



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

Updated Monday, April 13, 2015

Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Jews
April 19–21, 2015

Dean: Eric Cohen
Instructor: William Kristol

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, “Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Jews”

Most Jews have strong political beliefs—about the role of government, the uses of power, the meaning of social justice, and the proper place of religion in political life. What, if anything, do these positions have to do with Judaism’s teachings, or with what’s best for the Jews? How should American Jews approach electoral politics and the pressing policy questions of today?

Aided by prominent intellectual and political theorist William Kristol, we will explore the contemporary alternatives of liberalism and conservatism and their foundations in ideas of freedom, equality, and rights. Digging deeper, we will analyze Jewish positions on these issues of principle and policy. We will think through just how American Jews should position themselves, and have a chance to formulate for ourselves a Jewish political persuasion that faces the challenges of the times.

III. Workshop Schedule (subject to minor changes)

Sunday, April 19			
<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 William Kristol: “The Political Condition of American Jews”</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Charles Krauthammer, “At Last, Zion,” <i>The Weekly Standard</i> 3, no. 34 (May 11, 1998)
	4:15–6:30	<i>Discussion of Participants’ “American Ideas Papers,” Part 1</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alexander Grass, “Solving Campus Crisis” Jonathan Wornick, “Bi-Partisan Pro-Israel Support & Shifting Demographics” Susan Wolfe, “When It Comes to the Campus Battle for Hearts and Minds, We Need a New Playbook” Yitzchok Tandler, “Young Jewish Conservatives—Summary” Jason Schulman, “Engaging Latinos on American Jewish Issues” 	
	6:45	Dinner and Discussion of Paul E. Singer and Terry Kassel, “Start-Up Nation Central: Connecting to the World’s Economic Miracle”	

Monday, April 20			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Reading</i>
The Tikvah Fund, 165 East 56 th St., 4 th Floor, NY, NY 10022	8:30	Breakfast	
	9:15-12:15	<i>Seminar Session with William Kristol: “Jews and American Liberalism”</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ruth Wisse, <i>If I Am Not For Myself</i>. . . (New York: Free Press, 2001), chaps. 1 and 3 (required); chap. 2 and prologue (recommended)
	12:15-1:15	Lunch	
	1:15-4:15	<i>Seminar Session with William Kristol: “Jews and American Conservatism”</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Irving Kristol, “Liberalism and American Jews” <i>Commentary</i> (October 1988) Irving Kristol, “On the Political Stupidity of the Jews,” <i>Azure</i> (Fall 1999)
	4:30–6:30	<i>Discussion of Participants’ “American Ideas Papers,” Part 2</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Steven A. Hemmat, “The Seattle Trust for Jewish Education” Sarit Catz, “Cincinnatus Productions: Promoting Israel and American Values through Characters and Story” Shlomo Weissmann, “Educating Our Communities about Dispute Resolution in <i>Beit Din</i>” David Tesler, “The Tanach Project: A Re-Engagement with our Shared Heritage” 	
	6:30	Dinner and Discussion of Judah Bellin, “Empowering Hasidic Communities” and Steven A. Hemmat, “The Homestead Initiative for Israel”	

Tuesday, April 21			
<i>Location</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Reading</i>
The Tikvah Fund, 165 East 56 th St., 4 th Floor, NY, NY 10022	8:30	Breakfast	
	9:00-10:45	<i>Discussion of Participants' "American Ideas Papers," Part 3</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bruce Abramson, "The Incoherence of American Jewry" • Michael Millerman, "Zionism and the Fourth Political Theory" • Ilya Shapiro, "Liberalism, Conservatism, <i>Libertarianism</i>, and the Jews" 	
	11:00-1:00	<i>Seminar Session with William Kristol: "American Jews and the State of Israel"</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rick Richman, "Jabotinsky's Lost Moment: June, 1940," <i>The Tower</i> (December 2013) • Milton Himmelfarb, "In the Light of Israel's Victory (The 1967 War)" <i>Commentary</i> (October 1967) • The Editors, "The Existential Necessity of Zionism After Paris: A <i>Commentary</i> Editorial," <i>Commentary</i> (February 2015)

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 several weeks before our workshop convenes, no later than Thursday, April 2, 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

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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: Thursday, April 2, 2015

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

V. Faculty Biographies

Instructor

William Kristol

William Kristol is editor of the *Weekly Standard*, which, together with Fred Barnes and John Podhoretz, he founded in 1995. He is the chairman and co-founder of the Project for the New American Century and the co-author, with Lawrence Kaplan, of the best-selling book *The War Over Iraq* (2003) and the co-editor of *The Neoconservative Imagination* (with Christopher DeMuth, 1995), *Present Dangers* (with Robert Kagan, 2000), and *The Future is Now: American Confronts the New Genetics* (with Eric Cohen, 2002). He has published numerous articles and essays on constitutional law, political philosophy, and public policy, and is a regular contributor on ABC News. Mr. Kristol has served as chief of staff to the Vice President of the United States and to the Secretary of Education. Before coming to Washington in 1985, Kristol taught politics at the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Dean

Eric Cohen

Eric Cohen has been the Executive Director of the Tikvah Fund since 2007. He was the founder and remains editor-at-large of the *New Atlantis*, serves as the publisher of the *Jewish Review of Books* and *Mosaic*, and currently serves on the board of directors of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, the Witherspoon Institute, and *National Affairs* and on the Editorial Advisory Board of *First Things*. Mr. Cohen has published in numerous academic and popular journals, magazines, and newspapers, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, *Weekly Standard*, *Commentary*, *The New Republic*, *First Things*, and numerous others. He is the author of *In the Shadow of Progress: Being Human in the Age of Technology* (2008) and co-editor of *The Future is Now: America Confronts the New Genetics* (2002). He was previously managing editor of the *Public Interest* and served as a senior consultant to the President's Council on Bioethics.

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.



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Participant Biographies

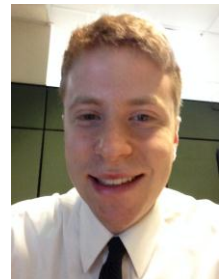
Bruce Abramson

Bruce Abramson is a technology lawyer and expert witness whose practice draws upon his experience in technology, economics, and law. Dr. Abramson holds a PhD in Computer Science from Columbia and a JD from Georgetown. He has served on the faculty of the University of Southern California, clerked at the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, and worked as an economic consultant at some of the nation's top firms. He has published over forty articles and monographs in the scholarly literature of computer science, business, and law, as well as two books about the interplay among them: *Digital Phoenix: Why the Information Economy Collapsed and How it Will Rise Again* (2005) and *The Secret Circuit: The Little-Known Court Where the Rules of the Information Age Unfold* (2007). He has blogged on-and-off about a variety of issues in politics and policy for more than a decade, at www.theinformationist.com (username and password protected as “informationist.”).



Judah Bellin

Judah Bellin is a higher-education researcher at the Manhattan Institute. His writings have appeared in *National Affairs*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Commentary*, and *City Journal*. He will enter the University of Pennsylvania Law School in the fall.



Sarit Catz

Sarit Catz is the International Letter-Writing Director for CAMERA, the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, where she monitors and writes about the media—in particular news media coverage of the Middle East—and facilitates letter-writing campaigns. During a career in radio, television, and film, Catz won three Writers Guild of America awards and, more recently, numerous awards for the short films she wrote and produced. She teaches sitcom writing at Columbia University's Graduate Film Program as well as at the People's Improv Theater in New York City. At the University of Pennsylvania, Catz majored in International Relations, earning Honors distinction for her thesis creating a quantitative model of conflict in the modern Middle East. Simultaneously, she earned a degree from the Wharton School in International Business. Active in pro-Israel politics and in raising money for pro-Israel candidates, Catz is also a member of the AIPAC National Council, Chair of AIPAC New Jersey Council, a member of the AIPAC Leadership Institute, and Israel Advocacy Chair at the Jewish Federation of Greater MetroWest NJ. She is currently launching a new venture: a production company to create content across all platforms to promote Western values.



Alexander Grass

Alexander Grass is a writer and comedian living in New York. During his career he has written for and appeared in stage and television productions, and performed in comedy clubs all over the New York area. Currently, Alexander spends his time writing both as a contributor to *American Thinker* and as an author of fiction. He will be attending the Cardozo School of Law at Yeshiva University in the fall.



Steven A. Hemmat

Steven A. Hemmat is an attorney in sole civil law practice with the Law Office of Steven A. Hemmat, P.S. in Seattle, Washington. He is also General Counsel for eTicketbuster.com, an innovative website that provides limited-scope legal assistance for drivers challenging Washington state non-criminal traffic infractions. Prior to private law practice, Mr. Hemmat worked as an attorney for the U.S. Departments of the Interior and Justice in Washington, D.C., where at Justice he assisted agencies in the implementation of President Reagan's drug-testing program for federal employees and defended the United States in contract disputes. Mr. Hemmat has been an active lay leader in his local Jewish community, having served in leadership positions at the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, the Northwest Yeshiva High School, the Seattle Hebrew Academy, and his Sephardic Orthodox synagogue Congregation Ezra Bessaroth. In one of his key leadership roles, Mr. Hemmat served as Project Director for the rebuilding of the Seattle Hebrew Academy that was severely damaged during the Nisqually earthquake in 2001. Mr. Hemmat graduated from Whitman College with a BA, and obtained his JD from the Northwestern School of Law at Lewis & Clark College where he was inducted into the Cornelius Honor Society, founded a chapter of the Federalist Society, and served as a staff member of *Environmental Law*, a law journal where he published an article on the use of



eminent domain by the National Park Service. Mr. Hemmat frequently lectures to other attorneys and paralegals on the topics of attorney ethics, contracts, and family law. Mr. Hemmat is married to the Shoshana (Rachely) Buskila, a native of Israel of Moroccan background, and is the proud father of three children: son Amir, who graduated with honors from Yeshiva University in May 2014; son Lior, a ninth grader; and daughter Zohar, an eighth-grade student. His two younger children were adopted from Novosibirsk, Russia, in 2001.

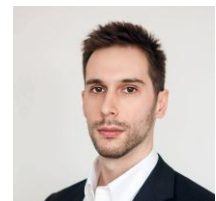
Terry Kassel

Ms. Kassel serves on the Management Committee of Elliott Associates, a hedge fund founded in 1977, where she is responsible for Strategic HR. Previously, she was Global Head of Human Resources and member of the Operating Committee at Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc. (2001-2006), Counsel and Head of Human Resources, Private Client Division at Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc. (2000-2001), and Litigation Counsel at Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith (1985-2000). She also serves as Chairman of the Board of Start-Up Nation Central, based in Israel. Inspired by the book, *Start Up Nation*, it is the address for entrepreneurs, business, and government leaders to learn about Israeli innovation and work with the Israeli entrepreneurial ecosystem to facilitate relationships and partnerships between Israelis and innovators around the world. Terry also serves as Director of the Paul E. Singer Foundation, focusing on Jewish Philanthropy.



Michael Millerman

Michael Millerman is a doctoral candidate in Political Science at the University of Toronto. He has an MA in Political Science from the University of Toronto and a BA in Philosophy from the University of British Columbia. He has published essays and presented at conferences on topics including Herodotus' view of oracles and gods, Heidegger's ontological politics, and the Halakhic status of the disputed territories. Mr. Millerman is also among the leading scholars in the world on the thought of the Russian conservative philosopher and political activist Alexander Dugin.



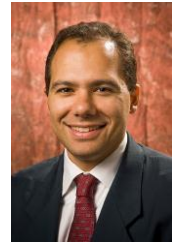
Jason Schulman

Jason Schulman is a Research Analyst in the Office of University Development and Alumni Relations at New York University. Previously, he worked at Sidwell Friends School, the New America Foundation, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. His research interests include modern American history, Jewish history, and legal history. His writing has appeared in *American Jewish History*, the *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, and the *Melbourne Journal of Politics*. He holds an MA and PhD in History from Emory University and a BA in History from Columbia University.



Ilya Shapiro

Ilya Shapiro is a senior fellow in constitutional studies at the Cato Institute and editor-in-chief of the *Cato Supreme Court Review*. Before joining Cato, he was a special assistant/adviser to the Multi-National Force in Iraq and practiced law at Patton Boggs and Cleary Gottlieb. Shapiro is the co-author of *Religious Liberties for Corporations? Hobby Lobby, the Affordable Care Act, and the Constitution* (Palgrave Pivot 2014). He has contributed to a variety of publications and regularly provides commentary for various media outlets, including the *Colbert Report*. Shapiro has testified before Congress and, as coordinator of Cato's amicus brief program, filed more than 100 "friend of the court" briefs in the Supreme Court. Before private practice, Shapiro clerked for Judge E. Grady Jolly of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. He holds an AB from Princeton, an MSc from the London School of Economics, and a JD from the University of Chicago Law School.



Paul Singer

Paul E. Singer is the founder and president of Elliott Management Corporation, a New York-based investment fund with affiliated offices in London, Hong Kong, and Tokyo. Launched in 1977 with \$1 million of capital, Elliott's total assets under management have grown to approximately \$25 billion today. The *Wall Street Journal* has recognized Elliott for its early forecasting of the systemic economic crisis of 2008. The *New York Times* has written that "of all the hedge fund managers on Wall Street, [Elliott] is one of the most revered." Mr. Singer is co-founder of Start-Up Nation Central, an organization inspired by the book "Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle." He is on the boards of Harvard Medical School and of *Commentary* magazine, and on the advisory board of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. Mr. Singer is also chairman of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.

Yitzchok (Yitz) Tendler

Yitzchok (Yitz) Tendler is co-founder and Director of Young Jewish Conservatives, a national grassroots network of young Jews active in conservative politics and media. In that role he has spearheaded a variety of innovative projects, including programs in the United States and Israel. Mr. Tendler is also an ordained rabbi who teaches Talmud and Jewish History at the high-school level, and has published several articles on Jewish history. He resides in Atlanta, Georgia with his wife and three children.



David I. Tesler

David I. Tesler is President of Real Diligence, LLC and LeaseProbe, LLC, financial due diligence companies he founded in 2004. Prior to this, Mr. Tesler served in the New York offices of Skadden Arps Slate Meager & Flom LLP and Jenkens & Gilchrist, Parker Chapin LLP. During that time, he represented clients in the acquisition and disposition of various types of commercial real estate. He also represented clients (both landlords and tenants) in commercial lease transactions and real estate finance/refinance transactions. Mr. Tesler graduated with honors from Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law in New York City. After graduation, he clerked for now-Chief Justice Dorit Beinisch at the Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem. In addition to his legal education, Mr. Tesler earned a MA degree in Medieval History from Bernard Revel Graduate School and is an ordained rabbi. Currently, Mr. Tesler is on the faculty at New York University's School of Real Estate and teaches commercial leasing at Columbia University's School of Law. Mr. Tesler is also president at the Rushbrook Group, LLC



Shlomo Weissmann

Rabbi Shlomo Weissmann has served since 2008 as the Menahel (Director) of the Beth Din of America, the rabbinical court affiliated with the Rabbinical Council of America. He oversees all of the Beth Din's activities, including commercial arbitration of disputes through the *din Torah* process, arranging Jewish divorces through the *get* process, resolution of *agunah* cases, administration of proceedings pursuant to the Beth Din's prenuptial agreement (www.theprenup.org), and the investigation and determination of halachic personal status issues, such as the Jewish status of individuals. Rabbi Weissmann received rabbinical ordination (Yoreh Yoreh) from RIETS in 2001, and advanced rabbinical ordination (Yadin Yadin) from RIETS in 2014. He is a graduate of Columbia Law School, where he was a Harlan Fiske Stone Scholar. Prior to his association with the Beth Din of America, Rabbi Weissmann worked as an attorney at several prominent law firms, including Debevoise and Plimpton LLP.



Susan Wolfe

Susan Wolfe, an award-winning author and community leader, is a creative content developer currently working on her seventh book. Previous professional posts include Chief Advancement Officer of the Oshman Family JCC, where she led strategic initiatives designed to create a culture of philanthropy; Senior Associate Director of Development and Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution; and Director of Grantmaking Programs and Communications at the Koret Foundation, awarding some \$25 million in grants annually. Earlier in her career, Susan oversaw marketing and communications for Stanford's Centennial Celebration, a six-year celebration of Stanford's meteoric rise to academic prominence. Susan holds a degree in communication from Stanford University and was selected in the first cohort of the esteemed Wexner Heritage Foundation program in the Bay Area. In her volunteer work, Susan is President of Hillel at Stanford. She serves on the advisory board of the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life & Culture. She has been a leader at Congregation Beth Am, and served on the boards of directors of J., the Jewish News



Weekly; the Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco's Women's Alliance; Keys School, and the Stanford Historical Society. Among her volunteer awards is the Jewish Community Center Association of North America's New Leadership Award.

Jonathan Wornick

Jonathan Wornick is Vice President of Wealth Management and the US/Israel Affairs Advisor for Taylor Frigon Capital Management. He is also a private real estate investor and owner of a fast/casual Middle Eastern restaurant concept he created. Previously he held positions in fashion/retail and insurance, and in the television/film industry he was nominated for an Emmy for outstanding Art Direction. He is well known for his leadership and contributions to the Bay Area Jewish community and presently serves as AIPAC's Northern California Campaign Chair and is a member of AIPAC's National Council. He also leads Bay Area pro-Israel political fundraising. In 2005 he was awarded the Moses and Celia Lesser Young Leadership Award for his contributions to the Jewish Community. He studied political science at Boston University and is a graduate of the Wexner Heritage Program. He and his wife reside in Lafayette, California with their two sons. He is passionate about family, Israel, politics, history, art, architecture, and mega-yachts.

