



**THE TIKVAH FUND**  
165 E. 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

**A New Pro-Israel Foreign Policy**  
March 22–24, 2015

Dean: Jonathan Silver  
Instructor: Elliott Abrams

**I. What is the Tikvah Fund?**

The Tikvah Fund is a philanthropic foundation and ideas institution committed to supporting the intellectual, religious, and political leaders of the Jewish people and the Jewish State. Tikvah runs and invests in a wide range of initiatives in Israel, the United States, and around the world, including educational programs, publications, and fellowships.

Tikvah is politically Zionist, economically free-market oriented, culturally traditional, and theologically open-minded. Yet in all issues and subjects, we welcome vigorous debate and big arguments. Our institutes, programs, and publications all reflect this spirit of bringing forward the serious alternatives for what the Jewish future should look like, and bringing Jewish thinking and leaders into conversation with Western political, moral, and economic thought.

**II. Description of American Judaism Workshop, “A New Pro-Israel Foreign Policy”**

A simple glance at the newspaper will reveal a series of strains on the America-Israel relationship: a mutual lack of trust, American sneering about Israeli leaders (and vice-versa), and serious disagreements on policy priorities, especially with regard to Iran and the Palestinians. At the same time, we are continually reassured that the bond between the countries is unbreakable, essential, and healthy. For the sake of America, Israel, and world Jewry, is it time to re-think the contours of that relationship?

Elliott Abrams, the recent author of *Tested by Zion*, a memoir of his experience working on Middle East policy in the George W. Bush administration, will lead a seminar on how to improve the America-Israel relationship. Giving full consideration to America’s and Israel’s compelling and distinct interests, we will ask the tough questions about how America and Israel should approach a volatile and dangerous Middle East.

### III. Workshop Schedule (subject to minor changes)

Sunday, March 22			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Reading</i>
The Hertog Foundation, 745 Fifth Ave., Suite 1400, NY, NY 10151	12:00–1:00	Opening Lunch and Introductions	
	1:15–4:00	<i>Seminar Session with Elliott Abrams: “Israel and the Palestinians”</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elliott Abrams, “What Now for Israel?” <i>Mosaic Magazine</i> (September 1, 2014)</li> <li>• Haviv Rettig Gur, “Can the Unsustainable Be Sustained?” <i>Mosaic Magazine</i> (September 10, 2014)</li> <li>• International Crisis Group, “Bringing Back the Palestinian Refugee Question,” <i>Middle East Report</i> 156 (October 9, 2014) [Executive Summary Only]</li> <li>• Raphael Cohen and Gabriel Scheinmann, “The Grim Lessons of ‘Protective Edge,’” <i>The American Interest</i> (August 31, 2014)</li> </ul>
	4:15–6:15	<i>Discussion of Participants’ “American Ideas Papers,” Part 1</i>	
	6:30	Dinner	

Monday, March 23			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Reading</i>
The Tikvah Fund, 165 East 56 <sup>th</sup> St., 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor, NY, NY 10022	8:30	Breakfast	
	9:15-12:00	<i>Seminar Session with Elliott Abrams: “Developments in the Arab States”</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human Rights Watch, “Joint Letter to President Obama on Egypt’s Crackdown on Civil Society” (November 6, 2014)</li> <li>• Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds, “Why the Modest Harvest?” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 24, no. 4 (October 2013)</li> </ul>
	12:15-1:15	Lunch	
	1:15-4:15	<i>Seminar Session with Elliott Abrams: “The United States and the State of Israel”</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Walter Russell Mead, “The New Israel and the Old: Why Gentile Americans Back the Jewish State,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (July/August, 2008)</li> <li>• Michael Oren, “The Ultimate Ally,” <i>Foreign Policy</i> (May/June, 2011)</li> <li>• Yossi Shain and Neil Rogachevsky, “Between J Date and J Street: US Foreign Policy and the Liberal Jewish Dilemma in America,” <i>Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs</i>, vol. 5, no. 3 (2011)</li> </ul>
	4:30–6:30	<i>Discussion of Participants’ “American Ideas Papers,” Part 2</i>	
	6:30	Dinner	

<b>Tuesday, March 24</b>			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Reading</i>
The Tikvah Fund, 165 East 56 <sup>th</sup> St., 4 <sup>th</sup> Floor, NY, NY 10022	8:30	Breakfast	
	9:00-11:00	<i>Discussion of Participants' "American Ideas Papers," Part 3</i>	
	11:00-1:00	Closing Lunch and Discussion of the American Jewish Agenda	

#### IV. American Ideas Papers

The American Judaism Workshops are meant to generate practical ideas to strengthen American Jewry, with the workshop participants leading the way. What can be done to increase the moral, intellectual, spiritual, political, religious, or demographic vitality of the Jewish people in America?

Each workshop participant will prepare in writing his or her best concrete idea (or ideas) to improve American Jewish life or America's contribution to the Jewish State. This written presentation—the American Ideas Paper—should present a particular problem or opportunity, and propose a set of actions or initiatives. For instance, we are *not* looking for a paper that urges the need to invest in Jewish education in America. That is true, as far as it goes, but too vague and imprecise. If you believe that Jewish education is the key to a healthy Judaism in the United States, a better paper might propose a novel way for the three largest synagogues in Philadelphia to work together with two under-enrolled day schools, in order to bring tuition costs down. Another might regard curricular reform within Jewish day schools as the most important strategic initiative; an excellent paper will lay out particular reform proposals, attending as appropriate to pedagogy, texts, the allocation of time to different disciplines, and the scope and aim of day school education. Your proposal can focus on local, national, or international questions, but whatever the focus, keep the following guidelines in mind.

- **Subject:** The American Ideas Paper should clearly describe the nature and significance of a problem or opportunity that affects the American Jewish community. How did it arise, why does it matter, and what can be done?
- **Significance:** The American Ideas Paper should note why this particular problem should be prioritized above other serious problems we face. If you had limited resources to do something, why is *this* the foundational issue that you would address?
- **Strategy:** What is your plan to mobilize American Jewish leaders into action? Who must be persuaded? What coalitions must be formed? What steps must be taken? What obstacles stand in the way, and how can they be overcome? What is the budget, and where will the funding come from?

Each workshop participant will submit their American Ideas Paper two weeks before our workshop convenes, no later than Monday, March 9, 2015. Approximately one week before the workshop convenes, we will assemble and distribute the papers from each participant to the group as a whole, so that each participant will read all of the submissions. As you can see from the schedule, the workshop will feature sessions dedicated to discussing the American Ideas Papers that you submit.

To what practical ends should the energies of American Jews be dedicated, and what is the grand strategy of American Jewish leaders? This is your chance to make your best case—and to take part in a new movement of American Jews who are unafraid to question stale ideas, are willing to ask hard questions of the American Jewish community, and are prepared to chart a new course. What is *your* best idea?

**Guideline on Length:** We expect papers to be three to six single-spaced pages.

**Submission Deadline:** Monday, March 9, 2015

**Submission Address:** [AJW2015@tikvahfund.org](mailto:AJW2015@tikvahfund.org). Please write your name on your document (e.g., jindoAJW2015AIP.doc)

## V. Faculty Biographies

### Instructor

#### **Elliott Abrams**

Elliott Abrams, Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C., served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser in the administration of George W. Bush. He also served as an Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan administration.

A member of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom and of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, Mr. Abrams teaches U.S. foreign policy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He is the author of *Undue Process: A Story of How Political Differences Are Turned into Crimes*, *Security and Sacrifice: Isolation, Intervention, and American Foreign Policy*, and *Faith or Fear: How Jews Can Survive in a Christian America*, and writes widely on U.S. foreign policy with special focus on the Middle East and the issues of democracy and human rights. His most recent book is *Tested by Zion: The Bush Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*.

### Dean

#### **Jonathan Silver**

Jonathan Silver is Director of Academic Programs at the Tikvah Fund, where he oversees the development and implementation of advanced institutes and other proceedings at the Tikvah Center in midtown Manhattan. He was educated at Tufts University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and holds a Ph.D. from the Department of Government at Georgetown University. He maintains research interests in ancient Greek and Hebraic political thought, and the theory and practice of American government.

## VI. Our Mutual Commitment

Our pledge to you is that the program will be excellent and that the teachers are, in every case, among the best people in the world teaching the subjects they are teaching. Your pledge to us is that you will invest yourselves in the texts and the seminars, and do the work to the fullest extent of your talents. You have put your everyday work on hold to join us, so we know you come to us with great interest and commitment. We will insist that you continue that commitment—a commitment to attending each and every session, a commitment to coming to class on time, a commitment to doing all the readings—throughout the duration of the workshop. If anyone fails to honor his or her commitment, he or she will be dismissed from the workshop.