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Box 34, Folder 11, John Paul II [Pope] - visit to Austria, 1988.

Digitalies Shun Vienna, Waldheim

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Foreign Service

VIENNA, June 22—Austria's provincial cities have hosted a remarkable number of high-level diplomatic talks in the past year, as foreign dignitaries have shunned Vienna to avoid the possibility of meeting controversial President Kurt Waldheim.

Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson met Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky at the obscure Alpine village of Zell am See on May 28 and 29. The foreign ministers of Italy, Switzerland and Yugoslavia met their Austrian counterpart Alois Mock at, respectively, Klagenfurt, Bregenz and Graz.

The diplomatic snubs to Waldheim represent a part of the lingering price that Austria is paying for the blot on the president's reputation growing out of his World War II record as a German Army lieutenant and to his attempted cover-up of that record.

Nevertheless, the once-noisy domestic political battles over Waldheim have quieted to a murmur here in the past three months. Austrian critics appear to have resigned themselves to the likelihood that Waldheim will serve out the remaining four years of his six-year term.

Waldheim repeatedly has refused to resign, and Vranitzky and other critics lack sufficient political support to force him from his largely ceremonial post.

"We are obliged to tolerate him, because there is nothing else we can do," a senior figure in Vranitzky's Socialist Party said.

This week's visit to Austria by Pope John Paul II is likely to revive interest briefly in the debate over Waldheim's role while serving with a unit that committed atrocities in the Balkans.

The U.S.-based Jewish group Coalition of Concern and the New Austria Republican Club, both of which have staged anti-Waldheim protests in the past, said they would demonstrate here against the pope's meeting with the president.

In New York today, however, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of

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international affairs for the American Jewish Committee, urged an end to "extremist hysteria" against the pope's trip to Austria and said it could be "an important cleansing and healing experience" for Catholics and Jews, United Press International reported. Tanenbaum said the pope is making a pastoral visit to a Catholic country and will keep his contacts with Waldheim "to an absolute protocol minimum."

The controversy here is expected to die down quickly after the pope finishes his five-day visit, according to government officials, politicians, diplomats and other observers. They said the Waldheim issue has virtually dropped from view since the emotion-filled, 50th anniversary in March of Hitler's annexation of Austria.

"People are not leaning back and saying they're comfortable with the Waldheim situation. They just don't want to deal with it. I don't see any issue that could bring it up again in a serious way," an Austrian official said.

Vranitzky has backed away from a threat, made in February, in which he said he would resign if the Waldheim affair continued to use up 60 percent of his time. The chancellor issued the warning after an international historians' commission presented a critical report that accused Waldheim of having done nothing to stop war crimes that he knew about, and faulted him for concealing his wartime role for decades. The commission said it found no evidence that Waldheim personally had committed war crimes.

Vranitzky is head of government, while Waldheim holds the less powerful but symbolically important post of chief of state.

Vranitzky now says that the Waldheim affair is occupying much less of his time.

"The Waldheim case has gone underground. Everybody wants the issue to go away, and for him to be an invisible president," a western diplomat said.

Waldheim is scheduled to greet the pope on his arrival here Thursday, and meet with him privately later in the day.

John Paul is the only western leader to have met with Waldheim since he became president in July 1986. Israel and international Jewish organizations criticized him a year ago when he received Waldheim at the Vatican.

The pope reportedly has sought to avoid giving Waldheim too high a profile during the visit. Two Austrian sources said that the Vatican

discouraged Waldheim from accompanying the pope on a scheduled visit to the former Nazi concentration camp at Mauthausen and Waldheim will not go.

The foreign dignitaries who have avoided Vienna have not said that they did so to avoid seeing Waldheim, and in some cases protocol would not require them to visit the president if they did go to Vienna. Sweden's Carlsson explained that he stayed away from the capital because he had been there many times.

But Austrian government sources said the Waldheim controversy was an important factor in the foreign visitors' decisions.

"They just want to avoid getting involved in this internal Austrian affair. It's a very difficult situation for a small country like Austria, which must depend a lot on good relations with other countries," an Austrian official said.

As president, Waldheim normally would serve as Austria's top goodwill ambassador abroad. Because of the controversy, however, the former U.N. secretary general has been limited so far to visiting the Vatican, Jordan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

It is widely known that Vranitzky would like Waldheim to step down. But the chancellor's coalition includes the conservative People's Party, which supported Waldheim in the presidential election and still backs him.

Opinion polls indicated in February, after the historians' report, that sentiment was about evenly divided between Austrians who want Waldheim to stay and those who want him to resign. That represented a decline in support for Waldheim, but it did not signal a massive shift in public sentiment that analysts had said would be necessary to force his ouster.

Waldheim has benefited from the conclusion in a mock television trial on June 5 that the evidence presented against him was too weak to support the hypothesis that he had committed war crimes.

The London station Thames Television and the U.S. Home Box Office channel paid for an international panel of five former judges to stage what they called a "commission of inquiry" into the Waldheim case. The judges heard 35 witnesses in nine days.

Waldheim said the panel's conclusion proved he had been the victim of "a slander campaign." The New York-based World Jewish Congress called the program a "consumer fraud," because the panel had no power to force production of evidence or punish perjurers.

Pope to Meet Waldheim 'n Agair

Pontiff faces protests by Jewish activists



AP Photo

Pope John Paul II

Combined News Services

Vatican City — Pope John Paul II flies anew into public controversy and private anguish today on a five-day visit to Austria, where he will meet President Kurt Waldheim and visit a former concentration camp.

Jewish activists in Austria say that they will protest the Pope's meeting with the Austrian president, whom they accuse of aiding the deportation of 40,000 Jews from Greece and complicity in the death of Yugoslav partisans while a German army officer during World War II.

The Vatican, however, hopes that the

Pope's second trip to Austria will prove less controversial than Waldheim's visit to the Vatican a year ago, which provoked angry Jewish protests.

"The essence of this trip is the pastoral visit the Pope is making to the most Catholic part of Austria," said Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro, who described the meetings with Waldheim and the visit to the concentration camp as "peripheral."

John Paul's contacts with Waldheim will be largely formal. The Austrian president will receive him tomorrow

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AP Photo

Kurt Waldheim

Pope Travels to Austria — and Controversy

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and bid him farewell Monday in Innsbruck. Waldheim, who denies involvement in any war crimes and has withstood calls for his resignation, will also be present tonight at the presidential

palace for a papal speech to diplomats accredited to the Austrian government.

"The Pope's presence in a country is not political and does not imply support for a person or a political system," Navarro said.

The Pope will visit the Mauthausen

concentration camp tomorrow afternoon after meeting with Austrian Jews that morning, where he will most likely hear their complaints about his appearances with Waldheim. American and French Jewish activists say they will also protest in Vienna and at Mauthausen.

"All signs show the Pope is displaying his will and going out of his way to legitimize Waldheim," Avi Beker of the World Jewish Congress told reporters in Jerusalem this week. He said that the Pope's planned prayer service at Mauthausen a day after being received by Waldheim was in "bad taste."

According to Navarro, for the Pope a visit to the site of a concentration camp is a painful obligation.

"It is a personal pilgrimage, a gesture to express his horror at the Holocaust. The Holy Father lost nearly all of his Jewish friends during World War II," he said.

Pope's Austrian visit — which does not mention Waldheim by name — Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum said it was evident that "the Vatican was making a substantial effort to avoid a one-on-one meeting with Waldheim and keep their contact to a minimum allowed by protocol."

Tanenbaum, who is chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, said he was told by Vatican officials that Waldheim had wanted to accompany the Pope during his visit to Mauthausen, but was "sidetracked" by Rome. "We'll be watching," Tanenbaum said. "For us this visit will be a sign of whether the Holy See really learned any lessons from the debacle last year."

Jewish leaders worldwide were outraged that the Pope once praised Waldheim as a "man of peace."

Geraldine Baum contributed to

June 12, 1988

POPE'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA SHOULD NOT TRIGGER HYSTERIA
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

On Thursday, June 23, Pope John Paul II will begin a four-day pastoral visit to Austria. The visit will include three occasions of contact between the Pope and Austrian president Kurt Waldheim. Given the furor that erupted in June 1987 when the Pontiff agreed to receive Waldheim at the Vatican, it is inevitable that there will be controversy heating up next week.

It is important that we know some basic facts about this papal visit, I believe, and not allow extremist hysteria and stridency to overwhelm wisdom and common sense. First, this is a pastoral visit to the Austrian people. 87% of whom are Catholic. Then, it is centuries-old Vatican policy that the Popes, as sovereigns of the Vatican State, automatically meet with other heads of state with whose countries the Holy See has diplomatic relations.

In our conversations with Vatican authorities, we were informed that Papal contacts with Waldheim will be kept to an absolute protocol minimum. Last week, a French radio station reported that Waldheim insisted on accompanying Pope John Paul during his visit to the Mauthausen concentration camp. We were told that the Pope rejected Waldheim's demand and threatened to cancel the Papal visit if Waldheim insisted on being present.

Austria's young Chancellor, Franz Vranitsky, has this year decisively sidetracked Waldheim on most national Austrian observances. The Vatican, if our information is correct, is seeking now to follow that pattern.

I think we should welcome that approach, and not give Waldheim a publicity victory that he should be denied in the face of his abominable wartime past.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee and presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

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AJC Interfaith Newday (8)

U.S. Jewish Leaders Vexed By Omission

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riorating state of relations with the world's Jews and this Vatican."

"This Pope," Steinberg said, "has a bad record with us."

Tanenbaum and Steinberg interpreted the Pope's remarks at the Nazi Mauthausen death camp as evidence of a tendency toward "revisionism."

"Assertions that Austria was a victim of a cruel tyranny of the Nazi's and referring explicitly only to Catholics as victims . . . has led to moral confusion, if not worse," Tanenbaum said.

But Eugene Fischer, an official of the Conference of U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops who specializes in inter-religious affairs, said American Jews were "grossly misinterpreting the Pope's visit to the camp."

"This was a prayer meditation," Fisher said. "He didn't mention any specific groups at the camp. One doesn't raise up one person's suffering over others."

As the Pope arrived at the camp, six American Jews dressed in mock Nazi uniforms to lambaste the Pontiff for having any contact with Waldheim, were forced to leave by Austrian police, according to a spokesman for Rabbi Avi Weiss, an Orthodox leader from Riverdale who went to Rome last June to lead a similar small demonstration.

In a statement read over the phone from an Austrian hotel by his driver, Weiss said he and the other protesters were detained in a field behind the camp during the Pope's 90-minute visit.

"The Austrian police had to take us with excessive force to a field around Mauthausen just like they did to the Jews fifty years ago," Weiss said. He said the omission of the Jews from the Pope's remarks about Nazi victims was "obscene."

Last June when the Pope received Waldheim, a Catholic, at the Vatican and praised him as an international leader of peace, American Jews threatened to boycott a ceremonial session with the Pontiff that was to take place in Miami last September. The meeting was held after a dozen Jewish leaders went to Rome and met privately with the Pope, who agreed to future talks about the Catholic church's role during the Holocaust.

Incomplete story in Sat.
Newday. (Newspaper's error.)

June 26, 1988

POPE JOHN PAUL II'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The current visit of Pope John Paul II to Austria is being received with deeply mixed feelings in the Jewish community.

According to reliable reports, the Pope's meeting in Vienna with Austrian Jewish leaders was generally a positive experience. Austrian Jews welcomed the Pope's rejection of anti-Semitism, and his statement that "we must remember the Shoah, the Nazi holocaust, and make certain it is never repeated."

But Jewish disenchantment -- some said shock -- was in response to several contradictions. On the first day, the Pope repeated the widespread mythology that Austria and the Catholics there were the primary "victims...of Nazi tyranny." Neither then nor later at the notorious Mauthausen concentration camp did the Pope refer to the Jews.

But the historic evidence is overwhelming to the contrary and cannot be revised. Austrians were not passive victims; they jubilantly welcomed Hitler, and were among the cruelest Nazis. Cardinal Innitzer and the Austrian bishops pledged Hitler their total obedience. And Mauthausen was the most vicious of all the concentration camps, in which one-third of its victims were Jews.

What young Austrians need from Pope John Paul is an unambiguous call to face that tortured past, not to evade its evils by rewriting history.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee. He presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

STATEMENT

BY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, ON
POPE JOHN PAUL'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA, JUNE 23-28, 1988

The essential issue in Austrian-Jewish relations, as I see it, is that for most of the past 50 years the majority of the Austrian people have perceived themselves as victims of Nazism, and have denied or repressed knowledge of Austria's complicity in incubating anti-Semitism which culminated in the Nazi holocaust.

In that perspective, Pope John Paul II's declaration to the Austrian Jewish community today in which he repudiated anti-Semitism and "anti-Jewish activity" is a positive, constructive statement, of particular importance to shaping the conscience of the next generation of young Austrians. "We must remember the Shoah, and make certain that it is never repeated," is a Papal sign that the Austrian pattern, including that of the Austrian Catholic Church, of denial and repression must come to an end.

The strength of these affirmations, however, risk being weakened or contradicted by morally ambiguous statements that the Pope made on the first day of his arrival in Austria. Assertions that Austria was a "victim" of the "cruel tyranny" of the Nazis, and referring explicitly only to Catholics as victims of Nazi persecutions and ignoring the 200,000 Austrian Jews who were the singular objects of Nazi destruction could well lead to moral confusion and worse. These traditionalist Austrians who have persisted in the delusion of their victimization and who have refused to face their active role in the Nazi war machine--including President Kurt Waldheim--may well take comfort from that selective reading of Austrian history.

Given the present agitated Middle East crisis, one might regard as balanced the Pope's clearcut support of the right of the Jewish people to a homeland, the security of the State of Israel, while encouraging in general terms the right of the Palestinian people to a "homeland."

The several brief contacts between Pope John Paul II and Kurt Waldheim in his capacity as President of Austria were, I believe, held to "a minimum protocol level," as the Vatican's spokesman had earlier announced they would be.

In sum, I share the views of Paul Grosz, president of the Austrian Jewish community, who declared following the Papal audience, "The atmosphere was good, but the content of what happened is still not where we want to be."

FAX-NEW YORK (212) 319-0975

June 23, 1988

TO: Mark H. Tanenbaum

FROM: Leon A. Feldman

I am sending you some clippings from today's Hebrew press which tell part of the Waldheim/Pope encounter in Vienna.

You will notice that both in the name of IJCIC and the WJC we expressed our protest to the meeting and also about the remarks which were exchanged - all of which is self-explanatory.

I am dismayed, however, dismayed at your reaction to the protests, as you were quoted here. You will recall the sentiments of the last IJCIC meeting, during which you yourself expressed the idea that, if there is not a strong statement indicting Waldheim ordered by the Pope, the future relationship with the Vatican is endangered, and would have to be cooled for the next few months. The members of IJCIC arrived at the consensus of being forthright in the face of the meeting in Vienna and the presentation which I made here, together with Avi Beker, were in that spirit.



ISRAEL DENIES USING TEAR GAS TO DISPEL WEST BANK RIOTERS
By Hugh Orgel

TEL AVIV, June 23 (JTA) -- The Israel Defense Force has rejected allegations by Amnesty International that its use of tear gas to disperse rioters may have contributed to the deaths of about 40 Palestinians.

Nevertheless, the IDF will conduct a thorough investigation into the matter, a senior military source said Thursday. That, in fact, is what the London-based, private humanitarian agency had asked for.

The IDF pointed out that it has already investigated similar complaints by residents and doctors in the West Bank, which proved to be unfounded.

Amnesty International said it had reports that Israeli soldiers fired tear gas into houses, clinics, schools, hospitals and mosques, although the gas is supposed to be used only in the open air.

The IDF said it had strict regulations to use tear gas only out of doors, not in buildings.

The agency admitted it had little clinical evidence that the gas was responsible for deaths, but said it thought the patterns of death following high exposure to tear gas were sufficiently disturbing "to warrant a thorough and urgent review of IDF use of tear gas, and an immediate investigation into deaths among civilians following exposure to tear gas."

It said almost all of the alleged victims were babies, the elderly and people with respiratory or other illnesses which made them vulnerable to gas.

The IDF stressed that the types of tear gas it uses are standard in Western countries for riot control. It is used by the IDF for that purpose only, not as punishment.

APPEAL ISSUED FOR JEWS OF YEMEN
By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, June 23 (JTA) -- An Israeli living in Canada charged Thursday that Israel has not done enough to help the Jews of Yemen, and he called it disgraceful.

Moshe Nahum, interviewed by the army radio, spoke on behalf of the World Committee for the Rescue of Yemen's Jews, which he heads.

He said there are presently some 6,000 Jews in Yemen dispersed over more than 35 localities. They are the first to suffer from political and intertribal strife. Hostility toward Jews has been fanned by Palestinians who went to Yemen after the Lebanon war.

Nahum said he has visited Yemen several times and met about 300 Jewish families that are "torn in half." He explained that "in many cases, the husband, with two or three children, lives in Yemen, and the wife lives in Israel or vice versa.

NEW ISRAELI ENVOY TO EGYPT NAMED
By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, June 23 (JTA) -- Professor Shimon Shamir, an expert on Arab affairs, will be Israel's next ambassador to Egypt, the Foreign Ministry announced Thursday.

Cairo has already agreed to the appointment, the ministry said. Shamir will take his post at the end of this summer, replacing Moshe Sasson, who has been ambassador to Egypt since 1981.

ITALIAN JOURNALIST BLASTS JESUITS OVER HOLOCAUST-COMPARISON ARTICLE
By Ruth E. Gruber

ROME, June 23 (JTA) -- A leading Italian Jewish journalist and intellectual, Arrigo Levi, has responded forcefully to a recent article in the Jesuit magazine, *Civiltà Cattolica*, which implied a comparison between the destruction of Jews in the Holocaust and harsh measures used by Israel to suppress the Palestinian uprising.

"How could a comparison between the repression in the occupied territories and the Holocaust spontaneously spring to the minds of these cultured priests, who cannot help but feel some uneasiness at being the heirs of the first anti-Semitism of all, that of Christians?" Levi asked.

He wrote in the influential Italian daily *Corriere della Sera*.

His response appeared on the eve of Pope John Paul II's five-day visit to Austria, where he was to meet with President Kurt Waldheim.

"The authors assure us that anti-Semitism in the Catholic Church is over," he noted.

"But they argue . . . that Catholics nevertheless cannot refrain from criticizing the violence of Israel against the Palestinians with a judgment that is also hard."

'Seriously Offends Morality'

The article in *Civiltà Cattolica* drew distinctions between Jews and Israelis, on one hand, and the Israeli government, which it charged "seriously offends morality" by "certain of its behavior."

The Jesuits added that "if because of these facts, one's thoughts thus turn spontaneously to the methods used by the Nazis against the Jews, this should not be interpreted as an equation between Israelis and Nazis . . . but as an expression of condemnation and shock over the fact that today, after and despite the terrible experiences that should be a lesson for everyone, methodical violence is being employed against human beings.

"It is the shock that history teaches people -- everyone, not just Jews -- so little, so that it repeats itself," the magazine article said.

Said Levi of this line of thinking, "That this springs into the mind of crypto-anti-Semites, happy at the idea that even Jews are capable of reprehensible acts, we know full well.

"But this certainly doesn't go for the Jesuit fathers. If it springs into their minds, too, it is only because they are not Jews.

'Tormented Every Day'

"For them, the dimension of the Holocaust is symbolic or metaphorical. It is not real. It is one episode of violence like so many others throughout history. They have never entered the gas chambers. But every living Jew has found death there."

Levy wrote, "As a Jew, I feel tormented every day for the injustices committed by the Jewish soldiers, and even more for the blindness of a part of the Israelis confronting the suffering of other men.

"I force myself, as much as I can, to help Israel save itself from the horrors of occupation. But enough of this Nazi business," he said. "Just let those people with so much anti-Semitism in their past get a little more control over their spontaneous thoughts."



JEWISH GROUPS DEMONSTRATE AS POPE MEETS WITH WALDHEIM

By Reinhard Engel

VIENNA, June 23 (JTA) -- A small group of Jewish demonstrators, wearing mock uniforms of concentration camp inmates and singing "Am Yisrael Chai," gathered outside the office of Austrian President Kurt Waldheim for an hour and a half Thursday to protest the meeting between Pope John Paul II and the Austrian head of state.

The group later staged another demonstration outside St. Stephen's Church, where the pope was conducting mass, while some bystanders shouted "Heil Hitler" at the demonstrators.

The pope arrived here Thursday afternoon for a five-day official visit to Austria. He called on Austrians "not to forget the past," and Vatican sources said he plans to refer on several occasions to Austria's role during the war.

The pope held the first of two meetings with Waldheim Thursday evening. They are scheduled to meet a second time next Tuesday at the end of the papal visit.

Their meeting on Thursday was to be followed by a reception for the foreign diplomatic corps, hosted by Waldheim in honor of the pope.

The Israeli charge d'affaires in Vienna, Israel's ranking diplomat here, was not scheduled to attend the reception. Israel has not had an ambassador in Austria since Waldheim's election in the summer of 1986.

The pope was scheduled to visit the Mauthausen concentration camp on Friday, where he will recite mass. He is scheduled to meet Friday morning with six Jewish community leaders from Vienna, Graz, Linz, Salzburg and Innsbruck.

The American group of demonstrators protesting here calls itself Zachor/Coalition of the Concerned, and is headed by Rabbi Avraham Weiss, a Jewish activist from Riverdale, New York.

Other groups in the coalition are the North American Jewish Student Network and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, which is also headed by Weiss.

They held signs that included a blow-up picture of Waldheim with a senior SS general and other Nazi officers in German-occupied Yugoslavia in 1943, and an enlarged version of the U.N. War Crimes Commission warrant for Waldheim's arrest.

Nazi-hunter Beate Klarsfeld also joined the group in demonstrating against Waldheim.

The group plans to demonstrate at Mauthausen. They had previously demonstrated in Vienna at Waldheim's inauguration in 1986, and in Rome during his visit to the Vatican last year.

The Austrian Jewish community is taking a cautiously watchful position on the papal contact with Waldheim.

Paul Grosz, president of the Federal Association of Jewish communities, indicated Wednesday that the community would speak out if the pope goes beyond his diplomatic obligations toward the head of a Catholic state and praises Waldheim.

In New York meanwhile, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, an expert on Catholic-Jewish relations who has had important contacts with the Vatican for more than 20 years, cautioned against over-reaction to the pope's visit to Austria.

He said he was advised by Vatican authorities that papal contacts with Waldheim will be kept to a minimum.

Tanenbaum, who is director of international affairs of the American Jewish Committee, said, "It is important to keep in mind some basic facts about this papal visit and not allow extremist hysteria and stridency to overwhelm wisdom and common sense."

Tanenbaum pointed out that Austria is 87 percent Catholic, and that this is a pastoral visit to the Austrian people. It is a centuries-old Vatican policy for the pope to meet with other heads of state with which the Holy See has diplomatic relations, he said.

However, Elan Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress, called Tanenbaum's remarks "shameful" and an "embarrassment."

Steinberg said that the Tanenbaum's assertion that the pope's meeting with Waldheim reflects "an absolute protocol minimum is absolutely wrong."

He said that foreign dignitaries "have routinely visited Austria and explicitly refrained from having meetings with Waldheim."

Steinberg said that what was particularly troubling was Tanenbaum's suggestion that "peaceful expression of conscience concerning the lessons of the Holocaust can be vilified as 'extremist hysteria.'"

JERUSALEM IS THE NEXT-TARGET OF THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, June 23 (JTA) -- The underground command of the Palestinian uprising has targeted Jerusalem for two weeks of civil disobedience and boycotts.

Communique No. 20, titled "The Jerusalem Communique," was circulated Wednesday night. It calls for a general strike in the administered territories on June 28 to protest the 21st anniversary of Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem.

It urges residents of the territories to focus their struggle in the next two weeks on efforts to break Israel's hold on East Jerusalem. It exhorts them to boycott the civil administration and declare "total disobedience."

Premier Yitzhak Shamir reacted furiously. "Cut off the hands" of those who would hurt Jerusalem, he told a gathering of Jerusalem police officers.

The latest communique also urged Palestinians to continue to damage Israeli property. The day of arson declared by the Palestinian underground against Israeli agricultural assets passed Wednesday with fewer forest and field fires than the recent average.

Some of the fires were due to carelessness by Israelis, especially children and not classified as sabotage, according to Police Minister Haim Barlev.

But the failure of the Palestinian underground in that respect has not induced complacency.

Israeli security forces, fire brigades, the Jewish National Fund and the Nature Preserves Authority remain in a high state of alert against arson attempts.

CONGRESS DROPS McCLURE AMENDMENT EASING FEARS OF SOVIET JEWRY GROUPS

By Howard Rosenberg

WASHINGTON, June 23 (JTA) -- Congress this week dropped an amendment from the 1989 Defense Authorization Bill that Soviet Jewry groups feared could dilute the power of the 1975 Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

The decision on the amendment, introduced by Sen. James McClure (R-Idaho), was made in the House-Senate conference committee resolving differences between each chamber's version of the defense bill.

But H.D. Palmer, McClure's press secretary, said the senator intends to "revisit the issue" and possibly attach it to another bill. Palmer would not say when that might occur, or if it might be revised to satisfy concerns from Soviet Jewry activists.

The Senate approved the amendment May 13 by voice vote, which would have made conferral of most-favored-nation trade status on the Soviet Union contingent on overall compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, and not just to the emigration standards set forth in Jackson-Vanik.

McClure is on the 21-member U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe monitoring Soviet compliance with the act, whose third review is currently taking place in Vienna.

It has yet to produce any communiques, but commission chairman Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) recently said the United States must demand "no more, no less" than Soviet compliance with the measure, signed by 35 nations.

While Seymour Reich, B'nai B'rith International president, has called the amendment a "wholly unrealistic demand," Soviet Jewry groups have refrained from publicly opposing it.

At a press conference Wednesday at the offices of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, National Director Micah Naftalin and President Pamela Cohen said they are still studying the amendment.

Naftalin did express personal reservations about "vitiating" the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and establishing an "unmeetable" human rights standard for the Soviets, one that may lead them to ignore human rights policies totally, including the emigration standards.

Warm and Friendly

The Congressional action followed an unusual one-hour meeting Wednesday between Soviet Ambassador to the United States Yuri Dubinin and Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Abram said earlier Thursday that the discussion, which he described as "warm and friendly," focused on the topic of Soviet Jewish emigration, and specifically the McClure Amendment.

Abram said he told Dubinin at the meeting, held at Abram's request, that he was opposed to the amendment, and that the Soviet ambassador had agreed with him.

In a related matter, the Senate last week passed a sense-of-the-Senate resolution 96 to 0, urging President Reagan to "consult with" leaders of allied nations at the Toronto economic summit on "the impact on western security of tied and untied loans, trade credits, direct investments, joint ventures, lines of credit, and guarantees or other subsidies to the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact countries, Cuba, Vietnam, Libya or Nicaragua." It

was sponsored by Sen. James Sasser (D-Tenn.).

The House, in a letter drafted by Reps. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Toby Roth (R-Wis.), had also urged Reagan to raise the issue of the roughly \$19 billion lent to Warsaw Pact countries by U.S. banks in 1987 with no human rights guarantees in return.

Consulate in Kiev

The loans are not covered by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, since that measure only applies to U.S. government contracts with Communist countries.

On another matter, the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary recently discussed the idea of setting up a U.S. consulate in Kiev and allowing the Soviets to set up a new one in the United States.

Mark Levin, Washington director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, said plans to open that consulate in 1983 fell through following the shooting down of a Korean Airlines passenger plane by the Soviets. He said such a U.S. facility could serve as an "outpost not only to gather information but also as a form of protection for the refuseniks."

On May 29, there were threats of violence against Jews in Kiev that led Soviet police to advise Jews to stay in their homes, UCSJ's Cohen said Wednesday.

"This was during the (Reagan-Gorbachev Moscow) summit," she said, "so the Soviets did not want any kind of action.

"What happens when there's not a summit and the press are not in Moscow?" she asked.

(JTA reporter Yitzhak Rabi contributed to this report.)

ADL ASKS AUSTRIA TO PROSECUTE FORMER NAZI ROBERT VERBELEN

NEW YORK, June 23 (JTA) -- The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith called on the Austrian government this week to "prosecute Nazi war criminal Robert Verbelen under Austrian law, or revoke his citizenship so that he may be extradited to Belgium" for trial there.

In a letter to Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, dated June 20, ADL national director Abraham Foxman noted that Verbelen, a Belgian Nazi, was sentenced to death in absentia by a Belgian military court in 1947 for his role in 101 murders during World War II.

He was not extradited to Belgium because he had become an Austrian citizen. "Apparently Verbelen's Austrian citizenship was not revoked because of claims made by his attorney that it had been granted at the request of the American government," Foxman wrote.

"This claim has been shown to be absolutely false by the Justice Department's report."

Foxman referred to a report by the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, released last week, which confirmed that despite his Nazi past, Verbelen was employed by the U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps from 1946 to 1956.

"Verbelen can no longer rely on his misrepresentation to maintain his citizenship which was fraudulently secured," Foxman wrote.

Foxman said that the Belgian-born Verbelen "commanded the Nazi-allied Flemish SS which terrorized the local population through reprisals, torture, assassination and deportations."

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Pope's remarks in Austria stir new Catholic-Jewish flap

By Darrell Turner
RNS Associate Editor

NEW YORK (RNS) — American Jewish leaders expressed dismay at comments made by Pope John Paul II on the first day of his visit to Austria, when the pontiff said the country had suffered under the Nazis and called attention to Catholics who were persecuted during World War II.

The pope's reception of Mr. Waldheim in a Vatican audience in June 1987 was greeted with outrage by Jewish leaders around the world. Some Jewish leaders have noted that John Paul was required by protocol to meet with the Austrian president as a head of state during his current visit, which began June 23. But a small group of protesters led by Orthodox Rabbi Avi Weiss of Riverdale, N.Y., and French Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld demonstrated outside while the pope met with Mr. Waldheim at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna.

Many historians take the view that the people and government of Austria welcomed the Nazis 50 years ago, despite the country's insistence in later years that it was an unwilling victim of Hitler. Austria's history of anti-Semitism, which predated the war and has continued into the present, has also been a sore point with American Jews and was a factor in their concern over the 1986 election to the Austrian presidency of Kurt Waldheim, the former general secretary of the United Nations who served with a German army unit that committed atrocities during the war.

At a diplomatic reception at the palace following his meeting with the Austrian president, John Paul said, "In this year of 1988, I should like to particularly recall the great trials and cruel tyranny that Austria, along with other nations, had to suffer in the not-too-distant past. Among the many who were persecuted for religious, racial and political reasons were large numbers of Catholics — priests, members of religious orders and lay people."

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith and a Holocaust survivor, said he was "saddened and disappointed that Pope John Paul II on his first day on Austrian soil helped to perpetuate the myth that Austria was a victim of the Nazis." He described the pope's comments about Austrian suffering during the war as "a perversion of history reinforcing Austrian amnesia of its past complicity with Nazism."

While Mr. Foxman noted that the pope reportedly condemned anti-Semitism during a subsequent meeting with Austrian Jewish leaders, the ADL official said, "I am disturbed and puzzled by the fact that he (the pope) seems to talk about Jewish suffering during the Holocaust only when he talks to Jews."

Similarly, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee and chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, said the pope's comment on Austrian suffering during the war "almost borders on historical revisionism."

Rabbi Tanenbaum also said John Paul's opening statement, "in which he refers primarily to Catholics as victims of Nazism and not making an explicit reference to Jews, is extremely difficult to understand."

Like Mr. Foxman, Rabbi Tanenbaum noted the pope's condemnation of anti-Semitism when he met with Jewish leaders. "The question is about the integrity of making different statements to different audiences," Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

JEWISH GROUPS DEMONSTRATE AS POPE MEETS WITH WALDHEIM

By Reinhard Engel

VIENNA, June 23 (JTA) -- A small group of Jewish demonstrators, wearing mock uniforms of concentration camp inmates and singing "Am Yisrael Chai," gathered outside the office of Austrian President Kurt Waldheim for an hour and a half Thursday to protest the meeting between Pope John Paul II and the Austrian head of state.

The group later staged another demonstration outside St. Stephen's Church, where the pope was conducting mass, while some bystanders shouted "Heil Hitler" at the demonstrators.

The pope arrived here Thursday afternoon for a five-day official visit to Austria. He called on Austrians "not to forget the past," and Vatican sources said he plans to refer on several occasions to Austria's role during the war.

The pope held the first of two meetings with Waldheim Thursday evening. They are scheduled to meet a second time next Tuesday at the end of the papal visit.

Their meeting on Thursday was to be followed by a reception for the foreign diplomatic corps, hosted by Waldheim in honor of the pope.

The Israeli charge d'affaires in Vienna, Israel's ranking diplomat here, was not scheduled to attend the reception. Israel has not had an ambassador in Austria since Waldheim's election in the summer of 1986.

The pope was scheduled to visit the Mauthausen concentration camp on Friday, where he will recite mass. He is scheduled to meet Friday morning with six Jewish community leaders from Vienna, Graz, Linz, Salzburg and Innsbruck.

The American group of demonstrators protesting here calls itself Zachor/Coalition of the Concerned, and is headed by Rabbi Avraham Weiss, a Jewish activist from Riverdale, New York.

Other groups in the coalition are the North American Jewish Student Network and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, which is also headed by Weiss.

They held signs that included a blow-up picture of Waldheim with a senior SS general and other Nazi officers in German-occupied Yugoslavia in 1943, and an enlarged version of the U.N. War Crimes Commission warrant for Waldheim's arrest.

Nazi-hunter Beate Klarsfeld also joined the group in demonstrating against Waldheim.

The group plans to demonstrate at Mauthausen. They had previously demonstrated in Vienna at Waldheim's inauguration in 1986, and in Rome during his visit to the Vatican last year.

The Austrian Jewish community is taking a cautiously watchful position on the papal contact with Waldheim.

He said he was advised by Vatican authorities that papal contacts with Waldheim will be kept to a minimum.

Tanenbaum, who is director of international affairs of the American Jewish Committee, said, "It is important to keep in mind some basic facts about this papal visit and not allow extremist hysteria and stridency to overwhelm wisdom and common sense."

Tanenbaum pointed out that Austria is 87 percent Catholic, and that this is a pastoral visit to the Austrian people. It is a centuries-old Vatican policy for the pope to meet with other heads of state with which the Holy See has diplomatic relations, he said.

However, Elan Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress, called Tanenbaum's remarks "shameful" and an "embarrassment."

Steinberg said that the Tanenbaum's assertion that the pope's meeting with Waldheim reflects "an absolute protocol minimum is absolutely wrong."

He said that foreign dignitaries "have routinely visited Austria and explicitly refrained from having meetings with Waldheim."

Steinberg said that what was particularly troubling was Tanenbaum's suggestion that "peaceful expression of conscience concerning the lessons of the Holocaust can be vilified as extremist hysteria."

JERUSALEM IS THE NEXT TARGET OF THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, June 23 (JTA) -- The underground command of the Palestinian uprising has targeted Jerusalem for two weeks of civil disobedience and boycotts.

Communique No. 20, titled "The Jerusalem Communique," was circulated Wednesday night. It calls for a general strike in the administered territories on June 28 to protest the 21st anniversary of Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem.

It urges residents of the territories to focus their struggle in the next two weeks on efforts to break Israel's hold on East Jerusalem. It exhorts them to boycott the civil administration and declare "total disobedience."

Premier Yitzhak Shamir reacted furiously. "Cut off the hands" of those who would hurt Jerusalem, he told a gathering of Jerusalem police officers.

The latest communique also urged Palestinians to continue to damage Israeli property. The day of arson declared by the Palestinian underground against Israeli agricultural assets passed Wednesday with fewer forest and field fires than the recent average.

Some of the fires were due to carelessness

ambassador in Austria since Waldheim's election in the summer of 1986.

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The Austrian Jewish community is taking a cautiously watchful position on the papal contact with Waldheim.

Paul Grosz, president of the Federal Association of Jewish communities, indicated Wednesday that the community would speak out if the pope goes beyond his diplomatic obligations toward the head of a Catholic state and praises Waldheim.

In New York meanwhile, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, an expert on Catholic-Jewish relations who has had important contacts with the Vatican for more than 20 years, cautioned against over-reaction to the pope's visit to Austria.

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Some of the fires were due to carelessness by Israelis, especially children and not classified as sabotage, according to Police Minister Haim Barlev.

But the failure of the Palestinian underground in that respect has not induced complacency.

Israeli security forces, fire brigades, the Jewish National Fund and the Nature Preserves Authority remain in a high state of alert against arson attempts.

June 27, 1988

POPE JOHN PAUL II REWRITES AUSTRIAN HISTORY
C O M M E N T A R Y
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The latest visit of Pope John Paul II has been received with deeply mixed feelings in the Jewish community.

According to reliable reports, the Pope's meeting in Vienna with Austria's chief rabbi and other Jewish leaders was a generally positive experience. Austrian Jews welcomed the Pope's rejections of anti-Semitism, and his statement that "we must remember the Shoah (the Nazi holocaust) and make certain that it is never repeated."

Jewish disenchantment -- some said shock -- was in response to several contradictions. On the first day of his arrival, the Pope repeated the widespread mythology that Austria and the Catholics there were the primary "victims...of the cruel Nazi tyranny." Neither then nor later at the notorious Mauthausen concentration camp did the Pope refer to the Jews.

But the historic evidence is overwhelming to the contrary and cannot be revised. Austrians were not passive victims. They jubilantly welcomed Hitler and were among the cruelest Nazis. Cardinal Innitzer and the Austrian bishops helped establish Hitler's regime by pledging the Führer their total obedience. The Austrian hierarchy did not raise its voice in protest against the persecution of Jews.

And Mauthausen was the most vicious of all the concentration camps in which one-third of its victims were tortured for being Jews.

What young Austrians needed to hear from Pope John Paul II was an unambiguous call to face that nightmarish past, not to evade its evils by rewriting history.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee, is chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC).

Pope, at Death Camp, Mute on Jews

Combined News Services

Mauthausen, Austria — Pope John Paul II yesterday condemned Nazism on the site where 110,000 World War II prisoners died, but he angered Austria's chief rabbi by not making a specific reference to Jewish victims.

The Pontiff also said mass in Trausdorf, near the Hungarian border, for an estimated 80,000 people, most of them Yugoslavs and Hungarians. But the emotional high point of the day came at Mauthausen, Austria's most infamous death camp, where an estimated 110,000 Nazi prisoners died.

On his arrival at the camp, six American Jews who were opposed to the Pope's meeting Thursday with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim scuffled briefly with police. Waldheim has faced allegations of complicity in Nazi war crimes during his service in the German army. He has denied any wrongdoing.

Ludwig Soswinski, head of a camp survivors' organization, introduced the Pope to 11 in the group, including a Polish priest, the Rev. Zdislaw Lipinski.

The Polish-born Pontiff, speaking outside a memorial chapel, said: "Here in Mauthausen were people who, in the name of a lunatic ideology, set into motion a whole machinery of contempt and hatred of others."

Delivering his remarks in German, the Pontiff continued: "They tortured them, broke their bones, cruelly abused their bodies and their souls."

The Pontiff mentioned Marcel Callo, a Catholic activist who died in Mauthausen, Polish priest St. Maximilian Kolbe and two other Catholics who died in Nazi camps. But the Roman Catholic leader made no reference specifically to Jews.

That angered Chaim Eisenberg, Austria's chief rabbi, who told reporters in Vienna: "A visit to Mauthausen without mentioning the word Jews once is not satisfactory."

"The only Jew he mentions who suffered is Jesus Christ, and he didn't die in Mauthausen," Eisenberg said.

The Vatican, citing Austrian researchers, says that of the 44,000 Poles killed in Mauthausen, 7,000 were Jewish, while a majority of the 32,000 Hungar-



Reuter Photo

Austrian President Kurt Waldheim receives communion from the Pope at mass in Trausdorf

ians who lost their lives there were Jewish. Tens of thousands of Soviets and Germans also perished, although the Vatican provided no breakdown on the percentage of Jews.

The Pontiff met earlier with Austrian Jewish community president Paul Grosz and five other Jewish leaders in Vienna. He urged them to accept the Vatican's call for a Palestinian homeland.

"The Jewish people have the right to a homeland, as any other nation has according to international law," John Paul said. "The same goes for the Pales-

tinian people, many of whom have become homeless and refugees."

The Pope reminded his audience he had made a similar call in September in Miami.

Grosz appealed to the Pope to work with Jewish leaders to "seek a way to solve the problem of the Middle East together." Grosz said he regretted "that full diplomatic relations between Israel and the Holy See have not yet been established." The Pope did not

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Pope's Unspoken Words Anger

POPE from Page 5

the Pontiff continued: "They tortured them, broke their bones, cruelly abused their bodies and their souls."

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The Vatican has cited Israel's lack of settled borders and the international dispute over Jerusalem as reasons for the absence of diplomatic ties.

U.S. Jewish Leaders Vexed By Omission

JEWS from Page 5

riorating state of relations with the world's Jews and this Vatican."

"This Pope," Steinberg said, "has a bad record with us."

Tanenbaum and Steinberg interpreted the Pope's remarks at the Nazis Mauthausen death camp as evidence of a tendency toward "reversionism."

"Assertions that Austria was a victim of a cruel tyranny of the Nazis and referring explicitly only to Catholics as victims . . . has led to moral confusion, if not worse," Tanenbaum said.

But Eugene Fischer, an official of the Conference of U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops who specializes in inter-religious affairs, said American Jews were "grossly misinterpreting the Pope's visit to the camp."

"This was a prayer meditation," Fischer said. "He didn't mention any specific groups at the camp. One doesn't raise up one person's suffering over others."

As the Pope arrived at the camp, six American Jews dressed in mock Nazi uniforms to lambaste the Pontiff for having any contact with Waldheim, were forced to leave by Austrian police, according to a spokesman for Rabbi Avi Weiss, an Orthodox leader from Riverdale who went to Rome last June to lead a similar small demonstration.

In a statement read over the phone from an Austrian hotel by his driver, Weiss said he and the other protesters were detained in a field behind the camp during the Pope's 90-minute visit.

"The Austrian police had to take us with excessive force to a field around Mauthausen just like they did to the Jews fifty years ago," Weiss said. He said the omission of the Jews from the Pope's remarks about Nazi victims was "obscene."

Last June when the Pope received Waldheim, a Catholic, at the Vatican and praised him as an international leader of peace, American Jews threatened to boycott a ceremonial session with the Pontiff that was to take place in Miami last September. The meeting was held after a dozen Jewish leaders went to Rome and met privately with the Pope, who agreed to future talks about the Catholic church's role during the Holocaust.

**German-American Conference on
U.S. MINORITIES IN GERMAN TEXTBOOKS --
THE CASE OF THE AMERICAN JEWS**

An historic conference took place in Bonn, West Germany, from April 11-14, 1988. The topic was how to integrate material about American Jewish life into West German high school textbooks; the participants were leaders of the two sponsoring organizations -- the American Jewish Committee and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung -- as well as German government officials, teachers, school superintendents and textbooks publishers, and scholars in the field of Jewish and German studies.

This conference grew out of the AJC's two decades of activity in promoting good relations between American Jews and the Federal Republic of Germany. It is widely acknowledged that the AJC-sponsored exchange visits, textbooks studies, teacher-training institutes and publications have helped transform German attitudes toward Jews, Judaism, the Holocaust and Israel.

Yet the shock waves that ran through the American Jewish community in the wake of President Reagan's visit to Bitburg in 1985 showed that there was still considerable mutual misunderstanding and ignorance between American Jews and Germans. Hoping to get at the root of the problem, the American Jewish Committee conducted a study of what American Jewish high school students learn about Germany. AJC and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung also commissioned the George-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research to find out what German high school students learn about American Jews. In both cases, the answer was virtually nothing.

The April conference in Bonn developed a strategy to make German youth aware of American Jewish life. At the opening session, Siegfried Bangert of the Ebert Stiftung and Eleanor Lazarus of AJC explained the background and objective of the conference, and AJC

President Theodore Ellenoff noted that knowledge of the role of Jews in the United States was important, not only for itself, but also as a case study in American pluralism. Dr. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, deputy director of the Eckert Institute, added that an appreciation of the generally successful integration of Jews in American life would serve to balance the stress that textbooks place on the hostility and discrimination that minorities have faced in America.

Three American scholars delivered major papers on aspects of the American Jewish experience: Professor Abraham Karp of the University of Rochester discussed the history of Jewish immigration, Dr. Gladys Rosen of the AJC dealt with American Jewish demography and communal life, and Dr. David Singer of the AJC spoke about Jews in American society and in the American economy.

Some important themes that came up in these presentations and the subsequent discussion were the role of voluntarism in American Jewish life, the relationship between American Jews and Israel, American Jewish support for the rights and welfare of all minority groups, the interplay between Americanism and cultural pluralism in the formation of American Jewish identity and the importance of separation of church and state.

The conference participants reassembled in smaller working groups to discuss how the information conveyed in the papers might be introduced into German high school curricula. The small groups cited the need for:

- training teachers in the use of new materials;
- comparing the situation of Jews in America with the history of Jews in European countries;
- integrating material on American Jewry into existing courses on history, sociology, economics and literature;

- dealing with the often misleading information about Jews presented in the media;
- connecting American Jewish history with German Jewish history.

Professor Dr. Joachim Rohlfes of the University of Bielefeld, who will prepare the new materials based on the recommendations of the group, said that he will concentrate on producing a source book on American Jewish life for use by teachers. It will cover immigration and integration into American life, Jews in American society and politics, comparisons between German and Jewish history, the internal pluralism of the American Jewish community, the forces that contribute to Jewish survival and continuity in the United States, anti-Semitism, the impact of the Holocaust, and the role of the State of Israel in the lives of American Jews.

Professor Rohlfes' plan was greeted with great enthusiasm. Education officials from all eleven West German states agreed to participate in the project. Additional initiatives were suggested: in-service training materials for teachers, the integration of materials on American Jews into English language and area studies, curricular modules on American Jewish life, the use of the American Jewish German-language newspaper Aufbau in German classrooms, the use of the national research contest for high school students to stimulate interest in the American Jewish community, and having students explore their connections with relatives in the United States.

Professor Rohlfes, in consultation with the AJC, is at work on the project, which is expected to take four months. Once his work is completed the textbook publishers will begin to prepare appropriate materials.

* * *

Second Conference
The American Jewish Committee and
Atlantik-Brücke e.V.

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New York, June 18 - 20, 1988

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Bonn, June 3, 1988
Lin/me



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE-ATLANTIK-BRUECKE e.V. CONFERENCE
AMERICAN JEWS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY-PART II
NEW YORK, JUNE 18-20, 1988

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