



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 58, Folder 14, German arms sales to Saudis, 1984.





February 16, 1984

*Memo*

TO: NJCRAC & CJF Executives

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director

RE: Additional Action Recommendations on Pending  
German Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia

The following memorandum was transmitted over our Instant Communications Network today:

"At a recent meeting, NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee assessed the impact of the campaign against pending German Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia. Jewish community response was exceptional. According to Washington, DC Jewish Community Council, the German Ambassador reports receiving more than 1000 communications--an unprecedented number. Many communities followed through with visits to German Consulates. Major deficiency in the campaign was lack of attention by the general press.

Chancellor Kohl is now scheduled to visit U.S. on March 5. Kohl's government has yet to act and there are indications of growing opposition to the sale in the German press, general public and opposition parties. Therefore, the Strategy Committee recommended renewed efforts directed especially toward press coverage: editorials, op-ed, and letters all deemed important.

National agencies are approaching prominent individuals to submit op-ed articles. Communities and national agencies are also advised to approach friendly German-American groups. Where feasible, public manifestations of concern that will garner press coverage should also be considered."

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February 16, 1984

**Memo**

TO: NJCRAC &amp; CJF Executives

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director

RE: Action Recommendation on U.S. Posture Concerning May 17 Israeli-Lebanon Agreement

The following memorandum was transmitted over our Instant Communications Network today:

As you know, it is widely reported that Lebanese President Gemayel, in an effort to retain power, has signed a document brokered by the Saudis which has as its main point the abrogation of the May 17, 1983 Agreement between Israel and Lebanon.

In a formal statement yesterday, Secretary of State Shultz said in this regard,

"The withdrawal of all foreign forces remains another essential goal. Last year, the United States helped Lebanon and Israel negotiate the May 17 Agreement, which was--and remains--the only established formula that ensures Israeli withdrawal while adequately safeguarding both Lebanese sovereignty and Israel's legitimate security interests.

We continue to support the May 17 Agreement. Those who would dispense with this Agreement must bear the responsibility to find alternative formulas for Israeli withdrawal."

In consultation with member agencies, we recommend letters be sent to Secretary of State Schultz commending his clear recognition of the consequences of abrogation to Israel's security and the achievement of peace and stability in the region:

Communications should also stress that, as Secretary Schultz recognized, U.S. acquiescence in the abrogation of the May 17 Agreement--A small but significant step towards peace--would be a capitulation to the key Syrian goal abetted by the so-called moderate Saudis. Moreover, in light of President Mubarak's recent remarks at the White House and the continuing Egyptian freeze of its peace treaty with Israel, it is clear that Israel's faith in negotiated arrangements with its Arab neighbors -- and in the steadfastness of the United States as facilitator and guarantor of these agreements -- is being tragically but understandably diminished.

Because President Reagan was quoted today as having taken an equivocal position on the May 17 agreement, we think it is important to send him copies of your commendatory message to Sec. Shultz. Please favor us with copies, as well as any editorials, op-ed articles, letters-to-the-editor, etc., you may develop along these lines.

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# German Plant Builders Slump

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

Special to The New York Times

BONN, April 18 — A slowdown in orders from heavily indebted developing countries is putting severe pressure on West Germany's plant-construction companies. They build turnkey plants for making chemicals, steel, plastics and almost any other product from Mexico to Malaysia.

This industry's orders fell to \$5.5 billion last year, nearly 30 percent less than in 1982 and roughly half of 1981's \$11.1 billion.

Reasons for the poor prospects range from increasing overseas competition to the slowdown in oil producers' industrialization plans and reduced investment in countries of the Eastern bloc and the third world. Many developing nations are investing less in their economies so they can meet payments on their huge foreign debt.

## Trying to Equal 1983 Pace

"The worldwide order slump has not decisively changed," said Günter Kohl, director of the industrial plant working group in the Association of Machine and Plant Builders. "We would be satisfied if we could achieve the 1983 order level this year."

Such gloom seems alien in an economy that has been the driving force of a modest European recovery. German plant builders rely on developing countries for more than two-thirds of their sales, but their slump is affecting the domestic economy.

Unlike typical American engineering enterprises, most of the German companies are owned by large conglomerates such as Thyssen, Krupp or Metallgesellschaft. They bid on projects using the company's own processes and give out subcontracts for machinery or electrical systems to other German companies.

## Prominent Role in Mideast

With such ties, the West German industry won pre-eminence in the Middle East after the 1974 oil price boom and the subsequent industrialization programs in Arab countries, helping West Germany maintain a favorable trade balance with members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

German companies also established themselves in Eastern Europe and the developing countries of Asia and Latin America, where Western banks financed industrial projects by recycling OPEC oil revenues.

Last year, however, because of reduced oil revenues, the gradual com-

pletion of major industrial projects and the war between Iran and Iraq, orders from oil-producing countries fell sharply. Mr. Kohl said the industry suffered "cancellations to a degree never before encountered."

## A Lack of Major Projects

West German exports to Saudi Arabia slumped 11 percent, to \$2.9 billion. In Bonn the Economic Ministry attributed the drop to a dearth of "spectacular major projects."

At the same time, the industry's position has been affected by a deceleration in orders from the Eastern bloc and from Asian and Latin American nations, where financing for industrial projects is lacking because of the need to repay foreign debt.

One result of the decline has been a drastic reduction in the size of contracts. Last year West German companies signed only eight contracts worth more than \$38 million each, compared with 19 such contracts in 1982 and 33 in 1981. The 1983 jobs included a \$131 million steel mill project in India, handled by a subsidiary of Gutehoffnungshütte.

## Seeking Smaller Contracts

Mr. Kohl said German companies are well placed to compete for smaller contracts, which often involve a smaller share of construction and a larger share of engineering, than competitors from Japan.

But he said poor financing arrangements for West German companies, which often bid against companies offering subsidized credit rates, meant a shift of construction and some engineering work to subcontractors in cheaper countries like India, Mexico, Brazil and South Korea, diminishing the West German share of business.

As a result, such major companies as Thyssen and Lurgi, a subsidiary of Metallgesellschaft, have begun scaling back production and engineering operations. The number of workers in the industry dropped 10 percent last year, to 86,000.

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המטאלורגים

# Statements & Speeches



Federal Republic of Germany

Editor: Hans Wiessmann

Vol. VII No. 1

January 20, 1984

## Building Confidence in Europe

Speech by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, at the Opening of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe in Stockholm, January 19, 1984

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

The people whose governments are represented here are today looking to Stockholm for the fulfilment of their hopes for peace. The CSCE Meeting in Madrid showed that the awareness of common interests and the firm will to reach an understanding can even survive grave international tensions. We are all under the obligation to make use of the experience gained in Madrid in order to bring about tangible results at this conference in Stockholm, too.

## A New Start in East-West Relations

The international situation gives cause for concern. We must not allow developments to get out of control. Only if everyone acts in accordance with this perception will it be possible to make a new start in East-West relations. The time has come to do so. Neither resignation, nor the creation of panic, nor dogmatic accusations must prevail at this conference. We shall not make Stockholm a place of confrontation. We have little regard for a policy of confrontation or for the language of confrontation. We shall compare words with deeds. We shall act for the cause of peace in a determined, sober and responsible manner. The dialogue must be continued and where it has been disrupted, it must be resumed. The products of co-operation must be developed further, and new ways and means of surmounting existing obstacles must be found. We can learn from past successes and failures, and nobody should feel that he is above a self-critical examination.

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**GERMAN INFORMATION CENTER, 410 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022/(212) 888-9840**

Acting responsibly means taking account of the other side's interests as well. Acting irresponsibly means trying to secure advantages at the expense of others. In the questions of security and co-operation we will ultimately only win or lose together.

The presence of foreign ministers here in Stockholm demonstrates the importance that all participants attach to the conference. During this week we should mark out the direction to be followed by our delegates in their practical work. I repeat: the time is ripe for a new attempt to obtain broad-based, sound and lasting co-operation founded on equilibrium and equal rights. Each government will be measured by its contribution to this. We expressly welcome the fact that the participation of foreign ministers in this conference, which we suggested, is being used to continue the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, too. We will also in future strongly support the continuation of the dialogue between the two superpowers at the high and highest levels.

### Germany's Special Situation

My country, situated in the heart of Europe at the dividing line between West and East, is particularly seriously affected by the danger of instability and confrontation. The German people suffer most from the division of Europe because it also means the separation of Germans from Germans.

We have at all times contributed to stability and détente by pursuing a calculable and constructive policy. Our membership of the European Community and the North Atlantic Alliance is the foundation of our peace policy, which also includes our active participation in the CSCE process and the treaties concluded with our Eastern neighbors. These treaties remain the basis of our long-term policy towards these states.

On December 9, 1983 the members of the Atlantic Alliance with whom we share, as with our partners in the European Community, not only common interests but also common values, extended an offer in Brussels to the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries to work together with the West to bring about a long-term, constructive and realistic relationship based on equilibrium, moderation and reciprocity. We want an open and comprehensive political dialogue, co-operation, genuine détente and we want disarmament and arms control. President Reagan's speech of January 16 in which he rightly recalled the joint interests and the joint responsibility of the United States and the Soviet Union, reaffirms this policy. The future of our nations will depend to a large extent on whether the extended hand of the West will be accepted. Some of the things that have been said on this subject in the past few days must not be the final word.

### Openness in Military Matters

Mr. Chairman, we want to reduce distrust and foster confidence in Europe. This necessitates tangible measures which -- according to the agreed mandate of this conference -- are militarily significant, politically binding, adequately verifiable and will be applied to the whole of Europe. Whoever is opposed to openness in military matters and rejects reliable verification of agreements on arms control and disarmament arouses the suspicion that he wants to hide something. Distrust and the feeling of being threatened cannot be eliminated without greater transparency. We want to lower the risk of surprise attack and the fear of intimidation.

The mandate for this conference is precise: its first stage will be devoted to the negotiation and adoption of a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe. Our proposals to this embrace measures of information, observation and verification, as well as measures enhancing military stability in Europe. The participants should regularly exchange information on their military units. This would not only have a stabilizing effect, but could also constitute the basis for further agreements. Each country should exchange with all others an annual preview of significant military activities. Everyone should be able to assess whether an exercise was in fact planned long in advance or whether in a given situation is intended to be used as a threat or even for the purpose of political intimidation.

### Advance Notification of Military Activities

In keeping with the further development of the measures decided on in Helsinki, all military activities in Europe of a specific structure or size should be notified in advance and in detail. It should be possible to send observers to such activities in order to obtain information on the spot. The rights and duties of these observers should be such that they can in fact perform their functions effectively.

All participants must be certain that agreements are fully complied with by everyone. Channels of communication must be created to clear up misunderstandings that arise despite these agreements. All of these measures cannot, of course, transform East-West relations over night, but they are indispensable for strengthening confidence. Confidence can create a better foundation for serious efforts in all fields of arms control.

### Mutual Recognition of Security Interests

An important prerequisite for the success of Stockholm is the mutual recognition of legitimate security interests. In its political declaration of Brussels the Western Alliance expressly stated its

readiness for such recognition. We know from historical experience that any preponderance based on power politics constitutes a threat to peace. Striving for superiority and hegemony is always a threat to stability. Safeguarding lasting peace for Europe requires a security arrangement which is based on equilibrium and in which the two super-powers have responsibilities. It is in line with the Helsinki final act, the signatories of which include the United States and Canada, that this European arrangement can only be created together with America and not by politically and militarily decoupling America from Europe.

Questions of nuclear disarmament are not the subject of this conference, and we should guard against allowing our conference to become hostage of the problems that should be negotiated elsewhere, however important and urgent the negotiations on strategic and intermediate-range missiles may be. Polemics, however, is of no use either for the question of missiles.

We are no missile addicts. The Federal Republic of Germany renounced the possession of nuclear weapons, but not the claim to live free from a nuclear threat. The Soviet SS 20 missiles constitute such a threat. Their existence compels us to go ahead with modernization. Their elimination would free us from the need to modernize and the peoples of Europe from a great danger and great concern. This must be the subject of negotiation. Our position remains unchanged: the West will not walk away from any negotiating table, nor will it refuse to negotiate.

### Banning Chemical Weapons

Our nations, indeed, all nations of this world, have no more fervent a desire than the banning of chemical weapons with their horrifying effects. The draft treaty announced by the United States for a worldwide, complete and verifiable ban on all chemical weapons is designed to meet this goal. No one should turn his back on it. The problem of the negotiations on chemical weapons is not the question of whether chemical weapons should be banned worldwide or only in Europe -- no, the obstacle so far has been the Soviet Union's refusal to agree to a satisfactory verification regime. If a positive change occurs in the Soviet Union's position, then the path will be clear for the prohibition of chemical weapons worldwide. Why should such a threat be confined to Europe? Do not all nations of the world have the same right to be freed from this scourge of humanity?

In disarmament and arms control we must not only take account of nuclear weapons, which, since the end of the Second World War, have served the West as a counterbalance for conventional inferiority. The more effectively Eastern conventional superiority is reduced, the less we will have to depend on nuclear weapons.

The relationship of conventional forces will be one of the main subjects of the second stage of the present conference. Even a war waged exclusively with conventional weapons would be a thousand times more horrifying than the Second World War.

In its Bonn declaration of June 10, 1982 the Western Alliance solemnly declared that none of our weapons -- and this means both nuclear and conventional ones -- will ever be used except in response to attack. It could serve the cause of confidence-building if all CSCE participants were ready to make an equally comprehensive pledge.

### Reducing Conventional Weapons

The goal of the future stages of this conference must be to reduce conventional weapons and troops throughout Europe to equilibrium at the lowest possible level. These efforts do not detract from the significance of the MBFR talks in Vienna, whose continuation we strongly urge and to the success of which we shall continue to make constructive contributions. However important security issues may be, East-West relations extend far beyond them. The prospects of this conference, too, depend on the overall political climate, which is determined by the policies pursued by the participating states. The CSCE process in its entirety and the implementation of the obligations assumed under the Helsinki Final Act afford an important instrument for this purpose.

We want to develop further in all fields the bilateral relations with all our Eastern neighbors on the basis of the treaties concluded with them. We Germans in both German states are conscious of our responsibility for peace.

### Relations with East Germany

Our efforts to develop and improve our relations with the GDR constitutes a policy for peace in Europe. We shall continue along the path of dialogue and long-term co-operation out of our responsibility to the German nation and to our European neighbors. In the past, we Germans have often been at variance with our neighbors. Today our national interests are an integral part of the interests of Europe. This makes us dedicated supporters of the process of unification of the democracies grouped together in the European Community and the driving force of East-West co-operation.

Trade and economic co-operation on equal terms and on a long-term basis can render a constructive contribution towards ensuring stable political relations between East and West. The opportunities afforded by Basket II of the Helsinki Final Act have by no means been fully exploited. The economies of East and West are mutually complementary. The intensification of co-operation in the scientific, technological and environmental spheres is also in our mutual interest.

As a country at the heart of Europe particularly exposed to cross-frontier environmental hazards, we shall make every effort to ensure that our natural environment is preserved through joint action. We owe this not only to ourselves but also to future generations. For this reason, my government will convene a conference on this subject in the course of this year at which problems relating to our forests, rivers, lakes and seas are to be discussed.

Mr. Chairman, in the concluding document of the Madrid meeting, the 35 states set themselves the goal of giving "effect and expression to the duty of states to refrain from the threat or use of force in their mutual relations". To this end, they pledged "to undertake ... new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament".

### Renunciation of Force

The goal and path have thus been clearly defined. The renunciation of force, which is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and was solemnly reaffirmed in the Final Act of Helsinki, must be enhanced by means of concrete and militarily significant confidence-building measures. The objective cannot be to replace deeds by a repetition of words. The objective is to make the words more credible and ensure that conduct tallies with words. This should apply all over the world.

President Reagan rightly described the reduction and eventual elimination of the threat and use of force in solving international disputes as a paramount task for improving the international situation.

Chancellor Kohl stated in Moscow in July 1983: "A new and binding reaffirmation of the renunciation of force can contribute to improving the international situation if it actually prevents the threat of force and puts an end to the use of force where it persists." This also refers to the continuing use of force in Afghanistan. The safeguarding of peace, co-operation, détente, self-determination and human rights are interlinked. This was reaffirmed by the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid concluding document. In this concluding document not only the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe but also meetings of experts on human rights and human contacts were decided on. The people in Europe place their hopes in the success of these conferences and meetings. We want to make our contribution towards fulfilling these hopes. We are co-operating out of respect for all nations participating in this conference, for their rights, their dignity, their contribution towards civilization and scientific and technological progress. At this conference, too, we want to co-operate with all states in a constructive and trustful manner. We shall carefully and seriously examine all proposals made here. We hope that, as in Madrid, the neutral and non-aligned countries will play their responsible part here in the quest for results acceptable to all of us.

We for our part shall not shun any exertions to continue our policy dictated by reason and a sense of responsibility. We want to pave the way for a peaceful order in Europe founded on trust and equal rights to security, on dialogue, co-operation, moderation and restraint, a peaceful order in which human rights and the right of nations to self-determination are heeded in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act. Only in this way will we be able to ensure lasting peace. Europe, where in the past so many terrible wars were waged and from where war so often spread to other parts of the world, must now set the rest of the world an example of the safeguarding of peace and be the starting point for initiatives of peace. Instead of an arms race it must embark upon a race to help the nations of the Third World in overcoming hunger, want and disease and in protecting the natural environment. This is our task of peace and our responsibility for peace towards the whole world.

# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**aje**

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

FOR RELEASE AFTER 11 A.M.

THURSDAY, JAN. 12, 1984

NEW YORK, Jan. 12....A newly formed coalition of ethnic organizations today joined Congressman Mario Biaggi (Dem., N.Y.) in calling for the creation of a Federal office concerned with distorted TV and radio portrayals of ethnic groups to stem a recently recorded increase in offensive treatment. Mr. Biaggi recently introduced a bill proposing such an office.

Addressing a news conference at American Jewish Committee headquarters, Congressman Biaggi said:

"Official FCC records point to a dramatic increase in the number of complaints directed against radio and television stations based on racial and ethnic ridicule and stereotyping. In the final nine months of 1983, there were 595 complaints -- more than twice as many as were registered in all of fiscal year 1981, the last year when FCC compiled such data."

"These figures," continued Mr. Biaggi, "combined with the fact that more than 12 different ethnic and racial groups have joined in a coalition to support my bill, graphically illustrate the need for its passage."

Mr. Biaggi and the coalition leaders stressed that the Congressman's bill did not aim to censor the media, but to focus public attention on the dangers of stereotypes.

Mr. Biaggi's bill proposes that an Office of Ethnic Affairs be set up within the Federal Communications Commission. This office, states the bill, would serve as a clearinghouse for complaints about the depiction of ethnic groups on

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Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

William S. Trosten, Acting Director

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radio and TV; collect and analyze information from public and private agencies regarding media portrayal of ethnic groups; conduct educational programs "encouraging the positive portrayal of ethnic groups," and hold annual conferences designed to "focus public attention on the images of ethnic groups depicted by broadcast programming."

Members of the new coalition, whose formation was announced at today's news conference, in addition to the American Jewish Committee, are Commission for Social Justice--Order of the Sons of Italy, Cuban National Planning Council, Japanese American Citizens League, League of United Latin American Citizens, National Italian American Foundation, National Urban League, Polish American Congress, Polish-American Jewish-American Task Force, Ukrainian National Association, UNICO-National, and United Hellenic American Congress.

Irving M. Levine, Director of National Affairs for the American Jewish Committee and the head of the AJC's Institute for American Pluralism, said:

"We have tried the path of polite discussions with TV executives many times and with disappointing results. Admittedly, there has been some progress in increased sensitivity, and a few quality programs have been aired for which we are grateful, but there is also a constant slipping back into old habits in the use of ethnic insult. Without the monitoring and the educating that the Biaggi Bill will give us, we're not sure that the short attention span of the media is enough to sustain their much needed responsibility to our country's pluralistic society."

Turning to the effects of the media on personality, Joseph Giordano, coordinator of the coalition and director of AJC's Center on Ethnicity, Human Behavior and Communication, declared that "TV and films are important in shaping the self-image of young people."

"Studies undertaken by the Center," continued Mr. Giordano, "reveal that it is crucial to a person's mental health that he feel at home with his ethnic identity--and that, conversely, distorted and negative images of ethnic identity from the media or other parts of society can lead to self-hatred or to discrimination and aggression against other groups."

"The media should stop relying on old stereotypes," urged Mr. Giordano, "and should discover that in the rich diversity of America's ethnic groups lie unlimited human stories that are authentic, entertaining, and universally appealing."

Also on the press conference panel were Ronald Quartararo, Order of the Sons of Italy, Arnaldo Torres, League of United Latin American Citizens, Leonard Walentynowicz, Polish American Congress, and Jim Williams, National Urban League.

In its "Statement of Purpose," the new coalition pledged to:

1. Engage in an ongoing dialogue with mass media professionals to improve the way ethnic life is portrayed on radio and TV, and to reduce negative stereotyping. "In particular, we will attempt to educate and sensitize the media to the meaning of ethnic heritage in American society and alert them to the realities of group life today";
2. Develop a strategy for influencing the media to present fuller and more positive portrayals of our groups and organize audience support for such efforts;
3. Formulate a code of standards on the media's mistreatment of ethnic groups;
4. Stimulate research on the mass media's impact on ethnic identity and intergroup relations.

The complete text of the "Statement of Purpose" is attached.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



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*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 13....A unique forum on social and political issues that affect women has been operating in New York City for the past two years.

Known as The New York Network, and sponsored by the New York City chapter of the American Jewish Committee, its bi-monthly breakfast meetings bring together about a hundred community leaders, government officials, and corporate executives, representing a cross-section of the city's economic, cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. Although most of the participants are women, a few men who are concerned with the women's agenda turn up with some regularity.

Each meeting features one or more guest speakers, a question-and-answer period, and an information segment in which participants are free to announce meetings, projects or publications, and to request support for special activities. Most meetings also include an update on bills pending in the City Council, State Legislature, and Congress.

While the discussion topics are important, held to be of equal importance is the opportunity the Network provides for women executives in related fields to get to know each other, to exchange ideas, and to establish contacts that could result in mutually useful projects in the future.

Commenting on the value of the Network, Mimi Alperin, who formerly chaired the national AJC Committee on Women's Issues, and who has been a leading proponent of the forums since their inception, declared:

"The Network is a great source of information, but it is also much more. It is a catalyst through which women are learning that issues of concern to them cut across boundaries between black and white, Christian and Jew, young and old,

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Howard J. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

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blue collar worker and executive. We trust it will also be an instrument for change where women will learn the politics of power and the strategies for achieving it."

Among the topics that have been featured at Network meetings have been national budget cutbacks and their effect on women; reproductive freedom; the gender gap; the future of the ERA; women and the elections; the Social Security system and its implications for women; women in politics; homeless women. There have also been three meetings devoted to family issues, in which speakers have focused on today's family structures and their problems; legal issues affecting the family; and socio-economic concerns.

The roster of distinguished speakers has included Judith Avner, attorney with the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund; Carol Bellamy, President of the New York City Council; Geraldine Ferraro, Congresswoman for the 9th Congressional District, Queens, N.Y.; Marjory D. Fields, attorney for Brooklyn Legal Services; Jo Freeman, author of "Politics of Women's Liberation"; Robert Hayes, Legal Counsel to the Coalition for the Homeless; Ruth Messinger, a member of the New York City Council; Pat Reuss, Legislative Director of the Women's Equity Action League, Washington, D.C.; and Barbara Roehman, attorney and President of the New York City chapter of NOW.

The New York Network, modeled on a project of the AJC's Detroit chapter known as the Detroit Women's Forum, evolved out of a meeting, called by the Committee on Women's Issues of AJC's New York City chapter, to which leaders of organizations that were concerned about the roles and status of women were invited. The objective was to determine whether these groups could further their respective aims more effectively by working together.

Those who attended that first meeting -- 70 men and women representing a cross section of New York City organizations -- expressed interest in having an all-day conference that would examine specific strategies that could be used to achieve women's goals. That conference, titled "Strategies for Women in the 80's," was co-sponsored by the New York City Commission on the Status of Women and the American Jewish Committee.

At the end of the conference, interest was expressed in the continuation of an ongoing relationship among those who had attended, and thus the New York Network was born.

Network programs are planned by a volunteer Steering Committee chaired by Susan B. Fisher, who is also Chairperson of the Committee on Women's Issues of AJC's New York City chapter. Betty Reiser, Assistant Director of the chapter, provides staff services to the Network, implementing Steering Committee decisions, and handling all details of the meetings.

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 17.... One week before Chancellor Helmut Kohl's scheduled visit to Israel, where he is expected to discuss Germany's plan to sell high technology arms to Saudi Arabia, the American Jewish Committee has urged the German Chancellor to reconsider making such a deal with a belligerent Arab nation.

In a letter to Mr. Kohl, Howard I. Friedman, AJC's National President, declared that the sale to the Saudis would "intensify tensions in the Middle East and encourage Arab trends in the direction of war against Israel instead of toward a negotiated peace."

Chancellor Kohl, who will pay his first visit to Israel January 24-29, is expected to tell Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that the weapons he plans to sell to the Saudis are primarily "defensive," and to offer Israel equivalent access to German technology.

Mr. Friedman pointed out in his letter, however, that the weapons in question "constitute indispensable components of an integrated offensive weapons system centered around main battle tanks and designed to provide them with air defense and enhanced assault capacities."

In addition, he pointed out that "German experts will no doubt be involved in training the Saudis in the use of these weapons," and added:

"In view of the special historical circumstances, Germany should in no way lend its hand to a policy that may lead to the loss of Jewish lives and endanger the security of the Jewish State."

The full text of Mr. Friedman's letter follows:

We are dismayed and distressed by persistent reports that the Federal Republic of Germany is preparing to sell sophisticated weapons systems to Saudi Arabia. We wish to reiterate our deep concern and strong opposition to such actions, which we believe will intensify tensions in the Middle East and encourage Arab trends in the direction of war against Israel instead of toward a negotiated peace.

We hope that the Federal Republic will reconsider its reported decision in view of the following facts:

1. Saudi Arabia regards itself as a belligerent in the Arab-Israel conflict, has even proclaimed an Islamic  *Jihad*  or holy war against the Jewish State, and has given practical expression to these sentiments by providing billions of dollars to Syria, Jordan and the PLO to purchase weapons.
2. The three reported weapons systems, while ostensibly designated as "defensive," in fact constitute indispensable components of an integrated offensive weapons system centered around main battle tanks and designed to provide them with air defense and enhanced assault capabilities. The distinction between defensive and offensive is an

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

William S. Trosten, Acting Director

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel  
South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

illusiv e one. The only real distinction is in the intentions of the user. Until the Saudis unequivocally renounce war with Israel as an option, any prudent statesman must assume these weapons may be used in a renewed Arab attack against Israel.

3. German experts will no doubt be involved in training the Saudis in the use of these weapons. In view of the special historical circumstances, Germany should in no way lend its hand to a policy that may lead to the loss of Jewish lives and endanger the security of the Jewish State.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 18....Responding to a Reuters report of a "vicious anti-Semitic article" published in the Communist Party daily Pravda, the American Jewish Committee today wired Anatoly F. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, requesting a meeting between the Ambassador and top AJC leaders.

Howard I. Friedman, AJC's National President, also sent a cable to Ambassador Max Kampelman in Stockholm, Sweden, who is accompanying Secretary of State George P. Shultz at the East-West Conference on Security in Europe, asking Mr. Kampelman to discuss the article with the Secretary and with other appropriate people, and to urge the U.S. government to repudiate the charges in the article.

Mr. Friedman also issued a statement, declaring that the American Jewish Committee was "shocked and outraged over the savage and immoral attack...on the Jewish people, Judaism, and the State of Israel."

"This latest expression of verbal violence," he said, "is the culmination of a mounting Soviet campaign to demoralize and delegitimize the existence of the Jewish people and Israel. It is redolent of the worst anti-Semitism of reactionary Czarist Russia and the murderous anti-Jewish hatred unleashed on the world by Adolph Hitler and the Nazis."

Pointing out that the anti-Semitism expressed in the official Communist Party newspaper "violates the Soviet Constitution and its commitments to UN declarations that prohibit incitement to group hostility and hatred," Mr. Friedman declared that "it must be viewed as another salient aspect of current Soviet intensification of anti-Americanism and of the Soviet's global drive against democratic values and societies."

The full text of Mr. Friedman's statement follows:

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

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CSAE 1707

"The American Jewish Committee is shocked and outraged over the savage and immoral attack by the Soviet Communist newspaper, Pravda, on the Jewish people, Judaism, and the State of Israel.

"This latest expression of verbal violence is the culmination of a mounting Soviet campaign to demoralize and deligitimize the existence of the Jewish people and Israel. It is redolent of the worst anti-Semitism of reactionary Czarist Russia and the murderous anti-Jewish hatred unleashed on the world by Adolph Hitler and the Nazis.

"To understand the seriousness of this Soviet anti-Semitic campaign, it must be recalled, as historians and social psychologists have demonstrated, that physical destruction of a people is always preceded by such propaganda efforts to dehumanize those people. Verbal violence invariably leads to physical violence and destruction of human lives.

"This obscene anti-Semitism, officially orchestrated by Soviet authorities, in fact violates the Soviet Constitution and its commitments to UN Declarations that prohibit incitement to group hostility and hatred.

"It must also be viewed as another salient aspect of current Soviet intensification of anti-Americanism and the Soviet's global drive against democratic values and societies. And it must be opposed by all the moral strength of all groups committed to human rights and elemental decencies.

"In that perspective, we are today cabling Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin with a request for an immediate consultation with our leadership to discuss this threatening development."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

\* \* \* \*

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A, EJP, FOR, Z, RTV-F, ED, ED-L, N, TS, JN, ITF-W

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## WHY THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT IS FACING A CRISIS OF CREDIBILITY

Isaac C. Rottenberg

Opposition to the National and World Council of Churches from within the participating denominations is nothing new. Numerous resolutions to withdraw from those bodies have been submitted to church assemblies over the years. While those attempts were unsuccessful, knowledgeable observers are not so sure that a popular church-wide vote on the issue would in most cases produce the same result and denominational leaders have been forced to adopt measures designed to assure that church offerings cannot be diverted to support the councils except when specifically designated for that purpose.

Lately growing criticism from outside the churches has created new problems for the councils and has further contributed to the credibility crisis they are facing. How to explain these developments? To some church leaders the answer can be summed up in two words: "our enemies." The enemies are usually portrayed as right-wing persons who do not care about poor and oppressed people and whose propaganda cause has now been taken up by mass media types who, in turn, have been encouraged by the "climate of fear" which is allegedly being spread from the Reagan White House. On the other side we find people who advance an equally simple two-word formula: "Marxism/Leninism." While both positions contain elements of truth, they are hardly convincing in the form they are frequently presented.

Some church leaders have been working hard on a counter-offensive. My own denomination's Commission on Christian Unity was recently reported to have "spent considerable time creating a list of ideas for educating [the] churches on the WCC and NCC." One might wish that denominational leaders would spend equal time on finding ways to educate the WCC and NCC about their churches, how their members feel about things. The reluctance to do so is partly rooted in the fact that such confrontation is felt to be contrary to the prevailing spirit of "getting along." Going against the stream is not exactly the way to become part of the inner circle. Another reason is that some church leaders actually believe that "propaganda" lies at the root of all the problems and that what is needed more than anything else is to get the printing presses rolling in a program to "inform" and "educate" the folk in the pew.

Yet another factor at work here is the pervasive spirit of defensiveness which is taking hold of the ecumenical establishment. Denominational leaders are afraid that an open recognition that there is indeed room for criticism will give aid and comfort to "the enemies." Thus the remedy reinforces the illness.

The siege mentality which is spreading through the ecumenical movement is, indeed, a symptom of a severe sickness. The enemy list keeps on getting longer and longer, including more and more names of persons who only recently were active in the councils and considered themselves part of the loyal opposition. When dissent becomes viewed as bad faith and when criticism is automatically seen as a surrender to "the Right," the inevitable result will be a movement that is isolated from its own constituents, estranged from American society, insecure about its position and increasingly strident toward those who are perceived to be "the enemies." To see that happen to the great advocates of dialogue is a sad spectacle indeed.

I believe that we are witnessing the results of a process that predates the Reagan administration and recent Reader's Digest articles by quite a few years. It is my view that the ecumenical movement is sick because it has too often betrayed some of its own basic principles.

Church leaders like to claim that their troubles find their deepest source in their involvement with the so-called "social agenda" with its focus on "justice issues." To some extent I agree, but on a number of points I come to different interpretations of the data.

I have always believed that the Church should address social-political issues. My own model of an active faith was fashioned in a Dutch Calvinist environment during the days of Christian resistance to Nazism, when convictions could cost one very dearly and even privately expressed dissent could lead straight to the concentration camps. Addressing social-political issues does not necessarily militate against the spirit of dialogue, except when the processes within the Christian community itself become politicized. And that's precisely what has been happening with the social agenda of the NCC/WCC.

I don't mean to suggest that nice Christians never play political games. We all do and there is no reason to get terribly excited about every little campaign tactic. For instance, I can well understand that anyone who aspires to a high position in the ecumenical hierarchy must cultivate the Russian Orthodox vote in the same way that President Reagan cultivates the Hispanic vote. As a minimum that will require a few trips to Russia and saying some of the right things after return (and there are some very good things to be said about the great heritage of the Eastern Church). However, when I talk about the politicization of the processes, I am referring to something more serious, namely the slow death of dialogue and thus the cutting off of the life blood of the ecumenical enterprise.

In the early days of the ecumenical movement the battle cry was "let the Church be the Church!" Later this was replaced by the slogan "Let the world set the agenda." Well, the world did and sometimes in ways that were not originally intended. So, step by step the conciliar movement came to look like, sound like, and act like the United Nations. To see dialogue replaced at the U.N. by party-line thinking and mindless voting patterns is a tragedy, but when the same thing occurs in a movement dedicated to fellowship in Christ, it comes close to apostasy.

An institution that advertises itself as being of a distinct nature but in actual practice isn't, cannot expect to maintain its credibility for very long. When it comes to Middle East issues, for instance, organizations like the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, while motivated by religious concerns, make it clear in their very names that they do not claim anything like ecclesial status. They are open and above board about the focus of their interest. But the conciliar movement has always presented itself as a different kind of organization, namely as a fellowship in Christ, bound by biblical revelation and guided by the perspective of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. In truth, however, the NCC/WCC have repeatedly displayed a spirit of partisanship and power politics that contradicts their claims and that eventually must lead to the charge that the ecumenical ship is sailing under false colors.

During the years that I served as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the NCC's Office on Christian-Jewish Relations, the political infighting between the various offices was fierce (as is still the case today). But open personal confrontation for the purpose of honest dialogue was carefully avoided. Why? Because the interest in scoring political points by passing certain resolutions at Governing Board meetings was greater than the interest in speaking out of a common faith.

Once dialogue is weakened, all sorts of less desirable dynamics tend to become reinforced. On the "social agenda" ecumenical leaders want more than anything else to be perceived as "prophetic," as people who question conventional wisdom as well as entrenched institutions. But, as Paul Tillich never tired of pointing out, the prophetic spirit itself must be informed by the "Protestant principle" which, in turn, implies self-criticism. Prophecy without such self-criticism will in the end produce what Tillich called a "demonically distorted church."

To many church members, not to speak of people outside the churches, the ecumenical movement comes across as being extremely self-righteous. Judgmental pronouncements are hurled from on high, but there seems to be very little questioning of the councils' own entrenched positions, often virtually amounting to a new dogmatism. One is reminded of the saying, "You do it your way; I'll just keep on doing it the Lord's way." There is usually a little piety mixed in with the pride as it is implied that the ecumenical movement has but one bias: God's own bias toward the poor and the oppressed.

Thus a climate is created in which a certain brand of conventional wisdom is considered self-evident and in which the word "liberal" takes on the statist connotation of "holding a position on the Left" rather than of being moved by a spirit of free and critical inquiry and being open to the corrective impulses of new data and experiences. Thus it has come to be that the National and World Council of Churches are still enmeshed in the "New Politics" of the past decades. I am not saying that the signs of the times were in every instance misread or that the responses to the revolutionary temper of our age were ipso facto contrary to the gospel. But as one who was part of the religious establishment during the 1960's and 1970's, I would say that, in the process of trying to be "prophetic," we swallowed a good dose of ideological mush and mindless slogans and that the present mood of defensiveness is not very conducive to candid self-examination.

Blaise Pascal wrote in one of his Pensées that "few men speak humbly of humility, chastily of chastity, few doubtfully of skepticism." We might add that it is much easier to point to other people's hypocrisy than to live one's own life with integrity. Nevertheless, is it really asking too much of "prophetic" movements that they constantly take a critical look at what is preached and what is practiced and at least face up to the discrepancies with a sense of honesty, perhaps even with a bit of humor? That spirit seems to be very much lacking on the contemporary ecumenical scene.

For instance, the literature about a simple lifestyle and the slogans about solidarity with the poor and the oppressed, regularly mailed from ecclesiastical headquarters, are simply not taken very seriously by local pastors who are well aware that those admonitions come from church administrators who by and large enjoy lifestyles considerably less simple than the one forced upon them because of much lower salaries. There are radical Christians who live in fellowships like the Sojourners Community in Washington, D.C. and whose lifestyle has gained them a good deal of credibility and there are radical Christians who recite the language. Listening to some of the most revolutionary voices within the New York church bureaucracy often left me with the impression that these people expected very little change in their own neat little streets in New Jersey's affluent suburban communities once "the system" would come tumbling down, inaugurating the new age of equality.

During the early 1970's, the office of the Rev. Arie Brouwer, until recently General Secretary of the Reformed Church in America, now Associate General Secretary of the WCC and apparently eager to become the next General Secretary, regularly was the scene of high level executive discussions on the stock market. A financial advisor by the name of John Powell was present for our deliberations. Were we planning divestiture of stocks in the denominational portfolio of companies that do business with South Africa? Hardly! In good American capitalist fashion we were venturing some of our own funds in an attempt to make a profit wherever it could be found. The market decline after the Arab oil embargo in 1973 put a stop to our sessions and made us all scramble to cut our losses.

Some of my radical Christian friends would never become involved in such Mammon-like ventures. About that, of course, one can (and we do) argue. But it has always struck me as beyond dispute that clerics who quite freely embrace some of the fruits of our capitalist society ought to tone down on their rhetoric about the evils of our system. I am not advocating an uncritical stance toward flaws in our social structures, but the simple truth is that a good deal of the ecumenical negativism about the United States comes from ecclesiastics in New York and Geneva who are making a rather comfortable career out of "Third World concerns."

On the other hand, much of the talk about Marxism in the ecumenical movement seems to assume a straight-line ideological approach and to take too little account of the complex dynamics that mark all movements. I believe that the problems of the NCC/WCC must, at least to a large degree, be seen in terms of the

historical tendency of visionary movements to turn into tired bureaucratic establishments. It happens with political movements, labor movements and, unfortunately, it sometimes happens to religious movements as well.

The hundreds of reporters and observers who roamed the campus where the WCC held its 1983 Vancouver Assembly did not find themselves surrounded by delegates who first and foremost had Marxism/Leninism on their minds. Rather, they saw an immensely diverse gathering of people engaged in worship, fellowship and conversation, listening to an endless flow of speeches and reports, while occasionally being asked to vote. Of course, in the background the politics were hot and heavy. To be or not to be critical of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, that indeed was a question with profound implications, including the possible departure of the Russian Orthodox Church from the Council.

It is in the realm of background politics that power brokers always have their best chance, particularly since they exercise considerable control over the processes and thus can greatly influence the tone and the direction of the movement. One of the key players among the ecumenical inner circle during the past decade or so has been Presbyterian William P. Thompson, a bureaucrat who is strong on parliamentary legalisms and somewhat weak on humor, a person who is ever ready to temporarily surrender his chairmanship in order to assume an advocacy role and make sure that his views prevail.

Early May 1976, only two years after the NCC's Office on Christian-Jewish Relations had been established with the aid of a Lilly Endowment grant, its future was discussed during a meeting in the office of NCC General Secretary Claire Randall. The minutes of that meeting record that Mr. Thompson, then President of the National Council of Churches, explained why the budget crunch in his own denomination precluded financial support and advised the group to seriously consider closing the office. The point I want to make is that the opinions of local members count for very little once key bureaucrats have made up their minds about certain priorities. In the area of budget control that is simply a fact of bureaucratic life.

In light of such lack of commitment on the part of certain ecumenical leaders, it is hardly surprising that the Office on Christian-Jewish Relations has limped along on deficit spending and is right now operative mainly because of a grant from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. I refuse to believe that this situation reflects the preference church members would show if things depended on their vote.

When Bishop James Armstrong assumed the presidency of the NCC he seemed eager to avoid the "leadership of decline" that had marked the terms of his immediate predecessors. This is not to say that the latter are people without talent. I'm sure that they are not, but as church leaders they lacked vision and consequently were incapable of inspiring the movement or giving it direction, except down the road where ideological conflicts increasingly took the place once occupied by inter-denominational frictions.

Armstrong was apparently prepared to reintroduce some theological perspectives that had been neglected and to challenge at least some of the imbalances in positions and language that had become such predictable trademarks of ecumenical pronouncements. If I have read his intentions correctly, it is the more unfortunate that he felt compelled to resign before his efforts could have a significant impact on the organization.

Both the NCC and WCC are looking for new executive leadership. Administratively speaking those organizations are rather strange creatures. A few organizational changes might be desirable, but some of the recent attempts at denominational restructure do not give cause for great optimism on that score. Interminable and expensive bureaucratic processes usually produce little more than a reshuffling of chairs and a redefinition of titles, without bringing about a renewal of vision and fresh new approaches. Hopefully the future of the conciliar movement will hold something better than that.

What is really at stake is not the ecumenical movement in the broad sense of the movement of the Holy Spirit, nurturing mutual growth in community among Christians of many traditions. That movement hardly shows signs of decline. What is at stake is the question whether the Protestant conciliar structures will play a creative role in the continuing search for Christian unity or will themselves become a major cause of disunity and loss of dialogue.

Mr. Rottenberg, a minister of the Reformed Church in America, is the Executive Director of the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel.

Levi  
Rosen

MEMORANDUM

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 19, 1984  
**to** To the Field  
**from** David Geller  
**subject** Proposed German-Saudi Weapons Deal

As we await the outcome of the discussions in Israel between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir, we thought it would be useful for you to have information on the current status and background of the proposed arms agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Saudi Arabia.

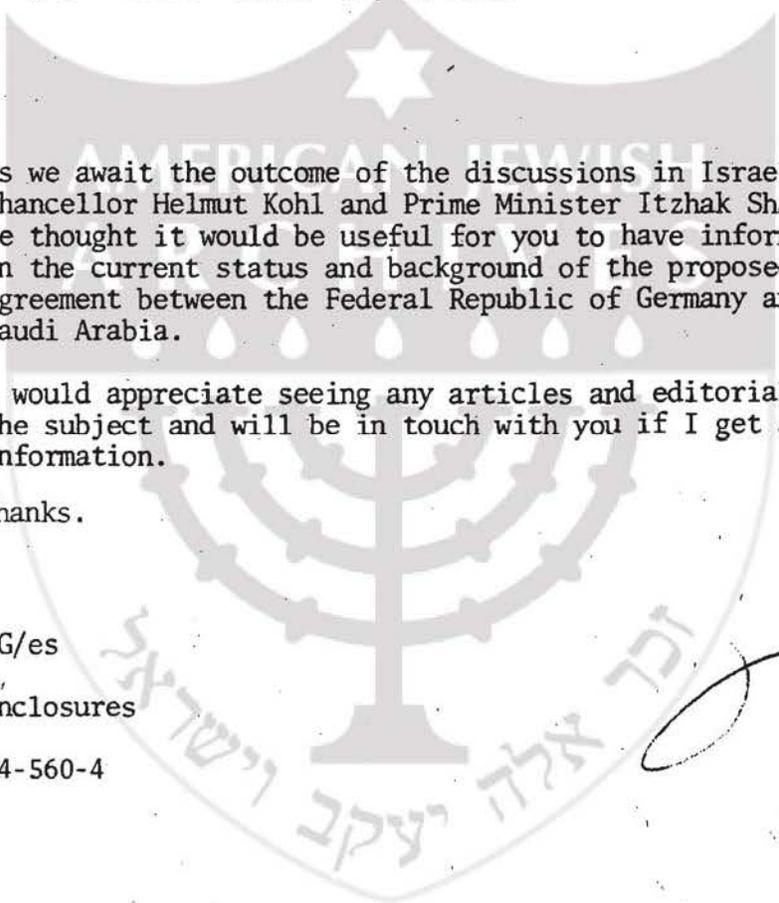
I would appreciate seeing any articles and editorials on the subject and will be in touch with you if I get additional information.

Thanks.

DG/es

Enclosures

84-560-4



PROPOSED GERMAN-SAUDI WEAPON DEAL

Backgrounder by  
David Geller  
Director, European Affairs  
International Relations Department

The report that Chancellor Kohl is seriously considering the sale of weapons to Saudi Arabia has raised understandably strong reactions in Israel and great concern among its friends. The concern has been heightened by the fact that the types of weapons that the Germans are purportedly planning to sell to the Saudis include some of the most sophisticated in the German arsenal.

The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) regarding the sales of weapons has been based on two principles: (1) that German arms sales to non-NATO countries would be restricted, and (2) that German weapons would not be sold to a country in "areas of tension." Both of these principles were recently redefined and in effect constitute new guidelines adopted. Under these guidelines the West German Government would allow arms sales to non-NATO countries where "political interests" are involved. Also, the concept of "areas of tension" has been defined more narrowly; i.e., no permit would be granted "when the international situation of the buyer-country" does not permit a sale; when a sale would "heighten existing tensions;" and when "there is danger of an armed conflict." There must also be "adequate security" that German weapons will not be resold to ineligible third world countries.

The above mentioned changes are designed to make easier the implementation of a reported arms sale agreement with Saudi Arabia. Such a sale would be the first time that the Federal Republic has made an arms sale commitment outside of the NATO alliance. The Government claims that it is following up on a commitment made to the Saudis by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and, notwithstanding Schmidt's denial, they intend to proceed.

Opposition to such sales in Germany is very strong. It comes from; (a) those who feel that given the "special relationship" that exists between the Germans and the Jews, it is unthinkable that German weapons would be used to kill Jews; (b) those, especially in the Green Party and Social Democratic Party, who oppose the sale because they believe it would eventually lead to a counter-balancing sale of weapons to Israel. In other words, they are opposed to German weapons being used by Israel to fight against the Arabs; (c) there is a smaller group which is opposed in principle to West Germany becoming a major arms supplier in the world.

The relationship between the West German Government and Saudi Arabia is a fairly recent development and based primarily on the fact that until 1983 Saudi Arabia was Germany's foremost oil supplier. In 1981 almost 30% of its imported oil came from Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, the Saudis have become the largest trading partner of the West Germans outside the West. Most importantly, during the recent economic troubles in West Germany, Riyadh became Bonn's leading foreign creditor. Between 1980 and 1982 it lent the FRG 23 billion DM.

In 1981 it was reported that total German exports to all parts of the world rose by 10.8% whereas to the Arab countries exports rose by 43.6%, with Saudi Arabian purchases totaling 4 billion DM. A Saudi-German Joint Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation was set up in August of 1975 comprised of high level representatives of government and industry. In October 1983 it was reported that 55 joint ventures are now in operation. German companies have set up training centers in Saudi Arabia as well as in the FRG.

It has been reported that the weapons deal centers on three types of weapons. They are: (1) "Roland II" surface to air command missiles: a mobile missile system mounted on a wheeled vehicle with high maneuverability in difficult terrain; (2) "Gepard": a mobile anti-aircraft cannon system installed on Leopard I tracked carrying vehicle; (3) "Marder": armed personnel carrier. A modern combat vehicle for infantry capable of carrying ten soldiers.

Based on reports from Jane's Weapons Systems, it is clear that all three weapons constitute indispensable components of an integrated offensive weapon system centered around main battle tanks and designed to provide them with air defense and enhanced assault capabilities. Their designation as "defensive" weapons is correct only in the narrowest technical sense. In actual combat, their role is even more offensive on the ground than is that of the AWACS in the air.

Accordingly, notwithstanding the German claim that these weapons are defensive, military experts point out that they can be used offensively as well. It has also been alleged that as a "moderate" country Saudi Arabia must be armed adequately so that it can maintain internal strength. It is obvious, however, that anti-aircraft weapons and surface-to-air missiles are not the kinds of weapons that are used primarily for internal defensive purposes. Furthermore, the technology involved in this weaponry is highly sophisticated and complex and would require the stationing of German advisors to train the Saudis. This situation would be made even more grievous by the fact that nothing would preclude the Saudis from inviting military representatives of other Arab countries to participate in these training exercises.

In defending their decision to negotiate an arms deal with Saudi Arabia, German government officials have stressed that they do not consider Saudi Arabia a country fitting their definition of one contributing to tension. Yet the Saudi Arabian Government has proclaimed a holy war of Islam (jihad) against Israel and has called for all "true believers" to play their part in a common united struggle against Israel. The Saudis have opposed the Lebanese-Israeli Agreement of May 17, 1983, because it would bring about a measure of normalization of Lebanese-Israeli relations. It should also be remembered that Saudi Arabia has joined directly or indirectly in every Arab war waged against Israel's exist-

tence since 1948, and has financed military supplies to Arab states engaged in wars against Israel, as well as to PLO terrorist organizations. Contrary to the FRG government guidelines, the proposed sale would indeed "heighten existing tensions." Past experience shows that it is illusory to believe that "adequate security" can be maintained precluding transfer of the weapons to other Arab countries.

Finally, putting German weapons into the hands of those sworn to kill Jews would be an insult to the memory of those who died in the Holocaust as well as to the survivors of that crime. It would also undermine the efforts of those in West Germany who have attempted to educate a new generation in the spirit of democracy, concern for human rights and German-Jewish reconciliation.

(Attached is the text of the letter sent by AJC President Howard I. Friedman to Chancellor Helmut Kohl.)

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# The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 16, 1984

His Excellency Mr. Helmut Kohl  
Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany  
Adenauer-Allee 139  
5300 Bonn 1  
Federal Republic of Germany

Dear Mr. Federal Chancellor:

We are dismayed and distressed by persistent reports that the Federal Republic of Germany is preparing to sell sophisticated weapons systems to Saudi Arabia. We wish to reiterate our deep concern and strong opposition to such actions, which we believe will intensify tensions in the Middle East and encourage Arab trends in the direction of war against Israel instead of toward a negotiated peace.

We hope that the Federal Republic will reconsider its reported decision in view of the following facts:

1. Saudi Arabia regards itself as a belligerent in the Arab-Israel conflict, has even proclaimed an Islamic  Jihad  or holy war against the Jewish State, and has given practical expression to these sentiments by providing billions of dollars to Syria, Jordan and the PLO to purchase weapons.
2. The three reported weapons systems, while ostensibly designated as "defensive," in fact constitute indispensable components of an integrated offensive weapons system centered around main battle tanks and designed to provide them with air defense and enhanced assault capabilities. The distinction between defensive and offensive is an illusive one. The only real distinction is in the intentions of the user. Until the Saudis unequivocally renounce war with Israel as an option, any prudent statesman must assume these weapons may be used in a renewed Arab attack against Israel.
3. German experts will no doubt be involved in training the Saudis in the use of these weapons.

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DAVID F. SQUIRE, Boston ■

His Excellency Mr. Helmut Kohl

-2-

January 16, 1984

In view of the special historical circumstances, Germany should in no way lend its hand to a policy that may lead to the loss of Jewish lives and endanger the security of the Jewish State.

Respectfully yours,

Howard I. Friedman  
President



HIF:jg

## FOCUS ON ISSUES GERMAN-ARAB RELATIONS

By Arno Herzberg

BONN, Jan. 9 (JTA) -- At the end of January, Chancellor Helmut Kohl is scheduled to visit Israel. He intended to go there last October as the first stop on a swing through the Middle East. But Menachem Begin's illness and his resignation as Premier made it necessary for Kohl to postpone his visit to the Jewish State.

In the meantime, relations between the two countries have deteriorated. After years of hesitating to deliver arms to "areas of tension," West Germany has embarked on a selling spree to Arab countries. Germany wants to sell sophisticated military hardware long sought by Israel's enemies. The lure of the petrodollar is, after all, too great to pass up.

There is a change going on in Germany. Official policy is moving away from the "special relationship" to Israel that was an outgrowth of the past. In the wake of a new approach to war and peace, and as a matter of self-assertion, the past might be forgotten. Germany wants to be free to deal with the Middle East conflict in its own way.

When Kohl visited Arab countries last October he went in search of orders for military hardware. When he returned, not much was said publicly about the success or failure of his quest. But soon after, high-ranking delegations from Arab countries came here to look at the material Germany had to offer and a few weeks ago it was officially confirmed in the Bundestag that Bonn will sell arms to Saudi Arabia in the near future.

### The Role Of The German-Arab Society

The man who confirmed this was Deputy Foreign Minister Juergen Moellemann. In his "private" life he is the president of the German-Arab Society. Some time ago he accepted this "honor" with the approval of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. "I am a politician who is especially interested in the problems of the Arab region," Moellemann explained. Actually, he is the head of a powerful pro-Arab lobby which has infiltrated the German government and is hard at work to change public opinion about the Arabs and Israel.

There is nothing new about a lobby representing the Arab cause. What makes the German-Arab Society so special is that officials participating in formulating the nation's policies are, at the same time, active participants in the Society's lobbying efforts.

After it was founded in 1965, the German-Arab Society was fairly inactive. This changed with the Arab oil embargo following the Yom Kippur War, with the spread of petrodollars and with the changed political climate in the Middle East.

Presently, the Society is the center of Arab propaganda in Germany. Its influence has grown in spite of the fact that it does not have more than 750 members. Included in the membership are 200 powerful corporations, prominent politicians and civil service bureaucrats. The Arabs supply the money, if necessary, to keep the machinery of the organization running smoothly.

### 'A Faithful Partner Of The Arabs'

It is no secret that the Arab League and several Arab embassies support the Society. This organization is, as an article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung recently called it, "a faithful partner of the Arabs."

During the war in Lebanon, the Society gained national publicity when it obtained the names of 150 German politicians, scientists, theologians and journalists on a petition demanding that Israel unconditionally get out of Lebanon. The Society is also active in trying to open markets for German industry in Arab countries and cement German-Arab political bonds.

Since 1980, Arab lobbyists in Germany have tried to persuade policymakers to sell arms to Arabs. At the time, the British newspaper, Observer, reported about Germany's negotiations with Libya, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria. It disclosed the vital role a German company by the name of Magirus-Deutz played in the Yom Kippur War.

This company devised a method to breach the fortifications and barriers erected on the Israeli side of the Suez Canal. It manufactured a water cannon which was delivered to Egypt one week before the outbreak of the war. The firm's engineers supervised the training of Egyptians in the use of the water cannon. Paraphrasing, it is interesting to note that Magirus-Deutz refused to do business with Israel.

### A Distinction Without A Difference

Israel is very well aware of the turn in German policy, despite efforts by politicians such as Moellemann to minimize the seriousness of the situation. He told the Parliament recently that the sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia will not affect Israel's security. Other pro-Arab apologists, in what has become a game of terminology, seek to distinguish between "offensive" and "defensive" weapons. Israel has rejected this distinction without a difference.

Premier Yitzhak Shamir instructed Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir to summon the German Ambassador and to deliver a stiff complaint about the intended arms sale to Arab countries. Kohl will have a lot of explaining to do when he meets with Israeli officials in Jerusalem.

Israel's position on the arms sale is not new. Last August, Begin told German officials that Germany has no moral right to sell arms to Arabs. At that time it was reported that Saudi Arabia wanted to buy 300 German Leopard tanks which rate as about the best in the world and which would give Saudi Arabia a definite technological advantage over Israeli armor.

Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia started some adroit maneuvering behind the scenes. If they cannot buy the tank outright, they might as well buy the company that manufactures the tanks. The Saudis have sought to acquire 24 percent of the shares of Rheinmetall A.G. Such an acquisition would give them a formidable voice in company affairs, a veto over sales, and a political foothold of major proportions on a world scale.

Frequently, a look behind the scenes reveals a great deal about ongoing and changing policies. It helps to explain the continuing and constant extension of the Arab-Israeli conflict involving more and more governments. It also points to the harsh reality that government policies are not permanent but really quite ephemeral. So, too, Germany's "special relationship" to Israel cannot withstand the factor of time and what Germany sees as more urgent and imperative realities.

January 22, 1984

GERMANY'S ARMS SALES TO SAUDI ARABIA

IS MORALLY UNBEARABLE

COMMENTARY

DR. MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The proposed sale of major weapons systems by the West German government to Saudi Arabia has triggered off the deepest feelings of resentment throughout the Jewish community, and, undoubtedly, among other people.

Jewish leaders are not pacifist. They recognize the urgent need of maintaining strong military defenses against the expansionism in the Middle East and in other threatened parts of the world.

But the symbolism of Germany and Saudi Arabia forming a military partnership to pile up the most lethal weapons of destruction on the near-by borders of Israel is morally and emotionally unbearable to contemplate.

I am not anti-German. I do not hold the post-World War II generation of Germans collectively guilty for the Nazi slaughter of six million Jews. With my colleagues at the American Jewish Committee, I have worked for more than a decade to help strengthen a new democratic Germany. Therefore, I am not interested in German guilt, but in German moral responsibility.

This action of providing an offensive weapons system to Saudi Arabia is an act of moral callousness and regression. Does not Germany know what everyone else seems to know -- that Saudi Arabia has declared a  Jihad , "a holy war," to destroy Israel? That Saudi Arabia provides billions of petrodollars to support Syria's militarism and the PLO's terrorism against Jews? Can the new Germany really live with the fact that they could be making it possible for Saudi Arabia to try to destroy the Jews of Israel?

There is still time for the New Germany to turn away from the path of the Old Germany.

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\*Dr. Tanenbaum is director of the international relations department of the American Jewish Committee.

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# The Week in Germany



Federal Republic of Germany

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### BONN PINS HOPES FOR DETENTE ON STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

The Federal Government supports sending the Soviets a strong signal of the West's willingness to negotiate arms reductions, when the Conference on Confidence-Building and Disarmament in Europe convenes in Stockholm Tuesday (January 17). In Bonn's view, according to Foreign Office sources, Stockholm is no substitute for Geneva, where medium-range missile reduction talks between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. ended in stalemate last year, but the Government hopes the conference will promote a renewal of detente and be a first step toward a resumption of disarmament talks. The Stockholm conference, expected to last two and a half years, will deal initially with such matters as advance notice of maneuvers and measures to make troop movements comprehensible to the other side. While praising Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher for playing a decisive role in bringing about the Stockholm conference, the Social Democratic Opposition's foreign policy expert Karsten Voigt said the Government's "expedient optimism" cannot conceal the current impasse in East-West relations and a foreign policy characterized by "miscalculation and desperation." The Government must make a new beginning at Stockholm, said Voigt, and it can count on SPD support for such an effort. Jo Leinen, a West German representative of the International Peace Movement, told the press in Bonn Wednesday (January 11) that the Movement would like to have official observers present in Stockholm with the right to address the conference. The movement's aims include the establishment of nuclear weapons-free zones in Europe, a freeze on the development and deployment of atomic weapons, and an agreement renouncing the use of force.

### GLOBAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS IS BONN OBJECTIVE

Federal Government Spokesman Jürgen Sudhoff stated Wednesday (January 11) that Bonn would look very carefully at recent Soviet proposals for a ban on of chemical weapons in Europe, and would discuss them with its NATO partners. However, Sudhoff stressed Bonn's longstanding support of a global moratorium on the development, production and storage of chemical weapons, and questioned whether regionalization was a proper approach to the issue. Minister of State in the Foreign Office Alois Mertes said that Bonn is ready to respond positively to the Soviet proposals, should study of them reveal new elements which would advance the urgent goal of a verifiable worldwide ban on chemical weapons. -- Egon Bahr, the Social Democratic Opposition's expert on disarmament, said Thursday (January 12) that the failure up until now of efforts to achieve the worldwide elimination of such weapons should not serve as a pretext for impeding progress at the European level. Such progress, according to Bahr, would improve chances for a global treaty.

## STOCKHOLM AND STUTTGART ARE THEMES AT FDP CONVENTION

The West has not thrown away the chance for arms reduction by deploying medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, Free Democratic Party Parliamentary Leader Wolfgang Mischnick told delegates at the FDP's traditional Epiphany convention in Baden-Württemberg. Speaking for national Party Chairman and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who is recovering from an auto accident, Mischnick reminded those inclined to be overly optimistic that it will be harder to dismantle missiles already deployed than it would have been to avoid stationing them in the first place. However, he also stressed the new opportunity offered for progress on this issue by the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building and Disarmament in Europe, which begins January 17. Looking back on 1983, a year in which national elections reduced FDP mandates in Parliament from 54 to 35, Mischnick said that the party had passed its survival test and would remain a factor in national politics. Mischnick identified the struggle against unemployment as the decisive social and economic issue of the 80s, yet spoke against what he termed unreasonable position on wages, specifically union demands for a reduction of the work week from 40 to 35 hours without any reduction in earnings.

## FUNCKE: INTEGRATION OF OLDER CHILDREN POSSIBLE

The Federal Commissioner on Resident Foreigners, Liselotte Funcke (FDP), has rejected a proposal by the CDU/CSU parliamentary group that would deny resident status to guest workers' children when they become legal adults at age 18 unless they have lived in the country since age six or younger. Current law grants foreign residents' children under 16 permanent residency. The Union Parties' proposal was a modification of earlier suggestions, made by Minister of the Interior Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU), which would have lowered to six the age limit for children foreign residents could bring into the country, a restriction aimed at improving the chances for integration. Funcke maintains there are numerous cases of linguistic and educational integration of foreign children who came to Germany at a later age. She proposed instead granting permanent residence to children entering the country at 13 or older only if they demonstrate proficiency in German, have attended school regularly, and are willing to participate in job training.

## GENERAL DISMISSED AMID CONTROVERSY

Bundeswehr General Günter Kiessling, 58, one of the country's three highest ranking military men and a Deputy Supreme Commander at NATO headquarters in Europe, was sent into early retirement shortly after Christmas by Minister of Defense Manfred Wörner. In a television interview Wednesday (January 11), Wörner asserted that Kiessling had become a national security risk, but refused to give further details. The Ministry of Defense has withheld comment on alleged military intelligence reports that the four-star general is homosexual and therefore a potential target for blackmail. In newspaper interviews over the weekend, Kiessling emphatically denied the allegations, saying that he had never been involved in homosexual relationships in his life and that falsified documents or mistaken identities may lie at the root of the controversy. -- Defense Minister Wörner denied that NATO Supreme Commander Bernard Rogers is in any way involved in the Kiessling affair. Former defense minister Hans Apel (SPD) claims Rogers is against having a West German deputy and has been trying to do away with the position for some time.

## GREENS DIVIDED OVER COOPERATION WITH SPD IN HESSE

The national executive committee of the ecological-pacifist Green Party has rejected tentative results reached after more than two months of negotiations between the Greens' regional organization in Hesse and Social Democratic Prime Minister Holger Börner's minority-led state government. According to Green spokesman Michael Schroeren in Bonn, the national consensus of the Party is that its ecological positions are not being adequately accommodated by Börner. Nevertheless Greens in Hesse expect the party's state convention on January 14-15 to ratify cooperation with the SPD in Wiesbaden. Börner and Green Party members of the state parliament say they still have further negotiations ahead but are agreed on important points in state energy and environmental policies problems concerning career training, and women's issues.

THE ECONOMIC ACCOUNT . . .

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*On Thursday, January 12, the U.S. dollar's  
official rate in Frankfurt was DM 2.8375.*

DOLLAR PROLONGS DRAMATIC RISE

The advance of the dollar against the D-mark and most other European currencies set new long-time records in the week under review. At the Frankfurt noon fixing on Friday, January 6, the DM 2.80 level was exceeded for the first time in ten years and the rate remained above that figure during the following days. On Thursday, January 12, it climbed to DM 2.8375 and some trades were effected at DM 2.8450, in spite of heavy dollar sales by the Bundesbank. The U.S. currency had thus advanced more than 10 Pfennig in the first few days of 1984 and some 50 Pfennig -- 21 percent -- in one year.

STRONG DOLLAR STIRS CONCERN

The steady rise of the U.S. dollar against the D-Mark is causing concern in many quarters and has prompted suggestions by some that protective measures be taken. The head of the National Association of Chambers of Commerce, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, in a radio interview Wednesday (January 11) expressed apprehension that rises in import prices and interest rates resulting from the dollar's advance would cancel out the advantages gained through more competitive export prices. Spokesmen for the opposition Social Democratic Party recently called for a decoupling of West European currencies from the dollar, including a possible tax on capital transfers. Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg spoke out against such a decoupling, arguing that the free movement of capital is highly beneficial to the country's economy. Economics Minister Otto Count Lambsdorff also condemned any such interference, but appealed to Washington for greater efforts to curb American interest rates. Bundesbank President Karl Otto Pöhl pointed to efforts already undertaken to restrain interest rates from following American rates upward.

STOLTENBERG ASKS PRIORITY FOR BUDGET REHABILITATION

Cutting income taxes and easing the financial burden on families are important tasks for the Government, says Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg in an article for the CDU's party news service. Yet so far-reaching a reform would necessarily bring heavy revenue losses, he maintains and at the present time first priority must go to budgetary rehabilitation and stability, in order to restore sound public finances. Speaking on the country's economic situation to an audience in Kiel (Schleswig-Holstein), Stoltenberg said that advances last year had clearly surpassed expectations and that the improvement, to judge by current indicators, would be more than a short-lived one. Government policy, he said, must allow the economy to regain its adaptability and dynamism.

LAMBSDORFF, IN INDIA, TALKS TRADE AND INVESTMENT

During an extended visit to India (January 3-9), his fourth in six years, Bonn Minister of Economics Otto Count Lambsdorff conferred with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and key economic officials. On the basis of these talks, he looks for an expansion of bilateral trade and possibly for a stepping up of German direct investment. One major possibility mentioned by the Minister is a contract for the modernization and overhaul of the Rourkela steel works, built twenty years ago with German assistance. In an address to the German-Indian Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, he came out for further measures to facilitate the access of third-world goods to European markets, through accelerated tariff cuts and preferential duties. Lambsdorff criticized, as subtle protectionism, the "voluntary restraint agreements" currently in vogue to restrict shipment of popular products from developing countries and voiced strong opposition to current deliberations within the European Community over a possible "technology tariff" designed to protect the development of high-tech industries in EC countries.

## THE STOCK MARKET: A VERY GOOD YEAR

Never before have the eight stock exchanges in the Federal Republic experienced a year with business as active or as profitable as in 1983. A fresh rally at the outset of January 1984 reinforced confidence which had been building earlier. Every market index reached new highs toward the end of the year and then managed to surpass them on 1984's first trading day. The F.A.Z. Index, compiled by the business-oriented "Frankfurter Allgemeine" daily, which established it 25 years ago with a representative selection of stocks valued at 100, started 1983 just below 260, dipped to the year's low of 242 toward the end of January, then climbed to 352 by the end of the year and reached 357 on the first trading day of 1984. This represented an advance of more than 37 percent for the year, and of 47 percent over the year's low. The Commerzbank Index, on a 1953 = 100 basis, rose from a low of 728 to 1044.

## RETAIL SPOKESMAN LOOKS FOR HIGHER 1984 VOLUME

After an interval of stagnation, retail sales began to expand in real terms last year and further improvement is on its way, said Fritz Conzen, head of the Retail Trade Association, at a Frankfurt press conference. Conzen predicts that real consumer spending will rise 1.5 percent in 1984, for an estimated retail sales volume increase of 0.5 to 1 percent after inflation. Some merchandise and specialty lines, however, must still regain ground lost during the recession, said Conzen.

## STEEL PRODUCTION AT 17-YEAR LOW

The 39.3 million short tons (35.7 million metric tons) of crude steel turned out in 1983 by steel mills in the Federal Republic constitute only a 0.4 percent year-to-year dip but represent the lowest output level since 1966. In compiling the figures, the Federal Bureau of Statistics notes that in 1974, the best steel year to date, crude steel production reached 58.6 million short tons, higher by half than last year.

## MORE NEW BUSINESS START-UPS

The 36,000 offices, businesses, shops and factories newly entered into the official Commercial Register last year constituted a 5 percent increase over 1982, according to the magazine "Die Geschäftsidee" (Business Idea). No more than one new establishment out of four, however, qualifies for a listing in the Register, and although no precise statistics are available, observers have reported signs that the incipient economic recovery has brought a surge of new openings.

## AFTER SLOW YEARS, 1983 AIR TRAFFIC MARKED BY NEW MOMENTUM

The country's eleven international airports accommodated 48 million passengers last year, an increase from 1982 of 1.2 million or 2.5 percent. Also handled were 2 percent more airmail and 6.5 percent more cargo. These gains, though modest, constitute a turnaround after three years of declining figures. The Stuttgart-based Working Group of the German International Airports compiled the statistics, using projected figures for December 1983, and expects the upward movement to continue. The group's Executive Director Hans Achtnich deplored what he perceives as foot-dragging in authorizing expansion of the Frankfurt, Düsseldorf and Munich airports, citing what he called the world's strictest environmental regulations.

## RAISED CHAMPAGNE GLASSES CATCHING UP WITH RAISED PRICES

Domestic as well as some imported champagne is regaining the popularity it enjoyed until a couple of years ago, before authorities boosted the special excise tax levied on the bubbly beverage. Third-quarter sales in 1983 were sufficient to offset losses sustained earlier in the year, according to industry spokesmen, who predict the year's total will exceed the 1982 figure of 250 million bottles and may even approach the record high of 272 million bottles, reached in 1981. Precise statistics are still lacking for Christmas and New Year's purchases.

ROUNDUP . . .

PARENTS' GROUP SEES "EMOTIONAL MALNUTRITION" AS ACADEMIC DANGER

The National Parents' Advisory Board has voiced concern that schools which strive exclusively for intellectual excellence may be subjecting their pupils to a kind of "emotional malnutrition" in the process. Virtues such as endurance, the ability to work well with others, responsibility and thoughtfulness must be integrated into the goals of an academic education, the Board believes. Accomplishments in the emotional sphere should be given acknowledgement commensurate with their importance for the development of the individual and the social environment, say Board members. However, the Advisory Board "strictly rejects" grading in this area. It maintains that pedagogic influence in the emotional sphere instead demands long-term teacher-pupil relationships and close parent-teacher cooperation, which must also include the student to the degree his or her maturity permits.

HAITZINGER, SZEP AWARDED NAST MEDAL AND WINE TO HELP CELEBRATE

Munich caricaturist Horst Haitzinger and two-time Pulitzer Prize-winning political cartoonist Paul Szep of the Boston Globe have been announced as the winners of the 1983 German-American Caricature Contest sponsored by the Thomas Nast Foundation in Landau (Rhineland-Palatinate). Both artists will receive the Nast Medal, which comes with a DM 1,500 stipend, plus a periodic "wine allowance" from the region's wineries. Participating in the contest, which was held in memory of Thomas Nast, a native son of Landau and the father of American caricature, were 56 artists from both countries who together submitted approximately 500 political cartoons. The contest jury which selected Haitzinger and Szep said that their caricatures, like Nast's, could be described as "editorials in pen and ink."

MARRIAGE LAW REFORM RE-FORMS FORMS

State forms in North Rhine-Westphalia were redesigned this year to include a line on which men, too, can "type or print only" their maiden names, a bureaucratic by-product of matrimony which heretofore only applied to women. State Minister of the Interior Herbert Schnoor (né Schnoor) says the new forms are designed to accommodate recent reforms in the marriage law which make it legal for a couple to choose either spouse's surname for their family's common last name.

MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES FIND RENT INCREASES HARD TO SWALLOW

In 1983, a year in which renters' rights were loosened, the number of residents who couldn't pay their rent rose by 20-40 percent, in the nation's major cities, according to the Tenants' Association. In Munich alone over 900 received eviction notices after failing to pay overdue rent. The Tenants' Association blames this state of affairs on a nationwide 5.3 percent average rent increase in 1983 and on the double-digit hikes not uncommon in the larger metropolitan areas: In contrast, overall living costs rose only 2.9 percent during the same period. The Federation of Real Estate Owners maintains these statistics paint a picture that is worse than the actual situation. About 40 percent of the total cost of renting, they say, now consists of energy, utility and administrative expenses, which since 1976 have risen 70 percent as compared to 34 percent for the actual rent itself. The 1983 rent increases, they contend, remained within bounds, and a new trend toward smaller increases is expected to continue into 1984. The Tenants' Association argues that the moderation of increases is due to the fact that a limit has been reached beyond which middle-income families would no longer be able to afford their rent. Both renters' and owners' groups agree that the developments in housing costs have resulted in a paradoxical situation in which thousands who have been forced to move by higher rents are looking for new apartments at lower rates, while several thousand dwelling units stand empty.

#### DIVORCE RATE LOWER FOR INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGES

Statistically, a marriage in which one partner is of foreign nationality has better chances for survival than a marriage between two Germans, according to figures published by a Paderborn-based interest group for the wives of foreigners. Currently, 27.5 percent of all marriages in the Federal Republic end in divorce, according to the group's calculations, while only about 19 percent of marriages between Germans and foreigners end up on the rocks. The chairwoman of the interest group, Rosie Wolf-Alanasreh, says that in the last 30 years, 400,000 German women tied the knot with husbands of other nationalities while 200,000 men took foreign brides.

#### S-BAHN SMUGGLERS TARGET OF MOBILE CUSTOMS PATROLS

Customs patrols working the S-Bahn, Berlin's urban rail system that connects the eastern and western parts of the divided city, netted more than four and a half million cigarettes and almost 21,000 bottles of liquor in 1983. The mobile units foiled 26,000 smuggling attempts by West-Berliners and collected DM 450,000 in unpaid duty, customs officials reported.

#### PAPRIKA KEEPS BERLIN FLAMINGOS IN THE PINK

Aviculturists at the Berlin Zoological Gardens have discovered a simple yet effective means of keeping the feathers of their resident flamingos a plush pink. Because the large quantities of small crustaceans which make up the tropical birds' diet in the wild and are responsible for their rosy hue cannot be supplied in Berlin's northern climes, the coloring of the flamingos at the zoo paled over the years, according to their keepers. The remedy: Hungarian paprika, which is added to the birds' diet of grain, algae meal, chicken mash, dried prawns and white bread. The flamingos, whose sense of taste does not register hot, spicy foods, haven't noticed any difference, according to impeccable sources, but since their last molting they have regained their accustomed pink tint.

#### ANIMAL LOVERS TAKE THEIR BEEF TO THE STREETS

On Tuesday (January 10), members of a group calling itself the Friends of Animals and People went on trial for arson in connection with a fire in an experimental university laboratory in West Berlin. The "Friends" are one of many newly emerging militant groups of animal lovers with names like "The Animal Liberation Front," "League of Animal Rights," and "Autonomous Protectors of Animals," whose activities include chaining themselves to the gates of large pharmaceutical firms, storming animal laboratories, destroying scientific equipment, and freeing frogs and rabbits slated to be injected with chemicals or dissected for science. Between seven and 14 million animals are used every year in the Federal Republic to try out new surgical techniques, medicines, and products as varied as cosmetics, laundry soap and seat belts, as well as to test the effects of pesticides, chemical weapons and radiation. Animal lovers are demanding a constitutional amendment to guarantee animals the "right to life" as "living creatures."

Even though 90 percent of all research is done on rats and mice, which, according to a 1981 survey, are considered "lower life forms" by 85 percent of the population, thousands of citizens have sent letters of protest to Federal Research Minister Heinrich Riesenhuber, and a million signatures have been collected on petitions demanding an end to experiments on animals. Recently, Riesenhuber announced that biomedical research in the country was already concentrating increasingly on methods using cell cultures as a substitute for live animals. Last summer, Bonn initiated a resolution passed by the European Community Council of Ministers which, according to the Federal Ministry of Health, could reduce the number of animals used in EC countries to test drugs by up to 75 percent.

**FORMER U.S. ENVOY TO SAUDI ARABIA  
SAYS USSR HAS TOLD THE U.S. IT WILL  
CONTINUE TO SUPPLY ARMS TO SYRIA**

BRUSSELS, Jan. 17 (JTA) — A former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia said here that the Soviet Union has informed the Reagan Administration that it intends to maintain its presence in the Middle East and will continue to supply arms and support to Syria "in an unlimited way" to further that objective.

According to Robert Neumann, an American expert on the Middle East, "The Soviets would not hesitate to escalate the conflict (in Lebanon) if there was a threat against Syria. Moscow is determined to remain in the area and will not allow itself to be excluded."

Neumann made his remarks at an international conference on the future of NATO and global security organized in Brussels by the Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies. The session last Saturday was chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Neumann maintained that the multinational force presently in Beirut faces a "growing crisis" that is likely to reach a climax in the next 2-3 months. He urged the withdrawal of the U.S. marines as well as the French, Italian and British contingents of the MNF from Lebanon. The Lebanese authorities, he said, must institute political reforms.

"The United States must withdraw the marines ... or will be forced by domestic pressures to withdraw as the failure of American policy become more dramatic," Neumann declared. He suggested that the Europeans could have an important, positive impact on the Palestine Liberation Organization and might encourage and facilitate a larger role for Egypt in the peace process.

**U.S. SEES RECONVENING OF JORDAN'S  
PARLIAMENT A STEP TOWARD RENEWAL  
OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS**

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 (JTA) — The Reagan Administration indicated today that it sees the reconvening of the Jordanian Parliament by King Hussein yesterday as a step toward renewal of Middle East peace talks.

"The best way to give new impetus to the peace process would be for the early entry of Jordan into negotiations with Israel," State Department deputy spokesman Alan Romberg said. "We support King Hussein's efforts to create the conditions necessary for him to enter the peace talks with Israel." Romberg said the U.S. understands that among those conditions the King feels are necessary are backing from the Palestinians and other Arab states.

Hussein, in addressing the Parliament which he reconvened for the first time in 10 years, appealed to the "free and legitimate" Palestine Liberation Organization to work with him to seek "a practical formula that will enable us to perform our duty toward Jerusalem, Palestine and its people." By "free and legitimate", Hussein apparently was referring to the PLO headed by Yasir Arafat and not the Syrian-backed anti-Arafat group.

Romberg sidestepped questions as to whether Israel would join the talks since it opposed President Reagan's September 1, 1982 peace initiative. "I'm not going to try to speak for Israel," he said. "The next step is essentially for King Hussein to obtain the support he needs."

Romberg reiterated the U.S. position that it does not expect all of the parties who enter the talks to support the Reagan initiative. He stressed that the talks would be held under the framework set up by the Camp David agreements.

Romberg said the U.S. will enter the talks with the belief that the Reagan initiative offers the best solution. "If others come to the table with other positions, fine," he said. "The point is to go back and talk."

**REPORT SHOWS THAT SOME 10  
PERCENT OF ISRAEL'S POPULATION  
LIVE BELOW THE POVERTY LINE**

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Jan. 17 (JTA) — Israelis, facing an economic crisis and in the throes of spreading labor unrest, were shocked to learn that some 10 percent of the population presently live below the poverty line.

According to figures released yesterday by the National Insurance Institute (NII), 500,000 people live on a monthly income of under 14,000 Shekels (about \$140). This is only 20 percent of the average salary and defines the poverty line. About 300,000 of these people belong to the families of pensionaires but the rest are members of families of salaried workers.

The NII figures showed that the number of poverty families with four or more children tripled between 1977-1982. There was also a sharp rise in the number of single-parent families which fell below the poverty line in the same period.

Danny Azriel, Director General of the NII, said today that the erosion of child care allowances and the failure to readjust tax brackets to inflation were the main causes of spreading poverty. He called for a reform of the welfare system. Minister of Labor and Welfare Aharon Uzan was said to be ready to bring the problem before the Cabinet and demand urgent measures to reverse the trend.

**Navon Blasts The Likud Government**

But former President Yitzhak Navon blasted the Likud government for allowing the poverty situation to develop. In an interview published in Haaretz today, Navon said that if the NII's figures are correct "this is not the poverty line but the red line. It is hard to believe that the leaders of the economy have brought our society to such a low level without having foreseen it and without having taken preventive measures," Navon said.

He warned that "this situation will have grave psychological and social consequences" and accused the government of having misled the populace. "They created a fool's paradise until they woke up. The main victims are the children and this is unacceptable," Navon declared.

Adding to the bad news today was the paralysis of all public services, including radio and television broadcasts, as tens of thousands of government workers staged a warning strike in support of wage increases

to make up for the erosion of their incomes by inflation. All government offices remained closed. The strike was triggered by the collapse of negotiations between Histadrut and the government over higher wages.

#### 20 Municipal Authorities Have Financial Crisis

Meanwhile, a Knesset committee was warned today that about 20 local municipal authorities face a financial crisis and will have to be bailed out by the government.

Chaim Kubersky, Director General of the Interior Ministry, told the MKs that the financial difficulties were largely unavoidable, but in some cases they were the result of mismanagement. The government, he said, should not compensate the local authorities in such cases. He said the Interior Ministry has submitted a plan to ease the crisis but so far has had no affirmative response from the Treasury.

The Knesset Finance Committee decided today to raise transportation fares by 25-50 percent. But it rejected a government request to increase the price of electricity. Ten opposition MKs rejected the rise. The coalition is expected to resubmit the request next week.

#### FRANCE AND SAUDI ARABIA SIGN A \$3 BILLION ARMS AGREEMENT

By Edwin Eytan

PARIS, Jan. 17 (JTA) -- France and Saudi Arabia have concluded a \$3 billion arms agreement providing for the sale of French-made highly sophisticated electronic equipment. The French Defense Ministry and the manufacturers, the state-owned Thomson-C.S.F., said yesterday that they have been asked by the Saudis not to disclose details of the agreement, reputed to be the most important of its kind ever concluded by France.

The usually reliable Le Monde said France will supply the Saudi Air Force with the latest French ground-to-air missile, the Shahine and radar equipment to guide it to targets. The Shahine, a top secret weapon, is reputed in aeronautical circles to be the world's most efficient -- and most expensive -- anti-aircraft missile of its kind.

It would be used mainly to protect Saudi airports, missile bases and oil production facilities. The French are also scheduled to export advanced training equipment for the Saudi personnel who will man the missiles. French experts and Air Force personnel are to be stationed at Saudi bases for the next several years.

The agreement, formally announced yesterday, was reportedly signed a week ago by French Defense Minister Charles Hernu and Saudi Defense Minister Prince Abdul-Rahman Bin Abdul Azziz. The negotiations lasted several months and entered their final phase after the Saudi minister's trip to Paris last May.

#### An Important French Client

Saudi Arabia, which has been trying to diversify its arms supplies, has become an important French client over the last few years. In 1975, the Saudis bought Crotale ground-to-air missiles which until now formed its main anti-aircraft defense network. The Saudis also equipped their armored brigades with French AMX-30 tanks, which since 1980 have carried supersonic missiles produced by France's state-owned Matra Company.

Also, in 1980, the Saudis bought in France four frigates and 24 combat helicopters equipped with air-to-ground missiles.

One of President Francois Mitterrand's first visits abroad after his election in May, 1981, was to Saudi Arabia. French officials said privately yesterday that this visit, criticized at the time, "has paid off."

#### CRANSTON: WILL MOVE U.S. EMBASSY TO JERUSALEM IF ELECTED PRESIDENT

By Yitzhak Rabi

NEW YORK, Jan. 17 (JTA) -- Sen. Alan Cranston (D. Calif.), a presidential hopeful, vowed here yesterday that should he be elected President he would move the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

"I am in favor of moving the American Embassy to Jerusalem. And I will move it if I am the President," Cranston told a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Two of the eight Democratic Presidential candidates, former Vice President Walter Mondale and Sen. Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, had already appeared before the group. Others are to appear in the next two months.

In a strong pro-Israel speech, Cranston reiterated his commitment to Israel's survival and security and his opposition to "an even-handed policy as long as Arab nations are at war with Israel." He stated that "I will remain steadfast in support of Israel and in support of the Israel-American special relationship." He expressed opposition to selling American arms to Israel's enemies, including the proposed sale of sophisticated arms to Jordan.

On the issue of Lebanon, Cranston called for the withdrawal of U.S. marines from that country. "We should extricate ourselves from Lebanon as swiftly as we can," he said, noting that Israeli troops have also withdrawn from areas in Lebanon to avoid casualties. In other remarks, he said a strong Israel is in America's interest and pledged that he will continue his efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

#### U.S., ISRAEL SIGN 5-YEAR AGREEMENT

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Jan. 17 (JTA) -- The U.S. and Israel signed a five-year agreement here today providing for the exchange of information on social services and human development. It covers the adoption of children with special needs, services for the functionally impaired, housing for the elderly, in-home day care for children and the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The signatories were Israel's Minister of Labor and Welfare Aharon Uzan and the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Health, Dorcas Hardy.

Meanwhile, talks have begun in Washington on the establishment of a free trade zone between Israel and the U.S. An agreement in principle was reached during Premier Yitzhak Shamir's visit to Washington late last November. The current discussions are expected to last for several months because of the technical nature of the subject.

Talks between Israel and the U.S. on the level of American economic aid to Israel for the next fiscal year, are scheduled to begin in a few days in Washington. The U.S. has already earmarked \$1.4 billion in military assistance grants to Israel. Israel is requesting an additional \$1.3 billion in economic assistance.

**ADL ANNUAL SURVEY FOR 1983 SHOWS A SUBSTANTIAL DECLINE IN ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITY**

NEW YORK, Jan. 17 (JTA) -- Anti-Semitic vandalism and other attacks against Jewish institutions, businesses and homes declined substantially in 1983 for the second year in a row, according to the annual audit conducted by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

ADL's national director Nathan Perlmutter said the survey revealed 670 incidents across the nation, a decline of 19 percent from the 829 incidents recorded in 1982.

The nationwide total for 1982 was almost 15 percent lower than the 974 recorded in 1981. The two-year decline reversed a sharply upward trend reported since 1979.

The 1983 audit once again showed that three states, New York, California and New Jersey, accounted for a majority of the incidents -- New York, 215; California, 111; New Jersey 57.

Large Decrease In Assaults

The audit, which was based on data supplied by the ADL's 30 regional offices across the nation, also reported a large decrease in the number of assaults against individual Jews and threats and harassments in which Jews or Jewish-owned properties were victims or targets.

The decline amounted to almost 41 percent -- down from 593 in 1982 to 350 in 1983. The incidents involving assaults and harassments were tabulated separately from the category of vandalism.

The ADL reported that 115 persons were arrested in connection with 55 anti-Semitic incidents in both categories. Almost 90 percent of those arrested were teenagers, a statistic that followed the pattern found by previous ADL audits.

Likely Contributions To The Decline

Describing the 1983 declines in anti-Semitic incidents as "welcome," Perlmutter said counteractive measures and heightened public concern over the problem likely contributed to the decline. He listed the following developments:

- \* Stricter law enforcement and punishment nationwide against those responsible for perpetrating anti-Semitic incidents;

- \* Passage of laws, many based on an ADL model statute, against religious or ethnic vandalism in sixteen states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and Washington;

- \* Stepped up newspaper and TV attention to "bias crimes," and intensified educational programs to eradicate bigotry and promote appreciation for ethnic diversity.

The audit cited two other possible explanations for the decline in anti-Semitic incidents:

- \* The overall decrease in the number of crimes committed in this country in 1982 and the first half of 1983, as reported by the FBI;

- \* Imitative behavior, which influenced increases in anti-Semitic vandalism in the past, may have been dampened during the last two years in the face of stricter law enforcement and greater public concern.

In assessing the findings of the audit, Perlmutter asserted that they provide only a single barometer for measuring anti-Jewish hostility in this country.

Anti-Semitic incidents, he said, constitute only one of several manifestations of bigotry in the U.S. of concern to the American Jewish community. Others include:

- \* Anti-Semitic activities of hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis and various armed paramilitary groups, including Posse Comitatus;

- \* The increasingly open anti-Semitism promoted by the Soviet Union as "anti-Zionism" and the activities of radical leftist organizations such as the Communist Party and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party whose propaganda against Israel and Zionism attacks the most heartfelt concerns of the overwhelming majority of Jews both in the United States and around the world;

- \* The outpouring of anti-Semitism at the United Nations disguised as anti-Zionism;

- \* Anti-Israel and anti-Zionist propaganda purveyed by pro-Arab and pro-PLO groups;

- \* The spreading of Holocaust revisionist propaganda by organizations and individuals that deny the reality of the Nazi annihilation of six million Jews;

- \* The private prejudices and bigotries, which cannot be counted, that take place in executive suites where discrimination against Jews is practiced, or in social clubs that bar Jews from membership.

Several Widely Publicized Incidents

The audit noted that several incidents in 1983 attracted considerable publicity and were perceived by many as motivated by anti-Semitism. These included shootings directed at New York's Yeshiva University and its students, a purported arson at a Jewish center in Bloomington, Ind., and arson and vandalism directed at synagogues and homes of individual Jews in West Hartford, Conn.

In the Yeshiva incidents, police have not yet been able to establish that anti-Semitism was the motive of the attacks. In Bloomington, authorities suspect that anti-Semitism was the motivation. In the Connecticut incidents, a Jewish teenager admitted he was responsible.

"Regardless of the decline in anti-Semitic incidents in the past two years," Perlmutter concluded, "the stark fact remains that in 1983 there were 670 incidents of anti-Semitic vandalism. The vandalizing of even one religious institution or one home because of the religion or race of the occupant is one too many." He called for continuing educational, legislative and law enforcement efforts.

EXHIBITION ON YOUTH EXCHANGE PROGRAM

BONN, Jan. 17 (JTA) -- An exhibition was opened here today depicting the German-Israeli youth exchange program which has been going on for a number of years. The opening was attended by Israel's Ambassador to West Germany, Itzhak Ben Ari, and the Bonn Minister of Youth and Family, Heiner Geissler.

The exchange is important to both countries. It is subsidized largely by the West German Federal government and the Federal states and is the largest program of its kind for Germany, except for youth exchange with France. For Israel, the program is by far the most extensive. There was a sharp decline in 1982 because of the Lebanon war and the anti-Israel attitudes it engendered in Germany. There was, however, a slight upturn last year. But official sources say there is an increasing tendency among West German youth groups to choose exchanges with Arab countries rather than with Israel.

SPECIAL TO THE JTA  
EMERGENT SPANISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS  
By Michael Fooner

(Part One Of A Three Part Series)

MADRID, Jan. 17 (JTA) -- In defiance of Arab pressures, Spain is moving to recognize the State of Israel, exchange Ambassadors, and normalize official relations for the first time in recent history.

Libya and Saudi Arabia have fronted the drive to block Israel from obtaining full diplomatic status in Madrid, but the year-old government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez has held firm. A recent meeting of the Council of Ministers authorized officials of the government to take part in several activities sponsored by the Israeli government, and to officially invite Israeli representatives to Spanish events.

"Although there is no date for our first exchange of Ambassadors," said Samuel Hadas, Israel's principal representative in the Spanish capital, "positive steps have been taken to bring this about."

Without quotable comment on the Arab provocations, he said during an interview here, "Our policy is step-by-step progress, avoid confrontations, defuse crises, and accumulate successful official contacts."

Arab Struggle To Repress Israel

The chronology of Israel's "step-by-step" diplomacy, as Hadas calls it, reflects a curious corner in the backstage struggle of the Arabs to repress Israel. In March, 1983, Spain's Prime Minister Gonzalez said in a speech while visiting Morocco, "The Arab world has no greater friend than Spain" -- but he at the same time alluded to "future diplomatic communication with Israel."

Until that moment, official relations with Israel had been in deep freeze since the state was founded. A breakthrough occurred when the national airlines of both countries gave each other landing rights.

But immediately, inauguration of service was paralyzed by fear of terrorist attacks on El Al and Iberia aircraft, sponsored by Libya, according to observers in close touch with the Spanish government.

On June 23, Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, had a secret meeting with Gonzalez in New York at which the process of initiating airline service was worked out. On July 1, Bronfman and Jacques Torczyner, a member of the WJC Board of Governors, met with the Prime Minister in Madrid. Gonzalez then had on paper the decision to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

Saudi Arabia Intervenes

Final action was scheduled for the end of August, according to the knowledgeable diplomatic correspondent, Alberto Miguez, but intense pressure from Arab states, especially Saudi Arabia, caused hesitation, and Gonzalez declared the matter of diplomatic status for Israel would have "no priority."

Inside the government, confusion was rising, according to Miguez. A few days before, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fernando Moran, had met in New York with Jewish leaders and told them the decision to recognize Israel would be implemented "rapidly," but in Madrid, addressing Parliament, he declared it would be "delayed."

However, while the Foreign Minister was saying action in Israel's recognition had stopped, the Council of Ministers in Madrid voted a decision to "intensify interchanges" and they designated the Minister of Transportation, Tourism and Communications, En-

rique Baron, to organize a program of official activities with the Israelis. The Arabs responded with "carrot-and-stick" tactics. In October, Saudi Arabian representatives came into Madrid with a contract offer to purchase Spanish-made armaments. Libya openly denounced Gonzalez's moves toward Israel and threatened to break diplomatic relations with Spain if relations were actually established.

It got them nowhere. The press quoted government sources as interpreting the arms deal to be a scheme to influence Spain against friendship with Israel, and the Saudi Defense Minister, Prince Abdul-Rahman Bin Abdul Azizz, went home with nothing more than a promise that the contract would be studied.

Activities initiated by Transportation and Tourism Minister Baron, for official contacts with Israel, began to create an impression that Gonzalez's idea for diplomatic recognition was already a fait accompli, according to reporters with inside government contacts. They also reported airline security "collaboration using sophisticated anti-terrorist methods of the Israelis."

Col. Muammar Quaddafi of Libya was furious; he started bombarding Foreign Minister Moran with messages delivered direct to his office.

Secret Visits To Israel Reported

Meanwhile, the press was reporting that prominent members of both Spain's major political parties were making a series of visits to Israel, Spanish and Israeli officials were participating in each others' tourism promotions, and Israeli educators were official delegates to a Congress organized by Spain's Ministry of Education.

The public in Spain, including the Jewish community there, has long been dubious that Israel would ever gain official recognition, due to the nation's dependence on Arab oil, for one thing, and also, the Spanish King's close ties of friendship with the Saudi royal family.

There was, therefore, some astonishment last summer when the King granted an audience to Hadas. He declines to predict when diplomatic recognition will come but says, "When it does, that will be something of an historic moment. We are the only democratic nation without official status in Spain, despite the existence of major economic, cultural and ethnic ties between us."

Hadas, officially, is head of the Madrid office of Israel's World Tourism Organization. However, newspapers in the capital have been referring to him as the "unofficial ambassador." He is a man in his 50's, slight of build, soft spoken but dynamic, with an easy smile.

He has been living in Madrid with his wife and children for about a year-and-a-half. He is a career diplomat, with previous posts in the Israel Foreign Office in Jerusalem as information officer, in the Embassy to Colombia as charge d'affaires, and as Ambassador to Bolivia.

"My job now? 'Coordinator' of our two countries' maturing relations," Hadas says.

(Tomorrow: Part Two)

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PARIS (JTA) -- President Francois Mitterand has promised to try and help Israel maintain its current agricultural exports to Western Europe after Spain and Portugal become full members of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986 and begin to enjoy preferential tariffs. Spain and Portugal sell in Western Europe agricultural products similar in kind and availability to those exported by Israel.



Memo

January 10, 1984

TO: NJCRAC and CJF Member Agencies

FROM: Charney Bromberg, Associate Director

RE: Urgent Action Recommendations concerning West German arms sales to Saudi Arabia

The following was sent over our Instant Telecommunications Network today:

"You are probably aware that the West Germans are again contemplating the sale of major weapons systems to Saudi Arabia. Among the systems, according to a piece by William Safire (enclosed), are, "... Tornado aircraft, advanced Leopard tanks, Roland II Surface-to-air mobile missile systems with target tracking radar, Gepard antiaircraft cannon and the Marder armored personnel carrier ..."

As Safire points out, the Kohl government, limited by restrictions against selling arms to "regions of tensions" simply excludes the Persian Gulf--an obvious fantasy.

Further, the weapons systems - the most likely of those listed above to be sold are described in a memo by Rafi Danziger of the American Jewish Congress (enclosed)--can hardly be described as defensive.

The NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee, having considered these potential sales, advises an intensive campaign directed to the German government and the U.S. media against such sales.

The first and most prominent theme is the moral reprehensibility of the West German government, of all nations, even contemplating arming a nation in a state of war with Israel, a past combatant, which has also shared its weaponry with other Arab states in combat with Israel.

#### Recommendations

Accordingly, as soon as possible in the next two weeks prior to Chancellor Kohl's visit to Israel, we recommend the following activities:

1) Picketing, particularly by Holocaust survivors, at German consulates. Consulate offices are located in the following cities:

Mobile, Alabama; Phoenix, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, District of Columbia, Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, Atlanta, Savannah,

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Chicago, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Kansas; Louisville, New Orleans, Boston, Detroit, Minneapolis, Albuquerque, Buffalo, N.Y.C., Charlotte, Cleveland, Oklahoma City, Portland, Oregon; Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Memphis, Corpus Christi, Dallas, Houston, Salt Lake City, Norfolk, Seattle, Spokane.

2) Delegations including clergy, non-Jewish businesspeople, Holocaust survivors, and influentials should meet with local Consuls General at the earliest possible date. In addition to such meetings (or if they cannot be arranged), correspondence should be addressed to the nearest Consular Office and the German Ambassador, the Hon. Peter Hermes, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 4645 Reservoir Road, Washington, D.C. 20007, emphasizing that German arms not be placed in the hands of those who have publicly declared a holy war against Israel.

3) Where possible, editorial comment in local media should be a first priority; op-ed articles and letters-to-the-editor should be stimulated immediately.

In all of the above activities, you might want to involve local Holocaust Centers or University Holocaust Studies Departments.

\* \* \* \* \*

In addition, you should know that member NJCRAC National agencies are making representations to the German government and other elements in German society to bring to bear their influence against possible sales to Saudi Arabia.

CB:bb

O,X,X-EC,EX,CHAIR,CJF-EX,ITF-NJ,PCO,I,I-FYI

TO: CHARNEY BROMBERG, NJCRAC  
FROM: RAPHAEL DANZIGER  
RE: WEST GERMAN WEAPON SYSTEMS OFFERED TO SAUDI ARABIA

As evident from the enclosed Jane's Weapon Systems reports, all three weapon systems Germany is reportedly planning to sell to Saudi Arabia have powerful offensive capabilities. They are designed to defend and complement advancing main battle tanks, and if anything, the Israeli memo on this subject understates their potential contribution to an Arab ground attack on Israel.

The "Marder" is a mechanized infantry combat vehicle (MICV) designed to complement the "Leopard" tank (or any other main battle tank) in performance and mobility. In the words of Jane's, it is a "fast, large, hard-hitting, and adequately protected MICV... A feature is its firepower; with a 20mm cannon plus 7.62mm MG (machine gun) mounted in a two-man turret at the front and another 7.62mm MG mounted in a rear copula, and with firing ports along the side for the crew weapons, it is much more than an infantry transport vehicle." With this firepower and a crew of 10, including 6 infantrymen, it can provide invaluable services to advancing tanks in suppressing anti-tank fire and storming enemy positions. Thus, the "Marder" is clearly an offensive weapon.

Both the "Roland II" and the "Gepard" are designed to defend advancing tank columns against low-level air attack. The "Roland II" is an advanced all-weather mobile anti-aircraft weapon system mounted on the "Marder" MICV, thus capable of advancing along with the tanks. Its target-detection radar has a range of 11 miles, and it is particularly effective in foiling electronic countermeasures.

The "Gepard" is even more capable than the "Roland II" of providing effective anti-aircraft fire for advancing tanks in actual combat. It is a 46-ton variant of the formidable "Leopard" tank, equipped with 2 radar-guided 35mm anti-aircraft guns. It thus offers its crew the same protection against enemy fire as does a main battle tank, enabling it to operate in tandem with tank columns under all battle conditions.

Clearly, then, all three weapons constitute indispensable components of an integrated offensive weapon system centered around main battle tanks and designed to provide them with air defense and enhanced assault capabilities. Their designation as "defensive" weapons is correct only in the narrowest technical sense. In actual combat, their role is even more offensive on the ground than is that of the Awacs in the air.

R.D.

(over)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 — Only yesterday, West Germany was the embodiment of industriousness and resolve; today, it is a nation with a raging case of intellectual anomie, entrepreneurial timidity and diplomatic desperation. A Western bulwark is turning into a Western headache.

The generation that seized on the Marshall Plan to climb out of the rubble of World War II was followed by a generation that replaced the work ethic with the social welfare ethic; in West Germany now, government spending accounts for more than half the G.N.P. (In the U.S., that rate is now one fourth, which is debilitating though not yet crippling.)

"Germany is now a land of faltering industries," reported Marvin Kalb on NBC, "high unemployment and mounting public debt, disaffected youth and public pessimism — a country suddenly far behind in the race into 21st-century technologies."

But didn't the conservatives under Helmut Kohl oust the socialists last year? Didn't the Federal Republic, despite all the noise from the Greens and other anti-defense demonstrators, permit the deployment of U.S. missiles to counter the Soviet buildup in the East? True enough, but nobody can ignore the signals of a weakening of will.

Industrially, the national letdown can be seen in the whipping being delivered by Japanese and U.S. technologies; even West Germany's Nixdorf computers must draw on American high tech. Bankers flinch from venturing capital, and in biotechnology, Hoechst has had to come to Harvard.

That slump in business-of-the-future leadership is reflected in the way the Federal Republic has sought to shore up its old industry. The Siberian gas pipeline, a project strengthening the Russians and making Europe more dependent on the Soviet Union for winter heating, is the legacy of the Schmidt-

## ESSAY

# The German Problem

By William Safire

Lambsdorff regime; now a new scheme is in the works, put forward by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, that is even more morally demeaning.

The West Germans have decided to go into the merchant-of-death business in a big way, with their prime customer Saudi Arabia. Mr. Kohl visited Riyadh a couple of months ago, and a Saudi delegation followed up with a shopping tour of German plants with familiar names like Messerschmidt-Blohm and Siemens.

Israeli sources, rightly concerned about a new generation of German weapons that would likely be used to kill Jews, say that the planned purchases include Tornado aircraft, advanced Leopard tanks, Roland II surface-to-air mobile missile systems with target-tracking radar, Gepard antiaircraft cannon and the Marder armed personnel carrier, especially effective for quick strikes by small detachments.

Because German law limits arms exports to "regions of tension," the Kohl Government, with businesslike geopolitical strategy, considers the Arabian peninsula to be outside the region of tension. Of course, in every Arab-Israeli war to date, the Saudis have been belligerents; in any future conflict, these new Saudi panzer divi-

sions, probably driven by Palestinians or hired hands from East Germany, would be sent to Jordan or Syria for use against Israel in what King Fahd still refers to as the "jihad," or "holy war."

Curiously, the prospect of supplying German means of exterminating Jews to a nation in a state of war with Israel does not overly trouble the West German "peace movement"; no demonstrations protesting this sale to the jihad by the sons and daughters of the genocide generation have been organized in front of defense plants. Guilt is evidently not as important as gelt.

Chancellor Kohl will travel to Israel in a couple of weeks to assure Prime Minister Shamir that the Leopard tanks are "defensive" weapons. He will point to the precedent of American Awacs sales and join Mr. Reagan in hailing the glories of evenhandedness. He will probably reassert his devotion to a "special relationship" between the German people and the survivors of Nazi terror, adding the German equivalent of "sorry, Yitzak — business is business."

West Germany, in its economic bind, seeks markets in the Soviet East and the Arab world; by so doing, it lowers its moral position and panders to the weakeners of its will, causing its allies to reassess the credibility of Bonn's commitments.

"The German Problem" is not merely the concern of the other nations in NATO; it is the loss of spirit afflicting today's Germans.

Semi-correction: The C.I.A. takes exception to my assertion that it routinely records telephone calls, pointing to Sec. 2.4 of Mr. Reagan's Executive Order 12333 not authorizing "monitoring devices." If this is true, not even the C.I.A. considers it permissible to tape callers the way the director of the U.S.I.A. has been doing.