeli Government from itself or, more precisely, from taking extreme steps, such as invading Lebanon, which the left doesn't have the political strength to prevent.

Traditionally, however, American officials have been reluctant to use their leverage on Israel, because of the domestic political ramifications it could have with American Jews and other supporters of Israel and out of a belief, which some Israelis feel is debatable, that it would be counterproductive.

At times, Israel has taken advantage of this forbearance. The recent case of a senior Israeli official, Rafael Eitan, who was allegedly running a spy operation in Washington is one example. So is the fact that Israel has been settling Ethiopian Jews on the West Bank with American money, despite having promised not to.

The dependency relationship that now exists between Israel and the United States has complicated the relationship between Israeli Jews and American Jews.

On the one hand, one finds in Israel a sincere admiration for American Jews, both for what they have accomplished in America and what they have contributed to Israel. Project Renewal, for example, a program in which individual American Jewish communities sponsor urban renewal and education projects in "sister cities," has had a

America gives Israel \$4 billion a year, which makes Washington's wishes a constant concern in Jerusalem.

ican subsidization of current policies, which puts off the day when Israel has to bite the bullet."

American aid has deeply affected the entire fabric of Israeli economic life. It has enabled successive Israeli Governments to sustain economic growth and an ever-increasing public sector, which were badly needed to attract and hold immigrants, despite the huge defense budgets. But the aid also became a crutch, and the Israeli Government probably never would have grown to the bulbous size that it has, with about a third of the work force on the government payroll, if it had been forced to raise additional taxes rather than turn to America.

The absence of self-sufficiency in the Israeli economy today is also partly traceable to the fact that everyone in Israel knows there is a lender of last resort, said the economist Professor Ben-Po-

rath. "The private sector grew under the protective canopy of the Government, and the Government grew under the protective canopy of another Government." All of this, he added, has brought Israel a long way from the original Zionist concept of economic self-reliance.

There are more than a few businessmen and economists who feel that Israel would be better off today with a less generous Uncle Sam. As one of Israel's leading industrialists, Stef Wertheimer, told the newspaper Davar recently: "The key is the American money. If we get rid of it, we will really be free, and I will throw a big party. Because without that money we will have to work more and harder. We must tell the Americans: Give us money only as loans to private industry, also to kibbutzim and agriculture — but directly. Whoever



DENNIS BRACK/BLACK STAR

Talking strategy: American Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger welcoming Israel's Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin to a meeting in Washington this month.



SVEN NACKSTRAND/GAMMA-LIAISON

An Israeli Navy hydrofoil, equipped with an American-made missile launcher. After the Six Day War in 1967, American assistance increased.

Yom Kippur war, when the self-image of an invincible Israel also began to change as Syria and Egypt mounted a successful surprise attack. The grandiosity of '67 gave way, to be replaced eventually by the sobriety and economic retrenchment that has characterized the post-Lebanon-invasion era.

"I think the Israeli self-image has deteriorated, and this has affected people's perceptions of America," argued the Harvard-trained Israeli economist Yoram Ben-Porath. "When I was much younger, Israel was at the takeoff of enormous achievement, growth, absorption of Jews and turning the deserts green, with all the macho pioneer spirit that went with it. We had a certain supremacy complex toward American Jews. There was no doubt that we were in the right place for Jews. With our maturity, we lost some of these elements. The society became more normal; it became clear after the 1973 war that the fight for survival was not a one-shot affair, but a never-ending struggle. It wasn't so patently obvious that this was the safest or most exciting place for Jews. The sense of absolute moral superiority began to disappear." And so, too, did the willingness of some Israelis to put up with the extraordinary pressures of everyday life, from Army service to the increasing inroads of religious extremism.

R

ONI RABIN IS AN American Jewish woman in her 20's who just emigrated after having lived in Israel for several years when she was younger. "Up until a few years ago," she said, "whenever I came for a visit Israelis would always say to me: 'Why are you going back to

America? This is your home. What kind of life do you even have in America?' Now, I find people saying to me: 'Why on earth did you leave America?' They act like I am some kind of freak."

It used to be a stigma to leave Israel. No one ever left for good, only for "visits," or, as one Israeli teacher remarked, "My sister went to New York for one year — 15 years ago." But that is no longer true. The epithet of the *yored*, someone who leaves Israel, has been undergoing a transformation in recent years from a label of denigration ("the refuse of society," Mr. Rabin once called them) to a neutral technical term.

Twenty years ago, noted Nahum Barnea, editor of the political weekly *Koteret Rasheet*, famous Israeli emigrants to America like the businessman Meshulam Riklis or the film producer Menachem Golan would be a little ashamed to show their faces in Israel, and if the Israeli press wrote about them it was in the negative. "Today, a day rarely goes by without a story about Menachem Golan in the Israeli newspapers," said Mr. Barnea. "Now he is a role model. The Israeli who made it in America. He is the ultimate Israeli man. The press no longer refers to them as *yordim* but as 'Israeli Americans.'"

An Israeli acquaintance confides that several of her friends were careful to give their babies names that would be easily pronounceable and understandable in English, just in case they should move to America. Mr. Chafetz noted that his Israeli friends were absolutely baffled by the fact that he was not bringing up his son to speak both Hebrew and English, but only Hebrew. "They consider it a crime on the order of childbeating," he remarked.

With so many Israelis now living in America, noted Mr. Tzur, "we are for the first time facing the problem of a large expatriate community abroad. There are something like Israeli Chinatowns in New York and Los Angeles. They have

their own Hebrew newspapers, a television station and radio stations. The figures have become so large we have to ask ourselves: 'How do we deal with them? Do we condemn them?' We have decided not to give them any ideological approval, but also not to ban them. We set up an office to try to get them back."

JUST AS THE 1967 WAR INITIATED AN ERA OF materialism that hooked individual Israelis on America, so it also made Israel into a regional superpower, occupying 24,700 square miles of Arab territory. Paradoxically, the more powerful the Israeli state grew, the more it became dependent on the United States.

De Gaulle's honeymoon with Israel ended with the Six Day War, forcing Israel to look increasingly to Washington. The United States was cautious at first about becoming Israel's patron. However, after 1970, when the Russians deepened their direct involvement with Egypt and backed a Syrian attempt to destabilize Jordan, the Nixon Administration shucked off its "even-handed approach" and began to view Israel as something of a strategic asset in East-West terms. It was only then that the floodgates of economic and military aid were opened. After the 1973 Yom Kippur war, when Israel's defense costs soared astronomically, American aid became a matter of economic and military life or death.

A story is told about a group of Israeli farmers from the Negev who came to visit the late Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in his office one day. "Mr. Prime Minister," the farmers said, "we have a terrible problem. There has been a drought." A concerned Mr. Eshkol exclaimed, "A drought! Oh, my God, where?" The farmers answered, "Why, in the Negev of course." Mr. Eshkol looked relieved. "If it's in the Negev, O.K.," he said. "Just as long as there is no drought in America."

Indeed, the figures supported Mr. Eshkol. Since 1948, Israel has received more than \$30 billion in grants and loans from the United States.

Undoubtedly, the Jewish vote in America and Israel's role in America's global defense go a long way toward explaining this extraordinary level of aid. But they do not tell the whole story. The aid is too out of proportion. It is clear that Israel also touches something very deep in the American consciousness.

"Israel evokes the pioneer spirit of American democracy," remarked Rabbi Hartman. "It also touches a deep spiritualism in America and its biblical roots. The United States may need Saudi Arabia, but Saudi Arabia doesn't touch America's soul, or its sentimentality about the American dream. I don't view Israel's dependency on America as something that has gone wrong, or is sick. It derives from the fact that this nation is mirroring something very deep in America."

Some Israelis, however, find Israel's unusual level of economic dependence on America more worrisome — no matter what its roots. Virtually all American economic aid to foreign countries is given in the form of "project" assistance, whereby the recipient country has to meet stringent criteria about how every penny is spent, and American officials oversee the dispersal of funds, with all of the friction that can entail.

Not so with Israel. American economic aid to Israel goes directly into the state treasury, and the Israeli Cabinet alone decides how to spend it — whether on West Bank settlements, erecting low-income housing or running a ministry. At the end of the year, Israel has only to give an accounting of how the money was spent, and it can and does put on that account sheet virtually anything it wants.

Said one American official who has dealt extensively with Israel: "Of course there's no friction. All the U.S. does is sign a check and hand it over. But that is also the weakness of the arrangement. Because it is so easy for Israel to live under, it tends to be self-perpetuating. It becomes an Amer-

lion in military and economic assistance last year, about a third of the Israeli Government's disposable budget, is actually of very recent vintage. Until 1966, the United States did not supply weapons to Israel, and economic aid was limited to small loans. Within Israel's ruling Labor Party there was much talk in the early 1950's about bipolarity and the importance of balancing between the United States and the Soviet Union, which was still referred to by many Zionist-Socialists as *HaMoledet Hashniya*, the second homeland.

"I may be married to a nice Jewish girl from Brooklyn today," remarked an Israeli friend with roots in the Labor Party, "but when I am in the shower in the morning, I still sing all of the Russian Red Army songs I learned in my youth group in the 50's."

It was only after Stalin turned openly anti-Semitic and Israel gave open support for America in the Korean War that the Soviet Union faded as a potential ally. Israel then began its love affair with Charles de Gaulle's France, which became the Jewish state's main arms supplier. French culture was all the rage; the Israeli elite vacationed in Paris, and French singers such as the *Compagnons de la Chanson* dominated the airwaves. Elvis was a distant echo. Few Israelis could afford to travel beyond Europe, and since television was not introduced in Israel until 1968, popular American culture was less well known. What Israelis did know of American culture was often consciously rejected out of the feeling of pioneer moral superiority that prevailed then.

"When I emigrated to Israel in the 1960's," said the Israeli author Ze'ev Chafetz, "I wouldn't say that people pitied me for being an American, but there was no great attraction. America was seen as being in eclipse — race riots, drugs, Vietnam, hippies. Israelis laughed at Coca-Cola and women who shaved their legs, and weird things like under-arm deodorant."

ISRAEL'S SWEEPING VICTORY IN the Six Day War in 1967 changed all of this. It injected a new spirit of grandiosity, of manifest destiny, into the country, creating new needs and new aspirations. It ushered out the pioneer era of simplicity in Israeli life and ushered in an era of consumerism, stock speculation, dollar accounts, credit cards and living beyond one's means, an era that peaked in the 1970's when Israel almost spent itself into bankruptcy.

The material riches offered by America suddenly gained a new appeal for Israelis. Popular American culture cascaded in through television, movies and advertisements.

"I saw a Hebrew advertisement the other day for contact lenses," remarked Udi Eiran, an 11th-grader living in Herzliya, near Tel Aviv. "It said on it, 'American contact lenses,' and there was a big American flag. It really irritates me when we chase after everything 'American.' What does being 'American' have to do with contact lenses? What's wrong with Israeli contact lenses? I know the spread of American culture is a worldwide phenomenon. But Israeli society is not like Japan. Israel set out to consciously create something different."

In the old days, when you lived "American style" in Israel, it meant you stood out like a sore thumb. Now you stand out if you don't. Israelis eat hamburgers at MacDavid, shop at American-style supermarkets, count their wealth in dollars, not shekels, and are as likely to dress up as Rambo on the Halloween-like Purim festival as they are Haman or Esther. Americans who emigrated to Israel after 1967, attracted to the simple and fairly primitive ways of Israeli life, now complain that Israel is turning into precisely what they were trying to escape.

Israel's victory in the Six Day War reshaped not only how Israelis looked at themselves but also how American Jews looked at Israel. "It was as though American Jews had found a long-lost member of their family," said the Israeli philosopher Rabbi David Hartman, director of the Shalom Hartman Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies. "The Israeli Jew was not frightened, he was not timid. He was heroic. Look at how he knocked off three Arab armies at once. American Jews suddenly started visiting Israel in droves and identifying with it like never before. It made them feel proud. And so Israel sent America its war heroes. Yitzhak Rabin, the Chief of Staff during the Six Day War, was sent as Ambassador to Washington, and then more generals, and then the Israeli kids went and America wine and dined and spoiled them all."



ALON REININGER/CONTACT

A softball game in Tel Aviv. As Israel's pioneer aspect faded, a more easygoing, American life style appeared.

During this post-1967 period, the Jewish Agency started sending scores of *shlichim*, or envoys, to America to attract American Jews to Israel. While no one in Israel likes to talk about it, a number of those *shlichim* ended up staying in America.

"Israelis looked at America like Americans looked at Las Vegas," remarked Mr. Elazar. "People described it in the same terms they used in ancient Israel to describe ancient Egypt, *Sir Haba-sar*, the fleshpot. It wasn't seen as a serious place, just a wonderful place."

Visiting America at least once became a rite of passage for many Israeli youths between finishing high school or the Army and starting a job.

It was during this post-1967 period that America began to pose a serious existential challenge to the Zionist revolution. As Israel became a more "normal" society and more like America, it lost some of its distinct identity. And as America — even with continuing pockets of anti-Semitism — became a nicer place for Jews, "the terms of trade" began to change. Some Israelis began asking themselves: Why put up with an ersatz American life style when you can have the real thing? Why live in a narrow framework, when the expanses of America are open for your creative energies?

This questioning was intensified after the 1973



RICKI ROSEN/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

An Israeli cab driver in New York. Some 170,000 of Israel's 3.5 million Jews have left to settle in the more bountiful United States, where many minorities thrive.

raeli official, who deals with Jews abroad. "There are two Jewish homelands today. There is the Zionist Jewish homeland in Israel and the emancipated Jewish homeland in America."

Through another process unanticipated in earlier days, Israel has become so dependent on the United States for military, economic and political support that it has become legitimate among some Israelis to wonder aloud whether the end of the Zionist revolution will not be as the 51st state. Just a few weeks ago, Israel's Defense Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, was in Washington to sign up Israel as the third country in the world (after Britain and West Germany) to join the Strategic Defense Initiative. The move was made without even a Cabinet or Parliamentary debate. Uncle Sam is no longer a metaphor for Israe-

lis, but a reality. And with that reality of dependence has also come a love-hate relationship from the Israeli side, which for now is much more love than hate. Or, as the late Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir once quipped, "Israel is the only country in the world that loves America despite the fact that it gives it military and economic aid."

Still, neither Israelis nor Americans could be said to be happy with the challenges being posed to Israel by America and the dependency relationship that has developed. Many Israelis recognize the inherent long-term dangers in the situation and now seem to be discussing it more openly than ever before from all ends of the political spectrum.

The America-Israel relationship that exists today, with the United States providing almost \$4 bil-

'America defies all the rules of the game,' says an Israeli. 'It is actually a nice place for Jews to live.'



Saluting Israel in New York. Israel and America have been competing for years over Jews emigrating from other nations, and now they are competing for Israelis themselves.

RICKI ROSEN/SIPA-SPECIAL FEATURES

Take What You Have and Make It Better.

Introducing **PROGRAMME HOMME**

The skin resource for men from Lancôme, Paris.

Programme Homme helps you put your best face forward. Striking and handsomely groomed. Fragrance-free, dermatologically-tested products formulated for a man's skin. Used daily, it brings out your best and keeps it that way 24 hours a day. It's the dawning of a new era in men's skin care.



State of the Art Skin Care

Begins with a FIRST-OF-A-KIND shaving mousse. • Patent-pending grid aerates this extraordinary formula so it feels like a mousse, but acts like a cream. Even sensitive skin will be soothed and smoothed to perfection.

• With Programme Homme's shave, condition and special care categories, your skin will always be its very best.



LANCÔME
PARIS

Israel

America in the Mind of Israel

The United States has become a magnet, and role model, for Israelis. This poses a challenge to Zionism.

By Thomas L. Friedman

FOR ISRAEL'S FOUNDING fathers, America was supposed to be a benign distant giant, and the Jewish state was supposed to become self-sufficient, independent and so attractive that Jews from all over the world, including the United States, would flock there. Israel was going to be the center of the world, with its own original Hebrew culture, and America, in the mind of Israel, was going to be little more than an afterthought. But now, as a recent hit song in Israel puts it, "Everyone is dreaming about America."

Like most pop lyrics, they are a gross exaggeration, but they reflect the remarkable transformation that has taken place in the American-Israeli relationship since 1967. Israel was founded on the radical thesis that the Diaspora — Jewish communal life outside Israel — was not a viable solution for Jewish existence, that Jews could not survive in the Diaspora for long either culturally or physically and hence had to have a homeland of their own. For Israel's pioneer settlers coming from the ghettos of Eastern Europe, that was true. But America, with its bounty, pluralism and endless opportunities for Jews and other minorities, calls into question that thesis. America, in a way, has become the biggest challenge — some Israelis would even say threat — to Zionism, and as powerful a magnet for Jews as is Israel. Israel and America have been quietly competing for years over Jews

Thomas L. Friedman is chief of the Jerusalem bureau of The New York Times.

who leave the Soviet Union, Argentina or South Africa, and now they are competing for Israelis themselves. As some Israelis have put it, if Scarsdale exists, who needs Tel Aviv?

"The Zionist vision of history was that Israel would become so attractive a place to live, and the rest of the world so frightening for Jews, that they would all want to come live here," says Daniel J. Elazar, an Israeli political scientist. "What happened, though, was that America became so attractive to the largest segment of world Jewry — the American Jewish community — that they don't want to come here, and now some Israelis want to go there. What's worse, America defies all the rules of the game; it is actually a nice place for Jews to live."

To be sure, the great majority of Israelis continue to resist the attractions of America, both out of a refusal to live as a minority and out of a conviction that Israel remains the best place to fulfill their identity as members of a Jewish nation. Nonetheless, for a state based on the notion of "ingathering" Jews from all over the world, some recent statistics are troubling. About 170,000 of the 3.5 million Israeli Jews have moved to the United States on a permanent or semi-permanent basis, most of them in the last 20 years, according to the official estimates of Israel's Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. The unofficial estimates are 300,000 and above. This compares with the fact that only 50,000 American Jews have moved to Israel since the Jewish state was founded in 1948, and only 25 percent of American Jews have visited Israel even once, according to the Minister of Immigrant Absorption, Ya'acov Tzur.

In the decade of the 1970's, said Mr. Tzur, 265,000 Jews left the Soviet Union. Of those, 165,000 went to Israel and 100,000 to the United States and Canada. The percentage of those going to North America has risen so sharply in recent years that some Israeli officials have demanded that they be forced to come to Israel first.

"Let me put it to you bluntly," said one senior Is-

Middle East Policy Survey *a bi-weekly report on Washington and the Middle East*

A SURPRISE ARAB-ISRAELI SUMMIT

VINDICATION OF US POLICY

Key US officials were jubilant over Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres' visit to Morocco last week. This, despite the doubtful impact the visit will have on promoting the Arab-Israeli peace process. Instead, they view the trip as a vindication of the Reagan Administration's often maligned Middle East policy. "In 1986, in North Africa, we exposed two canards," said one US official. "The first is that the use of force will alienate the Arab world. We bombed Tripoli and only good things resulted. The second is that there would be 'no more Sadats' without the US assuming a central role. Hassan took care of that for us."

Administration officials were also congratulating themselves over the veil of secrecy they were able to maintain on the visit. "Literally dozens of people knew about the planning for nearly two weeks, yet they all kept their mouths shut," marvelled one State Department insider. "Either everyone has suddenly become very responsible or our security measures are beginning to work," he added.

In fact, few officials aware of the secret planning believed the visit would actually take place. "I wasn't convinced until last Thursday," said a key Administration insider. This lack of certainty highlights the relatively modest role the US played in arranging the meeting.

Hassan has for years dealt secretly with the Israelis. By virtue his generous interpretation of Moroccan citizenship rights for Israelis [even those born in Israel of Moroccan parents are freely able to travel "back home"], he has been able to meet with a steady flow of Israeli intermediaries. Although Hassan has long toyed with the idea of public face-to-face meetings with an Israeli Prime Minister, this effort began only in April, according to informed sources.

CHANGE OF VENUE

When it appeared that Peres' trip would conflict with Hassan's planned visit to Washington, some US officials urged that Hassan be kept to his original schedule and meet Peres afterwards. But the Moroccan king, apparently fearing the perception of US collusion insisted on postponement. "Our greatest concern was that Hassan wouldn't show up in Washington and Peres wouldn't get to Morocco," said one State Department insider.

As it was, the Moroccan explanation for the cancellation of Hassan's Washington trip - "fatigue" - didn't go over well with State Department officials who know the

King's work habits. "Hassan could no more suffer from fatigue than Reagan from eyestrain," quipped one Administration insider.

Fortunately, from the Administration's viewpoint, the Moroccans, concerned that "fatigue" sounded too much like an illness, soon added "other pressing business" as an excuse and few sought to question this rationale. "I guess it helped that the press wasn't very interested in Hassan's visit to begin with," said one State Department insider.

It was not only some US officials who pressed for Hassan to come to Washington. The Survey has learned Peres asked that his meeting with Hassan take place not in Ifrane, Morocco, but in Washington. US officials responded that the symbolic value of a meeting on Arab territory was too important to be missed. "Shimon was just plain wrong on that one," said one State Department official. In any event, Hassan wouldn't consider a Washington venue and as initiator, his word was final.

THE RISKS

US officials are still prepared to allow Hassan to call the shots. "We have a responsibility to Hassan," said one State Department official. "He has taken all the risks and we aren't going to second guess him at this point." And assessing the risks has become a major preoccupation among US officials as well as Arab diplomats.

In undertaking substantial risks, Hassan, US analysts believe, is exposing other Moroccans rather than himself to new dangers. "Hassan has a first rate security system," says one US expert. But he adds, "Moroccan interests, embassies and the like have surely been put at much greater risk." Another US analyst after congratulating Hassan on his courage, said, "There's a thin line between being courageous and foolhardy." And this official expects Syrian-backed terrorist attacks as well as "free lance Abu Nidal type operations" against Moroccan officials abroad.

Moderate Arab diplomats are, for the most part, equally apprehensive. "This is going to produce a lot of headaches for North Africa," says one Arab Ambassador. A colleague agrees, adding that as Syrian President Hafez Assad becomes more suspicious of and angry with Hassan, he will become more "ruthless" not only towards Morocco, but other moderate Arabs as well. However, this diplomat believes Jordan's King Hussein has been able to allay Assad's suspicions of Jordanian complicity. [In fact, according to US sources, Hussein was not party to any of the Peres-Hassan planning. US ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering did visit Amman two weeks ago. But it was on an unrelated matter, say these sources. "It just was extraordinarily bad timing," said one State Department official.]

HASSAN'S CALCULUS

Arab diplomats and US analysts are also critical of what they consider Hassan's grandstanding. "Hassan has been looking for a way to get back into the limelight," says one State Department insider. "Hassan wanted to be helpful," says an Arab diplomat. "But he also wanted headlines."

A number of Arab observers and US officials believe Hassan miscalculated if he believed his dramatic gesture would create a major change in the Israeli negotiating position. "The Israelis are tough bargainers," says one US official. "They won't give substance in exchange for a gesture."

A particular Arab criticism of Hassan is that he is not in a position to negotiate with Israel. "He doesn't have lost territory to regain," is the way one Arab diplomat puts it. The Jordanians are particularly incensed since they believe if Peres has any offers to make, they should be sent to Hussein.

Another, perhaps more valid, Jordanian concern is the impact of Hassan's gesture in light of Hussein's recent substantive moves against the PLO and his attempt to gain support among West Bank Palestinians. "This will slow down acceptance of Jordan among West Bankers," says one Arab diplomat. "Palestinian nationalism will now increase and make Hussein's efforts on the West Bank more difficult," he argues.

Compounding Hussein's problems is Hassan's strong support of PLO Chief Yassir Arafat. But, say US analysts, no matter the verbal backing the Moroccan King gives Arafat, the PLO position has been further eroded by the visit of an Israeli Prime Minister to another Arab country. As a result, says one State Department analyst, "Husein is considerably less exposed than he was last week."

A MINORITY VIEW

There is a minority view that Hassan will eventually gain an advantage not only for himself, but the entire Arab world through this gesture. With the notable exception of Syria, Arab reaction, these analysts note, has so far been muted. Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi has been unusually quiet. ["And has been since the Tripoli raid," says one satisfied US official. "For some reason he thinks we are trying to kill him."] But after Hassan "mends fences" at home and throughout the Arab world, he will be able to present a "convincing" case to European and American opinion, goes this line of argument.

"Look at it this way," says one European diplomat. "When the dust clears, the Israelis will look calculating and small-minded. Hassan, by contrast, will appear eloquent and generous. He will take a triumphant tour of Europe and America, ...making it clear Israel doesn't want peace. He will switch the images..."

But most US officials and, more important, Arab diplomats don't agree. "Hassan, despite his pretensions, is not a statesman of world magnitude," says one US official. Adds one Arab ambassador, "Only major behind-the-scenes movement would have allowed Hassan to jump into the driver's seat."

Instead, one Arab diplomat, reflecting the near unanimous views of his colleagues, predicts only trouble ahead for Hassan. "He won't be able even to play his old role as convener of summits. He failed. He didn't get anything."

US HELP TO MOROCCO

But US officials say they will make sure Hassan gets something, at least on a ~~bilateral basis, from the US.~~ "We need to be the countervailing weight to any negative Arab reaction," says one State Department official. "We have a vested interest."

Among the assistance that will be considered, according to informed sources, is an increase in economic aid to Morocco - to at least \$175 million for its present level of \$140 million. ["Where it would have been if Hassan hadn't gotten together with Qaddafi last year," said one State Department insider.] The Moroccans have also expressed considerable interest in obtaining F-16 fighter aircraft. The problem has been financing, but US officials expect to take another look at what one calls "some creative approaches."

Even before his dramatic meeting with Peres, Hassan was considered "quite a bargain" by a wide range of US officials. The American military (mostly the air force) holds exercises in Morocco 8-10 times a year. There is a Voice of America transmitter in Tangier. And Morocco has agreed to be an alternative landing site for the US space shuttle.

Still, speculation that Morocco is destined to join Israel and Egypt in the foreign aid "big leagues" is quickly scotched by a number of US officials. "I hope Hassan has heard of Gramm-Rudman," said one State Department insider. "It is nearly impossible now to increase aid." Says another, "My belief is that there won't be another Egypt - in dollar terms - in my lifetime."

Instead of major financial aid, what one Administration official calls "quick, surefooted diplomacy" is what the US is prepared to offer immediately. "We must consolidate this gain," he says.

ENTER GEORGE BUSH

The visit this weekend to the region by Vice President George Bush offers the Administration its first opportunity to follow-up on the Hassan-Peres meeting. According to State Department sources, the Vice President's aides were eager to go to Rabat. But they quickly backed off when Hassan made it clear he didn't welcome a high-profile US visit. "They don't want us," said one US official. "It's up to Hassan," said another. "If he wants us to keep our distance, we keep our distance, period."

Still, Bush's advisers are pleased that the trip has taken on an air of importance. "At least we're not going into a vacuum now," said one. However, what they are going into - against their better political judgment - is a meeting in Jerusalem with West Bank political "notables."

BUSH AND THE PALESTINIANS

The Bush party, after first rejecting the proposal of a Palestinian meeting, reconsidered this week. This came as a result of strong representations by Secretary of State George Shultz. In a memorandum sent to the Vice President, Shultz argued that it was routine for foreign dignitaries to meet with non-PLO Palestinian leaders. He cited recent meetings by Italian Prime Minister Andreotti and British Prime Minister Thatcher. ["But," responded one Bush operative, "The British won't sell arms to Israel and the Italians have a PLO office in Rome."]

Notwithstanding some political grumbling, Bush's staff went along with the State Department's advice. But now one complains, "They [State Department] won't tell us who we are supposed to meet." The problem, according to one State Department official, is that "the usual tame bunch" doesn't want to meet with Bush. [One novel solution offered by a State Department official, "Let's have the Palestinians meet with Bush's political advisers."]

OUTLOOK

If Bush, accompanied by key White House and State Department Middle East experts, can keep the momentum going, it will surprise Arabs and Israelis alike. Although Hassan and Peres were able to issue a "joint communique" ["No mean accomplishment," says one State Department analyst], they basically agreed to disagree.

"I hope Bush does some good," says one Israeli. "Or the Arabs are going to let it [the Summit] pass as an event." This well-informed Israeli echoes some Arab arguments when he says, "We had no issues to negotiate with Hassan. The people who we have to negotiate with still don't want to."

But, say Arab diplomats, the Israelis should be delighted. Peres, they argue, has boosted his domestic standing. The US strategy towards the region, which one Arab diplomat calls "neglect, that may or may not be benign," is harmonious with Israeli policy. And Israel has garnered yet more acceptance in the region - at no cost, so far.



July 31, 1986

Israel
THE "BLACK HEBREWS"

In April 1986, 45 "Black Hebrews" were arrested for illegal residence and employment in Israel, and expulsion orders were given by the Ministry of the Interior. The defendants submitted a petition to the Israel Supreme Court in order to prevent their expulsion from the country. The Court issued a temporary injunction against their expulsion until the case was reviewed. Yesterday, July 30, the Israel Supreme Court decided that the expulsion orders are valid.

The sect generally referred to by the name "Black Hebrews" originated primarily among blacks living in Chicago. Ideologically, they claim to be the descendants of the original Hebrews, and thus the "true" inheritors of the Land of Israel to which they are "returning," even though it has been "taken over" by the Jews. Leaders and members of the sect have participated in anti-Semitic and anti-Israel campaigns in the United States (at times they have cooperated with Farrakhan) and elsewhere.

Most members of the sect have, under false pretenses, illegally infiltrated Israel. They have done this by using forged passports and stolen airline tickets, by masquerading as clergy or visitors from Africa, and by other means. Not only have the members of the sect abused Israel's traditional hospitality, but, once in Israel, they have secluded themselves within a closed community, ignoring the laws of the country. Led by Ben-Ami Carter, they recognize him as sole "authority."

Most of the sect's funds come from the United States, often through fraud, robbery, forgery, and other forms of organized crime. Nine "Black Hebrews" were yesterday convicted in D. C. Federal Court for operating an international crime ring that used millions of dollars of stolen airline tickets and forged credit cards to purchase hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of merchandise.

Neither Israel nor any other sovereign state can be expected to capitulate to the dictates of any group which arbitrarily decides to take up residence and impose itself, under false pretenses, upon the rest of society.

Israel does not have a policy of discrimination on any grounds -- including race and skin color -- but does not accept the illegal presence of the "Black Hebrews."

Israel's Ministry of the Interior will not conduct any negotiations with the sect, but, following the dissolution of the group in Israel, will consider individual requests to stay in the country in accordance with the laws and regulations of the state.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

THE "BLACK HEBREWS"

In April 1986, 45 "Black Hebrews" were arrested for illegal residence and employment in Israel, and expulsion orders were given by the Ministry of the Interior. The defendants submitted a petition to the Israel Supreme Court in order to prevent their expulsion from the country. The Court issued a temporary injunction against their expulsion until the case was reviewed. On July 30, the Israel Supreme Court decided that the expulsion orders are valid.

The sect generally referred to by the name "Black Hebrews" originated primarily among blacks living in Chicago. Ideologically, they claim to be the descendants of the original Hebrews, and thus the "true" inheritors of the Land of Israel to which they are "returning," even though it has been "taken over" by the Jews. Leaders and members of the sect have participated in anti-Semitic and anti-Israel campaigns in the United States (at times they have cooperated with Farrakhan) and elsewhere.

Before arriving in Israel, members of the sect attempted to settle in Liberia, but after two years there most were expelled when the Liberian authorities became aware of their intentions and character. The Liberian Attorney-General James A. A. Pierre noted that the "Black Hebrews" were "undesirable aliens without any apparent intention of becoming useful to the country." Milt Greaves, an official of the Liberian Information Ministry, explained that when the "Black Hebrews"

"...arrived in Liberia, they stated that there were others in Chicago also interested in coming to settle in Liberia. The basis of identification then was that we were all 'Black soul brothers' who had to stand together. When they discovered that Liberia, a developing country, could ill afford parasites merely because they were 'soul brothers,' they decided to seek greener pastures."

The first "Black Hebrew" group reached Israel in 1969. At first, the Israeli authorities dealt with them courteously and hospitably. Israel's borders are open to all bona fide visitors of all faiths and nationalities. This is true even for citizens of countries which do not have diplomatic relations with Israel, as well as for citizens of states which are legally in a state of war or belligerence with Israel, such as the Arab states. Of course, Israel's borders are open to the citizens of friendly nations, especially visitors from the United States. After learning about the sect and its intentions, Israel's Supreme Court was asked to pass judgement on the matter in 1972. The court decided that the "Black Hebrews" are not Jews and therefore the Law of Return is not applicable to them.

Since then, many more additional members of the sect have, under false pretenses, illegally infiltrated Israel. They have done this by using forged passports and stolen airline tickets, by masquerading as clergy or visitors from Africa, and by other means.

Not only have the members of the sect abused Israel's traditional hospitality, but, once in Israel, they have secluded themselves within a closed community, ignoring the laws of the country. Led by Ben-Ami Carter, they recognize him as sole "authority." They have surrendered to Ben-Ami Carter --who rules by decree, intimidation, and physical punishment -- their personal funds, possessions, and passports. Carter is the sole arbiter and judge on such matters as marriage and divorce. He conducts internal educational and medical systems, lacking often in essentials. No births or deaths are recorded; the dead are secretly buried at night without informing the appropriate authorities.

Most of the sect's funds come from the United States, often through fraud, robbery, forgery, and other forms of organized crime. In 1985, 26 "Black Hebrews" in the United States were arrested by the FBI and charged with theft and fraud totaling \$10 million; 9 of them were convicted in D. C. Federal Court on July 30, 1986 for operating an international crime ring that used millions of dollars of stolen airline tickets and forged credit cards to purchase hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of merchandise. Their links with the sect's members in Israel, including the use of the stolen merchandise to support the "Black Hebrews" in Israel, were also exposed.

"Black Hebrew" defendants have also been convicted in a couple of other criminal cases in the United States. These included: the conviction on July 22, 1986 of six female members for conspiracy and wire fraud in a welfare fraud scheme; the conviction in early 1984 in Michigan of three "House of Judah" members for child abuse and manslaughter (following the beating to death of a twelve-year-old boy).

Their illegal presence in Israel, and the corresponding problems, led the matter to be brought before the Knesset and, in 1978, the Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg appointed a public committee chaired by former Knesset Member David Glass. The Glass Committee noted the negative nature of the sect's presence in Israel, but, cognizant of other ramifications, recommended allowing the "Black Hebrews" already in Israel to remain within a special mutually-agreed framework on the condition that all further illegal infiltration would stop.

The Minister of the Interior, after studying the Glass Committee's proposals, decided not to accept them.

The current Minister of the Interior, Yitzhak Peretz, has set the following basis for Israel's policy vis-a-vis the sect:

1. The "Black Hebrews" sect members conduct their affairs in a closed and secretive manner, flout the laws of Israel which the "Black Hebrews" consider to be illegitimate, and express anti-Semitic sentiments.

2. Neither Israel nor any other sovereign state can be expected to capitulate to the dictates of any group which arbitrarily decides to take up residence and impose itself, under false pretenses, upon the rest of society.

3. Considering the above, the Glass Committee's recommendations were not accepted by the former nor the current Minister of the Interior.

4. Israel does not have a policy of discrimination on any grounds -- including race and skin color -- but does not accept the illegal presence of the "Black Hebrews."

5. The Ministry of the Interior will not conduct any negotiations with the sect, but, following the dissolution of the group in Israel, will consider individual requests to stay in the country in accordance with the laws and regulations of the state.

At a time when Israel must contend with serious economic problems, including rising unemployment, the presence of illegal immigrants becomes an even more acute problem. This holds true for illegal residents of whatever nationality and ethnic background. Indeed, in 1985, 800 illegal aliens from several countries were expelled -- of these only 25 were "Black Hebrews" -- and thus far in 1986, another 100 illegal aliens have been expelled from Israel.

M. Lopez NEA/IAI-6247

GUEST LIST FOR THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH IN HONOR OF HIS EXCELLENCY SHIMON PERES, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1984, AT 7:30 P.M. IN THE COURTYARD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

- His Excellency Shimon Peres, Prime Minister of Israel
- His Excellency the Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel and Mrs. Shamir
- His Excellency the Ambassador of Israel and Mrs. Rosenne
- Mr. Abraham Tamir, Director General of the Prime Minister's Office and National Security Adviser to the Prime Minister
- Mr. Yossi Beilin, Government Secretary
- Mr. Hanan Bar-On, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Avraham Ben Yosef, Assistant Director General, Ministry of Defense
- Mr. Nimrod Novik, Political Adviser to the Prime Minister
- Mr. Yosef Ben-Aharon, Political Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs
- The Honorable Dan Halperin, Minister (Economic Affairs), and Mrs. Halperin, Embassy of Israel
- Mr. Robbie Sabel, Political Counselor, and Mrs. Sabel, Embassy of Israel
- Mr. Victor Harel, Press Counselor, and Mrs. Harel, Embassy of Israel
- Brigadier General Uri Simhony, Defense Attache, and Mrs. Simhony, Embassy of Israel
- Mr. Al Schwimmer, Adviser to the Prime Minister
- Colonel Azriel Nevo, Military Aide to the Prime Minister
- Mr. Avi Pazner, Press Counselor to the Foreign Minister

United Nations

His Excellency Benjamin Netanyahu, Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, and Mrs. Netanyahu

1984

Administration

The Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary of State, and Mrs. Shultz

The Honorable Donald Regan, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mrs. Regan

The Honorable Margaret Heckler, Secretary of Health and Human Services (Cocktails only)

The Honorable Edwin Meese, III, Counselor to the President, and Mrs. Meese

The Honorable William Casey, Director, Central Intelligence Agency, and Mrs. Casey

The Honorable Jeane Kirkpatrick, Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, and Dr. Kirkpatrick

The Honorable William Brock, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

White House

The Honorable Marshall Breger, Special Assistant to the President, and Mrs. Breger

Senate

The Honorable John Warner, United States Senate (R-Virginia)

Congress

The Honorable Lee Hamilton, United States House of Representatives (D-Indiana), and Mrs. Hamilton

The Honorable Benjamin Gilman, United States House of Representatives (R-New York), and Miss Rita Helhoffer, guest

The Honorable Bobbi Fiedler, United States House of Representatives (R-California), and Mr. Paul Clark, guest

The Honorable Meldon E. Levine, United States House of Representatives (D-California), and Mrs. Levine

Department of State

The Honorable Kenneth Dam, Deputy Secretary of State, and Mrs. Dam

The Honorable Michael Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Mrs. Armacost

The Honorable W. Allen Wallis, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and Mrs. Wallis

The Honorable Richard Fairbanks, Ambassador at Large

The Honorable Selwa Roosevelt, Chief of Protocol, and Mr. Roosevelt

The Honorable Samuel W. Lewis, American Ambassador to Israel

The Honorable John Hughes, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

The Honorable Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Mrs. Murphy

General John Chain, Director, Politico-Military Affairs, and Mrs. Chain

Mr. Peter Rodman, Chairman, Policy Planning Council, and Mrs. Rodman

Mr. Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., Director, Office of Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Mrs. Wilcox

National Security Council

The Honorable Robert McFarlane, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Mrs. McFarlane

The Honorable Geoffrey Kemp, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director of Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council, and Mrs. Kemp

Mr. Howard Teicher, Director, Near East and South Asia Affairs, National Security Council, and Mrs. Teicher

Department of the Treasury

The Honorable Beryl Sprinkel, Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs, and Mrs. Sprinkel

The Honorable David Mulford, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs, and Miss Jeannie Simmons, guest

Department of Agriculture

The Honorable Richard Lyng, Deputy Secretary of Agriculture,
and Mrs. Lyng

Department of Defense

The Honorable Chase Undermeyer, Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Vice President's Staff

Admiral Daniel Murphy, Chief of Staff, Vice President's Office,
and Mrs. Murphy

Miss Jennifer A. Fitzgerald, Executive Assistant to the Vice President

Mr. Philip Hughes, Deputy Assistant to the Vice President for
National Security Affairs, and Mrs. Hughes

Mr. Neil Bush, Son the Vice President and Mrs. Bush

Mr. Peter Teeley, Press Secretary to the Vice President, and
Miss Valerie Hodgson, guest

Jewish Leaders

Mr. Kenneth J. Bialkin, Chairman, Conference of Presidents of
Major American Jewish Organizations, and Mrs. Bialkin

Mr. Maurice Berkowitz, Florida Chairman, Jewish Coalition, and
Mrs. Berkowitz

Mr. Thomas Dine, Executive Director, AIPAC, and Mrs. Dine

Mr. Jerome Dick, D.C. National Mission Chairman, United Jewish Appeal,
and Mrs. Dick

Mr. Max Fisher, Honorary Chairman, National Republican Jewish Coalition,
and Mrs. Fisher

Mr. Joseph B. Gildenhorn, Head of Washington Jewish Coalition, and
Mrs. Gildenhorn

Mr. Sam Greenberg, National Commander of Jewish War Veterans, and
Mrs. Greenberg

Jewish Leaders (Continued)

Rabbi Joshus Haberman, Washington Hebrew Congregation, and
Mrs. Haberman

Mr. Jerry Homer, Florida Chairman, Jewish Coalition

Mr. George Klein, Vice Chairman, National Republican Jewish Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. M. Mandell, Mrs. Mandell is President, National
Conference on Jewish Women

Mr. Alfred Moses, Vice President, American Jewish Committee, and
Mrs. Moses

Mr. Milton Petrie, President, Petrie Corporation, and Mrs. Petrie

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter, President, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai
B'rith, and Mrs. Perlmutter

Rabbi Israel Miller, Senior Vice President, Yeshiva University,
and Mrs. Miller

Mrs. Ruth L. Popkin, President of Hadassah

Mr. Ivan Novick, Chairman of the Board, Zionist Organization of
America, and Miss Mary Biscay, guest

Mr. Alleck A. Resnick, President, Zionist Organization of America,
and Mrs. Resnick

Rabbi Alexander M. Shapiro, President, Rabbinical Assembly, and
Mrs. Shapiro

Rabbi Morris Sherer, President, Agudath Israel of America, and
Mrs. Sherer

Mr. and Mrs. Irving Singer, Mrs. Singer is Chairman, California
Republican Coalition

Mr. Joseph Sprayregen, Member Chicago Jewish Coalition, and
Mrs. Sprayregen

Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Stein, New York City

Mr. Sidney Sussman, Chairman, New Jersey Coalition, and Mrs. Sussman

Mrs. Nathan Tannenbaum, President, World Zionist Organization/American
Section

Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Weintraub, Los Angeles, California

Mr. Marshall Wolke, President, United Synagogue of America, and
Mrs. Wolke

Mr. Gordon Zacks, National Republican Jewish Coalition, and Mrs. Zacks

Other Guests

Mr. Herbert Barnes, Pennsylvania State Republican Finance Chairman,
Industrialist, and Miss Lynda Barnes, daughter

Mrs. William F. Buckley, wife of Editor of National Review

The Honorable Henry C. Catto, former Chief of Protocol, and
Mrs. Catto

Mr. Ed Fuelner, Heritage Foundation, and Mrs. Fuelner

Mr. Leonard Garment, Lawyer, Washington, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph B. Gildenhorn, Head of Washington Jewish Coalition

Mrs. Edwin Hilson, New York City

Mr. and Mrs. David Lloyd Kreeger, Washington, D.C.

Mr. A. Leo Levin, Director, Federal Judicial Center, Washington, D.C.,
and Mrs. Levin

Mr. Ron Robertson, Chief Council, Reagan/Bush Campaign '84,
and Mrs. Robertson

Mr. Richard Rosenbaum, New York City Committeeman, Republican National
Committee, and Mrs. Rosenbaum

Mr. and Mrs. Bob Sakowitz, Houston, Texas

Rabbi and Mrs. Hyman Schactel, Houston, Texas

Rabbi Fabian Schonfield (gave invocation at the Republican Convention),
and Mrs. Schonfield

Mr. Abraham Siegel, Economist, M.I.T., and Mrs. Siegel

Mr. Terry Slease, Scaife Foundation, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

Mr. and Mrs. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Herbert Stein, Economist, Washington, D.C., and Mrs. Stein

Mrs. George Will, wife of columnist

Mr. Herman Wouk, Author, Washington, D.C., and Mrs. Wouk

Mr. William Beecher, The Boston Globe, and Mrs. Beecher

Ms. Trudy Feldman, Trans Feature

Mrs. Katherine Graham, Chairman of the Board, The Washington Post

Mr. Roy Gutman, Washington Bureau, Newsday, and Mrs. Gutman

Mr. Bernard Gwertzman, Foreign Affairs Correspondent, The New York Times
and Mrs. Gwertzman

Mr. Bernard Kalb, National Broadcasting Company, and Mrs. Kalb

Mr. Marvin Kalb, Diplomatic Correspondent, NBC News, and Mrs. Kalb

Ms. Elizabeth Kastor, Washington Post

Ms. Andres Mitchell, White House Correspondent, NBS, and Mr. Mark
Furstenberg, guest

Mr. William McLaughlin, CBS, and Mrs. McLaughlin

Mr. Doyle McManus, Los Angeles Times, and Mrs. McManus

Mr. Lars-Erik Nelson, Washington Bureau Chief, New York Daily News,
and Mrs. Nelson

Mr. D. Oberdorfer, Los Angeles Times

Mr. Ike Pappas, CBS, and Mrs. Pappas

Mr. Gabe Pressman, Political Reporter, WNBC/TV, New York, and
Mrs. Pressman

Mr. Barrett Seaman, Washington Bureau, Time Magazine, and Mrs. Seaman

Mr. William Scally, Reuters, and Mrs. Scally

Ms. Josette Sheeran, Assistant Managing Editor, Washington Times,
and Mr. Whitney Shiner, guest

Mr. Dan Southerland, Christian Science Monitor, and Mrs. Southerland

Mr. Arthur Sulzberger, New York Times, and Mrs. Sulzberger

Mr. Henry Trewhitt, Baltimore Sun

Mr. R. Emmet Tyrrell, Jr., Editor of The American Spectator, and
Mrs. Tyrrell

Mr. John Walcott, Washington Bureau, Newsweek, and Mrs. Walcott

Mr. John Wallach, Hearst, and Mrs. Wallach

Ms. Barbara Walters, ABC, New York City

Ms. Susan Waters, Women's Wear Daily, and Mr. Waters

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DATE 9 28 84

TO: Mary Kay Paskus

184 visit

FROM: JENNIFER FITZGERALD x6522

ACTION:

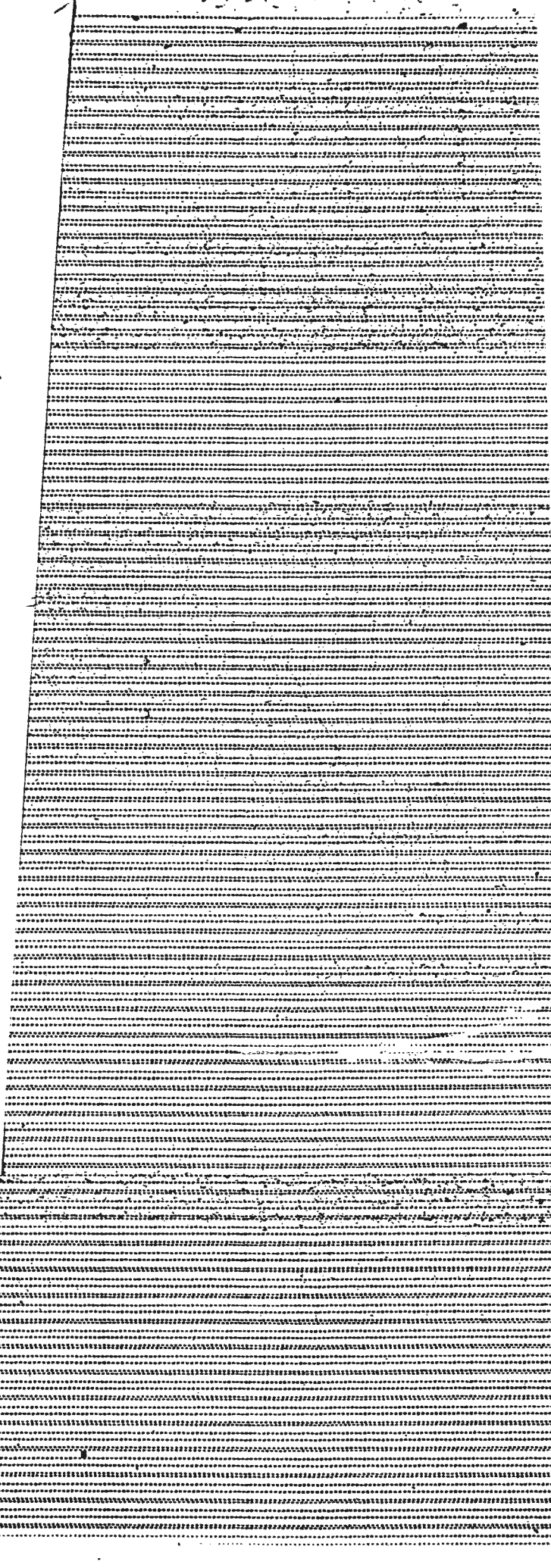
DISCUSS:

FYI:

COMMENT:

Attached is the guest list for the dinner the Vice President and Mrs. Bush will host on October 9 in honor of Prime Minister Peres.

The Vice President will have a few additional names of friends he and Mrs. Bush would like included and will get them to you as soon as the Vice President returns to Washington.



PROPOSED GUEST LIST

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DINNER

IN HONOR OF PRIME MINISTER PERES

October 9, 1984

THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GEORGE BUSH

ISRAELI DELEGATION

His Excellency Shimon Peres

Prime Minister of Israel

(Not yet certain whether Mrs. Peres will accompany the Prime Minister)

His Excellency Yitzhak Shamir *and Mrs. Shamir*
Foreign Minister

will not

(Size of remainder of party not yet determined)

ISRAELI EMBASSY

His Excellency the Ambassador of Israel
and Mrs. Meir Rosenne

Ambassador and Mrs. Benjamin Netanyahu
Ambassador to the U.N.

Mr. and Mr. Danny Halperin
Minister of Economic Affairs

Mr. and Mrs. Robbie Sabel
Political Counselor

Brigadier General and Mrs. Uri Simhony
Defense and Armed Forces Attache

ADMINISTRATION

Secretary of State and Mrs. George Shultz

Secretary of Defense and Mrs. Caspar Weinberger

Secretary of Treasury and Mrs. Donald Regan

Secretary of Health and Human Services, Margaret Heckler

Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole and
Senator Robert Dole

Secretary of Interior and Mrs. William P. Clark

Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and Dr. Evron Kirkpatrick

Ambassador and Mrs. William Brock

Honorable and Mrs. James Baker
Chief of Staff to the President

Honorable and Mrs. Edwin Meese, III
Counselor to the President

Honorable and Mrs. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President

Honorable and Mrs. William Casey
Director, Central Intelligence Agency

Honorable and Mrs. David Stockman
Director, Office of Management and Budget

Honorable and Mrs. Marshall Bregar²
Special Assistant to the President

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Deputy Secretary and Mrs. Kenneth Dam

Under Secretary for Political Affairs and
Mrs. Michael Armacost

Under Secretary for Economic Affairs and
Mrs. W. Allen Wallis

Under Secretary for Security Assistance and
Mrs. William Schneider

Chief of Protocol Selwa Roosevelt and Mr. Archie Roosevelt

Ambassador [and Mrs.] Samuel W. Lewis
American Ambassador to Israel

Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and
Mrs. Richard W. Murphy

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and
Mrs. John Hughes

Honorable and Mrs. M. Peter McPherson
AID Administrator

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Rodman
Chairman, Policy Planning Council

General and Mrs. John Chain
Director of Politico-Military Affairs

Mr. and Mrs. Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.
Director, Office of Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs

VICE PRESIDENT'S STAFF

Admiral and Mrs. Daniel Murphy -- NOTE: REGRET - PRIOR COMMITMENT

Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Gregg -- NOTE: REGRET - PRIOR COMMITMENT

Honorable Jennifer A. Fitzgerald

Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hughes

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Honorable and Mrs. Robert McFarlane
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Honorable Geoffrey Kemp

Honorable and Mrs. Howard Teicher

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

General and Mrs. George Vessey, Jr.
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Under Secretary of Defense and Mrs. Fred Ikle

Assistant Secretary of Defense and Mrs. Richard L. Armitage

General and Mrs. P. X. Kelley
Commandant of the Marine Corps

• Honorable Chase Untermeyer
Assistant Secretary of the Navy

SUPREME COURT

Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren Burger

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and Mr. John J. O'Connor III

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs and
Mrs. Beryl Sprinkel

Assistant Secretary for International Affairs and
Mrs. David Mulford

CONGRESS

SENATE:

Majority Leader and Mrs. Howard Baker

Minority Leader and Mrs. Robert Byrd

Senator and Mrs. Charles Percy
Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Senator and Mrs. Rudy Boschwitz
Chairman, Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

Senator Robert Kasten
Chairman, Foreign Operations Subcommittee

• Senator John Warner

Senator and Mrs. Daniel Inouye

Senator Paula Hawkins and Mr. Walter Eugene Hawkins

Senator Nancy Kassebaum

HOUSE:

Speaker and Mrs. Thomas P. O'Neill

Minority Leader and Mrs. Robert Michel

• Congressman and Mrs. Dan Rostenkowski

Congressman and Mrs. Dante Fascell
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs

Congressman and Mrs. Lee Hamilton
Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East

Congressman and Mrs. William Broomfield

Congressman and Mrs. Jack Kemp

Congressman Benjamin Gilman

Congressman and Mrs. Bill Green

JEWISH LEADERS

Mr. and Mrs. Max Fisher
Honorary Chairman, National Republican Jewish Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. George Klein
Vice Chairman, National Republican Jewish Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Fox
National Republican Jewish Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Zacks
National Republican Jewish Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Friedman
President, American Jewish Committee

} *regrets; can other official attend?*
-VP

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Asher
President of AIPAC

Mr. and Mrs. Alex Grass
President, United Jewish Appeal

Mrs. Ruth L. Popkin
President of Hadassah

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth J. Bialkin
Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Mr. and Mrs. Jack Stein
of New York City

Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Weintraub
of Los Angeles

Rabbi and Mrs. Israel Miller
Senior Vice President, Yeshiva University

Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Wolke
President, United Synagogue^s of America

Mr. and Mrs. Alleck A. Resnick
President, Zionist Organizations of America

Rabbi Alexander M. Shapiro
President, Rabbinical Assembly

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Levy, Jr.
Chairman, Michigan Jewish Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Sussman
Chairman, New Jersey Coalition

Mr. and Mrs. Irving Singer
of Los Angeles
Mrs. Singer (Ruth) - Chairman, California Republican Coalition

Rabbi and Mrs. Morris Sherer
President, Agudath Israel of America

Mr. and Mrs. Sam Greenberg
National Commander of Jewish War Veterans

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Tannenbaum
Mrs. Tannenbaum - President, World Zionist Organization/American Section

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Dine
Executive Director of AIPAC

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Perlmutter
President, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Mr. and Mrs. Ivan Novick
Chairman of the Board, Zionist Organization of America

Mr. and Mrs. Milton Petrie
President, Petrie Corporation

Mr. and Mrs. Morton Mandell
Mrs. Mandell - President, National Conference of Jewish Women

Rabbi Seymour Siegel
Professor, Jewish Theological Seminary

OTHER GUESTS:

Ambassador and Mrs. Sol Linowitz

Ambassador and Mrs. Max Kampelmann
U.S. Representative to the Madrid CSCE Review Conference

Mr. and Mrs. George Will
Columnist

Mr. and Mrs. William F. Buckley
Editor of National Review

Mr. and Mrs. John P. Roche
Columnist

Mr. and Mrs. William L. Safire
Columnist

Mr. and Mrs. R. Emmet Tyrrell, Jr.
Editor of The American Spectator

Mr. and Mrs. Norman Podhoretz
Mrs. - Midge Decter - Editor of Commentary - ?

Maestro Mstislav Rostropovich and Mrs. Rostropovich
Conductor

Mr. and Mrs. Istomin
Concert Pianist

Mr. and Mrs. Saul Bellow
Novelist

Mr. and Mrs. Peter B. Greenough
Mrs. - Beverly Sills - Opera Singer

Mr. and Mrs. Itzhak Perlman
Violinist

Mrs. Katherine Graham
Chairman of the Board - The Washington Post

Mrs. Edwin (Mildred) Hilson
of New York City

Dr. Alan Greenspan
Economist

Mr. Irving Kristol
Editor, The Public Interest

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Garment

Dr. and Mrs. Herbert Stein
Economist

- Mr. and Mrs. Rupert Murdoch
Publisher, New York Post

Dr. and Mrs. Paul McCracken
Economist

- Mr. Michael Saperstein
Managing Partner, Bear Sterns and Company

Mr. Mortimer Zuckerman
Chairman, Atlantic Monthly

[Mr. and Mrs. Irving Singer] - already in Jewish leaders section
of Los Angeles

- Mr. and Mrs. Ed Fuelner
Heritage Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Barnes
Pennsylvania State Republican Finance Chairman, Industrialist

Mr. and Mrs. Jay Pritzker
of Chicago

Mr. E. Robert Wallach
of San Francisco

- Mr. and Mrs. Herman Wouk
Author

- Ms. Barbra Streisand
Recording Artist

- Mr. Steven Speilberg
Movie Director and Producer

- Mr. Leonard Nimoy
Television and Movie Personality

- Mr. and Mrs. Henry Winkler
Television and Movie Prsonality

- Mr. Isaac Bashevis Singer
Author

PRESS

Robert Greenburger
Wall Street Journal

Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post

Robert Schieffer
CBS News

Josette Sheeran
Assistant Managing Editor, Washington Times

Susan Waters
Women's Wear Daily

Bernard Gwertzman
Foreign Affairs Correspondent, The New York Times

Marvin Kalb
Diplomatic Correspondent, NBC News

Meg Greenfield
Editorial Page Editor, The Washington Post

Roy Gutman
Washington Bureau, Newsday

Barrett Seaman
Washington Bureau, Time

Lars-Erik Nelson
Washington Bureau Chief, New York Daily News

Dennis P. Mullen
U.S. News and World Report

Bill McLaughlin
CBS News

Henry Trewhitt
Baltimore Sun

Dan Southerland
Christian Science Monitor

John Wallach
Hearst

William Beecher
The Boston Globe

Doyle McManus
Los Angeles Times

John Walcott
Washington Bureau, Newsweek

Barbara Walters
ABC, New York City

William Scally
Reuters

Andrea Mitchell
White House Correspondent, NBC

ADDITIONS TO PROPOSED GUEST LIST
THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DINNER
IN HONOR OF PRIME MINISTER PERES
OCTOBER 9, 1984

Mr. Peter Teeley (456-6772)
Press Secretary to the Vice President

Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler

Congressman Meldon E. Levine

Honorable and Mrs. Henry Catto (333-6800 or 821-3249)

Mr. ^{and Mrs.} Bob Sakowitz (713-759-1111)

Mr. ^{and Mrs.} Nate Appleman (305-659-6685)

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Sulzberger (212-556-3649)
New York Times

Mr. ^{and Mrs.} Robert Mazer (312-244-3410)
Mazer Chemicals, Inc.; Gurnee, Illinois

Rabbi ^{and Mrs.} Hyman Schactel (713-771-6221)
Houston, Texas

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph B. Gildenhorn (202-296-8601)
1220 Nineteenth Street,
Washington, DC 20036

Mr. and Mrs. David Broder (334-7444)
Syndicated Columnist

Mr. and Mrs. Ike Pappas (457-4321)
CBS

Mr. ^{and} Gabe Pressman (212-664-4340 or 664-4444)
New York City