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1986 ELECTION ANALYSIS

Jewish politics

On November 4th, the Democratic Party regained control of the United States Senate. The Democratic victory has been attributed to a number of factors. These include: the predominance in the campaigns of local issues such as the farm crisis, which hurt GOP incumbents; the focus on personality rather than on policy; and the weakness of many of the GOP freshmen who won election in the 1980 Reagan landslide but who were unable to win re-election on their own merits.

The Jewish community also played a role in influencing the outcome of the elections.

1. In almost all cases where the Jewish community was involved in a close Senate race, the candidate who received an overwhelming majority of Jewish financial backing won. E.g.

California: Alan Cranston (D) defeated Ed Zschau (R)
Colorado: Tim Wirth (D) defeated Ken Kramer (R)
Georgia: Wyche Fowler (D) defeated Mac Mattingly (R)
Nevada: Harry Reid (D) defeated Jim Santini (R)
Pennsylvania: Arlen Specter (R) defeated Bob Edgar (D)
South Dakota: Tom Daschle (D) defeated Jim Abdnor (R)
Wisconsin: Bob Kasten (R) defeated Ed Garvey (D).

The primary exception to this trend was in Idaho where Steve Symms (R), who received minimal Jewish support, defeated John Evans (D), whose support from the Jewish community was very substantial.

2. Republicans with strong ties to the Jewish community and with good records on Israel, received substantial Jewish support, while their Democratic opponents received little. E.g.

Arizona: John McCain (R) received extensive support, while his opponent, Richard Kimball (D) received little.
New York: Alfonse D'Amato (R) received substantial support, whereas his opponent, Mark Green (D), received little.
Pennsylvania: Arlen Specter (R) received strong support, while his opponent, Bob Edgar (D), received little.
Wisconsin: Robert Kasten (R) received substantial support, while Ed Garvey (D) received little.

3. Non-Jewish GOP candidates who have reached out to the Jewish community have received increased proportions of the Jewish vote, although they cannot yet anticipate receiving a majority. E.g. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY).

This is true even in instances where the Democratic candidate has taken steps perceived as hostile to Jewish interests.

E.g. Gubernatorial races in California and Illinois

California: Gov. George Deukmejian (R) received a greater proportion of the Jewish vote than he did when he was first elected in 1982. However, his opponent Tom Bradley (D) received the majority of the Jewish vote, even though Bradley failed to condemn the black racist, Louis Farrakhan.

Illinois: Gov. James Thompson (R), who has established close ties to the Jewish community, won re-election with a greater proportion of the Jewish vote than he received in 1982. Nevertheless, despite the anti-Israel positions taken by Thompson's Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson III, while a U.S. Senator, Thompson failed to receive a majority of the Jewish vote.

4. Republican candidates whose record on Israel and Jewish matters is perceived to be poor, were unable to generate Jewish support and faced substantial Jewish opposition. E.g.

Alabama: Jeremiah Denton (R)

N. Carolina: Jim Broyhill (R)

South Dakota: Jim Abdnor (R)

Vermont: Dick Snelling (R)

SUMMARY

JEWISH POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES

1985-1986

Republican Contributions:	\$ 1,315,299
Republican % of Contributions:	31.2%
Democratic Contributions:	\$ 2,901,116
Democratic % of Contributions:	68.8%
Combined Contributions:	\$ 4,216,415

Republicans Supported:	703
Republican % of Total Support:	32.4%
Democrats Supported:	1,464
Democratic % of Total Support:	67.6%
Average Contribution per Republican:	\$ 1,870
Average Contribution per Democrat:	\$ 1,981

Senate Candidate Receipts from Pro-Israel PAC's '85-'86**REPUBLICAN** (Alphabetically)

Mark Andrews (Lost)	\$29,750
Kit Bond (MO)	13,260
Linda Chavez (Lost)	8,600
Thad Cochran (MS)	4,500
William Cohen (ME)	500
Alfonse D'Amato (NY)	18,180
John Danforth (MO)	500
Jeremiah Denton (Lost)	4,000
Robert Dole (KS)	9,500
David Durenberger (MN)	2,750
Daniel Evans (WA)	3,800
Slade Gorton (Lost)	30,000
Charles Grassley (IA)	16,600
Paula Hawkins (Lost)	100,450
John Heinz (PA)	1,000
Jesse Helms (NC)	1,000
William Janklow (Lost)	31,750
Robert Kasten (WI)	132,500
Paul Laxalt (Retired)	1,000
John McCain (AZ)	51,000
Henson Moore (Lost)	29,350
Frank Murkowski (AK)	22,500
Robert Packwood (OR)	38,000
Daniel Quayle (IN)	5,000
Alan Simpson (WY)	10,000
Arlen Specter (PA)	146,733
Steven Symms (ID)	5,000
Paul Trible (VA)	150

DEMOCRATIC

Brock Adams (WA)	\$22,750
Joseph Biden (DE)	1,000
Jeff Bingaman (NM)	4,000
Bill Bradley (NJ)	2,000
John Breaux (LA)	52,350
Dale Bumpers (AR)	22,350
Kent Conrad (ND)	29,450
Alan Cranston (CA)	182,757
Thomas Daschle (SD)	216,830
Dennis DeConcini (AZ)	1,000
Alan Dixon (IL)	35,950
Christopher Dodd (CT)	47,850
John Evans (Lost)	197,500
Wendell Ford (KY)	15,500
Wyche Fowler (GA)	83,100
John Glenn (OH)	14,000
Albert Gore (TN)	1,000
Thomas Harkin (IA)	1,100
Ernest Hollings (SC)	12,500
Daniel Inouye (HI)	46,075
James Jones (Lost)	43,500
Edward Kennedy (MA)	1,000
Frank Lautenberg (NJ)	7,000
Patrick Leahy (VT)	89,500
Carl Levin (MI)	1,000
Spark Matsunaga (HI)	1,000
Howard Metzenbaum (OH)	1,000
Barbara Mikulski (MD)	14,680
George Mitchell (ME)	2,500
Daniel Moynihan (NY)	6,000
Harry Reid (NV)	152,780
Donald Riegle (MI)	2,000
Terry Sanford (NC)	78,250
Richard Shelby (AL)	48,900
Paul Simon (IL)	15,500
Timothy Wirth (CO)	88,750
Harriet Woods (Lost)	79,800

The Lobby With a Lock on Congress

Israel's best friend

While American guns were blazing in support of Arab friends in the Persian Gulf last week, Ronald Reagan had to dampen his powder on Capitol Hill. In a compromise with Senate supporters of Israel, Reagan kept alive his request to sell \$1 billion worth of F-15 jet fighters, M-60 tanks and other military hardware to Saudi Arabia—but only by excluding 1,600 Maverick antitank missiles, the weapons Israel most feared. Reagan's strategists hoped to avoid an embarrassing setback for the Saudi military cause at a time when Saudis and Americans were standing together against Iran. Yet the episode underscored the perennial difficulty facing administration attempts to sell arms to Arab governments—and the power of the lobby that can now block such sales almost without trying.

The scuttling of the Maverick missiles was a matter of routine for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee—or AIPAC, as it is known—which maintains a grip on Congress rivaling that of any other pressure group in Washington. Under executive director Thomas Dine, who took office in 1980, AIPAC has broadened its base, increased its membership from 8,000 to more than 55,000 and hiked its budget from \$1.4 million to \$6 million. In the process, an organization that had acquired a Darth Vader reputation for its tough tactics has developed a touch so soft that members of Congress now hardly realize they are being lobbied.

Fighting back: AIPAC last lost a major campaign in 1981, when Reagan persuaded the Republican Senate to approve the sale of five sophisticated AWACS radar planes to Saudi Arabia. In the aftermath, AIPAC fought back, working hard to defeat those it considered betrayers. Although AIPAC is legally prohibited from donating money or endorsing candidates, it can play an indirect role in elections through board members who double as managers of pro-Israel political-action committees. AIPAC members were pivotal in defeating Sens. Charles Percy of Illinois and Roger Jepsen of Iowa in 1984. The late Democratic Sen. Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska, who originally opposed the 1981 sale of radar planes, called his last-minute decision to



A 'Pavlovian reflex' blocking arms sales to Arab governments: Saudi F-15 fighters



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Standing together: Reagan with Saudi King Fahd

support the transaction "my \$250,000 vote," since Jewish fund-raising events he had planned were canceled in five cities. Zorinsky, who said he changed his mind after former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon told him Israel could easily shoot down the lumbering, unarmed radar planes, won re-election in 1982 anyway. Others chose not to challenge the lobby on an issue they didn't care much about. "Yes" would have been the right vote," Chicago Rep. Dan Rostenkowski told a reporter at the time, "but I didn't want Jewish groups coming down on me."

AIPAC eventually came to realize that its tactics were too tough: legislators resented what they perceived as bullying, and their anger created the potential for a backlash against Israel. Under Dine, AIPAC's lobbyists have tried to recede further and further behind the scenes, and congressmen are handled with utmost discretion. Usually during their first terms, new members of Congress are invited on AIPAC-sponsored trips to Israel, where they meet the prime minister and other top government officials. Although AIPAC arranges for other Jewish groups to pay for the trips, its lobbyists and board members attend. Like several freshmen who were invited on the most recent trip during Au-

gust recess, Rep. James Hayes of Louisiana left for Israel without strong opinions on the Middle East. He was struck by the geographic reality of Israel's security concerns. "I don't think I'll ever forget the impact that 40 years of imminent war has had on that country," Hayes said. "Once you've seen the Golan Heights you think harder about every vote you cast." An AIPAC staff member calls the trips "a well-established tool, a standard practice in the trade."

Where AIPAC's lobbyists used to be considered relentless and unforgiving, the new breed

AIPAC lobbyists like to remark that "there are no enemies, only friends and potential friends." The lobby has continued to court even Rep. Nick Rahall, Democrat of West Virginia, who votes against Israel as consistently as any member of Congress. According to a congressional staffer close to AIPAC, "He's someone they still want." Despite his frequent opposition, AIPAC has not targeted Rahall for defeat.

The turnaround: Such persistence pays off. Through the offices of Majority Whip Tony Coelho, AIPAC finally convinced Michigan Democrat David Bonior, who has not been a strong supporter of Israel, to visit the country with six other congressmen. After returning, Bonior, through an aide, said he was "in the process of reassessing his views on the subject [of Israel]." At AIPAC, Bonior is now known as "the turnaround."

AIPAC has persuaded Congress so well that sometimes the organization doesn't have to lobby at all. As Rep. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey puts it, "The impetus for support of Israel has shifted from AIPAC to Congress itself." Last year, for example, AIPAC decided not to actively oppose a proposal to sell \$354 million in Stinger, Harpoon and Sidewinder missiles to the Saudis. Nonetheless, the administration

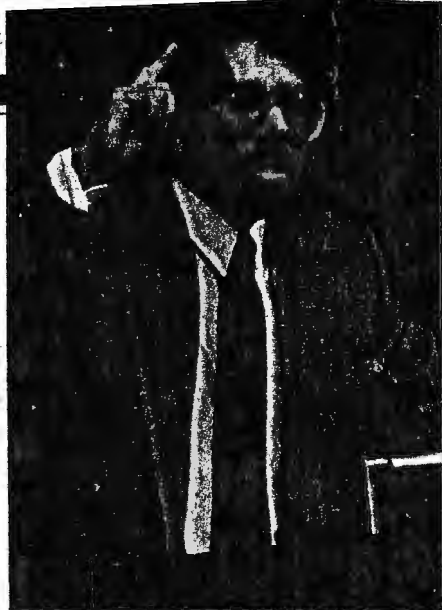
bid was defeated in the House by a vote of 356-62 and by a margin of 73-22 in the Senate, giving AIPAC its most decisive victory ever in a game it didn't bother to play. "It's a Pavlovian reflex," says Rahall. "The bell goes off and Congress reacts without AIPAC doing anything."

The bell sounds a lot like jingling money. The members of the House and Senate now flocking to Israel's side are doing so not out of fear of punishment, but hope of reward—a share of the several million channeled to candidates by 70 pro-Israel political-action committees. A tight network on the House Foreign Affairs Committee—Reps. Torricelli, Mel Levine of California, and Larry Smith of Florida—plays an important role in communicating AIPAC's preferences to pro-Israel committees which donate money to candidates. "The guys who run those PAC's are close to us," says a congressman involved in the process. "We tell them who has helped us in these fights and who has not." The result is a Congress more interested in what will be popular with Jewish voters than in Israel's actual needs.

Top 10: The arms sales exemplify the distinction. Although Israel remains nominally opposed to all weapons sales to its enemies, it does not consider most of the recent proposals serious threats to its security. The congressmen who traveled to Israel over recess and met with Israeli military officials never heard the pending Maverick sale mentioned. "It wasn't on their Top 10 hit parade," says Rep. Dennis Eckart of Ohio, who went on the recent AIPAC trip. Adds Rep. John Lewis of Georgia, who met with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin on a trip sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, "It never came up."

AIPAC scored another largely symbolic victory when the State Department recently closed down the PLO-affiliated Palestine Information Office in Washington. State had opposed the idea, but acted to forestall bills in Congress that would have shut down the PLO's observer mission to the United Nations as well. As critics have argued, there was no evidence that the Washington office was used for anything more explosive than political propaganda. Moreover, even if the action is upheld by the courts, the office can legally reopen as a domestic political organization instead of a foreign lobby. Yet Rep. Jack Kemp as well as Sens. Bob Dole, Charles Grassley and Frank Lautenberg saw their sponsorship of a possibly unconstitutional bill as an easy chance to score points with Jewish voters and contributors. AIPAC once again stood mostly on the sidelines and watched as the machine it created won another effortless victory.

JACOB WEISBERG in Washington



ROBERT R. McELROY—NEWSWEEK

Promises and sarcasm: Ortega at the U.N.

Torpedoing the Peace Process?

Reagan and the contras

Some aides hoped he would take a moderate line—but Ronald Reagan threw down the gauntlet. Demanding nothing short of "true democracy" in Nicaragua, he told the Organization of American States that he would "request and fight for" \$270 million of military and humanitarian aid for the anti-Sandinista rebels over 18 months. Regardless of the outcome of the current Central American peace negotiations, the president insisted, the rebels must remain a viable fighting force to ensure that Nicaragua's internal reforms are real and lasting. "I have made a personal commitment to [the contras]," Reagan declared, "and I will not walk away. . . . As long as there is breath in this body, I will speak and work, strive and struggle, for the cause of the Nicaraguan freedom fighters."

Last week Reagan abandoned any pretense of supporting the peace plan signed by five Central American presidents in Guatemala City last August. That plan, which last week was overwhelmingly endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly, calls for an end to all outside support for guerrilla forces in Central America. "The worst thing," Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told the General Assembly, "is that President Reagan hasn't read the accord." The Reagan declaration set the stage for a battle with Congress that the administration was likely to lose. Said House Speaker Jim Wright: "It is becoming increasingly difficult to avoid the conclusion that someone advising the president is trying to torpedo the peace process." More likely it was Reagan him-

self. "The old man is very, very committed to this," said a veteran of the administration's Central American wars. "No one wants to go in there and say, 'Let's settle'."

One problem was that the president had no concrete idea of what to settle for. Rather than spelling out a process for reform, Reagan seemed to insist that Nicaragua immediately embrace a degree of democracy that it has never known before. "We don't know what we want," complained an administration insider. Relatively powerless are those officials, largely in the State Department, who believe the contras have already served their purpose to pressure the Sandinistas to offer to negotiate on reducing the size of their Army and eliminating Cuban and Soviet military advisers from Nicaragua. In their place are officials such as Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams who argue that only the continuing threat of military sanctions can induce the Sandinistas to abide by any agreement they reach. Without further contra aid, Abrams warned last week, "the next president will face the choice of watching a new Cuba built on the mainland of North America or acting with U.S. force to stop it."

Amnesty proposal: Still, with much to gain from a withdrawal of the contra forces, the Nicaraguan government seemed determined to convince Congress it was making serious concessions to the peace process. Last week the Sandinistas began a unilateral cease-fire in parts of three provinces and urged the rebels there to accept a government amnesty. Meanwhile, in his address to the General Assembly, Ortega drew repeated applause with his sarcastic attack on Ronald Reagan. After the U.S. delegation walked out in protest, however, Ortega became more conciliatory. Reiterating previous offers, he invited Reagan or any American representative to meet with him for an "unconditional dialogue" on mutual security concerns.

Administration officials were adamant that they would never sit down with the Sandinistas. Despite Reagan's support for the contras, his strategists insisted that only the rebels could negotiate an end to what they described as an indigenous civil war. Such arguments are not likely to impress a Congress that sees the peace process as a way to back away from the contras without appearing to be soft on communism. "What do you do when [the Sandinistas] say yes?" asks a key Democratic congressional aide. "All this time we've been saying let's go ahead and call the Sandinistas' bluff. And now they're calling ours." Even before last week, administration officials had conceded that the aid request has little chance of passage. Reagan's rhetoric is unlikely to push it along.

HARRY ANDERSON with
DAVID NEWELL in Washington and
EDUARDO LEVY-SPIRA at the United Nations

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AFTER THE ELECTION

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REAGAN REVOLUTION SLOWED: WHO WILL CHART THE NEW DIRECTION?

By Rabbi David Saperstein and Michael Berenbaum

The "Reagan Revolution" has been slowed, if not derailed, by the results of the 1986 election. As the **Religious Action Center** looks at its priority concerns in the 100th Congress, the future appears bright. Goals such as defeating Religious Right initiatives on school prayer, civil rights, and abortion; maintaining high levels of aid to Israel; strengthening programs for the elderly and poor; and intensifying Congressional efforts to reverse the nuclear arms race, will be easier to reach as we work within effective coalitions of moderate/liberal Democrats and Republicans.

Traveling more than 25,000 miles during the midterm election campaign with repeated visits to states such as North Carolina, Nevada, California and Florida, the President asked for a mandate for his policies. The American people rejected his plea and his policies though they continue to like him as a person. "The teflon President had teflon coattails," remarked one Washington political pundit.

Yet in this issueless, intensely personal campaign, few Democrats ran against the President or campaigned directly on national issues. Politics were local. Voter apathy was high, with less than 38% of eligible voters voting. In state after state, few people came to the polls to vote. So Democrats reassume leadership of the Senate, having neither a strong mandate for change nor having articulated a clear direction for the nation. *(continued on next page)*

Rabbi David Saperstein is Co-Director and Counsel of the Religious Action Center. Dr. Michael Berenbaum is a senior consultant to the Religious Action Center.



JEWISH VOTE OVERWHELMINGLY DEMOCRATIC

By Michael Berenbaum

The Jewish vote in House and Senate elections was overwhelmingly cast for the Democrats according to data from the ABC exit poll. In the House nearly 80% of the Jewish vote was cast for Democratic candidates. In the Senate races, the Jewish vote went 71-29 for the Democrats. Individual races tell the same story. Only in Pennsylvania and Oregon with two distinctly moderate Republican incumbents, Arlen Specter and Robert

Packwood, did the Jews give Republican candidates a majority of their votes. Specter, a Jew, was able to gain 54% of the Jewish vote while Edgar received only 46%. Yet in Colorado, the Jewish Republican candidate Ken Kramer was only able to capture 44% of the Jewish vote.

In California, Jews provided the margin of victory for Alan Cranston by voting 86 to 14 for Cranston over his opponent Edward Zschau. Cranston, who led the fight against AWACs and the Jordanian and Saudi Arabian arms sales, was the leader of the Senate efforts on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry. His opponent had a weak record on Israel that only in recent months appeared to improve.

In New York, where voters gave Senator Alfonse D'Amato 59% of the vote against Jewish Democrat Mark Green, Jewish voters supported Green by a 64-34 majority. In Missouri, the unsuccessful Democrat Harriet Woods, who is Jewish, captured 84% of the Jewish vote. In Florida, Democrat Senator-elect Robert Graham received 77% of the Jewish vote. In North Carolina Jews supported the

victorious Democrat Terry Sanford by a 78-22 percent margin. And, in Maryland, where the religious identity of Linda Chavez was a campaign issue, winning Democrat Barbara Mikulski received 88% of the Jewish vote, a full one third greater support than she received from the Maryland electorate as a whole. Once again, in local races, where Israel was not an issue, Jews have maintained their traditional allegiance to Democratic and Liberal Republican candidates.

The overwhelming results must still be pondered, yet it appears to be a significant defeat for those who thought that the American Jewish vote was becoming more conservative and Republican. Jews continue to be an enigma in American politics. Although the community is prosperous and well accepted as part of the white majority American society, Jewish voting patterns continue to reflect the historical consciousness of a minority people firmly committed to civil rights, social justice issues and the politics of compassion.

fight largely a defensive political battle, seeking to contain the damage of the President's policies. Throughout the years, the President always defined the issues. Now, thanks to the election of a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress, not only has the Reagan revolution been halted, but we have the opportunity to seize the initiative.

"The teflon President had teflon coattails," remarked one Washington political pundit.

Shift in Power.

The election of a Democratic majority does not guarantee a decidedly more liberal agenda. Power in the Senate is often structural, based on seniority in the upper legislative chamber. Committee chairmanships, especially on economic issues, will shift from veteran—and sometimes moderate—Republican Senators to moderate/conservative Southern Democrats. For example, moderate Texas Democrat Lloyd Bentsen will replace moderate Robert Packwood (R-OR) as chair of the Senate Finance Committee, which only recently rewrote the entire tax code. The Appropriations Committee chair will shift from liberal Mark Hatfield of Oregon to conservative John Stennis of Mississippi, and moderate Lawton Chiles of Florida will replace moderate Pete Domenici of New Mexico at the helm of the Budget Committee.

Domestic Policy Changes.

The most drastic domestic shift in Senate leadership will take place in two pivotal committees. Since Edward Kennedy (D-MA) forfeited chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee in favor of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, Joseph Biden (D-DE) will take over Judiciary, replacing the conservative Strom Thurmond (R-SC). Kennedy's position at the head of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources will mark an equally striking change from the days of its former chairman, the conservative Orrin G. Hatch (R-UT).

The shift on the Judiciary Committee will make it more difficult for President Reagan to gain Senate consent for his judicial nominees especially if they are of the caliber of appeals court judge Daniel A. Manion. It will also be more difficult for the President to make blatant political deals to gain the consent of the Senate for his controversial nominations since Senators will remember what happened to Sen. Slade Gorton of Washington. Sen. Gorton was a near certain winner in his reelection bid until he switched his vote on the Manion confirmation in a deal that included a judicial appointment to the Federal bench in Washing-

Challenge to the Democrats.

Now that the Democrats are in the leadership, they are faced with a crucial political challenge. By 1988 they will shoulder a responsibility equal to the President's for the condition of the country. They have an opportunity to create a vision different from the Administration's and to chart a new direction for American policy. They can set the post-Reagan national agenda. If they fail in this endeavor, then by default, they will ensure the continuation of President Reagan's policies far beyond 1988.

The opportunity to reshape the political agenda is affirmed by the growing Congressional and popular dissatisfaction with the President's policies. Ronald Reagan remains personally popular, but Congressional votes and public opinion polls reflect policy views sharply different from his. When he took office in 1981, he brought with him, for the first time in a quarter of a century, a Republican majority in the Senate. He promised the American people a substantially larger defense budget, dras-

tic cuts in federal welfare programs, a balanced budget, tax cuts, and a social agenda that included anti-abortion rights legislation, prayer in the public schools, and federal aid to parochial education. While initially successful, the depth and breadth of the changes he sought have been restrained by an active public and organized political opposition that has been unwilling to accept his radical agenda.

Even prior to this year's election, the President encountered significant Congressional opposition to several components of his agenda. He was forced to accept sanctions against South Africa, settled for only limited support for the contras after three years of no legal aid at all, saw military escalation sharply constrained, had cuts in social programs—particularly for children and the elderly—restored, and failed in several attempts to allow prayer in public schools and prohibit abortion. Nevertheless, during the past six years the President has maintained the initiative, causing the mainstream Jewish community, the **Religious Action Center** and its allies to

ton. The result: Gorton was defeated by former Carter cabinet member Brock Adams.

With the unabashed liberal Ted Kennedy at its fore, the Labor and Human Resources Committee should strongly attempt to reassert a compassionate domestic agenda. **Tzedek Society** founder Howard Metzbaum would have become chairman of the Senate Labor Committee had Kennedy chosen to chair the Judiciary Committee. The Democrats are in an awkward political position. On the one hand, they will clearly seek to restore some of the funding for social welfare programs cut in the past six years. This will, of course, exacerbate budget deficit problems. Yet on the other hand, Democrats are unlikely to raise taxes and leave themselves vulnerable to the President's charge that they are the "tax and spend, spend and tax party." Yet without additional revenue, it will be impossible to close the \$200 billion plus deficit. So the President will have to take some initiative—and some heat—if the U.S. is to avoid a crippling deficit. A spirit of bi-partisanship will be needed if the Congress is to address effectively the massive budget deficits.

Foreign Affairs.

Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia will replace retiring Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) as chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Nunn, a conservative Democrat, is widely regarded as the most knowledgeable senator on Military Affairs. Although Nunn has been generally supportive of the President's military buildup, he brings a strongly independent vision which has led him to be highly critical of Reagan's proposals at the recent summit as going too far even while he opposed the Strategic Defense Initiative as too expensive. He will certainly bring critically needed oversight to the massive Pentagon budget. The addition of moderate Democratic Senators will make it easier to reach a consensus with the House on how to constrain the administration's proposed nuclear buildup.

This is the most pro-Israel Congress in history. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will be headed by Democrat Claiborne Pell (RI) and the key subcommittee on the Middle East by liberal Maryland Senator Paul Sarbanes whose friendship for Israel is long and enduring. The other subcommittee that is vital to Israel's security is the Budget Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. This subcommittee will be headed by Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, whose record of support for Israel is unrivaled among his colleagues.

Presidential Politics.

Congress will also be the scene of Presidential politics as the campaign for 1988 began the day after the '86 elections ended. On the Republican side Bob Dole, George Bush and Jack Kemp will square off while Democrats Joe Biden, Bill Bradley, Sam Nunn and Rep. Richard Gephardt will use their newly strengthened

CHRISTIAN RIGHT LOSES 64% OF ITS TARGETED RACES

By Glenn Stein

The 1986 Election marked a significant defeat for the Christian Right and signified its inability to shift the American people's commitment to traditional views of separation of Church and State. The dramatic results of this election will make it substantially more difficult for the Christian Right to push the 100th Congress to pass legislation in such areas as prayer in the public schools, abortion rights, or federal aid for parochial schools.

During the campaign, the **Religious Action Center** actively monitored the races across the country and alerted the Jewish community to the activities of the Christian Right. This educational program assisted Jewish communities in highlighting the improper introduction of religion into various campaigns, and, encouragingly, found that such abuses were overwhelmingly repudiated by the electorate.

In the 36 races for Senate, House and Governor seats specifically targeted by the Christian Right, it failed in 23. Their losses were considerable. Seven incumbents supported by the Christian Right (four in the Senate, one in the House and two governorships) lost their seats as did 16 others running as challengers for open seats. They ousted only one incumbent (Texas governor Mark White), claimed only one House open seat (Oklahoma—District 1) and maintained 11 incumbents (4 in the Senate and 7 in the House). In addition, Evan Mecham was the surprising winner of the Arizona governorship. Although not supported by the Christian Right, this avid John Bircher will likely be supportive of much of their agenda.

The only state where the Christian Right's gain was significant was in economically hard-pressed Texas where William Clements, who had a "Christian Liaison" on his campaign staff, ousted the incumbent governor. The Right also won five of the six Texas House races they targeted. One of the organizing strategies utilized in Texas was an "Oath and Covenant" sheet which delegates to primary conventions were asked to sign in order to prove they were the "right" Christians.

All three Jews targeted for defeat by the Christian Right (Mel Levine—CA, Larry Smith—FL, and Howard Wolpe—MI) were able to retain their seats in the House of Representatives by substantial margins. During the California campaign, Levine's opponent, Rob

Scribner, said God "called [him] to run for Congress in California's 27th District," charged that Levine was "diametrically opposed to nearly everything the Lord's Church stands for in this nation," and called on his supporters to help "link arms with us as we literally 'take territory' for our Lord Jesus Christ." In Florida, Smith's opponent, Mary Collins, said Smith's positions were "the antithesis of what the Christian community in the District would prefer." Wolpe, a perennial target of the right, also won handily.

In the 36 races for Senate, House and Governor seats specifically targeted by the Christian Right, it failed in 23.

Other main Christian Right losses include:

- House incumbent William Cobey (R-NC) who was defeated by David Price. In a "Dear Christian Friend" campaign letter, Cobey described himself as "an ambassador for Christ" in Congress.
- Senate incumbent Paula Hawkins' (R-FL) who was defeated by Bob Graham. Hawkins' campaign was a priority for Rev. Jerry Falwell who also supported her in 1980.
- Senate incumbent James Broyhill (R-NC) who was defeated by Terry Sanford. Broyhill's "Christian Liaison" campaign staffer sent a mailing for campaign funds that urged support because "God's people must not sit idle while the battle rages. Please contact as many leaders of our persuasion in your county as possible."

Glenn Stein is Director of Congregation Relations at the Religious Action Center.

(continued on next page)

posts to position themselves for a presidential bid. Paul Laxalt was one of the losers of the evening. His hand picked successor in Nevada, Jim Santini lost handily to Harry Reid. Pat Robertson may have lost some ground in his presidential quest by the poor showing of the Christian right which lost some two-thirds of the elections they targeted. Gov. Mario Cuomo gained a record breaking victory in New York, yet Cuomo was criticized for the brusque style of his campaign. Longshot presidential candidate Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts distinguished himself by winning almost 70% of the vote in Massachusetts. They as well as past and present governors George Deukmejian (California), Bruce Babbitt (Arizona), Pete du Pont (Delaware), Charles Robb (Virginia), former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson are considered likely presidential contenders.

Negative Campaigns.

1986 may long be remembered as the year of negative campaigns as in state after state candidates slung mud at each other in thirty second spots. Clearly the American electorate was turned off by this campaign. Less than 38 percent of registered voters voted, the lowest figure in 50 years. Ironically this accentuated the value of "the get out the vote campaigns," a tactic that the Republicans had used so successfully in the past. Surprisingly, in this election, the efforts of the Democratic party and liberal bipartisan voter registration groups brought thousands of new voters to the polls, especially from minority communities including Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians. Preliminary results indicate that these efforts were decisive in a number of low population states such as North and South Dakota, as well as in California.

Although Democrats were outspent five to one, the campaign was outrageously expensive. More than \$20 million was spent in California and \$10 million in Florida. The average cost of a campaign probably exceeded \$5 million. Campaign reform should be a serious national concern.

The American people have proved their independence of party labels in the 1986 election. Southern states that sent Democratic Senators to Washington sent Republican Governors to their state capitals. In New York almost half of the people who voted for Mario Cuomo for Governor split their ticket and voted for Alfonse D'Amato for Senator. Candidates were chosen on their merits and neither party can claim the allegiance of the electorate.

The people have spoken. The revolution has been slowed. The Democrats have an opportunity to provide the nation with a vision and a sense of direction. The open question is who will lead the American people to define the agenda of the 1990s.

100TH CONGRESS: MOST PRO-ISRAEL IN HISTORY

By Michael Berenbaum

The pro-Israel community was jubilant after the election results were in. Once again, the American people have elected a decisively pro-Israel Congress. Israel continues to enjoy broad based, bipartisan support from office holders and office seekers throughout the country. This is the first race in many years where not a single candidate ran on an explicitly anti-Israel platform. Even the shift in control between the Republicans and the Democrats will only enhance American support for Israel.

The key Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairmanship will fall to Claiborne Pell, whose friendship for Israel is deep and long-standing. Pell's father, Rep. Herbert Pell, introduced the concept "crime against humanity" in the early 1940s to describe the Nazi treatment of the Jews. His son has shared his concern for human rights for the Jewish community throughout his long career of public service.

Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) will replace Rudy Boschwitz as chair of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Mid-East. Like Boschwitz, Sarbanes has a long record of pro-Israel support. Daniel Inouye (D-HI) will head the Budget Committee key Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, which must approve of Foreign Aid support levels for Israel. For years, Inouye has been a staunch supporter of the Israel aid package. He had worked in close bipartisan cooperation with the equally pro-Israel Senator Robert Kasten (R-WI) during the years Kasten headed this committee. Kasten's narrow reelection victory ensures that the cooperative endeavors will continue.

The reelection of Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) ensures the presence for another six years of one of Israel's strongest friends. A leader of the AWACs fight and the battle to stop arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia, Cranston has also led the Senate struggle on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry. He first began his interest in Jewish affairs as a foreign correspondent in Hitler's Germany.

Two retiring Senators, Barry

Goldwater (R-AZ) and Charles Mathias (R-MD) have never been known for their support for Israel. So Barbara Mikulski's election in Maryland is a net gain for pro-Israel forces as is the election of John McCain in Arizona. In Alabama, Nevada, North Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia, friends of Israel have replaced incumbents whose support was shallow. The election of Tom Daschle and the defeat of Jim Abner in South Dakota means that pro-Israel forces have gained another vote in the Senate.

"The new Senators come to office with a strong record of support, with an interest in the issue and a desire to reach out to the Jewish community," said one pro-Israel lobbyist with evident satisfaction.

In the 100th Congress, the Senate Armed Services Committee is likely to play a more influential role in Mid-East policy as the strategic US-Israel relationship deepens. Incoming chairman Sam Nunn of Georgia is a significant improvement over Barry Goldwater and a serious student of military policy. Over the past several years, he has grown closer to the American Jewish community and to Israel.

The scene in the House of Representatives remains stable where support for Israel is at an all-time high. Fourteen of the 44 members of the freshman class are considered strong friends of Israel. Among the rest there are none known to be opponents of aid to Israel.

Dr. Michael Berenbaum is a senior fellow in residence at Religious Action Center.

PROSPECTS FOR CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN THE 100TH CONGRESS

By Kirk Bernstein

The November 4th elections substantially strengthened the wall between Church and State. Massachusetts voters defeated a referendum which would have approved state aid to parochial schools, and voters throughout the nation turned out to defeat two thirds of the New Right candidates in national races. The greatest boon for Church-State relations, however, is the transfer of power in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator Joe Biden of Delaware will replace Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who has presided over the Senate Judiciary Committee as Chairman for the past six years. Because the Judiciary Committee considers constitutional amendments and must consent to judicial nominations for the federal bench, it is the single most important committee for maintaining Church-State separation.

The Religious Action Center's success over the past decade in helping to defeat legislation which would undermine Church-State separation has been the result of a strong bipartisan coalition. When the Religious Action Center successfully lobbied against the Voluntary School Prayer Act of 1985, which sought to prohibit the United States Supreme Court and federal district courts from deciding cases which relate to voluntary prayer, Bible reading or religious meetings in public schools or public buildings, 38 Democrats, and 24 Republicans supported our position.

Democratic control of the Senate does not appear to have negative implications for the Equal Access Act, which passed the Senate in 1984 with widespread bipartisan support. The act makes it unlawful to deny equal access to school facilities to students in public secondary schools who wish to meet voluntarily for religious purposes.

On the state scene, voters in Massachusetts overwhelmingly rejected a referendum there which

would have weakened the state's constitutional prohibition on church-state entanglement, which is presently even stronger than the language in the U.S. Constitution. The referendum would have permitted state aid to parochial schools. Concurrently, however, voters in South Dakota accepted a referendum proposal to allow public schools to loan textbooks to private ones, thereby allowing the state to give financial assistance to parochial schools.

The American voters' veto of the candidates offered by the Christian right, whose leaders often apply religious tests to candidates, signifies the inability of that movement to erode the people's commitment to the separation of Church and State.

Finally, the defeat of the Christian right's candidates in 64 percent of its targeted races marks a significant victory for the separation of Church and State. The American voters' veto of the candidates offered by the Christian right, whose leaders often apply religious tests to candidates, signifies the inability of that movement to erode the people's commitment to the separation of Church and State.

Kirk Bernstein is a Religious Action Center Eisenbraun intern responsible for work on South Africa and Church-State issues.

Jewish Members of Congress

SENATE

The Jewish delegation in the Congress changed very little in the election. There remains eight Jewish members of the Senate. They are:

Senator Rudy Boschwitz, R-MN
Senator Chic Hecht, R-NV
Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, D-NJ
Senator Carl M. Levin, D-MI
Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-OH
Senator Warren Rudman, R-NH
Senator Arlen Specter, R-PA
Senator Edward Zorinsky, D-NE

Senators Rudman and Specter won reelection. Three Jewish candidates for Senator lost. They were Mark Green, D-NY, Ken Kramer, R-CO, Harriet Woods, D-MO.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

In the House there had been 30 members. Ben Cardin is the only Jewish freshman elected to Congress. Bobbi Fiedler (R-CA) and Ken Kramer (R-CO) did not run for reelection, instead entering Senate races. Fiedler lost in the primary and Kramer was narrowly defeated in the general election.

Four Jews lost in their election bid for a seat in the House. Bella Abzug, D-NY 20, Jim Cohen, D-CT 5, Marc Holtzman, R-PA 11, and Rosemary Pooler, D-NY 27.

At this time the 29 Jewish members of the House are:

Representative Gary L. Ackerman, D-NY 7
Representative Anthony C. Beilenson, D-CA 23
Representative Howard L. Berman, D-CA 26
Representative Barbara Boxer, D-CA 6
Representative Sala Burton, D-CA 5
Representative Ben Cardin, D-MD 3
Representative Ben Erdreich, D-AL 6
Representative Barney Frank, D-MA 4
Representative Martin Frost, D-TX 24
Representative Sam Gejdenson, D-CT 2
Representative Benjamin A. Gilman, R-NY 22
Representative Dan Glickman, D-KS 4
Representative Willis Gradison, Jr., R-OH 2
Representative Bill Green, R-NY 15
Representative Tom Lantos, D-CA 11
Representative William Lehman, D-FL 17
Representative Sander M. Levin, D-MI 17
Representative Mel Levine, D-CA 27
Representative John Miller, R-WA 1
Representative James H. Scheuer, D-NY 8
Representative Charles E. Schumer, D-NY 10
Representative Norman Sisisky, D-VA 4
Representative Larry Smith, D-FL 16
Representative Stephen J. Solarz, D-NY 13
Representative Henry A. Waxman, D-CA 24
Representative Ted S. Weiss, D-NY 17
Representative Howard Wolpe, D-MI 3
Representative Ron Wyden, D-OR 3
Representative Sidney R. Yates, D-IL 9

ELECTION'S IMPACT ON CRITICAL ISSUES

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS REINVIGORATED BY VICTORY

By Beth Sperber

The outlook for both Judicial nominations and Civil Rights legislation is quite positive according to Civil Rights advocacy organizations. "For the past six years we have had the votes on Civil Rights legislation, but we have not had control of the process," said the director of a key Washington civil rights lobbying organization. He was smiling and contemplating a vacation in the lull between the election and the arrival of the 100th Congress in early January. He explained: "We have been able to get the votes we want but have been less successful in getting the bills out of committee and out onto the floor for votes. After the results of this election we will be able to get legislation through so the majority of votes we have held for all these years will make a substantial difference."

It is likely that the major legislative initiatives will focus on The Civil Rights Restoration Act which would overturn the Supreme Court's *Grove City College v. Bell* decision. That decision seriously weakened the civil rights protection of women, minorities, disabled persons and older Americans. It means that institutions may be allowed to discriminate in any program not receiving direct federal funding.

The largest impact on Civil Rights resulting from this election is likely to be in Judiciary appointments. With the shift in leadership of the Senate Judiciary Committee to Senator Biden, the chances of Reagan appointees being swiftly nominated and approved through the committee are slim. The Democrats now have the chance to withhold their consent by stalling nominations in committee, slowly and thoroughly investigating an appointee's background, and making it difficult for Reagan to fill in slots that might open in the Supreme Court. The presence of a Democratic majority may also shape the type of nominations that the President sends to the Senate.

Some analysts remember well the compromise between President Richard Nixon and the Democratically controlled Senate in

the early 1970s. Under that system, the Democrats and the President were allowed to nominate every other appointee, thus speeding up the process of nomination and approval by this trade-off agreement. The possible reinstatement of this type of agreement has been considered by many in the Civil Rights advocacy organizations.

In general, Civil Rights activists are heartened by the results of the election, believing that the majority they have held for years will now become a more effective majority.

Beth Sperber is a Religious Action Center Eisenbrah intern whose portfolio includes Black-Jewish Relations, Women's issues, civil rights and domestic economic justice.

DEMOCRATIC SENATE MORE LIKELY TO THWART REAGAN ON CENTRAL AMERICA

by Sarah Goldstein

Foreign policy analysts predict a net gain of two contra aid opponents in the new Democratic Senate, making a total of 48 Senators who oppose U.S. support for the Nicaraguan rebels' attempt to overthrow the Sandinista government. These additional votes against President Reagan's policy in Nicaragua could reverse the narrow Senate support given him for the \$100 million package last August.

Altogether, last Tuesday's election yielded three new opponents of contra aid and two supporters. Wyche Fowler of Georgia, Harry Reid of Nevada, and Tom Daschle of South Dakota all oppose contra aid. Each beat a challenger or replaced an incumbent who backed such aid: Mack Mattingly, Jim Santini, and Jim Abner, respectively. However, the loss of retiring Democratic Missouri Senator Thomas F. Eagleton's seat, which will be filled by conservative Kit Bond, cancels out one of the three gains. Defeated Sen. Paula Hawkins (R-FL) will be replaced by Gov. Bob Graham who is also a contra supporter.

Additionally, the replacement of Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) with Claiborne Pell (D-RI) as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will help tilt the balance away from the President's policy, as will the replacement of Robert J. Dole (R-KS) with Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) as majority leader. More subtle shifts in subcommittee chairmanships will also determine the thrust of Central American policy in both houses of Congress. Either Edward Zorinsky (D-NE) or Christopher Dodd (D-CT) is expected to replace Jesse Helms as chair of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. If Dodd, an articulate opponent of contra aid, becomes chairman, the subcommittee would exercise its oversight role vigorously, beginning by holding hearings to determine the CIA's indirect role in supporting Nicaraguan rebels. In the House Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee, the loss of Michael Barnes (D-MD), a leading opponent of contra aid, could leave a vacuum for a less vocal or passionate leader.

Within several months after Congress convenes, they will have the opportunity to cancel \$40 million of the funds earmarked for aid to the contras. If they do so, the President would most likely veto the action, and a two-thirds vote would be required to override the veto. Although it is highly unlikely that contra aid opponents would be able to muster the necessary 66 votes, it is possible that the leadership would attempt to delay, filibuster, or in some other way thwart President Reagan's initiative.

STATUS QUO LIKELY TO REMAIN IN ECONOMIC JUSTICE LEGISLATION

by Beth Sperber

"We may be able to get in to see those who make policy, but the policy isn't going to change much," one advocate for economic justice said resignedly. On the positive side, many of the new members of Congress and those incumbents who were reelected have a personal interest in bringing military spending and domestic human needs into some sort of balance. The funds for increases in social welfare spending would likely come from such redistribution of existing income.

While all government programs are more likely to be held accountable for the money they spend, Congress is unlikely to change the basic economic conditions of government or to reduce the deficit substantially. There is little expectation that Congress will repeal the Gramm-Rudman amendment or

push for increased government revenue unless the President initiates a call for enhanced revenues, a polite way of referring to a tax increase.

The Democratic leadership in the House and the Senate will be reluctant to be labeled as "the spend and tax, tax and spend Congress" and will not want to hand the Republicans an issue for the 1988 election. Although the key economic committees in the Senate will now come under Democratic control, their leadership will fall to conservative and moderate Democrats. Only the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee expects a major shakeup with Edward Kennedy (D-MA) replacing Orrin Hatch as chairman.

One aspect of the Reagan revolution has been to transfer to the local level primary responsibility for social services. Despite Republican losses in the Senate, they made sharp gains in state races. Republican governors will thus be in a position to shape government services for domestic human needs. This development does not bode well for the many domestic programs that must be implemented on the state level. Yet, because governors face real issues and have direct contact with those in need, they tend to be less ideological and more pragmatic in their approach to problems.

The defeat of Republican Senators in traditionally Republican farm states and the crisis in farm areas makes it likely that Congress will take significant initiatives in the agricultural sphere.

While generally positive about the election results, economic justice advocates are skeptical about movement in Congress in the two years before a presidential election. In the face of that election, Representatives and Senators will be less likely to stick their necks out for legislation for the poor which will cost the government money. The prediction is that they will move cautiously in this Congress on issues of economic justice.

THE ELECTION'S IMPACT ON THE NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUE

By Anita M. Moss

As a campaign issue, nuclear disarmament failed to capture the attention of the electorate—even after the Reykjavik summit. But the issue had an important indirect impact. Peace activists were out in full force. Many became campaign volunteers and organizers. They spent long hours in the critical weeks before the election contacting and identifying voters, and getting supporters to the polls on election day. A number of analysts believe their "turn-out-the-vote" efforts made the difference in several close races.

As a result of this election, there should be a net gain in the Senate of three solid votes in favor of nuclear arms reductions. Six freshman senators were rated highly by nuclear arms control advocates: Tim Wirth (D-CO), Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Wyche Fowler (D-GA), Kent Conrad (D-ND), Thomas Daschle (D-SD) and Brock Adams (D-WA). But three retiring Senators—Gary Hart, Charles Mathias and Thomas Eagleton—had excellent records of support. This net gain should prove sufficient to cut back on the Reagan administration's Star Wars funding requests which were supported with narrow one vote margins in 1986.

The gains in Senate support this year, combined with those from 1984, give freeze and nuclear disarmament proponents an edge. However, to build a strong majority in the Senate, arms control advocates will clearly need to enlist the support of moderate Republicans.

The impact of the potential shift on votes may well be limited by the rise of Senator Sam Nunn to the chairmanship of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Nunn, who is more conservative than the mainstream of the Democratic Party on these issues, is an independent thinker with a comprehensive understanding of arms issues, is an independent thinker with a comprehensive understanding of arms issues, and has often criticized the Pentagon. While he voted for SDI and is generally known as a hawk, he has deviated from the Administration on the details, scope and direction of its policy. He is reluctant to diminish U.S. reliance on nuclear deterrence without a guarantee of adequate conventional arms to counteract Soviet superiority. His overall record is mixed: he voted for chemical weapons, against a moratorium on anti-satellite weapons, but in favor of decreasing Star Wars funding by half a billion dollars. Nunn defies the easy conventions of Washington. He is expected to be a strong leader of the Committee and is well respected by his colleagues.

The slight Democratic gain in the House will likely strengthen the House's willingness to partake an activist role in countering the President's nuclear arms policy. In the last session the House voted five times to sharply restrict the President's programs. It voted to cut off funding for any weapons that could violate SALT II banned testing of Anti-Satellite weapons, sharply reduced Star Wars funding, cut all funding for chemical weapons and passed a Comprehensive Test Ban as long as the Soviets continued with theirs. Unless concrete progress is made in Geneva, the House will likely continue with its independent course on arms policy.

Anita Moss is a Religious Action Center Eisendrath intern whose primary responsibility is to work on the Nuclear Arms Race.

PROSPECTS APPEAR PROMISING FOR PRO-CHOICE ADVOCATES

By Beth Sperber

Abortion rights activists are celebrating the November 4th elections, estimating a gain of approximately three pro-choice votes in the Senate and five to ten in the House. The present tally stands at 47 strong pro-choice votes in the Senate, 36 strongly anti-choice, and approximately 15 swing Senators. In the House, the tally stands at approximately 198 pro-choice members, 20 to 25 votes short of the necessary 218 majority. Retiring Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill was strongly pro-choice. His likely successor Texas Rep. Jim Wright is not. However, the likely candidates for majority and minority whips are more likely to be sympathetic to abortion rights than the past whips have been.

Pro-choice activists are cautiously optimistic about the prospects for the success of next year's legislative agenda. The House Judiciary Committee will continue to be solidly in favor of abortion rights and the Senate Judiciary Committee, under the leadership of Joe Biden (D-DE), may swing toward the pro-choice position. Abortion rights advocates expect the Senate to pass legislation allowing Medicaid funding for rape and incest survivors, although such a measure would be unlikely to pass the House.

The prospects for securing Medicaid funding for abortions do not appear favorable. Although the Senate Appropriations Committee might support such legislation, it would have little chance of surviving in that Committee's counterpart in the House. Representative Alan B. Mollohan (D-WV), currently the chair of the pro-life caucus, will likely be a strong conservative voice on the House Appropriations Committee where future pro-choice legislation may well be blocked before ever reaching the House floor.

Pro-choice organizations hailed November 4th as a victory on the state level as well. Abortion rights referenda appeared on the ballots of four states: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Oregon and Arkansas. The first three easily upheld the pro-choice stand. In Arkansas, where a clear defeat for pro-choice forces had been expected, the vote was so close that even an anti-choice win will be regarded by the pro-choice movement as a psychological victory for their cause.

Many abortion rights advocacy organizations contend that the November 4th results provide further evidence that the vast majority of Americans are pro-choice and will eventually influence Congress to move in that direction as well.

JEWISH PACS

By Sarah Goldstein

In a campaign filled more with personal attacks, ideological broadsides, and blurred party identities than with substantive issues, it is no wonder that much of the American electorate had difficulty in selecting a candidate worthy of their support. That task was no less difficult for American Jews. The more than 70 pro-Israel political action committees (PACs) steered support in a definite direction toward friends of Israel, yet those friends included a number of incumbents whose views on Church-State issues, abortion, civil rights and arms control made many Jews uncomfortable.

The "rules" of single-issue PACs stipulate that in the case of two candidates equally pro-Israel, you give to the incumbent. Since more Republicans were up for election than Democrats, in 1985 pro-Israel PACs gave about 60 percent of their funds to Republicans and over 90 percent to incumbents. According to an influential *New Republic* article by Robert Kuttner published last May titled "Unholy Alliance: How Jewish PACs may save the Republican Senate," Jewish PACs supported pro-Israel incumbent candidates such as Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), Robert Kasten (R-WI), and Paula Hawkins (R-FL), rather than Democratic challengers whose support for Israel was equally strong but whose positions on other issues such as prayer in the public schools was more in line with the Jewish community.

Kuttner admits that his thesis of pro-Israel PAC support for Republican candidates did not hold up in this year's Congressional campaign. While pro-Israel PAC money continued to go this year in higher percentages to Republicans than the 70-30 pro-Democratic Jewish vote indicated, only one of the 11 largest pro-Israel PACs contributed more money to Republicans than to Democrats, according to the Federal Election Commission. For example, National PAC (NATPAC), the largest pro-Israel PAC, contributed a million dollars as of the end of October, 59.6 percent of which went to the Democratic Senate candidates, according to Director Richard Altman in a telephone interview on the eve of the election. Furthermore, the largest single recipient of pro-Israel PAC money in the recent campaign was the staunch liberal Democrat Alan Cranston, who reportedly received over \$200,000.

Still, Kuttner's portrayal of the pro-Israel alliance with Republican incumbents continues to ring true. In New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Alaska, pro-Israel PACs backed D'Amato, Kasten, Arlen Specter (who is more moderate than the others), and Frank Murkowski respectively rather than Democratic challengers who might have expected to receive Jewish financial support based on issues of Jewish concern other than Israel.

According to Howard Kohr, deputy director of the pro-Republican National Jewish Coalition, Jews in general and pro-Israel activists in particular continue to move toward the Republicans out of frustration with liberal

THE END OF THE REAGAN JUDICIAL REVOLUTION?

by Michael Berenbaum

"It is a formula for stalemate," said one Republican Senator dejectedly. Nowhere is the shift from Republican to Democratic leadership more pronounced than on the Senate Judiciary Committee. Outgoing Chairman Strom Thurmond, an arch conservative from South Carolina, is to be replaced by liberal Democrat Joseph Biden, Jr., as head of the committee that reviews Presidential nominations for the federal judiciary, including the Supreme Court.

During the six years of his presidency, Ronald Reagan has substantially reshaped the federal judiciary. He has nominated a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. With three more justices approaching 80 years of age, the President had expected to pack the Court with conservative nominees who would define the supreme law of the land well into the twenty-first century. The appointment of Scalia narrowed the pro-civil liberties vote on the court from 6-3 to 5-4. One more Reagan appointee may well undo 30 years of expansion of civil rights and civil liberties on issues like abortion, school prayer and affirmative action. Moreover, during his term, the President has nominated almost one-third of the members of the federal judiciary and over the next two years he expected to name hundreds more to the bench. As the 100th Congress convenes, there are 54 vacancies on the federal bench awaiting presidential nomination.

The shift from Thurmond to Biden is by no means an even trade. The Democrats will now control the Judiciary Committee by at least a 10 to 8 majority, having the power also

to hire staff and set the calendar. This control will be a marked change from early this fall when the Democratic minority staff could assign only one person to investigate the records of Justice Anthony Scalia. Now, the new Democratic majority will be able to discourage the President from nominating incompetent or highly partisan judges such as Daniel Manion, whom the Religious Action Center strongly opposed, if he hopes that they will be approved by a Democratic Senate. Indeed, during President Jimmy Carter's tenure, only 6% of his appointments received the ABA's lowest approval rating, 40% of President Reagan's appointments have received this rating as narrow ideological considerations became more important than judicial competence.

As one insider observed, "the Democrats will serve as a psychological block to the President's efforts to pack the court at every level. Reagan will have no difficulty getting thoroughly competent professional conservative nominees through the Senate, such as Justice John Stevens, a Nixon appointee, but the very presence of the Democrats will inhibit the choice of judges."

Democrats whose support for Israel is contingent upon their ability to reject other defense issues that may be attached to bills for Israel aid, such as aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Democratic activists find no contradictions in supporting aid to Israel while opposing aspects of our military and security assistance programs they regard as harmful to U.S. interests.

In fact, Kuttner's "unholy alliance" prompted some American Jewish leaders to abandon Jewish single-issue (Israel-focused only) PACs, and found PACs which would support candidates sympathetic to a wide range of issues traditionally of Jewish concern as well as Israel. MIPAC (Multi-Issue PAC) and the Fund for Freedom are two such groups that participated in this year's campaign. A state multi-issue PAC has begun in Michigan as well. MIPAC, which measures candidates on such domestic issues as civil rights and women's rights, as well as on Israel, gave 50 times more funds to Democratic candidates than to Republicans.

By most accounts, the most extraordinary PAC in the Jewish community is JAC (The Joint Action Committee) comprised of over 2000 Jewish women across the United States.

A single-issue PAC by definition, it is a multi-issue PAC in practice since it refuses to give money to any candidate who receives funding from the National Conservative PAC (NCPAC) or other right-wing PACs. More interestingly, it may be the only democratic PAC (with a small "d") of the over 4,000 PACs in the country, creating chapters and committees in local communities which, by majority vote, recommend candidates to the national committee. This PAC not only has empowered women to play an effective political role in what has traditionally been a male sphere of activity but has grown to be the Jewish community's second largest PAC, having distributed over \$300,000 in this election cycle.

American Jews have always been disproportionately active in the political process, mostly as liberals. The recent upsurge of Jewish pro-Israel PACs may not change that traditional liberal commitment of individual Jews, but it may well change the character of the Jewish institutions that politicians must consider when contemplating issues of interest to the American Jewish community.

Sarah Goldstein is an Eisenrath intern working on Central American Affairs and Interational Human Rights at the Religious Action Center.



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Nicaraguan poet Michel Najlis with John Linder, brother of Ben Linder, who was recently slain in Nicaragua, at Shabbat services.

Straddling the Chasm Between Jewry and the Left

BY LARRY COHLER

Soon after the Russian Revolution, the story goes, Leon Trotsky returned to Ivanovka, the small town where he was born as Lev Bronstein, and there encountered the town's chief rabbi.

"It's Trotsky now, not Bronstein," he told the rabbi proudly. "We've made a revolution, and now everything is different, even names. Tsarist Russia is now the Soviet Union, the world's first workers' state."

"Yes," the old rabbi replied dubiously, "but be careful: it's the Trotskys who make the revolutions

and the Bronsteins who pay the bills."

The story, though apocryphal, neatly captures the wary relationship between the Jewish community and the numerous revolutionaries it has spawned with worldwide consequences. Thrust into modernity as a powerless, oppressed people, the Jews of Eastern Europe provided the radical movements of the era with a rich pool of brilliant, driven leaders. But somewhere along the way, the Jewish people as a whole got off the messianic bus.

In Russia, Stalin's show trials, his doctors' plot, his murders of Yiddish literary leaders and his

scheme to pack Soviet Jews off to Siberia overshadowed his role as early arms supplier to Israel and protector of Soviet Jews during World War II. Internationally, the left's increasingly vitriolic anti-Zionism and apathy about Soviet anti-Semitism inevitably affected Jewish perceptions of where Jewish interests lay.

In America, the left's overall silence as the Soviet gulag swelled put many Jews off. At the same time, the government's execution of the Rosenbergs and oppression of the Hollywood 10 and others clearly signaled the Jewish community of the price to be paid for radicalism.

Given radicalism's lack of con-

cern for many Jewish interests, the price hardly seemed worth it. An increasingly prosperous American Jewry would continue to be liberal. But it would firmly distance itself from those Jews whose fervid universalism propelled them into "progressive" politics while ignoring the irksome parochial concerns of the group into which they were born.

Over a breakfast of hot bacon and hashbrowns, David Coyne contemplated this divide between American Jewry and leftist Jews—one his group, New Jewish Agenda (NJA), proposes to bridge.

"When Agenda was founded in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



New Jewish Agenda conference participants sing "We Shall Overcome" at Saturday night plenary on the UCLA campus.

New Jewish Agenda Holds L.A. Meeting

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

1980, the primary question was: Can there be a principled, progressive Jewish voice that can work within the Jewish community and on the left without being destroyed?" said Coyne between bites.

Coyne, NJA's new executive director, recalled the swift demise of Breira, a predecessor organization devoted exclusively to the Israeli-Palestinian issue. But NJA, he said, six years after its founding as a multi-issue group, seems stable at about 4,000 members. And its imaginative initiatives on such issues as Central America, South Africa and Israeli-Palestinian peace have won it a niche in both the left and the Jewish community.

Said Coyne: "The new question is: Just how effective will we be in making the Jewish community more supportive of progressive concerns and the progressive community more understanding of Jewish concerns and deserving of Jewish support?"

At its biennial conference in Los Angeles July 9-12, NJA took positions on a host of issues that could well decide that question for the next few years.

Perhaps any group that tries to straddle the chasm between Jewry and the left today deserves credit for engaging in a thankless, if noble, enterprise. The prophets, after all, were the earliest source of the universalist vision of justice to which the left aspires. But Judaism also vigorously validates the concept of legitimate parochial interests. Unfortunately, even a Jew who wishes NJA well could not escape a sense of disappointment at the conference's failure to strike the balance.

On the issue of Israel and Mideast peace, NJA passed a resolution calling bluntly for negotiations between Israel and the PLO. It also endorsed a two-state solution to the conflict—a secure Israel and an independent Palestinian state alongside it, in the West Bank and Gaza.

Those positions are consistent with long-voiced NJA views. But not satisfied with that, NJA members then passed an amendment specifying that when Israel and the PLO get together, the territorial solution to be negotiated "should be based on pre-1967 lines, with any modifications to be mutually agreed upon by the involved parties." Agenda leaders explained that the possibility of "modifications" referred specifically to Jerusalem.

To minimize the chances of recalcitrant parties resisting this pre-conceived result, NJA declared its support for an international peace conference "with the participation, on an equal basis, of Israel, the PLO, neighboring Arab states and the United States and the USSR." Conference members rejected a proposed amendment to give Israel and the PLO, the two most important parties to the conflict in NJA's view, a greater voice than the other parties.

Given NJA's insistence on such specificity on Israeli territorial concessions, it was sad that no countervailing specificity was evident on the security guarantees Israel should receive in return, such as West Bank demilitarization.

"The right of Israel to live in



peace and security is in there," insisted Deena Hurwitz of NJA's Mideast Taskforce. "We don't mean to say some formula for demilitarization is wrong. But we don't think it's a problem that it's not in the actual resolution.

"We are very concerned about Israel's existence and security. Israel's abilities, mobile forces and huge military-industrial complex make me less worried about Israel's ability to defend itself," she said.

But, conceded Hurwitz, "I realize the majority of American Jews and Israelis fear an invasion. The question of how a Palestinian state should be armed or not armed... should be part of the discussion."

Soviet Jewry Hotly Debated

NJA's reluctance to vigorously assert legitimate Jewish interests within the left was also evident on the issue of Soviet Jewry—the topic most hotly debated among the formal resolutions.

The Soviet Jewry dispute arose in a resolution on disarmament. According to several members, it threatened to overwhelm the disarmament issue.

In a sign of progress for the group, NJA acknowledged for the first time in this resolution that "for American Jews, our concern about Soviet Jews has been difficult to reconcile with our desire for peace. NJA will seek to influence the American Jewish Community to act on its support for both peace and human rights through an increased exchange between U.S. Jews and Soviet Jews, including refuseniks, dissident, assimilated and integrated Jews, and to influence Soviet policy to resolve the problems we identify."

The resolution declared NJA's intention to initiate a tour of the Soviet Union "to explore issues of peace and human rights." NJA members stressed the need to recognize the "diversity" of Soviet Jewish life and not concentrate solely on the refusenik and dissident Jews in trouble.

By a vote 60 to 44 NJA members rejected an amendment that would have replaced the expression of "concern for Soviet Jews" with an expression of "concern for Soviet anti-Semitism."

"The issue is not whether there is Soviet anti-Semitism," declared Mike Hirsch, a Disarmament Taskforce member, before the vote.

"There's anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and in every other country."

"The question is, do we organize a tour that begins with all the cynicism and stupidity of the Reagan administration?"

"No one here intends for the tour to be an apology," Hirsch said in response to a boo. "There's nothing here to whitewash the Soviet government. The resolution merely allows Agenda to go there and look with open eyes."

In an earlier forum on disarmament, panelist Christie Balka of the Shalom Center in Philadelphia was soundly scolded for criticizing the left's "misled record" on Soviet Jewry as "intellectually dishonest."



David Coyne, New Jewish Agenda executive director, chats with conference participants at Shabbat dinner.

PHOTO BY RENE FETTER



Afif Safieh, right, discusses issues with Al Stern, chairman of the NJA executive board.

PHOTO BY RENE FETTER



"I don't like it said that it is known there is state-sponsored anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union," retorted NJA member Owen Winter of Sacramento, Calif. "This is being looked into. It's just a hypothesis."

John Weisberger, one of the authors of the disarmament resolution, acknowledged "legitimate concerns" with regard to Soviet Jewry. Among these were the fate of some 11,000 refuseniks whose right to leave should be secured, he said.

When asked, Weisberger added that any other Jews who want to leave should be allowed to do so without penalty, not as a Jewish issue but as a matter of broad human rights. But he sharply questioned Israel's assertion that some 400,000 Soviet Jews have taken at least the first required step of requesting a letter from abroad inviting them to resettle.

Weisberger did acknowledge that Soviet imprisonment of Jews who teach and study Hebrew has been a problem. He also acknowledged the Soviet government's publication of a number of anti-Semitic books, despite its own statutes outlawing anti-Semitism. But he denounced as "an exaggeration" charges of "a torrent" of such anti-Semitic expressions.

Weisberger and many other NJA members voiced an overriding reluctance to speak of "Soviet anti-Semitism" out of the fear that such charges were being exploited to wreck arms control progress.

Asked if Soviet human rights practices did not inevitably affect general international tensions, Weisberger conceded that some linkage was inevitable. But asked if Soviet violations of international human rights treaties did not also affect Soviet credibility on any arms control commitments, he replied: "I think to the same extent as human rights in the United States.... Here, there are many homeless and unemployed, but this also must not be allowed to interfere with an arms agreement."

There is hardly a charge more damning than political irrelevancy for an activist group. But what other term can be applied to NJA's position when Soviet officials, such as Washington envoy Yuri Dubinin, have openly recognized an implicit link between their policies toward Soviet Jews and their prospects for obtaining an arms control treaty? These officials have bluntly appealed to Jewish leaders to respond to their liberalizations by moving to support detente and arms control.

It is easy to be too harsh on NJA. The moral concerns that motivate many of its members are manifestly genuine. Even if one rejects their views, the contributions they bring to debate on the Middle East, South Africa and economic justice for all in this country are positive. In a Jewish community that argues the value of establishing links to all sectors of the political spectrum, not even excluding Sen. Jesse Helms these days, who could contest the value of a Jewish organization with effective links to the

left?

Indeed, several NJA leaders pointed to what they clearly view as a coup in this respect. Last month NJA members attended a UN conference "On the Question of Palestine" put on by UN-affiliated Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). When a resolution was offered urging the creation of a Palestinian state, NJA lobbied successfully for the insertion of the clause "alongside Israel" in the final draft.

"This represents the best, the most important work of Agenda on the left," said Coyne. "The PLO had people there who signed off on that resolution."

The organization has initiated a number of other imaginative initiatives that have had an impact beyond its size.

In 1984, NJA co-sponsored a 20-city dialogue-tour of Israeli Knesset member Mordechai Bar-On of the Civil Rights Movement party and the deposed Palestinian West Bank Mayor Mohammed Milhem. The local news media in many cities gave prominent coverage to the exchange, and the PBS show *Frontline* aired a national documentary on it.

That same year, NJA sponsored a 12-member delegation that traveled to Nicaragua to investigate Reagan administration charges of Sandinista anti-Semitism. Its finding (with one strong dissent) absolving the government of systemic anti-Semitism received heavy media play. One of several findings challenging the administration on this issue, it has become part of the standard retort to the controversial charge.

Recently, NJA sponsored the first U.S. interracial speaking tour of South African anti-apartheid activists. Rabbi Ben Isaac and Rev. Zachariah Mokoabe spoke in synagogues and churches in 25 U.S. cities earlier this year, calling for an end to Western and Israeli military trade with South Africa and the establishment of model interracial educational and religious centers.

Insider's Game

Within the Jewish community, NJA, perceived as an outsider at its founding, has played the insider's game with some successes. In 1982, for example, the group lobbied successfully for a strong nuclear freeze resolution at the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations in Los Angeles. NJA chapters have won places on local Jewish community relations councils in Detroit, Kansas City, St. Louis, Santa Fe and Los Angeles.

To Rael Jean Isaac, a leading member of the right-wing Americans For a Safe Israel, Agenda's slowly increasing acceptance within the Jewish community is a threat to the community's security. In a pamphlet released just in time for NJA's conference, Isaac compared NJA to the National Deutschen Juden, "a small fringe group within the Jewish community of Weimar Germany [that] actually identified with the emerging National Socialist Party."

Isaac, a gifted broadside writer, played a key role in the demise of Breira eight years ago when her pamphlet against that group was widely distributed in the Jewish community. In her brief against NJA, Isaac reviles the organization as "an ally and apologist for the most anti-Israel [and often anti-Semitic] politicians, organizations and regimes."

Isaac cites numerous forums

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE



Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center in Washington, addresses New Jewish Agenda's Saturday plenary.



Washington journalist I.F. Stone at the plenary. He criticized growing intolerance between Arabs and Jews and between religious and secular Jews within Israel.

PHOTOGRAPH BY I.F. STONE

New Jewish Agenda

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

NJA has cosponsored with anti-Israel groups, such as the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. At these forums members of the Israeli left have joined Palestinians in denouncing Israel's occupation of the West Bank in the harshest terms. During a Seattle forum, Israeli Reserve Col. Dov Yermiya spoke of "extreme nationalism and racism" fueling Israeli policies, Isaac reports. She notes the group's cosponsorship of functions with a number of groups, such as the November 29th Coalition, that have failed to affirm Israel's right to exist in any form. Isaac also suggests Communist Party infiltration of the organization, noting the presence of Weisberger, a CP member, within its leadership and a number of "old left" Party members and fellow-travelers among its rank-and-file.

Isaac's tract is not bereft of a smear or two amid a number of serious charges. But Coyne is unfazed by them.

"We work on a program-by-program basis," he said. "If the November 29th Coalition were to approach us about cosponsoring a tour by Shulamith Aloni, we would." Aloni is a Knesset member and the leader of a left-of-center Israeli party strongly opposed to Israeli retention of the West Bank and Gaza.

"If someone like Aloni—who absolutely defends Israel's right to a secure existence and also the rights of the Palestinians—were available to speak here, and we could get

בין הגושים יושב
 SHALL LEARN
 IN HISTORY.
 APARTHEID
 ST. END!



they don't often hear, we would do so.

According to Isaac's tract, the event cosponsored by, among others, the November 29th Coalition and New Jewish Agenda was a 1983 demonstration against Ariel Sharon. But the point about bringing a "progressive" view that affirms Israel's legitimacy to such circles presumably still stands.

Praise and Criticism

The issue of organizational survival for NJA is now settled, Coyne averred. From the mainstream Jewish community, Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Reform movement's Religious Action Center in Washington, showed up to praise Agenda for its grassroots work on behalf of the disenfranchised, the sanctuary movement for Central Americans, and those within Israel advocating territorial concessions in exchange for peace

(though he did not endorse NJA's particular formula).

From the other side came Afif Safieh, a former aide to PLO chairman Yasir Arafat who now works as diplomatic correspondent for the Palestinian paper *Al Fajr*.

"With enemies like you, who needs friends?" joked Safieh in his address to the group. The Palestinian hailed the organization for its blunt call for negotiations between Israel and the PLO and advocacy of a Palestinian state alongside Israel with mutual recognition of each other's borders.

From Nicaragua and El Salvador came others—Jews, in fact—praising the group for its opposition to Reagan administration policies on these two countries. Representatives of the black community appeared in support of NJA's work against racism and economic deprivation and for affirmative action, including quotas. The renowned poet Adrienne Rich affirmed the group's work on behalf of the feminist and gay community.

Evelyn Torton Beck, a lesbian feminist Jewish author, praised NJA's agenda as "coming closer to inclusivity than any Jewish organization I know." Many members of NJA would clearly be wholly alienated from the Jewish community but for the group's existence.

"Given what's happened in Jewish history, I don't think Jews ever have a class interest in affiliating with the powerful," said Coyne. "Jews are safest when those in power are forced to accommodate minorities."

"Involvement should be limitless and encompass all who suffer," said Heddy Epstein, a Holocaust survivor and an NJA member from St. Louis.

Such an urgent, universalist sense of moral concern would especially put NJA into a position of dissent within the Jewish community quite often. But the same sense

“ Soviet Jewry...the topic most hotly debated among the formal resolutions.”

cosponsors—especially from an organization less forthcoming in its support for the Jewish state—all the better," said Coyne. "If we can draw in that audience to hear a progressive Israeli's views, which

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Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism



Union of American Hebrew Congregations - Central Conference of American Rabbis
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JUNE 1987

SPECIAL BRIEFINGS #2

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

by

Rita Kaunitz, Ph.D.

*Jewish
politics*

in red

INTRODUCTION

by

Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action
of Reform Judaism

The deep-rooted Israel/South African connection has been an open secret for years. Both in Israel and in the United States, the disquieting issue was largely swept under the rug. No longer. Not only has the repression in South Africa touched the conscience of the world and commanded worldwide attention, but Congress last year adopted the strong Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which, among other things, directed the State Department to report publicly on those nations which violated the international arms embargo on the sale and export of arms to South Africa. Section 508 of the law indicates that the U.S. will consider terminating its own military aid to nations which violate the arms embargo. This report was issued on April 1, and has caused strong repercussions in Israel, the U.S. Congress, South Africa and among American Jews. The debate, so long deferred, is now both active and unavoidable.

The Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism has always been committed to the cause of racial justice and human rights. In 1976 the Commission established the

Kivie Kaplan Institute as a joint partnership between the NAACP and the UAHC to promote black-Jewish cooperation. The issue of apartheid touches the deepest values of Judaism and transcends all community relations considerations: the dignity of human beings and the demands of social justice. Apartheid represents the only case in the modern world of a subjugated majority population whose subjugation is based solely on race.

Accordingly, the Commission on Social Action has forwarded a resolution to the General Assembly of the UAHC which will meet in Chicago October 29-November 2. That resolution urges Israel to take prompt and decisive steps to disengage from the white majority regime of South Africa.

The purpose of this Briefings is to clarify the issues in this highly charged and complex situation; to sensitize our readers and congregants; and to provide factual background for an informed discussion and dialogue focusing on Israel and South Africa in the resolution which will be debated at the UAHC General Assembly in Chicago October 29-November 2.

The challenge of this issue falls not only on Israel but also on Jews in the Diaspora and especially in the United States. The U.S. has taken firm sanctions against the apartheid regime and is pressing its allies to do likewise. In the short-term, Israel stands to suffer pain and to lose much -- jobs, contracts, etc. But the Commission on Social Action believes it is not merely to appease Washington that Israel should join all Western nations in ending arms sales to a racist police state. Nor is it to make us -- American Jews -- more comfortable. The harsh truth is that it may prove even costlier to continue the present policy. To be seen by the world as Pretoria's last Western partner diminishes Israel's moral stature, alienates black Africa, offers a propaganda bonanza to the PLO and other enemies of Israel, and deeply embarrasses the U.S. Congress and all of Israel's friends and supporters. The Israel-South Africa connection could also become a dangerous mine-field in the 1988 U.S. presidential election. For all these reasons, it does no service to the Jewish people to blindly ignore reality. The greater service is to help Israel and American Jews face up to it -- with fairness, balance, honesty and without defensiveness or self-righteousness. Briefings #2 seeks to initiate such a dialogue.

We have asked Dr. Rita Kaunitz, Consultant to the Commission on Social Action, to prepare this issue of Briefings on Israel and South Africa -- The Arms Relationship as background for the UAHC draft Resolution on Israel and South Africa which will be sent officially to UAHC congregations 90 days in advance of the UAHC General Assembly. This issue is essentially a press round-up from representative newspapers and organizational memoranda and consists of material which appeared shortly before and after the State Department's report was issued on April 1. Material on the relations between the West European nations, the Arab nations and South Africa appears in Appendix II.

Two other areas are included to provide background for the UAHC draft Resolution on Israel and South Africa: Israel's relationships with South Africa's "homelands" and the "twinning" of Israeli cities with South African cities.

This issue of Briefings is presented in the form of quotations or paraphrased, with sources cited throughout the text. The following abbreviations are used for the most frequently cited newspapers: Jerusalem Post: JP; Jewish Telegraph Agency: JTA; New York Times: NYT; Washington Post: WP.

The subject of the "homelands" is included in the UAHC Resolution and is dealt with in this Briefings because Israel's relationships with the "homelands" have a moral and symbolic significance that must concern us as well. The Israeli presence in the "homelands" appears to confer a de facto legitimacy upon these artificial puppet states which are recognized by no other nation except South Africa, whose creatures they are. To black South Africans, as well as to black people all over the world, the "homelands" represent a form of slow genocide.

The Israeli-South African practice of "twinning" cities is included in the UAHC Resolution and explained in this Briefings because of its unusual symbolic resonance. How would American Jews have responded if New York City were "twin-
ned" with Berlin during the Hitler era? "Twinning" is also being used to circumvent U.S. sanctions and the international cultural and sports boycotts.

Briefings #2 on Israel and South Africa provides a basis for discussion in congregation and community of the issues it has raised. As Jews continue to participate in interreligious and interracial coalitions which protest apartheid at forums, rallies and demonstrations, we believe this report will facilitate a better understanding of this sensitive subject.

The Jewish dilemmas raised here should be explored within the congregation, possibly by using hearings to provide for the expression of all points of view, revolving around the draft Resolution which will be considered at the UAHC General Assembly.

Discussion might focus on these and similar topics:

1. Is it appropriate for Jews in the Diaspora -- and especially American Jewry -- to speak out on the issue of Israel's relationship with South Africa?
2. In light of the Pollard case and other recent events, do we American Jews have a responsibility to interpret American public opinion (and governmental opinion) to the leaders of Israel? Do we have a right to go beyond that and express our own opinion?
3. Do we have the right to hold a Jewish state to a higher moral standard than the prevailing practices of the nations of the world? And what if the leaders of a Jewish state assert that their arms industry, and arms trade with South Africa and other repugnant regimes are critical of their survival? What are the moral obligations of the nations of the world to end the Arab boycott of Israel?
4. Under all these circumstances, what should we be doing as a) individual citizens of the U.S. who abhor apartheid; and b) American Jews deeply committed to Israel and to human rights?

ISRAEL REASSESS ARMS TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA

On January 29, 1987, The New York Times brought into public focus the Israel-South African relationship in a lead article headlined "Israelis Reassess Supplying Arms to South Africa." It described how, under pressure from both the United States Congress and American Jews, "Israel is reevaluating its arms and trade relationship with South Africa..." The most pressing factor is the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Passed by Congress on October 2, 1986, it provides for significant sanctions against South Africa, and was adopted overwhelmingly by both houses of Congress, overriding President Reagan's veto.

The President directed the Secretary of State to implement the requirements relating to Section 508 of the Act, which decreed that by April 1, 1987, the President must receive a State Department report that will outline other nations' arms sales to South Africa "with a view toward ending United States military assistance with countries engaged in that trade." (NYT 1/28/87)

The brief unclassified State Department report issued to Congress on April 1 found that "Israel had provided large-scale military assistance to South Africa in violation of an international arms embargo." It named six West European nations and Israel as circumventing the arms embargo, noting that companies in France and Italy have helped South Africa maintain its major weapons systems. It also said companies in West Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland and the Netherlands, which occasionally sold military items or non-military items that could be converted to military use, constituted a third category of violators. (NYT 4/3/87; WP 4/3/87)

The State Department report noted a decision by the Israeli Cabinet on March 18 that "Israel would not renew any existing military contracts." It said that before that "Israel appears to have sold military systems and sub-systems and provided technical assistance on a regular basis" and that the Israeli Government was "fully aware of most or all of the trade." (WP 4/3/87)

Israel was characterized as "a major seller" and as an apparently "regular provider of military systems and technology." (NYT 4/3/87; WP 4/3/87) As expected, "the report gave special attention to Israel, in part because Congress has stipulated that countries defying the arms embargo could lose their U.S. military aid." Israel received \$3 billion in foreign aid in 1986, of which some \$1.8 billion was for military use. "But it is Israel for which the issue is most sensitive, since its relationship with South Africa has been on a 'government-to-government basis' while South Africa's European dealings have been with private manufacturers or dealers. And unlike Israel, the Western European countries do not receive U.S. military aid. A further source of Israel's tension with Washington is the report's finding that successive Israeli governments actively sought an arms-supply relation with South Africa to help defray the costs of maintaining a large and expensive defense industry." (NYT 4/3/87; WP 3/28/87, 4/3/87)

REACTION: CONGRESS

Jewish and black members of Congress were involved in "intense and sometimes harsh discussions about how to react" even before the State Department report was released. (NYT 4/3/87)

Israel "was spared special criticism for its military ties to South Africa, thanks in part to a mutual understanding that emerged from an intense dialogue

between black and Jewish leaders." During these talks, Jewish organizational representatives, including Rabbi David Saperstein, Co-Director of the Religious Action Center, agreed with black leaders that Israel cannot be exempted from criticism -- as long as it was put in context with other countries that were also cited as violators of the UN arms embargo in the State Department report. (Washington Jewish Week 4/9/87)

Black members of Congress scored Israel in particular even as they issued a scathing broadside against all countries cited. Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX) sharply criticized the six violating European countries, noting that the European Economic Community had also adopted a ban on all arms trade with South Africa. According to the House Subcommittee on Africa, the significance of Israel's arms trade with the racist regime has been "by far the largest," compared with the six European violators. Leland disclosed that Foreign Minister Shimon Peres had invited him to bring a delegation to Israel to make a presentation of Congressional sentiment on the issue. (Washington Jewish Week 4/9/87)

Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-CA), Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, stated, "we've reached a compromise to which our constituents won't be very receptive" and warned that unless Israel takes further steps, the compromise will unravel and "we will want to see stronger language on Israel." In particular, Dymally said that Israel must not only refrain from signing new military contracts with South Africa, but terminate ongoing ones. "In the pipeline already are enough arms to kill many innocent people...Israel is going to have to cease current contracts." (Washington Jewish Week 4/9/87)

Jewish participants at the talks agreed to an appeal by Black Caucus members for support of their effort to increase foreign aid to black Africa. Dymally stressed that if aid to Africa is not increased, there will be strong opposition to the whole foreign aid bill by the Black Caucus. While Israel received close to \$3 billion in foreign aid from the U.S. in 1986, all of the nations of black Africa received in total only \$179 million. (Washington Jewish Week 4/9/87) Rep. Charles B. Rangel, a Manhattan Democrat, said that "Israel had taken only a first step" and that "it must sever its ties with South Africa completely." (NYT 4/3/87)

REACTION: JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

In January, The New York Times reported that for the past year Jewish groups, including AIPAC and the so-called "Jewish lobby," have been letting Israeli officials know that "they are falling out of step with the pro-sanctions mood of the American public," urging Israel to change the nature of its relationship with South Africa. (1/28/87)

After the espionage trial involving Jonathan J. Pollard became news, following the sentencing of the American spy to life in prison, "Israeli leaders realized that they could not afford another embarrassing confrontation with Washington." This view was reinforced by advice from a range of American Jews, including the leaders of the UAHC, who visited Jerusalem in mid-March as part of a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. (NYT 3/28/87)

A number of Jewish organizations in reacting to the issuance of the Administration's report on April 1, indicated there was a moral necessity for Israel to change its policy.

The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, representing the following leading Jewish national organizations: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Anti-Defamation League, Hadassah, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Council of Jewish Women, UAHC, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, United Synagogue of America, Women's League for Conservative Judaism and Women's American Ort, said: "We note the findings issued today by the Department of State that seven Western nations circumvent the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa...The nations named are France, Italy, Israel, West Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland. These nations are all democracies committed to the highest standards of humanitarianism and liberty. Military relations with South Africa are clearly irreconcilable with those values. We therefore call upon the governments named in the report to immediately begin the process of disengaging from military relations with South Africa."

In this connection NJCRAC welcomes "Israel's March 18 declaration that it intends to refrain from entering into new contracts in the defense area with South Africa." It was "further gratified that Israel has announced its intention to continue reducing its ties to South Africa and to consider additional measures."

"As supporters of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Acts of 1985 and 1986, we join with others in the community of conscience to insist that all nations, including those Arab states which provide South Africa with the petroleum which fuels the apartheid regime on a daily basis, act now to press the government of South Africa to abandon the odious policy of apartheid and move quickly toward non-racial democratic government." (NJCRAC Statement on the State Department Report Naming Seven Countries Circumventing Arms Embargo Against South Africa, April 1987)

Hyman Bookbinder, a special representative of the American Jewish Committee, said "American Jews should be prepared for a new round of criticism of Israel -- and a potential strain in black-Jewish relations in this country." The very impact of the [State Department report] will be a challenge to black-Jewish relations, to the Jewish community and to the entire anti-apartheid coalition. When the report comes out, we'll be asked, "What have you Jews done?" (Northern California Jewish Bulletin 3/27/87) Theodore Mann, President of the American Jewish Congress, and Lester Pollack, President of the New York Jewish Community Relations Council, in separate statements, praised "the new Israeli sanctions while noting that they are only a first step toward total disengagement from military trade with South Africa." They called on Israel to cease "all military exchanges with the racist regime." (JTA 4/6/87)

Henry Siegman, Executive Director of the American Jewish Congress, described the uncomfortable position of American Jews on the military trade. The American Jewish Congress took a leading role in the Jewish community in pushing to impose sanctions on South Africa, Siegman said. "We obviously cannot begin to sanction the sale of arms from Israel...The pressure should not come only from Congress....There ought to be moral pressures within Israel itself. The Israeli Government has to understand there are things it cannot do." Siegman added, "The Jewish State was not created to supply oppressive regimes with the tools of oppression....If there is not that internal pressure within Israel, American Jews have to make it clear that [military trade with South Africa] is unacceptable." (JTA 2/19/87)

The American Jewish Committee commented: "The issue of Israeli-South African relations is delicate and complex. It involves U.S.-Israeli relations, the future of South Africa's Jews, black-Jewish relations in the United States and internal Israeli policies. Israel often seems to misread how events will affect American public opinion and, ultimately, governmental policy. The issue of arms sales to South Africa is just one example." (UPDATE April 1987)

Albert Vorspan, Director of the Commission on Social Action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, representing Reform synagogues, expressed concern about the military links causing a loss of sympathy for Israel in the United States. "Attrition is already taking place, not on the part of ordinary Americans, but among opinion leaders within the black, Christian and college communities." Vorspan felt that "Israel should be cultivating the future leadership of South Africa. Obviously Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu are included in that." He continued, "Israel has to look beyond tomorrow because the present South African regime is not going to last beyond tomorrow." (Jewish Week American Examiner 3/27/87)

Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, was among officials who said "they are concerned that this legislation has singled out Israel and...would overlook the major trading partners of South Africa who are also U.S. allies." Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, the American Jewish Committee's Director of International Affairs, stated that "Israel was not the primary culprit in sustaining South Africa." American Jewish Committee policy analyst Allen Kagedan said "There is a sense on the part of Israelis that Western nations are immensely hypocritical on sanctions." (JTA 2/19/87)

REACTION: SOUTH AFRICA

South African reaction to the news that Israel intends to adopt limited sanctions against it, joining other Western countries, was low-key. The only official South African response so far has come from Foreign Minister P.W. Botha. He showed what appeared to be an understanding of the pressures put on Israel by the U.S. and placed the blame for the Cabinet's decision firmly on American shoulders, saying, "the steps were a direct result of pressure by the United States." The measures, he added, "do not go further than those already adopted by European countries." (JP 3/22/87)

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies hoped that "the deep-rooted" relationship between Israel and South Africa "would endure and remain unimpaired" by Israel's decision. (JP 3/22/87)

Tony Bloom, Chairman of the Premier Groups industrial conglomerate, and one of the most prominent Jewish industrialists in South Africa, did not "expect the sanctions to trigger mass reprisals or any strong anti-Israel feelings in the country." (WP 3/22/87)

Corporate lawyer and one-time Ben Gurion University Associate Peter Leon said, "the Government's reaction has been so mild as to give rise to the suspicion that Pretoria may have reached an agreement with Israel to achieve the same ends as were in place before the Israeli announcement." (JP 3/22/87)

There are reports that South Africa has threatened to reveal the details of South African-Israeli cooperation if Israel severs its relations. There is tremendous resentment in Israel over what is seen as an attempt to blackmail and manipulate Israel. "South Africa revels in pointing out the similarities between itself and Israel," an Israeli expert stated, noting that, unlike Israel, which has played down the relationship, South Africa regularly boasts of the strong ties between the two nations. (JTA 2/19/87; WP 3/19/87)

One of the arguments of the Israeli hard-liners is that severing ties would hurt the 110,000 South African Jews and the 10,000 Israeli expatriates living in South Africa. But Israeli experts on South African Jewry say "this is largely a pretext and that, in fact, better ties between Israel and South African blacks might be a lot more beneficial for South African Jews in the long run." (NYT 1/28/87)

During 1986, in an effort to circumvent sanctions imposed by the U.S. and Europe, South Africa began to implement elaborate contingency plans for "unconventional" trade. "Sanctions busters" in both the government and the private sector have been briefing exporters and importers at seminars where there are discussions of alternative trade routes, formation of front companies abroad and other ways of conducting clandestine trade. There are growing signs that South Africa may turn its trading attention away from Israel and toward Taiwan and South Korea, two other countries "that at times have been politically isolated and criticized for their human rights policies." (WP 10/9/86, 3/21/87)

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: MILITARY RELATIONSHIP

A small minority of Israeli officials and intellectuals want to see Israel not only reduce or sever its military, trade and cultural relations with South Africa, but also take a leading role in the fight against apartheid. This group includes Yossi Beilin, the political Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Amnon Rubenstein, the Minister of Communications, and the political theorist Shlomo Avineri. Beilin, who leads the group which has taken the "moral stand," insists that "Israel must not be the last Western nation to align itself against South Africa." (NYT 1/28/87; WP 2/22/87)

Cabinet Plan to Reduce South African Ties

Following a meeting of the Cabinet on March 18, 1987, Israel admitted for the first time that "it has significant military ties to South Africa in defiance of the U.N. arms embargo." It pledged to reduce these ties gradually "by not entering into new military pacts with the white-ruled government there." The decision announced by the inner Cabinet "will not affect existing military pacts between the two nations." Israeli officials said they would not say "how many military pacts there are between the two countries or when they expire." (WP 3/20/87)

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin have reportedly reversed their previous stances against any sanctions in agreeing to the limited commitment outlined by the Cabinet. They joined with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to overcome reservations by three former defense ministers, Ariel Sharon, Moshe Arens and Ezer Weizman, all of whom have argued privately "that Israel's

links to South Africa are too important to be abandoned." The press further reported that "the military relationship between Pretoria and Jerusalem has long been an open secret despite repeated Israeli denials." Sources contend that "the Government has not made a firm commitment, but wants to gauge Washington's response to...the April report before making a final decision on how extensive its sanctions should be." (WP 3/20/87)

Israeli leaders are reported to be "loath to renege on existing military contracts because of both the economic effect and the possible adverse impact such a decision could have on South Africa's Jews." They are also concerned that Pretoria might reverse its policy of allowing South African Jews to transfer money out of the country for investing in Israel. Good relations between the governments have led to special rights for Jewish South Africans to export capital to Israel and invest there. The Jerusalem Post reported that "the amount of money that is transferred to Israel is not freely available." Backers of Israeli-South African ties, The New York Times reported, have noted "that South Africans have invested tens of millions of dollars in Israel." Military contracts and South African investments are said to provide economic support for thousands of Israelis. (Los Angeles Times 3/29/87; WP 2/22/87, 3/22/87; JP 3/22/87)

In January, Hirsh Goodman observed "too much has happened in South Africa in recent months -- the mass slayings of protesters, the indiscriminate arrests, the press clampdown, the use of weapons to still the voice of the labor unions -- to allow Israeli leaders to continue to get away with pat anti-apartheid lip service while pursuing a different pragmatic policy." (JP 1/23/87)

The Los Angeles Times noted that the decision by the Israeli Cabinet to forgo new defense contracts with South Africa and take other measures to scale back its relations with the Pretoria regime was seen in Jerusalem as a preemptive one, intended to appease the United States. The government's decision was not expected to have "any immediate practical impact." It allows the leadership two additional months to work out specifics of the new policy -- enough time to assess reaction to the U.S. State Department report due April 1. The formal announcement was postponed in order to allow Israel's Ambassador to Pretoria to transmit the decision to the South African Foreign Ministry at a meeting March 19. (3/20/87)

The Financial Times [London] stated that no fundamental reassessment of Israel-South African relations has taken place -- or is in prospect under a government "in which the right-wing Likud is a partner in...a relationship based...on shared strategic and diplomatic considerations." (3/27/87)

Nature of Military Relationship

"Israel's estimated \$1.2 billion in annual arms sales and security services now amounts to nearly one-fourth of its total industrial exports." The country's defense industry "employs between 140,000 and 200,000 people to make and sell arms -- roughly ten percent of the country's work force." The Jewish state was the Third World's top arms supplier for the period 1981-85. Informed analysts contend that "military sales to South Africa...consistently top \$50 million per year -- roughly five percent of Israel's total arms exports." (WP 1/12/87)

The exact sum that Israel derives from its sale of military equipment and related expertise is secret, but unofficial estimates range from \$400 million to \$500

million. Israeli sources say that if Israel is forced to cancel all its military contracts with South Africa immediately "the cost to its military industry would be \$400 million to \$500 million over the next several years." Some three thousand Israeli jobs are said to be dependent on this military trade. (WP 2/22/87; Jewish Week 3/27/87)

Experts interviewed by the JTA stated that major areas of the military exchange between Israel and South Africa include exchanges of military hardware, electronic surveillance systems and radar, R & D joint development of military technologies, and Israel's training of South Africans. (2/19/87)

Licensing and Contracts

According to press reports, "Israel in the last fifteen years has sold South Africa a variety of military equipment," including technology-data packages containing the designs for several Israeli weapon systems which were subsequently assembled by South Africa's own military industry." These reportedly include "the Saar-class missile boats, the Gabriel sea-to-sea missile and avionics, electronic counter-measures for South Africa's new Cheetah fighter-bomber." American military sources claim that Israel recently helped South Africa develop an advanced surveillance aircraft and a mid-air refueling system. (NYT 1/28/87)

But the bulk of the weapons transactions business almost certainly comes more from the provision of services than the sale of hardware. "Upgrading aging Mirage fighters and giving the South African air force a long range refueling capability has, e.g., reportedly kept hundreds of Israelis employed in South Africa." (Financial Times [London] 3/27/87)

To get around the international arms embargo, "the typical agreement between military manufacturers includes South African money for the start-up of a new weapon's production in Israel, with the South African company later receiving a license to produce the same item." In addition to the weaponry noted above, the licensing arrangement has been used for the Uzi machine guns, the Galil rifles and the Reshef missile-firing boats. Often, these military items are re-named by the South Africans: the Reshef has become the Minister and the Gabriel missile the Scorpion. "The resemblance of South Africa's new reconnaissance jet, known as the Cheetah, to Israel's Kfir, is a case in point." (WP 1/12/87, 2/22/87)

Hyman Bookbinder, American Jewish Committee's special representative, stated that when "Israel announced it would cease future military contracts with South Africa, no mention was made about licensing arrangements under which South Africa produces military products." He added that "the status of contracts with provisions for automatic renewal also was not specified." (Northern California Jewish Bulletin 3/27/87)

"Few people know how much longer existing contracts have to run or whether they include renewal arrangements that would technically not involve signing new contracts. Moreover, a good deal of Israel's profits from military sales to Pretoria come from license fees, under which South Africa manufactures or assembles arms designed by Israel." (NYT 3/19/87, 3/20/87)

Censorship and Secrecy

"Since all military contracts between Israel and South Africa are secret, it will be impossible to monitor Israel's compliance with the Cabinet's decision." According to unofficial estimates, "Israeli military industries earned anywhere from \$400 million to \$800 million last year from the export of military equipment and knowhow to South Africa." The exact sales figures and weapons involved are secret, subject to military censorship, as are contracts. (NYT 3/19/87; WP 3/28/87)

As a result of the consensus at the top, debate on Israel's links with South Africa is not encouraged. "The unwillingness to have any public debate on the links with South Africa extends to Israel's press, whose editors are urged by Government officials to stay away from this sensitive matter of national interest." The respected Central Bureau of Statistics does not publish full details of the trade and commerce between Israel and South Africa. (WP 2/22/87)

Discussion in the Knesset has been limited. Simcha Dinitz, Chairman of the Knesset subcommittee that oversees this area, speaks of the "deprofilization" of Israel's presence in South Africa. In other words, "the special relationship between the two countries, particularly in what is called 'strategic affairs' will continue, but in a much less visible manner, and with less direct involvement of the military, so as not to clash with the will of the U.S. Congress." The most sensitive relations between Israel and South Africa are in the area of weapons development and their "strategic relationship," a euphemism for military cooperation. (WP 2/22/87)

The Washington Post reported that most Israelis know little about Israel's role in supplying military equipment to unpopular regimes. Prime Minister Shamir recently said, "In general we know that countries that manufacture arms must also export arms...These countries publish virtually nothing about their arms exports. This is accepted procedure everywhere because there is competition...Israel, which also has to take part in this race, cannot be the exception. Therefore we do not talk very much about this subject." (1/12/87)

Israeli anti-apartheid foes said "the moves would still allow Israel to covertly continue military sales to South Africa on basically the same terms as before because the Government announced no date to end such top-secret arms contracts." (NYT 3/20/87)

ISRAEL AND THE HOMELANDS

South Africa's white minority government has designated ten fragmented barren geographical areas to serve as reservations for black South Africans. The land is marginal, malnutrition is rampant and employment is scarce. Four of these areas, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, have been officially declared independent "homelands" by the South African Government, each with its own president, army, governmental buildings and the other trappings of state.

The regime established these "homelands" to implement its policy of "grand apartheid" whereby only black South Africans whom the Government considers "productive" are permitted to remain in South Africa proper. Millions of South African blacks have been forcibly relocated to these areas despite their resist-

ance, constituting one of modern history's largest forced population removals. Once relegated to these locations, they lose their South African citizenship, automatically become "citizens" of a "homeland" and are considered "foreigners" in South Africa. Only South Africa provides diplomatic recognition to its artificial "states."

Israel has had increasing involvement in the "homelands" since 1976 where it has established agricultural and economic enterprises. Frequent visits of Israelis to the "homelands" and of "homelands" dignitaries to Israel, and the presence of four "homelands" legations in Israel seem to confer de facto legitimacy on these puppet entities. Israel stands alone among the Western nations in its singular status and its relationships with the "homelands."

Items

- * There are only two countries in the world where Transkei's 'independence' was celebrated: South Africa and Israel. On the evening of October 29, 1976, Israeli television viewers watched a special program on the 'new state of Transkei,' prepared by South African television. (Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, South African and Israel's Strategy of Survival, "New Outlook," Middle East Monthly, April/May 1977, p. 56)
- * A moshav system (sister to the kibbutz) is starting to take root in Bophuthatswana, and an Israeli has been appointed as planner. The system was imported as a short-cut "to take farming in this 'homeland' from the subsistence level to a viable enterprise with export possibilities." (The Star [South Africa] 6/11/81)
- * The Israeli Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Eliahu Lankin, said he believed that it was an "international mistake" that the world did not recognize and aid homelands like Ciskei. He added: "as you know we do not recognize the homelands because there is a resolution of the United Nations which binds us. I personally feel that the nations of the world should help these homelands build themselves up." (Eastern Province Herald [South Africa] 5/22/87)
- * In 1985, "Transkei became the fourth of South Africa's 'homelands' to open an office in Israel. Transkei's Prime Minister, Mr. George Matanzima, and other officials are due to arrive in Israel this week for the formal opening of the Transkei legation...The legation will be headed by a local businessman who represents a number of South African organizations." (The Star [South Africa] 12/9/85) Transkei, which, like the other three homelands, is not recognized internationally, followed Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana, in establishing missions to recruit Israeli expertise and investment for agriculture and tourism. The timing was seen as a potential embarrassment for the Israeli Government, coming before Prime Minister Shimon Peres' announcement that the Ivory Coast had agreed to renew ties with Israel." Israel does not recognize the "homelands" because it considers them to be part of South Africa and fears that supporting them could undermine its budding ties with black Africa. (Daily Dispatch [South Africa] 12/21/85)
- * To counter the growing momentum of sanctions and disinvestment, the South African Government is soliciting foreign companies for its "homelands." Recruiting agents, stressing "the cheap labor, absence of union hassles and lucrative

subsidies" have had their greatest success in Taiwan and, to a lesser extent, Israel. Although neither South African officials nor the Israeli Embassy will disclose the number of Israeli companies in these areas, they are known to have invested heavily in Ciskei. Aviv Sport, an Israeli company which manufactures sportswear, starts its workers at \$9.60 a week, one-third the minimum wage for such workers elsewhere in South Africa. (Washington Post National Weekly Edition 4/27/87)

* "Standing out among the nondescript, often tawdry buildings lining Tel Aviv's sea front corniche is an impressive, black glass-walled edifice. Flying a strange unidentifiable flag, it overshadows the British Embassy to its left...one learns from the brass plate that this is the trade mission of Bophuthatswana, the 'independent' South African tribal homeland." (Financial Times [London] 3/27/87)

* The New York Times reported that President P.W. Botha, in his speech opening the segregated South African Parliament following the national election on May 6, "signaled the continuation of the process of 'grand apartheid' whereby black homelands are granted nominal political independence from Pretoria while remaining economically dependent on South Africa." (5/20/87)

TWINNING SOUTH AFRICAN AND ISRAELI CITIES

"Ways could be found to beat sanctions against South Africa as a result of Durban's twinning arrangements with the Israeli port town of Eilat." That is the significance of a visit to Durban by the Mayor of Eilat, Mr. Rafi Hoffman. Last November, the Israeli Parliament declared Eilat a free trade zone and Mayor Hoffman said he wanted South African investors to take full advantage of the special tax concessions the zone made possible. He also suggested that the two cities develop educational, cultural and sporting exchanges. (The Citizen [South Africa] 4/4/86; The Daily News [South Africa] 1/11/86)

The 1975 proclamation of Haifa and Cape Town as twin cities was a gesture which Cape Town's Jewish mayor David Bloomberg hoped would promote tourism and trade and foster a cultural, athletic and educational exchange. (JP 6/17/85) Robert G. Weisbord and Richard Kazarian, Jr. consider the twinning "symbolic of the deepening friendship between Israel and South Africa." They commented that although the twin city declaration went virtually unnoticed by Afro-Americans, their reaction would be "the reaction that Jewish Americans would have had during the 1930s to the news that a city in the United States, Britain or elsewhere had been twinned with Berlin, Munich or Frankfurt." They also pointed out that by 1979, two other Israeli cities had been twinned with two other South African cities, Eilat and Durban and Acre and Simonstown. ("Israel in the Black American Perspective," Contributions to Afro-American and African Studies No. 84, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1985)

The Rand Daily Mail [South Africa] editorialized when the "twinning" of Ariel and Bisho was reported: "Ariel, an obscure Israeli West Bank settlement, recently entered into a 'twinning' arrangement with the equally obscure Bisho in Ciskei. President Lennox Sebe now hails it as signifying the start of international recognition for his homeland. The Israeli Government does not recognize Ciskei but sent two jeep-loads of policemen with Mr. Sebe when he visited the settlement...in Mr. Sebe's eyes, the protection 'shows respect for us from the international community.' 'President' Lennox Sebe, together with three Likud Knesset members, attended the Israeli ceremonies." (JP 12/1/84)

APPENDIX 2

THREE EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Israel Stumbles Into Virtue

Even when Israel's coalition leaders do right, it seems to come out wrong. It's been an open secret for years that Israel has been a covert arms supplier to South Africa. All that has been hidden is the size of the trade; estimates vary from \$40 million to \$800 million a year. Now Israel is finally moving to halt what it has never acknowledged — but it won't say when, and its leaders imply that their welcome decision is somehow a favor to the United States. Perversely, the effect is to deny Israel the credit it deserves.

Certainly in the short term, Israel stands to lose jobs and contracts. But it is doing no favor to Washington by joining with all Western nations in halting arms sales to a racist police state. That stand is manifestly in Israel's own interest. To be seen as

Pretoria's secret partner mocks Israel's moral claims, affronts black Africa, provides a propaganda windfall for the P.L.O. and embarrasses all of Israel's allies. Why else would this trade be so furtive? Besides, why should Israel deepen its dependence on the arms bazaar, the riskiest commerce in the world?

It's also true that selling arms to Pretoria could, under United States sanctions legislation, jeopardize Israel's \$1.8 billion in annual American military aid. And yes, there's general nervousness in Jerusalem about the Pollard spy scandal. According to Israeli officials, those were factors that led them reluctantly to end a questionable traffic. Israel has made a wise decision. Now let it be a clear one.

reference →
Citation

The New York Times

3/21/87

"The public pressure being applied against the Government to cut off trade with South Africa may well yield results, but not necessarily for the moral and political arguments that are being adduced, but for pure economic reasons. The sharp drop in the value of the South African rand in recent years has been responsible for the steady contraction in Israeli exports to South Africa and economic activity there. The main harm to Israel from cutting off trade will be in defense exports. Foreign papers have emphasized the economic damage that could be caused to Israel's military industries and especially to Israel Aircraft Industries. The London Economist, in a comprehensive article last summer on the scope of Israel's arms exports to South Africa, placed them at around \$1 billion per year. Other sources put it at no lower than \$350 million...

"Such a large scope of trade and the variety of armaments involved make the Israeli military industries extremely dependent upon their South African contracts. Many Israeli plants, whose situation is problematic as it is, may face catastrophic consequences if the South African market is closed to them in the wake of the U.S. Administration's report to Congress."

Ha'aretz 3/20/87

"For some time now it has been clear that an agonizing reappraisal of the Jerusalem-Pretoria nexus was in order...But the Government will [modify its policy of the past decade] only in order to escape punishing retaliation -- through the aid given to it by its rather more valuable, and more like-minded ally, the U.S. And because, with the shadow of Jonathan Jay Pollard hovering over its dealings with the U.S., the Government has no reason to expect any special consideration in the matter from Washington unless it imposes at least limited sanctions on South Africa. This is what the West is doing and it is hoped that the U.S. will ask no more of Israel.

"But perhaps Israel's own policy should be shaped by a consideration of what its attitude would have been had Jews, not blacks, been the victims of apartheid; and what post-apartheid South Africa's attitude to Israel is likely to be if this country's long-standing policy is not changed. As it is, the Government has taken a first step towards becoming truer to Israel's own self. It is at least a good beginning."

The Jerusalem Post 3/20/87

APPENDIX II

EUROPE AND SOUTH AFRICA

The functioning of South Africa's military depends on its upgrading of weapons, technology transfer and transfer of vital components from oil to computers. France, Great Britain and West Germany are the original suppliers and remain major external contributors to the South African arsenal, providing "add on" technology which often goes unnoticed by the general public.

Since the 1977 United Nations embargo:

France sold 316B helicopters and Air to Surface missiles; coproduced 1,400 Eland armored cars and assisted in the technology and/or production of Kukri missiles;

Great Britain sold 12 AR-D3 type [aircraft] radar units worth \$64 million, deployed for military purposes; negotiated the sale of 8 BA-748 aircraft, along with maritime reconnaissance equipment, valued at \$78 million; in May 1983 contracted for updating the Britian S247 surveillance system, valued at \$8 million.

West Germany sold SA 4 B105 and B117 helicopters in 1985. Its State owned shipyard sold SA blueprints for type 209 submarines. More than 5,000 structures for militarized trucks were delivered between 1977 and 1981. West German-origin equipment is used in the SADF's nuclear-capable 155mm G5 howitzer. West Germany and Pretoria have shared police know-how with the exchange of visits of high-ranking police officials and weapons specialists.

Canada sold SA second-hand Bell Jet Ranger 206B helicopters in early 1984.

Belgium sold 39 tons of machine guns and French made Mirage components.

Many European weapon companies applied for and were awarded military-related or dual-use patents from SA, providing design information, know-how and hardware to the SA'n military infrastructure. For example, a Swiss arms conglomerate received a number of patents for incendiary weapons, fuses and projectiles. Two Italian companies were awarded patents for an "explosive mine with anti-removal device" and a safety device for a gas pump shotgun. A Belgian arms maker received a patent for a fragmentation device embedded with shrapnel-forming metal. French companies received patents for "Military Equipment Comprising a Turret Carrying an External Large Caliber Gun" and a military reconnaissance vehicle. The British and French Governments have taken out military-related patents in SA in recent years. The British Defense Ministry received three patents for small arms technology in 1982. The French "Delegue General Pour l'Armement" was awarded a patent for ammunition propellants in 1980.

Memorandum to NJCRAC Member Agencies from Arden E. Shenker and Rabbi Israel Miller, Co-Chairs, NJCRAC Israel Task Force, March 19, 1987

The experience of the European countries would seem to indicate that any decision to cut off trade with South Africa will be a fiction at best. So far only the Scandinavian countries and Holland have imposed trade sanctions, and in the U.S. there have been heavy pressures on [U.S.-based] multinational firms to sell their holdings in South Africa....Over 100 such firms have sold their subsidiaries in South Africa and have wound up their business activities there. In fact, however, all those firms are continuing to produce the same products, under concessions from the former parent companies, with only one difference. Their dividend payments are now going to their South African owners.

The decisions taken by the European countries against South Africa were not implemented. Swedish companies have continued to sell their products to South Africa by means of subsidiaries in third countries. It has recently been revealed that the Swedish Bofors firm has been selling arms to South Africa. The relations between the Western countries and South Africa are continuing, to a large extent, due to the stand of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. She has been adamant in her opposition to the imposition of any trade boycott or economic sanctions on South Africa. She has thus accorded legitimacy to the other European countries to continue their trade with Pretoria. Sweden's leadership in legislating restrictions against trade with South Africa, and her aggressive stance in regard to Pretoria, undoubtedly derive from the fact that her entire exports to that country account for only one third of one percent of her total exports.

Ben Porath, Yediot Aharonot, 3/20/87

ARAB STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

Arab oil trade with South Africa fuels the apartheid military, without which it could not function. South Africa imported \$10 billion worth of oil from the Persian/Arabian Gulf during the period 1980-1984, according to information based on the Norway-based Shipping Research Bureau which monitors ships traveling to South Africa. Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait are the main suppliers of this oil.

Iraq and Iran in 1985 entered strategic barter arrangements with South Africa worth a net value of nearly \$2 billion. Iran agreed to sell \$750 million in oil to Pretoria in exchange for heavy-caliber howitzers. Iraq's deal with South Africa, valued at \$1 billion, involved 155mm howitzer shells produced by South Africa, and was traded for Saudi Arabia originated oil.

Beyond the oil and military trade relationship between the Arabs and South Africa, the Arab states account for more than a third of total foreign investment in South Africa, totaling over \$9 billion.

Memorandum to ADL Regional Offices from
Abraham H. Foxman, April 2, 1987

A significant but little known fact concerning South Africa's trading partners is that despite the 1973 Organization of African Unity ban, at least 46 of the 52 OAU members have extensive relationships with Pretoria. The OAU is composed predominantly of black African states.

The Arab states' supply of oil to Pretoria continues to fuel apartheid. Thirty-five percent of South Africa's oil comes from Saudi Arabia, thirty-four percent from the United Arab Emirates and fifteen percent from Oman. It is estimated that \$9.9 billion worth of oil was sold by Arab states between 1980 and 1984 alone. The supply has been steady despite the U.N.'s 1979 embargo on oil shipments to South Africa.

Beyond oil, several Arab governments including Iraq, Iran and Jordan have sold arms to or exchanged oil for weapons from South Africa. In addition, collectively, the Arab states account for more than one-third of total foreign investment in South Africa.

Memorandum to NJCRAC Member Agencies from
Arden E. Shenker and Rabbi Israel Miller,
Co-Chairs, NJCRAC Israel Task Force 3/19/87

See also: "Oil, Guns and Gold: The Arab-South African Connection" by Arye Oded, the American Jewish Committee, March 1986.

ISRAEL and SOUTH AFRICA

Submitted by Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

BACKGROUND:

The 1985 General Assembly of the UAHC reaffirmed our longstanding opposition to apartheid, and called for the United States and Canada to terminate military sales and to place economic pressure on South Africa to dismantle its system of apartheid. The UAHC's call for the strong economic sanctions against South Africa was a reflection of a deep moral revulsion on the part of the American people. Few issues have mobilized a moral and political consensus in the American and Canadian populace as has the struggle of South Africa's black majority against South African's institutionalized racism. The first Congressional override of a Reagan veto was on the sanctions legislation.

We believe that all nations, including Israel, who are dedicated to the principles of equality and justice should be guided by the same moral and political concerns in formulating their plans and actions.

The relationship between Israel and South Africa has been a source of considerable controversy during the past two decades. During that time, Israel has had a contradictory record. While it has condemned apartheid, it has also maintained economic and military ties with South Africa.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the UAHC expresses gratification at Israel's announcement that it will not enter into new contracts for arms sales to South Africa, and urges the government of Israel to:

1. Implement a program of economic sanctions against South Africa in line with steps already adopted by the U.S., and some West European nations.
2. Immediately halt all arms shipments to the apartheid government of South Africa.
3. Institute "a policy of disengagement" in all areas of economic involvement including research and development.
4. Institute the following specific steps to demonstrate Israel's disengagement from South Africa:
 - a. End all relationships with the so-called "homelands", including those of an economic and military nature.
 - b. End all bilateral government-sanctioned cultural, sports and tourist exchanges with South Africa.
 - c. Terminate the "twinning" of Israeli cities with South African cities (such as Haifa and Cape Town, Durban and Elat) so that these arrangements do not provide a means of circumventing sanctions against South Africa.

BACKGROUND:

In Jewish religious tradition, as well as in Jewish historical experience, racism is an ultimate evil. Our prophets and rabbis taught that all human beings are created in the image of God and have an equal claim to equity and justice. Throughout its history, the UAHC has spoken with vigor and clarity against racial segregation and discrimination in the United States and everywhere else in the world.

South Africa is the only country in the modern world which constitutionally establishes white supremacy and racial oppression. Accordingly, the apartheid regime poses a moral challenge to all who cherish liberty and decency. Apartheid is a system which affronts the most profound values of humanity and democracy and violates the teachings of our religion.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

1. Reaffirms its condemnation of apartheid.
2. Calls upon the government of South Africa to:
 - A. Release immediately Nelson Mandela and all other prisoners because of their opposition to apartheid.
 - B. Enter into negotiations aimed at eliminating apartheid with the bona fide representatives of the victims of apartheid.
3. Calls on the Canadian Parliament and (recognizing the need to strengthen the President's Executive Order implementing South African sanctions) the United States Congress to enact legislation which will do the following:
 - A. Ban new business investment and bank loans in South Africa.
 - B. Ban the importation into the United States and Canada of all krugerrands and other gold South African coins.
 - C. Ban all sales of United States and Canadian equipment usable for military and police purposes, including sales of computers and computerized equipment to the South African Government.
 - D. Ban all sales of nuclear material, equipment and technology and the transfer of nuclear know-how to South Africa; and
 - E. Ban United States and Canadian contributions to South Africa through the International Monetary Fund.
4. Calls upon the governments of the United States and Canada to reduce the level of diplomatic recognition of South Africa.
5. Further calls on the United States Congress and the Canadian Parliament to enact the following legislation if substantial progress toward the abolition of apartheid does not occur within one year.
 - A. Mandate disinvestment of United States and Canadian firms from South Africa, and
 - B. Institute a total trade embargo between the United States, Canada and South Africa.

5. Directs the Board of Trustees in a manner it deems appropriate and responsible to boycott firms which engage in business in South Africa and which have not accepted the Sullivan Principles.
7. Directs the Board of Trustees to divest the UAHC of all investments in corporations doing business in South Africa, in accordance with the spirit of the 1971 resolution on corporate responsibility.
8. Urges organizations affiliated with the UAHC, as well as the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, the Central Conference of American Rabbis and congregations and their members to initiate a process of divestment in corporations doing business in South Africa in accordance with the spirit of the 1971 resolution on corporate responsibility.
9. Further recommends that UAHC congregations and their individual members cease the purchase of krugerrands and other South African gold coins as an immediate, direct, personal and symbolic protest against South Africa's racist and repressive regime.
10. Strongly affirms its fraternal support for the Southern African Union for Progressive Judaism, the Southern African Association of Progressive Rabbis, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies in:
 - A. Their support for fundamental reform of South African life and institutions.
 - B. Their condemnation of violence, and
 - C. Their complete rejection of apartheid.

JERUSALEM LETTER

Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

JL:96 24 Sivan 5747 / 21 June 1987

*Jewish
politics*

CHRISTIAN AMERICA OR SECULAR AMERICA?: THE CHURCH-STATE DILEMMA OF AMERICAN JEWS

Jonathan D. Sarna

The "Christian America" Argument / The "Religious Nation" Response / The "Strict Separation" Approach / The Shift Away From Strict Separation / The Dilemma of American Jewry

"The government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." This statement, found in Article 11 of a 1797 treaty between the United States and the Bey and subjects of Tripoli, encapsulates what may safely be seen as a near unanimous Jewish view on the relationship of church and state in America. It is a manifestly negative view, a statement of what America is not. It also turns out to be somewhat of a fraud, since the article in question does not appear in the Arabic original of this treaty -- a fact only discovered some 133 years later. It is however a classic text, "cited hundreds of times in numerous court cases and in political debates whenever the issue of church-state relations arose,"(1) to reassure the faithful that no religion obtains special treatment in America. Christianity might

be the law of the land in other countries; here, American Jews have insisted, religious liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution itself.

But what does religious liberty mean? How are those who adhere to the religion of the majority, those who adhere to the religions of the minority, and those who adhere to no religion at all supposed to interrelate? And if America is not a Christian society, what kind of society is it and what is the relationship of that society to the state? American Jews, especially since they have insisted that the "Christian America" model is wrong, have an obligation to respond to these questions and to propose alternative models of what the relationship of church and state in America should be. How well they have fulfilled this obligation remains unclear, since no full-scale

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account of American Jewish thinking on these matters has yet appeared, and most of the literature that does exist is unfortunately more polemical than scholarly. Yet even the superficial survey I have undertaken here is sufficient to warrant the following conclusions: (1) American Jews have put forward alternative models, (2) their views on church and state have been more diverse than generally imagined, and (3) that in struggling with these issues they have confronted two basic challenges: (a) the challenge to participate as equals in majority society without embracing the majority's religion; and (b) the challenge to decide whether Jewish interests are better served under a system that guarantees equality to all religions or one that mandates complete state separation from any religion.

The "Christian America" Argument

The idea that America is a Christian nation has its roots in the colonial period and continues as an unbroken tradition down to the present day. "From the beginning," Robert Handy explains, "American Protestants entertained a lively hope that some day the civilization of the country would be fully Christian. The ways in which that hope was expressed and the activities it engendered varied somewhat from generation to generation, but for more than three centuries Protestants drew direction and inspiration from the vision of a Christian America. It provided a common orientation that cut across denominational differences, and furnished goals toward which all could work, each in his own style and manner."⁽²⁾ The Constitution and the Bill of Rights (which originally applied only to the federal government and did not become binding upon the states until the twentieth century) did not dampen the ardor of those who embraced the Christian American ideal, for they interpreted these documents narrowly. Their reading -- and whether it was a correct one or not is less important than the fact that they believed it to be true -- was summed up by Justice Joseph Story in his famous Commentaries on the Constitution (1833):

The real object of the amendment was, not to countenance, much less to advance Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any ecclesiastical establishment, which should give to an hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government.⁽³⁾

Story's view was buttressed by various notable court decisions which, in accordance with British precedent, assumed that "the Christian religion is recognized as constituting a part of the common law."⁽⁴⁾ Chancellor James Kent, chief justice of New York's highest court, held in 1811 that religious freedom and church-state separation did not stand in the way of a common law indictment for malicious blasphemy, for "We are a Christian people and the morality of the country is deeply ingrafted upon Christianity." One hundred and twenty years later, in 1931, the same phrase -- "we are a Christian people" -- was used by the United States Supreme Court in a decision known as U.S. v. Macintosh. In 1939, the Georgia Supreme Court in upholding a Sunday closing law, forthrightly declared America to be "a Christian nation."⁽⁵⁾

Individual Americans have been even more outspoken in associating the state with the religion of the majority. Daniel Webster, for example, argued eloquently before the Supreme Court in the case of Vidal v. Girard's Executors (1844) that "the preservation of Christianity is one of the main ends of government," that a school "derogatory to the Christian religion," or even a school "for the teaching of the Jewish religion" should "not be regarded as a charity," and that "All, all, proclaim that Christianity ... is the law of the land." He lost his case, but won cheers from members of the Whig Party. Furthermore, his views with regard to the illegitimacy of schools "for the propagation of Judaism" won support from the Court, even as it rejected his claims on other grounds.⁽⁶⁾ Webster may well have changed his mind later on.⁽⁷⁾ Still, the views he expressed in this case

clearly reflected the sentiments of a significant minority of Americans, in his day and many decades afterward as well.

The "Religious Nation" Response

American Jews have, broadly speaking, offered two meaningful alternatives to the claims of "Christian America." Both of them are historically well grounded, both appeal to American Constitutional ideals, and both claim to promote American and Jewish interests. One stresses the broadly religious (as distinct from narrowly Christian) character of the American people. The other stresses church-state separation and the attendant secular nature of the American government. They reflect different readings of history, involve Jews with different kinds of friends and allies, and translate into radically different policy positions.

The first response conjures up an image of Americans as a religious people, committed to no religion in particular, but certain that some kind of religion is necessary for the well-being of all citizens. This idea finds its most important early legislative expression in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 where "religion, morality and knowledge" -- not further defined -- are termed "necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind." Leading Americans from Benjamin Franklin (who proposed that non-denominational prayers be recited at the Constitutional Convention) to Dwight D. Eisenhower ("Our form of government has no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith, and I don't care what it is") have championed similar views, as have some proponents of what is now known as civil religion.(8) The concept is somewhat nebulous, and means different things to different people. What is important here, however, is the existence of an ongoing tradition, dating back to the early days of the republic, that links Americans to religion without entering into any particulars. It is a tradition that counts Judaism in among all other American faiths, Christian and non-Christian alike.

This tradition, although rarely appealed to by American Jews today, formed the

basis for almost every important American Jewish call for religious freedom in the early decades following independence. A 1783 Jewish petition to the Council of Censors in Pennsylvania, for example, attacked a test oath demanding belief in the divinity "of the old and new Testament," on the grounds that it conflicted with the state's own declaration of rights -- "that no man who acknowledge the being of a God can be justly deprived or abridged of any civil rights as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments." This declaration of rights, which allied the state with theism, was inclusive of Jews, and did not trouble them at all. Indeed, Jonas Phillips, in another petition on the same subject, declared that "the Israelites will think themselves [sic] happy to live under a government where all Religious societies are on an Equal footing." Jews, in short, sought religious equality, not a state divorced from religion altogether. When efforts were made in 1809 to deny Jacob Henry of North Carolina a public office for refusing to subscribe to a Christian test oath, he further underscored this point: "If a man fulfills the duties of that religion which his education or his conscience has pointed to him as the true one, no person, I hold, in this our land of liberty has a right to arraign him at the bar of any inquisition."(9)

Nowhere in any of these statements do Jews suggest that their rights should stand on an equal basis with those of non-believers. Nor did Jews protest when several states, including Pennsylvania and Maryland (in the famous "Jew Bill" of 1826), accorded them rights that non-believers were denied. Instead, most early American Jews accepted religious freedom as a right rooted within a religious context. Mordecai Noah, a leading Jewish figure of his day, defined it as "a mere abolition of all religious disabilities." Jews did not mind that America firmly committed itself to religion; their concern was mainly to ensure that this commitment carried with it a guarantee to them that, as Noah put it, "You are free to worship God in any manner you please; and this liberty of conscience cannot be violated."(10)

Jewish support for this essentially pro-religion position remained strong throughout the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. One well-versed student of the subject, Shlomith Yahalom, concluded in her recent doctoral dissertation that American Jews during this period were concerned with "freedom of religion and not freedom from religion." Rather than siding with the demands of anti-religious organizations, she writes, many Jews supported "impartial aid to all religions."⁽¹¹⁾ A prime example of this may be seen in the Civil War when advocates of "Christian America" limited the appointment of chaplains to those who were termed "regularly ordained minister[s] of some Christian denomination." When a Jewish chaplain was refused on this basis, Jews naturally responded with vigorous protests. What they sought, however, was not an abolition of the chaplaincy, as a secularist interpretation of America's religious tradition might have demanded, but only religious equality. When the law was changed so that the word "Christian" was construed to mean "religious," allowing chaplains of the Jewish faith to be appointed, the Jewish community pronounced itself satisfied.⁽¹²⁾ Nor was this a unique case. As Professor Naomi Cohen explains in her recent book on German Jews in the United States:

The Jewish pioneers for religious equality generally asked for government neutrality on matters of religion ... a neutral-to-all-religions rather than a divorced-from-religion state. Indeed, the latter concept, which in the climate of the nineteenth century was tantamount to an anti-religion stance, was as abhorrent to Jews as it was to most Americans. Rabbis, long the most influential leaders of the community, taught that religion was a vital component of the good life and, like Christian clergymen, inveighed against the inroads of secularization.⁽¹³⁾

While this response to the challenge of "Christian America" never completely lost its appeal, Jews in the last third of the nineteenth century found to their dismay that calls for religious equality fell more

and more on deaf ears. The spiritual crisis and internal divisions that plagued Protestant America during this period -- a period that confronted all American religious groups with the staggering implications of Darwinism and biblical criticism -- drove evangelicals and liberals alike to renew their particularistic calls for a "Christian America." Evangelical leaders championed anti-modernist legislation to protect the "Christian Sabbath," to institute "Christian temperance," to reintroduce Christianity into the schools, and to write Christian morality into American legal codes.⁽¹⁴⁾ Liberal Christians may have been somewhat more circumspect, but as Robert Handy indicated, their goal too was "in many respects a spiritualized and idealized restatement of the search for a specifically Christian society in an age of freedom and progress."⁽¹⁵⁾ The implication, spelled out by one writer in the American Presbyterian and Theological Review, was that non-Protestants could never win full acceptance as equals:

This is a Christian Republic, our Christianity being of the Protestant type. People who are not Christians, and people called Christians, but who are not Protestants dwell among us, but they did not build this house. We have never shut our doors against them, but if they come, they must take up with such accommodations as we have If any one, coming among us finds that this arrangement is uncomfortable, perhaps he will do well to try some other country. The world is wide; there is more land to be possessed; let him go and make a beginning for himself as our fathers did for us; as for this land, we have taken possession of it in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and if he will give us grace to do it, we mean to hold it for him till he comes.⁽¹⁶⁾

A proposed "Christian Amendment" designed to write "the Lord Jesus Christ" and the "Christian" basis of national life into the text of the Constitution attempted to ensure that these aims would be speedily realized.⁽¹⁷⁾

Jews, new to American and all-too-familiar with the anti-Jewish rhetoric of Christian romantics in Europe, were understandably alarmed by these efforts. As in the old world, so in the new, they thought, proponents of religion were allying themselves with the forces of reaction. In search of a safe haven, many Jews now settled firmly down in the freethinking liberal camp; it seemed far more hospitable to Jewish interests. Jews also turned increasingly toward a more radical response to "Christian America" -- the doctrine of strict separation.

The "Strict Separation" Approach

Church-state separation is, of course, an old idea in America; its roots lie deeply imbedded in colonial and European thought. The idea in its most radical form was embraced by Thomas Jefferson who believed, at least for much of his life, that the state should be utterly secular, religion being purely a matter of personal preference. "The legitimate powers of government," Jefferson wrote in his Notes on Virginia, "extended to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods or no God." Jefferson refused to proclaim so much as a Thanksgiving Day, lest he "indirectly assume to the United States an authority over religious exercises." We owe to him the famous interpretation of the First Amendment as "a wall of separation between church and state."(18)

It is by no means clear when Jews first began to express support for this model of "secular government." In the election of 1800, a majority of the few thousand Jews in the country supported Jefferson, but not on the basis of his religious views. Indeed, Benjamin Nones, a Philadelphia Jewish merchant and broker, pointed out in Jefferson's defense that the future president "in his very introduction to the Declaration of Independence, declared all men equal, and implores a divine Providence" -- a clear indication of where Nones's own priorities lay.(19) Isaac Leeser, the most important Jewish religious leader of the pre-Civil War period, stood much closer to the radical

Jeffersonian view. He repeatedly invoked the principle of church-state separation in defense of Jewish rights, took an active role in the battle for Jewish equality on the state level, and was vigilant in his opposition to such alleged Christian intrusions into American public life as Sunday closing laws, Christian pronouncements in Thanksgiving proclamations, official references to Christianity in state and federal laws, and Christian prayers and Bible readings in the public schools. Even Leeser, however, was primarily motivated by a desire to assure Jews equal rights and to prevent their assimilation into the mainstream. While he was more wary of religious intrusions into public life than were some of his Jewish contemporaries, he did not literally advocate a secular government, much less an atheistic one.(20)

It was, then, only in the post-Civil War era, with the revival of efforts to create a "Christian America" and the resulting ties between Jews and advocates of religious radicalism and free thinking (themselves on the rise during this period), that American Jews began unequivocally to speak out for a government free of any religious influence. Leading Jews participated in such groups as the Free Religious Association and the National Liberal League, and such notable Reform Jewish leaders as Rabbis Isaac Mayer Wise, Bernhard Felsenthal, and Max Schlesinger, as well as the Jewish lay leader Moritz Ellinger, came to embrace the separationist agenda spelled out in such periodicals as The Index, edited by Francis Abbot. As Professor Benny Kraut has pointed out, during this period "the issue of church-state relations precipitated a natural, pragmatic alliance uniting Jews, liberal Christians, religious free-thinkers, and secularists in common bond, their religious and theological differences notwithstanding."(21) The result, particularly in terms of Reform Jewish thought, was a clear shift away from emphasis on Americans as a religious people, and toward greater stress on government as a secular institution. Thus, in 1869, Isaac Mayer Wise proclaimed that "the State has no religion. Having no religion, it cannot impose any

religious instruction on the citizen, adult or child."(22) Bernhard Felsenthal, in an 1875 polemic written to prove that "ours is not a Christian civilization" went even further:

God be praised that church and state are separated in our country! God be praised that the constitution of the United States and of the single states are now all freed from this danger-breeding idea! God be praised that they are "atheistical," as they have been accused of being by some over-zealous, dark warriors who desire to overcome the nineteenth century and to restore again the fourteenth century. God be praised that this has been accomplished in our Union and may our constitutions and state institutions remain "atheistical" just as our manufactories, our banks, and our commerce are.(23)

This soon became the standard Jewish line on church and state. The Union of American Hebrew congregations, founded in 1875 (and not originally an organ of the Reform movement), devoted one of its first resolutions to an expression of support for the "Congress of Liberals" in its efforts "to secularize the State completely."(24) The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress expressed like support for "strict separationism" early in the twentieth century.(25) Even as late as the early 1960s, a recent study indicates, no significant deviation from this position was yet in evidence:

American Jews under the leadership of their defense organizations went on record time after time in significant court cases on behalf of separation...For the most part they eschewed completely the idea of equal government recognition of all religions or of non-denominational religious practices, and they called for non-recognition of any form of religion."(26)

The Shift Away From Strict Separatism

More recently, however, the coalition between Jews and secularists has come under increasing pressure. Beginning in the 1960s, Orthodox Jews abandoned their

opposition to state aid to parochial schools in the hope of obtaining funds for their own day schools. They argued, as Catholics had before them, that education in a religious setting benefited not only members of their own faith, but also the nation as a whole, and that funds used to support secular studies at these schools should not be denied just because the schools happened to teach religious subjects on the side. They also cast doubt on the whole Jewish separationist approach to the problem of church and state, terming it "robot-like" and "unthinking."(27)

Major Jewish organizations were actually not quite as committed to the secularist agenda on church and state as their opponents imagined. Taxation of church property, elimination of chaplains from the public payroll, opposition to the phrase "In God We Trust," and related efforts to outlaw all manifestations of religion in American life never found significant support in Jewish quarters, probably because they failed to comport with Jewish interests that were, in the final analysis, not totally secular at all.(28) But these rarely talked about exceptions did not alter the overall thrust of Jewish rhetoric on the matter of church and state, much less Jewish policy on most issues of contemporary concern.

In insisting that significant policy changes should take place, Orthodox Jews, later joined by neo-conservatives and others, argued that the whole alliance with strict separationists should be abandoned. They sought in its stead a new partnership with groups laboring to shape government policy in a pro-religion direction. They considered this -- a position better rooted in American Jewry's past than they realized -- to be in the best interests of Jews and Judaism, and good for interfaith relations as well. Where major Jewish organizations in the twentieth century feared erosion of the "no establishment" clause of the first Amendment, they stressed the need to champion "free exercise" of religion through laws and government programs designed to make it easier for observant Jews to uphold the tenets of their faith. To their mind, the threat posed by rampant secularism was

far more imminent and serious than any residual threat from the forces of militant Christianity.

The Dilemma of American Jewry

The breakdown of the twentieth century American Jewish consensus on the subject of church and state should not be surprising. If anything, the fact that the consensus lasted as long as it did is surprising, for it effectively masked an agonizing dilemma on the question of religion and state that characterizes much of modern Jewish history.

On the one hand, history teaches Jews to favor strict church-state separation as the only defense against a Christian dominated state. Those who emphasize this reading of history think that sooner or later "so-called non-denominational religious exercises" inevitably acquire "sectarian additions and deviations" and that "non-denominational" then becomes the majority's term for what the minority views as decidedly partisan. They fear that calls for religion in American life will, given the record of the past, likely turn into calls for a "Christian America." To prevent this, they argue for "a fence around the law so as to avoid approaches to transgression as well as actual transgression." They understandably worry that once religion gains entry into the public square, majority rule will come trampling down over minority rights, Christianizing everything in its path.(29)

On the other hand, history also teaches Jews to oppose secularization as a force leading to assimilation, social decay, and sometimes to persecution of all religions, Judaism included. Those who emphasize this reading of history welcome appropriate manifestations of religion in American life and propose a less absolutist approach to church-state separation -- freedom for religion. They insist that "support for religion is basic to the American system" and fear that completely divorcing religion from national life will result in "a jungle where brute force, cunning, and unbridled passion rule supreme." Only the idea "that wrongdoing is an offense against the divine authority and order," they argue, can

protect society against delinquency and crime. They also point out that Jews, as a small and often persecuted minority, should be wary of setting themselves too far apart from the majority, lest anti-Semitism result.(30)

What then of Jews in what Richard John Neuhaus has called "Unsecular America?" They are caught between two positions, both of them historically legitimate, ideologically convincing, and fraught with dangers. Experience has taught Jews conflicting lessons, since those who have held aloft the banner of religion and those who have trampled down upon it have proved to be both friendly and unfriendly at different times. Jews as idealists may seek to promote a utopian society in America where they and their neighbors can live as equals, safe from the fire and brimstone of the Christian state and the desolate barrenness of the secular one. How best to realize such a society, however, remains an unsolved riddle.

* * *

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NOTES

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3. Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (Boston, 1833), III, par. 1865 as quoted in Chester J. Antieau et al, *Freedom From Federal Establishment* (Milwaukee, 1964), p.160; cf. Michael J. Malbin, *Religion and Politics: The Intentions of the Authors of the First Amendment* (Washington, D.C., 1978).
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10. *Ibid*, 279; cf. Jonathan D. Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew: The Two Worlds of Mordecai Noah* (New York, 1981), 132-135.
11. Shlomit Yahalom, "American Judaism and the Question of Separation Between Church and State" (Ph.D., Hebrew University, 1981), English section, p.14; cf. Hebrew section p.260.
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14. Ferenc M. Szasz, "Protestantism and the Search for Stability: Liberal and Conservative Quests for a Christian America, 1875-1925," in Jerry Israel (ed.) *Building the Organizational Society* (New York, 1972), pp.88-102; Paul A. Carter, *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age* (DeKalb, III., 1971); Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace* (New York, 1981).
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16. *American Protestant Theological Review* 5 (July 1867), pp.390-391.
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29. Quotes in Cohen, "Schools, Religion and Government," pp.354,345.
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FOCUS

Feminists gather for a third seder with special Haggadah and no men

By JUDITH CLOP
Washington Jewish Week

On the third night of Passover, 30 Jewish women form a circle on the floor of a New York apartment. Their faces are a "who's who" of Jewish feminists: authors Susan Bronnman and Gloria Steinem, political activist Bella Abzug, journalist Michelle Lonsberg, psychologist Phyllis Chesler, film maker Lily Rivlin and artists Bea Krieffoff and Edith Isaac Rose.

In this gathering, the extra wine glass is reserved not for the prophet Elijah but for Miriam. As the *machers* of feminist intelligentsia lift their goblets to say the blessing over the wine, they speak of the shekhinah, God's divine presence, which Jewish tradition characterizes as the feminine aspect of God.

"We pass around a basin and a pitcher of water and take turns washing each other's hands," writes participant Letty Cottin Pogrebin, columnist and editor-at-large for *Ms.* magazine in an article in the *New York Daily News*.

"We transform the traditional cleansing ritual into a symbol of collective nurture. Reversely, one by one, we name our mothers and grandmothers, giving recognition to the women who cleaned, cooked and served at our families' seders while the men reclined in their white robes retelling history — the story of Jewish men."

This is not an experience they want to share with men — even after 13 years. Although the question of inviting spouses is debated annually, the consensus is always against it.

"The seder is our sacred space," said E.M. Broner, professor of writing at Sarah Lawrence College, who co-authored the feminist Haggadah the group uses and wears an embroidered yarmulka to lead the seder each year.

In traditional Passover seders, a man sits at the head of the table and leads the service in which Jews remember Israel's Exodus from Egypt. It is a story filled with men: the four sons asking questions, the five male scholars who discussed the Exodus all night long. Men tell the story. The woman's role is to listen and to serve the food that they have prepared.

But for many women, that role changed during the women's liberation movement of the mid-'70s.

In the late 1970s, the Reform move-

ment's Central Conference of American Rabbis' task force on women issued a feminist Haggadah supplement, "Out of the House of Bondage." The supplement included the detailed explanation of women's role in the Passover stories, poems written by women and a song written about Miriam.

More recently, both the Reform and the Conservative movements have published new Haggadahs. In their new translations, both movements changed the four sons to four children.

In the Conservative movement, marginal notations mention the midwives Shifra and Pu'ah, who disobeyed Pharaoh in order to save Jewish male infants from death. Miriam, Moses' sister, is also mentioned in the notes. The phrase "God of our fathers" has become "God of our ancestors."

In the English translation of the Reform Haggadah, the word for "Lord" is left in Hebrew, and all references to God as "He" are omitted. "King of the Universe" was changed to "Sovereign of Existence."

The women's movement also led to changes in the style of seders. It became much more common for men to help cook the Passover meal and for women to help conduct seder services.

The women's Haggadahs take note of the role of women in Jewish history. For the candlelighting, several Haggadahs include a poem by Israeli poet Hannah Senesch, who parachuted behind German lines during World War II to rescue Jews. The poem was written in prison in Budapest before her execution. In another Haggadah, seder participants drink the third cup of wine after reading pirkan Hirsch Glick's poem, "The Night Is Still," in honor of fellow Resistance fighter Vitke Kempner.

The annual New York feminist seder came out of a decision in 1975 by Broner and other feminists in Israel to conduct a seder for which men did the cooking. At that time, the women's movement was just starting in Israel. The experience evoked laughs from Israeli men and trepidation from some women. Yet it prompted Broner and Israeli Naomi Nimrod to write their feminist Haggadah. When it was finished, it was used in the feminist New York seder and a parallel seder in Israel.

Each year, Pogrebin explained, the

New York seder emphasizes a particular feminist theme, such as the 10 plagues of female oppression. Once, the women tried on a chain, the cloth traditional Muslim women use to cover themselves. This year, the seder's theme will be the situation in Israel, but the seder will retain its feminist slant.

"Everything is a feminist issue that affects women," said Pogrebin, "and women have something either to say about it or some experience that should be taken seriously with regard to that issue."

Another self-described Jewish feminist, Aviva Cantor, believes the women's seders have changed, reflecting a need to draw attention to other issues. In 1975 she wrote a *Jewish Women's Haggadah*, which was explicitly feminist. When she sat down to rewrite it seven years later, she sought to mainstream her ideas and called her Haggadah "egalitarian."

"I felt a lot of our feminist concerns had become part of public consciousness," said Cantor. "It was not necessary to re-emphasize them in the seder. The seder is something that brings [together] people who are all involved in all different kinds of liberation struggles. It's an occasion when we call attention to those things that bring us together."

By referring to the different parts of Jewish history and to men and women, Cantor hopes to give her Haggadah universality. She also hopes it will inspire people to read more about Jewish history.

"The Haggadah did grow and develop over thousands of years, so I think it's in our tradition to enhance it," said Cantor. "They say whoever adds to it, this is praiseworthy."

Other women also have established their own feminist Passover traditions. Mindy Shapiro, national coordinator of student programs at B'nai B'rith Hill in Washington, decided to conduct her own seder five years ago after a particularly disappointing Passover with relatives.

"I felt invisible," Shapiro said. "The seder was led by a man and the story only talked about men. There was no sense of any women being in Jewish history."

Researching feminist and traditional Haggadahs and discussing the role of women in Judaism, Shapiro discovered pieces to add to the traditional Passover theme in an attempt to "make the story whole." ■

IN THIS ISSUE

■ Jesse Jackson's stunning victory in the Michigan primary has raised concerns among Jews because of the candidate's previous comments about Israel and his 1984 association with controversial Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. — **Page 5**

■ The intermarried struggle with one set of issues — what is their role within Judaism, how do they raise the children? For the parents of intermarried couples, the issues are different but no less thorny. The American Jewish Committee's Task Force on Intermarriage held workshops recently for all parties to air their concerns. — **Page 6**

■ The voice of the muezzin has fallen silent in Anata, causing sorrow and soul-searching on the part of a Jew who *deserved* to the plaintive strains of the Arab rhythms. — **Page 23**

■ One has muscular dystrophy, another severe asthma, still another is badly nearsighted. But they are determined to serve their country in the Israel Defense Forces. Their common denominator: Unbending determination. — **Page 6-X**

■ ON THE COVER: Philadelphia Mordechai Rosenstein, a calligrapher specializing in the Hebrew alphabet, celebrates Passover in glowing color.

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THE 1988

MIDEAST NEWS

IN BRIEF

Israel to assist in Iran-contra probe

WASHINGTON (JTA) — Israel has signed an agreement with Lawrence Walsh, the U.S. special prosecutor in the Iran-contra affair, providing for continued cooperation in the investigation. It was announced Monday.

Although the Israeli Embassy would not elaborate, the agreement apparently means Israel will not overrule Walsh the same information presented to the congressional committee that investigated the secret sale of arms to Iran and the use of profits from the sale to illegally fund the Nicaraguan contra. Israel was angered by Walsh last year when he tried to subpoena David Kimche, the former director general of the Israel Foreign Ministry, and Al Schwimmer, a businessman with dual Israeli-American citizenship, who had been instrumental in the transfer of U.S. missiles to Iran. The Israeli Government threatened to cut off all cooperation with Walsh.

It was not clear whether the agreement between Walsh and Israel would include written replies to questions from the Israelis involved in the case.

Not was it clear whether the Israeli information would be used at the trial of the four persons already indicted as a result of Walsh's investigation — Rear Adm. John Poindexter, former national security adviser; Lt. Col. Oliver North, former National Security Council aide; and Richard Secord and Albert Hakim, who were involved in both the transfer of arms to Iran and the use of profits from the arms sale to supply the contra.

The Senate-House special committees that investigated the Iran-contra affair found no involvement by Israel in the transfer of funds to the contra but concluded that Israel played a major role in ops and continuing the initiative to Iran.

Netanyahu quits to run for Knesset

TEL AVIV (JTA) — Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations since 1984, announced his resignation in Jerusalem Wednesday night to run for election to the Knesset.

The 38-year-old envoy told a television interviewer he was not eager to leave his post earlier than expected because of the mandatory 100-day waiting period between resignation from government service and filing for election to the Knesset.

Netanyahu's resignation was expected, but not until this summer. He said he would be returning to New York "merely to pack my bags and then return home."

The Israeli envoy said he hoped he would be considered by Likud for a place on its election list. Knesset elections are scheduled for November.

In New York, the Israel Ministry to the United Nations confirmed Netanyahu's resignation Wednesday. A spokeswoman for the mission said Ambassador Johanan Ben-zion was as Israel's acting permanent U.N. representative.

News of Netanyahu's resignation came as a surprise to diplomats, observers and the news media at the United Nations.

(United Nations correspondent Yitzhak Rab contributed to this report.)

Two punished for burial attempt

TEL AVIV (JTA) — Two Israel Defense Forces soldiers were sentenced to prison by a Jaffa military court Tuesday for attempting to bury alive three Palestinian youths in Kfar Salim village on the West Bank Feb. 5.

Pvt. Dor Szohar, Cohen was given a four-month term in a military prison and another the military probe. Pvt. Yair Nissim received a five-month prison sentence and seven months probation.

The soldiers were found guilty of forcing three Palestinian stone throwers to lie on the ground while a bulldozer covered their bodies with earth. The three were rescued by villagers after the soldiers left.

The military judges said they understood the difficult circumstances encountered by soldiers serving on the West Bank, but with this action the soldiers had "dishonored the army and portrayed Israel in a negative light."

The accused, the judges said, had acted in a manner unbefitting to an IDF soldier and brought shame to the Israeli army. "Even under difficult circumstances, soldiers must preserve their humanity," the judges declared.

Another soldier, meanwhile, was sentenced this week to 18 months in prison for fleeing his guard post without making a fight. On Nov. 25, the terrorist struck the Lebanese-Israeli border on a motorized hang glider and entered an army camp, killing six soldiers and wounding seven before he was shot to death.

The court told the soldier, Pvt. Ron Almog, that his actions had been "shameful." The three judges said they opted for leniency, however, because the abandonment of his post was judgment in the context of general negligence and inefficiency at the camp.

More MIDEAST news on page 9

Israel locks up the territories

Staff and Wire Report

JERUSALEM — As Israeli officials speculated about the purpose of another diplomatic visit by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who will have Sunday, violence to the administered territories continued throughout the week. In an unprecedented move, military authorities closed off the entire area.

If Israel proper, however, fears that Arab obstinacy of Land Day on Wednesday would erupt into violent demonstrations proved unfounded as the day passed with relatively peacefully within the Green Line.

Land Day marked the 12th anniversary of Palestinian protests against the expropriation of Arab-owned lands in Galilee by the Israel Defense Forces. Six Palestinians were killed on the original Land Day, March 30, 1976.

Protest demonstrations marked the occasion in the larger Arab towns and villages, but no incidents of violence were reported.

A general strike was observed fully in towns of mostly Arab citizens, such as Nablus, but Arab businessmen remained open in cities of mixed Arab-Jewish population, notably Jaffa, Haifa, Lod and Ramla.

This year, Israeli authorities took unprecedented security measures because of the continued unrest in the administered territories, which they feared might spill over into Israel proper, as it did in the past when Israeli Arabs held a one-day strike in December to show solidarity with the Palestinians in the territories.

In an attempt to minimize the anti-protest, the West Bank and Gaza Strip were declared closed military zones earlier this week and have been sealed off since midweek, with heightened vigilance on news coverage. Under the measures, which military sources indicated may extend beyond today as originally proposed, all travel to and from the West Bank and Gaza Strip is banned. Only Israeli settlers living in the territories are



An Israeli soldier presents TV camera crews with a military order to leave an area designated as a closed military zone. This week, the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip were closed to the media.

Wide World Photo

five to travel back and forth.

Israeli officials credited the local Arab leadership and their appointed managers with preserving order. Leaflets calling for a peaceful day had been signed by the organizers of the strike and distributed throughout towns and villages within the Green Line, or the pre-1967 borders of Israel.

The leaflets said the general strike would have a twofold purpose — to show solidarity with residents in the territories and to press for Israeli Arabs to be given full equality.

By tacit agreement, Israeli police kept out of Arab population centers during Land Day observations. But the police did intervene to prevent Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the extremist Kach party, from

entering Nazareth. The police also barred a planned demonstration there by young Herut activists, who proposed unfurling an Israeli flag in Nazareth and singing patriotic songs. The local police chief suggested they go to Upper Nazareth, a neighboring Jewish town.

Israelis were reportedly relieved by the calm that prevailed in Arab sections of the country, because the day had dawned quietly. Three gasoline bomb attacks were reported in Israel in the hours leading up to Land Day, with none of the bombs hitting their targets, one of which was a busload of children at Kfar Tavor.

The Gaza Strip, under total curfew, with all 630,000 residents confined to their homes and telephone links with

See TERRITORIES page 79

Institute recommends 'new thinking' as a strategy in Arab-Israeli conflict

By WOLF BLITZER
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — A bipartisan panel of influential Middle East specialists, whose members include several former U.S. officials, has called for some creative new thinking in trying to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The panel, which has a stature in which borders would be physical barriers," the new Brookings Institution study says. "Citizens of one political entity could live safely, and with recognized rights, elsewhere in the region; and economic transactions and movement of individuals would be subject to few restrictions."

Entitled "Toward Arab-Israeli Peace: Report of a Study Group," the study suggests that a "regional economic plan with international support should complement such a political strategy to affect the city's population."

The final report was officially released as a news conference here March 24.

Regarding the future of Jerusalem, the report recommends that the city "will be recognized as Israel's capital under any future peace agreements. But Jerusalem is the center of Palestinian aspirations as well. Therefore, a peaceful Jerusalem should remain a unified city, with guaranteed freedom of worship and access, and political arrangements should be found that affect the city's population."

In late 1975, the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank, released its first study on the Arab-Israeli conflict. It called on Israel to withdraw to the pre-1967 lines "with only such modifications as are mutually acceptable."

It also recognized Palestinian "self-determination, subject to Palestinian acceptance of the sovereignty and integrity of Israel within agreed boundaries."

Because several members of the panel later emerged as key

foreign policy officials in the Carter Administration, the 1975 study was widely seen as having had a significant influence on the shaping of U.S. policy under Carter.

For nearly a year, a new group of American specialists, representing a relatively wide range of opinion, has met in Washington to draft this second report, which organizers hope could serve as a useful guide to the next U.S. administration.

The report, which is considerably less controversial than its predecessor, rejects any imposed settlement.

"We want to emphasize that details of an Arab-Israeli peace settlement should not be dictated by the United States or any other outside party. From the standpoint of American interests, the important point is that any agreement be durable. The United States will doubtless benefit by a widening of the scope of Arab-Israeli peace. How that is done is less important than that it be done, and that the process start soon."

Coordinating the effort was William B. Quandt, a senior fellow at Brookings who served as a Middle East staffer on the National Security Council under Carter. Quandt was also a member of the original Brookings report.

The co-chairman of the new report were former U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel W. Lewis and former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt Herman E. Attis. Other members of the group included former U.S. officials Alfred Atherton, Harold Saunders and Robert Neuman.

Also signing the report was former U.S. Sen. Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland.

There were both American and Arab staff on Amman, Jewy involved in the study. Members included Paul Jabr of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York; Henry Siegman of the American Jewish Congress; Kenneth Wollack, a former legislative director of the American Israel Public Affairs

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