



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 71, Folder 13, South Africa - Archbishop Desmond Tutu,
1987-1991.

Tutu - AJC

and weaknesses as frail as the next one of us. And Abraham who wants to save his skin by passing off his wife as his sister, a Jacob who is a rogue, a Moses with a foul temper, a David who as an adulterer and so down the line. Earthenware vessels so that the exceeding glory would be seen to belong where it properly belonged--with God. Praise be to God for all that and more. We would say thank you for this and for the Salvation which has come through our Messiah born of the line of David, for salvation is after Jews as he told the Israelites. What I wanted to say in addition is whether Israel (biblically) or the Jews could ever be as the other nations? You recall that there are 12 about the establishment of the monarchy in Israel in the 1st book of Samuel. One is totally unfavorable to this institution I Sam 8 5-9 after the people have asked for a king. The other is more favorable since it is God Himself at I Sam 9 who takes the initiative to give the people a king to save them. There would be tension always. My own view is that whether Jews like it or not they are a peculiar people, that they can't ever hope to be judged in a sense by the same standards which are used for other people. That their raison d'etre is theologised thru and thru, that they have an unusual vocation, described already in Gen 12 1-13 in God's address to Abraham that he was chosen to be a blessing to all the nations. Thus it isn't so odd of God to choose the Jews, for they are a royal blood God's own possession not for their own self aggrandisement but for the sake of others to be a light to the nations. When Israel forgot this and thought it was for their own glory and God sent prophets to warn them to return from their stiff wicked ways. And the climax of Israel's self understanding occurs on the poignant and moving servant songs in Isaiah and especially the picture of the suffering servant of the Lord whose vicarious suffering is for the

sake of the deliverance of others; that God's favorites are those who have to bear a peculiar suffering for this privilege so that Shylock in the Merchant of Venice speaks fondly when he says "suffering is the badge of all our And would point to the fact that their Lord and master in what they believe is a fulfillment of the Isaianic prophecies the song God had to undergo the agony of the Passion and Crucifixion, that that was how God treated His own son. A great mystic St. Theresa of Avila offers a traumatic bit of suffering in her spiritual pilgrimage in exasperation remonstrated unto God to wonder your "friends are so few considering how you treat them" Whenever the Jews have wanted to be like other nations, they have I think lost direction and been untrue to their calling. And how you have suffered when they have been true and think Israel the country must be recognised and be given every bit of security and to have her territorial integrity guaranteed. Arab nations are being totally unrealistic in not recognising this fact. One of the frustrating historical if only - if only the Jews at Medina had been perhaps a little more forthcoming towards Mohammad subsequent and contemporary history might have been otherwise. That is idle speculation. The Arab world should recognise Israel, but a lot must change alas I am myself sad that Israel with the kind of history and traditions her people have experienced should make refugees of others. It is wholly inconsistent with who she is as a people, I am saddened too at the remarkable sensibility of Jewish people who are quick to shout antiSemites at the drop of a hat I can understand why this is so. Given your horrible experience but sometimes the things at which you take umbrage are strange. I preached recently in Darien Connecticut and I used the historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles represented by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple as a kind of model of the racial separation at home. I spoke about the anger of Jesus that some should consider others of His Father's children as unclean. Nowhere did I say that Jews treated Gentiles as we are treated by the

whites in SA, but that we hear of Jesus as He who is our peace having broken the middle wall of partition between the Jews the Gentile making of the two one nation. Now that is for us one biblical preaching. I was immediately accused by some rabbis of antisemitism. I had preached on a similar theme before and never been accused of being anti-Jewish. I am sad because I think that it is a sensitivity in this instance that comes from an arrogance the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people want their support.

I am sad because I could not possibly be anti-Semitic - I don't have a single anti-Semitic bone in my body. Some of the most outstanding stalwarts in the liberation struggle at home are Jews - like Helen Suzman. We were represented during the judicial inquiry into the SA the Eloff Com by Sidney Kentridge an outstanding lawyer who is Jewish.

I am sad that Israel connived at the killing admittedly by one of those in the 2 refugee camps in Lebanon and was thrilled to bits that ½ million Israelis demonstrated against that in action of their Govt., they were being done to the traditions of the Fathers. I am deeply distressed that Israel with the history of the Jews so fresh can collaborate with the S.A. Nationalists who are carrying out policies that are so reminiscent of Hitler's Aryan madness. Do we then learn from history that we don't learn from history?

I am sad that the Jewish community and the black community in this land are somewhat at odds unto each other. I don't want to enter into the delicate area of the whys and wherefores of all of this but it would be so important for the cause of freedom if you could try to align your agendas more closely so

4

that the issues of interest to the one would be usually of concern to the other. That Jews in the USA would feel that they could not tolerate any pussy footing with apartheid. I thank God for you and know that we and He together can work to transfigure the evils of this world to become His doing shalom of justice, of goodness, of compassion, of caring, of sharing, of laughter, of joy, and reconciliation.

This is the excerpt from Archbishop Tutu's speech at J.T.S. 1984



APOCALYPTIC/PROPHETIC

Wash Post 1/10/36

prospects for his racially troubled ~~homeland~~ nation were "quite horrendous" suggested country's white rulers might use nuclear weapons to carry out their own version of a SCORCHED EARTH POLICY

"I myself actually fear that in the end because they are so irrational, they seem to have a Samsah complex... They are going to pull down the pillars and 'everybody must go under with them.' (Wash Post interview. If, as most of us believe, they do have nuclear capability, I don't put it past them to have their own version of a scorched-earth policy., white minority regime in Pretoria. (TO RALLY US SANCTIONS AGAINST PRETORIA)

painted bleak, at times apocalyptic picture of his nation's future as well as that of the black moderates like himself, who he said were increasing SHUNTED ASIDE by blacks as "INEFFECTUAL LEADERS."

37(58) Anglican bishop of Johannes somebly suggested that his patience is wearing thin in search for nonviolent ways to overthrow apartheid.

"You may find that even placid, quiet people like us have suddenly picked up STONES AND WE ARE FIGHTING.

Tutu predicted onset of "AN UGLY PHASE WHICH HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR BEING HORRIBLE IN SO AFRICA, A TIME OF 'NAKED TERRORISM, REALLY.'" He warned that militant black attacks on "SOFT TARGETS" such as school buses, were now possible/ Virtually all school buses in S Afr carry only WHITE CHILDREN/ HE ALSO CONJURED UP IMAGE OF BLACK SERVANTS POISONING THEIR WHITE MASTERS. THEY ARE THE SOFTEST OF SOFT TARGETS. (ANC main black underground nationalist group has thus far refrained from attacking such targets altho Tutu said it would be "the easiest way of sowing panic in the white community." (Xmas bombing at shopping center outside Durban, killed 6 whites, "is an indication that we are in for a horrible time."

MOST WHITE HOUSEHOLD STILL HAVE THEIR MORNING COFFEE BROUGHT TO THEM BY BLACK SERVANTS. SUPPOSING THE ANC, OR WHOEVER IS BEHIND ALL THIS, WERE ABLE TO REACH EVEN JUST A QUARTER OF THOSE SERVANTS AND SAY, "HEREY LOOK HERE IS SOMETHING THAT WE WANT YOU TO SLIP INTO THEIR EARLY MORNING COFFEE.

INEPT RELATIONS W NATION'S BLACK MAJORITY, CALLING WHITE RULERS "A CENTIPEDE DETERMINED TO SHOOT THEMSELVES IN EVERY FOOT.

NJC Bulletin

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION

73
F/1

INSIDE	
REAGAN SAVES ISRAEL \$1 BILLION	2
TUTU: "JEWS MUST SUFFER"	2
RE-FOCUSING ON SOVIET ABUSES	4

JANUARY 1987

Closing the PLO's American Offices

Juliana Geran Pilon

The Reagan administration is currently considering whether to close two offices operated by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the United States. The offices are the PLO's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York and the Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington, D.C.

Some members of Congress believe that the United States can and should close the offices immediately. Many believe that allowing them to remain open implies an American stamp of approval on PLO activities. Indeed, ten Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee wrote to the President on October 17 urging him "to use every available legal option to order the closing of the PLO office [in Washington]." The letter was answered on October 27 indicating that the President shares the senators' abhorrence of international terrorism and promises "prompt and careful attention."

While Yasser Arafat has sought in recent years to conceal his organization's participation in terrorist activities, the October 15 attack at Jerusalem's Western Wall demonstrates that the PLO is still very active in the area of international terrorism. Arafat's wing of the PLO has also been responsible for many other such acts in the past, most of them involving innocent civilians, several of whom were Americans. Prominent among

these is the murder in 1973 of U.S. Ambassador to the Sudan, Cleo Noel, and his charge d'affaires, George Moore. The Justice Department is believed to be in possession of tape recordings of a telephone call in which Arafat ordered the terrorists to murder the American diplomats.

Indeed, the PLO poses a threat, not only to Israel, but to the entire free world of which the United States is the leader. In November 1985, Arafat expressed his enmity towards the United States in the clearest possible terms: "We are on the threshold of a fierce battle," he said. "Not an Israeli-Palestinian battle, but a Palestinian-U.S. battle." Despite this and other expressions of hostility, and despite repeated attacks by PLO members on U.S. citizens, the U.S. government still allows the PLO to operate officially in the United States through its offices in Washington and New York.

Other arguments favoring the closure of the offices include evidence linking the PLO to criminal activities, such as racket-

Continued, page 3

Taking a Fresh Look at Civil Rights

In recent years, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been the focal point of a debate over civil-rights policy. Although the debate has been dominated by personalities, it is the ideas that the main protagonists have advocated that have caused so much dissension and that today threaten the Civil-Rights Commission's very existence.

Recently, the Commission's newly-appointed vice-chairman, Murray Friedman, assumed a peace-making role aimed at charting for the civil-rights community "a consensus program for the remainder of the 1980s." In a memorandum to his fellow commissioners, Dr. Friedman, who is also the Middle-Atlantic Director of the American Jewish Committee, sought to defuse the conflicts that brought liberals and conservatives together in an effort to eliminate the Commission's funding.

The current conflicts date back to the earliest days of the Reagan administration when the Commission became the focal point of disagreements over civil-

Continued, page 3

Dr. Pilon is a senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based research organization.



Dr. Murray Friedman

CAPITAL Wire

REAGAN SAVES ISRAEL \$1 BILLION

Under a plan recently approved by the Treasury Secretary, **James Baker**, Israel is to be offered new terms for the repayment of her outstanding military debts. Similar repayment options are to be offered to several other U.S. allies now facing economic difficulties, including Egypt, Spain, Pakistan and Morocco.

The new plan will allow these allies to choose between paying off all outstanding debts now and refinancing their debt at lower rates of interest. Those choosing the first option will benefit by having the future interest on their outstanding loans forgiven by the U.S. Treasury. Those choosing the second will benefit from the new interest rate of 7.5 percent, a substantial reduction from the 10 percent or more that these countries are now paying on their military-sales loans.

The Israeli government owes the United States \$5.5 billion for arms purchased in recent years, and is expected to refinance the debt at the lower interest rates. Under the Reagan plan, Israel will save more than \$1 billion in interest repayments over the next four years. Egypt, whose military debt is \$4.6 billion, is also expected to select refinancing.

The decision to make these options available follows efforts by **Sen. Robert Kasten** (R-Wisc.), the chairman of the Foreign-Operations subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. With the help of **Sen. Daniel Inouye** (D-HI), the subcommittee's ranking Democrat, Kasten supported the plan as a way of easing Israel's debt burden at a time of severe economic difficulty.

TUTU: "JEWS MUST SUFFER"

The Archbishop of Cape Town, **Desmond Tutu**, has stated that "the Jews are the biggest exploiters of blacks in South Africa so they must suffer," adding, "There will be no sympathy for the Jews when the blacks take over." The remarks, reported in the *Boston Jewish Times*, were made in a speech given by Tutu at

a meeting of the Board of Deputies of South African Jews shortly after he was awarded the 1984 Nobel Prize for Peace.

The Board of Deputies, the representative organization of South African Jewry, chose to keep Tutu's remarks secret until recently out of fear that their revelation would further incite him to anti-Semitism. However, Tutu also gave vent to anti-Semitic sentiments during a 1984 tour of the United States. While in Connecticut, he compared Jewish attitudes towards non-Jews to those of whites towards blacks in South Africa. Later, in a speech before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he accused the Jews of "an arrogance" borne of Jewish power in the United States. He also charged Israel with having "connived" in the murder of Palestinian Arabs in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps, and of "making refugees of others."

NEW NAMES AT NSC

In the wake of the Iran arms affair and the resignation of Admiral **John Poindexter** as the President's advisor for national security, several new appointments have been made to the staff of the National-Security Council (NSC).

Poindexter's replacement as national-security advisor is **Frank Carlucci**, a career diplomat and former assistant secretary of defense under **Caspar Weinberger**. Although he is filling a position held by four other men during the Reagan administration, Carlucci is expected to be secure in his new post. His background in both the State and Defense Departments, and his solid reputation among legislators on Capitol Hill, make his appointment popular at a time of controversy over the NSC's role in the Iran arms sales.

Among the new staff members appointed by Carlucci is **Jose Sorzano**, a Cuban-born specialist on Latin-American affairs who previously served as deputy U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under **Jean Kirkpatrick**. A close friend of the National Jewish Coalition, Sorzano will serve as the NSC's senior specialist on Latin America. Carlucci has also named **Fritz W. Ermarth**, a top Soviet-affairs analyst under the CIA director, **William Casey**, to head the Soviet-

affairs section.

Robert B. Oakley, a career diplomat who has served for two years as head of the State Department's office on counter-terrorism will assume responsibility for Middle-Eastern affairs. Oakley, who studied with Carlucci at Princeton, served in the same office under President Ford.

HUMAN-RIGHTS DAY OBSERVED

At a White House ceremony on December 10th—Human-Rights Day—two former Soviet-bloc dissidents, **Yuri Orlov** and **Armando Valladares**, were honored for their work in the field of human rights. Among those attending the ceremony was **Natan Shcharansky**, the Soviet-Jewish human-rights activist who recently emigrated to Israel.

A physicist by profession, Orlov's courage as a dissident dates back to 1956, when he was dismissed from his job and expelled from the Communist Party for proposing that those responsible for the excesses of the Stalin era be brought to justice. In 1972, he became active in human-rights issues, working with Jewish and non-Jewish dissidents, including Shcharansky and **Andrei Sakharov**, until his arrest and imprisonment in 1977 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was allowed to emigrate in 1986.

Valladares, a journalist and author, survived twenty-two years as a political prisoner in Cuba before the Castro regime released him in 1982. While a civil servant in Castro's revolutionary government in the 1960s, Valladares spoke out against Marxism and the role of Communists in the government, for which he was sentenced to thirty years imprisonment. Now living in Spain, Valladares remains active on behalf of his fellow political prisoners in Cuba and writes a weekly newspaper column that is published throughout Latin America.

Following the ceremony, President Reagan met privately with Shcharansky to discuss the problems facing Soviet Jewry. Shcharansky expressed concern over the Soviet Union's new, tighter emigration laws, and sought the President's help for several prisoners-of conscience.

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN
ONE WILSHIRE BUILDING
SIXTEENTH FLOOR
LOS ANGELES, CA 90017-3388
(213) 629-0274

January 14, 1987

Mr. Allen Kagedan
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Allen:

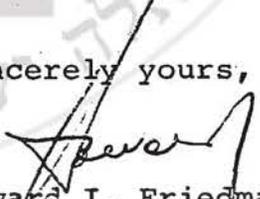
Following up on our conversation on Wednesday afternoon, I enclose herewith a copy of the item which appeared in the ADL Digest for November/December 1986. This is a newsletter issued by the ADL's Pacific Southwest Region.

I think we should inquire of the Board of Deputies as to whether or not the article is accurate. David Lehrer, the ADL executive here, tells me that he picked it up from Israel Today, a local newspaper, which in turn had picked it up from Israel.

As I stated to you on the phone, it just does not ring true to me that this is something that Tutu would have said, although God knows I am certainly a critic of Tutu. If he did not say it, he has been done an injustice. If he did say it, we and others should appropriately condemn him without qualification.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



Howard I. Friedman

HIF:JA
Enclosure

ADL DIGEST - NOV./DEC. 1986

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Tutu - In Toto

A speech delivered by Bishop Desmond Tutu shortly after he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 has recently been revealed. The speech, given before a closed meeting of the Board of Deputies of South African Jews, shocked the audience present. In the speech, Tutu is reported to have declared, "in terms of the New Testament, the Jews must suffer. Therefore, we will put it into practice if we will be in charge. The Jews are the biggest exploiters of the Blacks, so they must suffer. There will be no sympathy for the Jews when the Blacks take over."

SUITE 825
1050 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036-5366

January 19, 1987

Mr. Allan Kagedan
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Allan:

Clarice and I have been away for some weeks. I do hope that all has been well with you and the family over the holidays.

On my return, I found a mailing, which included a clipping from the Boston Jewish Times of November 21, 1986, relating to anti-Jewish utterances allegedly made by Bishop Tutu to the Board of Deputies in South Africa, and to the Jewish Theological Seminary here in America, of which a xerox is enclosed.

I understand that similar news treatment appeared in the Washington Times within the last week or ten days.

I have initiated some inquiries designed to help determine the truth of the representations as to the Bishop's statements and to inquire whether his views, if correctly described, are more widely shared among the Black leadership in South Africa.

On this end, Andy Baker, with whom I have not yet had a chance to talk, will have appropriate avenues, through Bishop Walker and such others as he may deem appropriate, to come to a reliable judgment on what the factual situation is.

However manifestly, the views of a single individual, however hateful and prejudicial to Jewry, should not be allowed to alter an otherwise sound and compelling judgment on the injustices that prevail in South Africa, it is, nonetheless, important to know of such anti-Semitic attitudes, if corrected stated to be held by such a key player, so that proper attention can be paid to the future well being of the 118,000 Jews in South Africa.

All the best.

Ever,

Arnold Levy

cc: Michael Gross, Esq. - PERSONAL
cc: Rabbi Andrew Baker
cc: Mr. William Ressler

JEWISH



COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

443 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 © 684-6950

January 23, 1987

no

TO: NJCRAC member Agencies
 FROM: Diana Aviv
 RE: Enclosed article on Archbishop Tutu

Many of you may already have come across the attached article that recently appeared in many Anglo-Jewish weekly newspapers.

The serious nature of the allegations prompted our contacting Alec Goldberg, Executive Director of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies to verify the accuracy of the report. Alec confirmed that a meeting had taken place approximately one year ago between the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the invitation of the former. Archbishop Tutu did not make any of the alleged remarks during that meeting or any other meeting with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. The suggestion that "the Board of Deputies decided not to publicize the remarks out of fear that Tutu would be angry and would become even more anti-Jewish" was according to Mr. Goldberg "an absolute untruth".

Since your local Anglo-Jewish press may have seen this article you may wish to inform them of the inaccuracy of this most damaging story.

DA:lp

(over)

attach:

O, EX, NATL. EX.

P
L
E
N
A
R
Y
S
E
S
S
I
O
N

Bishop Tutu Returns Home to Barrage of Criticism

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 27— Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, returned home today after a visit to the United States to face a barrage of editorial and other criticism from whites angered by his reported comments about his country.

At a news conference, Bishop Tutu said he had no regrets about what he said in the United States.

"I have said hardly anything in the U.S. that I have not said here," the Bishop said at an Anglican priory in a segregated white suburb. "I am ashamed of absolutely nothing I said on our trip."

Criticism in Newspapers

In his absence, newspapers with a predominantly white readership have centered on his appeal for Western support for the African National Congress and on reported comments by him suggesting that the violence in South Africa could lead to atrocities by blacks against whites.

The comments seemed to touch a raw nerve among whites, hinting at a vulnerability to black wrath from which many whites have been shielded by police and army action to contain the violent protests in black townships.

Bishop Tutu complained today that the "lickspittle sycophants" of the state-run television and other South African press outlets had misinterpreted the message in his comments.

The general impression created by South African newspaper editorials — and by the hostile white reaction to the Bishop — has been that he has been promoting violence.

'I Am Truly Patriotic'

At his news conference, Bishop Tutu compared his plight to that of a person



Agence France-Press

Bishop Desmond M. Tutu being greeted by a supporter in Johannesburg.

warning that a cup teetering at the edge of table might be about to fall. In South Africa, he said, when the cup falls, the person who issued the warning is blamed for the incident.

"I believe that I am truly patriotic," he said. "I am concerned for all South Africans, black and white."

He challenged the authorities, who have also criticized his comments in the United States, to prove he was lying "when I say that apartheid is as evil as Nazism."

The Bishop said that he supported the African National Congress objectives of "working for a nonracial and democratic society" but that he rejected its violent methods.

He said, however, that he was not a pacifist but a "peace-lover."

Since unrest took root in September 1984, more than 1,070 people, the bulk of them black, have died in township protests against the Government's policies of racial division.

Visit After Series of Attacks

Bishop Tutu's visit to the United States, coincidentally, came after a series of bomb and land-mine attacks by anti-Government guerrillas that stiffened the resistance of some whites to racial change. The African National Congress, outlawed in South Africa and exiled for a quarter-century, took responsibility for land-mine explosions in the north of the country.

Bishop Tutu said today that while in Atlanta, he made reference to the African National Congress in the presence of Vice President Bush, noting that Washington supported anti-Government rebel movements in Nicaragua and Angola but withheld similar backing from the South African rebels.

signed as a signal to Mr. Bush that Washington should reconsider its attitude toward the African National Congress. Bishop Tutu said he supported the goals of the rebels but not their violent methods.

The Bishop's comments in Atlanta were seized on by South African editorial writers in a way that seemed to reflect white annoyance that Bishop Tutu should have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in the first place.

"By awarding the Prize for such dubious reasons to a man with such dubious motives," the Afrikaans-language daily Beeld said last Friday, "the committee has reduced the Nobel prize to a farce."

A day earlier, Beeld issued what it called a charge sheet against the Bishop, accusing him of seeking disinvestment by foreign corporations in South Africa, and saying he "encourages racial hatred and revolution in South Africa with statements that are outrageously biased."

The English-language daily Business

Day, which often criticizes the Government, took up the theme in an editorial today, saying the Bishop was encouraging racial hatred.

On Saturday, The Star, an evening newspaper in Johannesburg, published a public-opinion survey that suggested the bulk of whites opposed the Bishop while most blacks supported him. One white was quoted as saying he would shoot the Bishop if someone gave him a gun.

Deep Emotions Stirred

The tone of the editorials, and the responses to the opinion survey, seemed to suggest Bishop Tutu inspires deep anger among some whites who find his vision of a society descending into violence unpalatable, and thus seek to blame the messenger for the message.

Citing the example of the Nazis, the Bishop said: "There can come a time when it is justifiable to overthrow a government by violence. Otherwise, there would have been no justification for fighting Hitler and Nazism."

He repeated an earlier statement that if South Africa's racial system were not changed by March, he would call for punitive economic sanctions. Such calls are widely held in South Africa to be unlawful, and the Bishop said, "It will be a symbolic act on my part, because I will be saying I am deliberately breaking an unjust law and seeking a peaceful strategy."

Asked if he felt a need to reassure South African whites that his motives were not as depicted during his visit to the United States, he said: "I exist and try to work for a new society. If they don't believe that, then hard luck. I've done all I can do."

On his planned call for sanctions, he said, "We can be pulled back from the brink if the international community were to exert the kind of pressure we want to exert on the South African Government."

A Morality Test for South Africa's Opposition

TUTU 2-4-86

T. 23

By Gregory A. Fossedal

STANFORD, Calif. — To earn popular support in America, third world resistance leaders must pass a kind of test. They must offer some reasonable prospect that their triumph will lead to a humane, democratic regime — and not a greater despotism. As they plead for greater support from the West in the form of sanctions, the leaders of the South African opposition now face precisely that challenge.

Boiled down to one question, the test is: Will you hold honest free elections? As evidence, resistance leaders should be ready to reject, actively and explicitly, extremists of the right or left who do not share their democratic commitment.

That is why South African Bishop Desmond M. Tutu's recent American tour was such a disappointment. True, some useful publicity was generated, a commodity in short supply since the South African Government imposed strict limits on the Western media. Even an oft-told story deserves retelling when it's as cruel as apartheid.

But few Americans oppose sanctions against South Africa because they are uninformed about, or numb to, apartheid. In fact, few Americans oppose sanctions: Even President Reagan, Representative Jack Kemp and columnist William Safire approve of some, limited measures. The stakes in the debate have changed.

The issue in South Africa is not whether the forces opposed to apartheid will triumph. They will, as Bishop Tutu confidently asserts. The question is, which forces — a broad, democratic opposition or a small clique of undemocratic Marxists, willing to ape apartheid's ruthlessness?

Gregory A. Fossedal is media fellow at the Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

Will they reject extremists lacking a democratic commitment?

The undemocratic forces within the resistance pose a clear threat. Several leaders of the African National Congress are avowed Marxists who may well prefer class war to balloting. Their numbers are small, but then so are those of many Marxist groups that have nevertheless managed to seize control of what were once democratic movements. Much of the African National Congress's money is raised in America and Europe. Here in the United States this month, Bishop Tutu solicited funds for the African National Congress with leaflets extolling such "freedom fighters" as Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya and Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua.

Bishop Tutu himself warns that if economic pressure is not applied to the apartheid Government soon, South African blacks' resentment may bubble over and give tyrants of the left a chance to seize control. His American supporters echo these prophecies. If cited as a possibility by so many longtime opponents of apartheid, the danger of a Marxist dictatorship must be something other than right-wing fantasy.

Yet this month, in a long speech at Stanford University, and in similar addresses at Atlanta and across the country, Bishop Tutu offered no plans for dealing with this danger. In

fact, he scarcely referred to it, dismissing such concerns as evasion of the "real issue." In Atlanta, he chided Americans for being so late to recognize that South Africa has a succession problem — and he suggested that the reason might be our ill motives. Asked what sort of government should follow apartheid, the Bishop said that South Africa's "legitimate leaders" would have to get together and do some "horse-trading."

In other words, the Bishop's attitude, and that of his American supporters, has been to take offense if one so much as raises the question of undemocratic infiltrators within their movement. "You are either for us or against us," Bishop Tutu told his

If Tutu and others are to earn popular American support, they can't evade this issue

campus audience. An important issue is thus treated with contempt.

Other freedom fighters — the contras in Nicaragua, the opposition in Cambodia and the Government of El Salvador — have had to answer similarly difficult questions, and to purge some of their own ranks, in order to win increased American aid. Indeed, all three of these groups are still on a sort of moral probation in the United States.

Even if they and it demeaning, freedom fighters looking for American support are wise to answer such concerns. In her campaign against Philippine dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos, Corazon A. Aquino has confronted head-on charges that her party is riddled with Communists. She has benefited, projecting an image of confidence and putting the Marxists on notice that only democrats are welcome in her opposition.

To ask for similar signals from apartheid's opponents is not to de-

TUTU
A Correction
2-11-86
T. 31

An editing change arising from ambiguity in the author's manuscript led to an error Feb. 4 in "A Morality Test for South Africa's Opposition," by Gregory A. Fossedal. The published article said Bishop Desmond M. Tutu had solicited funds for the African National Congress with leaflets extolling Muammar el-Qaddafi and Daniel Ortega Saavedra. Some people at a Stanford rally handed out such leaflets, apparently without the bishop's assent.



mean them. It is the essence of democracy. In the same way, we expected, say, the Democrats to denounce student hecklers who would not allow the former chief delegate to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, to speak at their college, and we expected Ronald Reagan to swiftly chastise fanatics who bombed an abortion clinic in the name of human life.

In a like way, Bishop Tutu and his supporters should denounce non-democrats in the African National Congress — should denounce them loudly and by name.

Instead, they have skirted the issue. Apartheid's opponents have made it difficult for people like Ronald Reagan and George Bush to support them, impugning the Administration's motives for applying sanctions (much tougher than any from Europe) and for sending Mr. Bush to Atlanta when Bishop Tutu was hon-

ored there recently. Apartheid's opponents should make it easy, no hard, for late-comers to jump on the bandwagon.

If they do not, they will betray those of us in the United States who have broken ranks with our own party to support them. To date, that support, by a handful of House Republicans and newspaper columnists, has rested mainly on hope — a gamble that leaders like Desmond Tutu will not allow the recent white dictatorship to be replaced by a black one.

If, on the other hand, Bishop Tutu and others can make some hard choices about membership in their own movement, our faith will be justified. And the apartheid opposition will tap into something strong: a moral consensus, on the part of powerful and generous people, that South Africa's freedom fighters deserve our support.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 2, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan
subject South Africa

(Handwritten circled note: "Don't know")

David Harris tried (unsuccessfully) to reach Harry Schwartz regarding two matters; he suggested we try Alec Goldb

(1) news stories attributing harshly anti-Semitic statements to Bishop Tutu (see attached);

(2) the promised program suggestions from the Board of Deputies to AJC (we are somewhat frustrated at the delay here).

Do you wish to call? Should I call?

Alec Goldberg's number: 331-0331

How should we proceed on the Mildred Haines request?

Handwritten notes:
beyonds. Should I attend?
Issue statement

Handwritten notes:
More news re board of Tutu.
Approach the research institute?

Handwritten notes in a box:
Michael Katz
John Bot of Deputies
Boonie Abramowitz

Handwritten notes:
Kest only 2/10
10 am.
Tutu

Bishop Tutu's nefarious utterances against Jews

In the January 1987 bulletin issued by the National Jewish Coalition in Washington, D.C., there appeared a very disturbing article of which the Jewish community should be cognizant. According to the bulletin, "The Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, has stated that 'the Jews are the biggest exploiters of blacks in South Africa so they must suffer,' adding 'there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the blacks take over.' The remarks, reported in the Boston Jewish Times, were made in a speech given by Tutu at a meeting of the Board of Deputies of South African Jews shortly after he was awarded the 1984 Nobel Prize for Peace.

"The Board of Deputies, the representative organization of South African Jewry, chose to keep Tutu's remarks secret until recently out of fear that their revelation would further incite him to antisemitism. However, Tutu also gave vent to antisemitic sentiments during a 1984 tour of the United States. While in Connecticut, he compared Jewish attitudes toward non-Jews to those of whites toward blacks in South Africa.

Later, in a speech before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he accused the Jews of 'an arrogance' born of Jewish power in the United States. He also charged Israel with having 'connived' in the murder of Palestinian Arabs in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps, and of 'making refugees of others.'"

These nefarious, venomous utterances, made by a man who was the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize are similar to those made by Hitler over 50 years ago. He was also ignored . . . with devastating consequences for the Jewish people, the denouement of which has left us reeling until this day.

Let those bleeding hearts among us . . . and we Jews are noted for this weakness, beware of what is being promised for us in the future by certain leaders of large numbers of people. We must remember that if we do not learn from the historical past, we shall be forced to repeat it.

MARILYN SALTZBERG
Beachwood



SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES
SUID-AFRIKAANSE JOODSE RAAD VAN AFGEVAARDIGDES

AG/sh

23 February 1987

Mr Alan Kadjedan
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
NEW YORK N Y 10022

Dear Alan,

I send you herewith for your information copies of news items concerning Archbishop Tutu's alleged remarks about S A Jews.

I would appreciate hearing whether you have any recent information concerning the matter. You may be interested in knowing that I have been in touch with the editor of the Boston Jewish Times and have asked him to publish what I regard as a correct version of what took place.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,


ALECK GOLDBERG
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

34th NATIONAL CONGRESS
4th APRIL — 6th APRIL 1987

'Tutu did not say it, and I have the notes'

Cheetah Haysom

NEW YORK — A woman who heard the alleged "anti-semitic" address given by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in New York two years ago denies he made the remarks attributed to him.

Marge Wiler, who works at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, where Archbishop Tutu gave the controversial address, said that after the speech she had asked for his handwritten notes.

"They are about 10 pages long, and very hard to read. But nowhere does he say that Jews will suffer when blacks come to power in South Africa. It is not in his notes and he didn't say it," Mrs Wiler said.

Mrs Wiler said the Archbishop referred to the collaboration be-

tween Israel and the South African Government and said blacks were very disappointed.

Mrs Wiler said many people agreed and did not find such remarks anti-semitic or anti-Israel. "Perhaps he should not have said them there, in public. But they have done things that are not nice and its not anti-semitic to say so."

She said his attitude towards Israel appeared to be more of "friendly criticism" than anything else.

The reason she took the notes after the meeting was because people had already started to attack the Archbishop for his remarks.

"I took the notes as evidence because I knew there would be people who would try to make capital out of it," she said.

Jewish Board ^{P1} slams 'untruths' ^{Star} in Tutu reports

Allegations made in an apparent right-wing smear campaign against Archbishop Desmond Tutu were slated as "complete untruths" by the Jewish Board of Deputies this week.

The allegations, which shocked the Jewish community, centred around anti-Semitic statements which Archbishop Tutu was said to have made at one of the board's meetings.

This week, two rightist newsletters, distributed to private subscribers, carried front page articles slamming him as an anti-Semite.

The articles were based on a speech Archbishop Tutu never made, according to the board.

Mr Martin Spring's South African Newsletter, claimed the speech was in the archbishop's handwriting and in the possession of the New York City Jewish Theological Seminary.

The Aida Parker Newsletter reproduced a story carried in the Boston Jewish Times in November last year which said: "A source close to the board disclosed the text of the 1984 speech." It quoted extracts of the alleged speech.

The executive director of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr Aleck Goldberg, said: "Archbishop Tutu did not address us in 1984. He, in fact, addressed us in 1986 and did not make any of the statements attributed to him in the Boston Jewish Times."

GLEND A SPIRO

"The meeting in June last year was cordial. Jewish bodies do not have cordial meetings with anti-Semites."

He described the report in the Boston newspaper as "distorted and inaccurate".

The Boston Jewish Times said in its article that Archbishop Tutu told the Board of Deputies in 1984: "In terms of the New Testament, the Jews must suffer. Therefore we will put it into practice if we will be in charge. The Jews are the biggest exploiters of the blacks so they must suffer. There will be no sympathy for the Jews when the blacks take over."

Archbishop Tutu denied this week that he said this.

Asked to comment on the archbishop's and Board of Deputies' denials of the speech, Mr Spring's wife said: "My husband never comments to the media."

Ms Aida Parker said: "What I'm doing is not a smear campaign, but he (Archbishop Tutu) has been active in his efforts to destroy South Africa and now he's getting a taste of his own unpleasant medicine."

[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



today

Tutu 'anti-Jew' claims a smear says Goldberg

By FRAN BUNTMAN

THIS week's reports of "anti-Semitic statements" allegedly made by Archbishop Desmond Tutu emanate from a source characterised as "highly suspect" by Aleck Goldberg, executive director of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

The source — credited by the Boston Jewish Times, which ran the story in November last year — is the "Israel News Bureau". The story is datelined Jerusalem.

According to the Boston newspaper, Tutu delivered a speech two years ago at a closed meeting of the Board of Deputies in which he "shocked his audience by declaring that ... 'The Jews are the biggest exploiters of the blacks, so they must suffer ... There will be no sympathy for the Jews when the blacks take over'."

The Boston newspaper article added that the Board had "decided not to publicise the remarks out-of fear that Tutu would be angry and would become even more anti-Jewish".

The identical "quotes" appeared this week in South African newspapers. However, while the Boston paper gave its source as the INB, the Johannesburg paper cited a newsletter, which in turn credited a Washington columnist as its source.

Tutu has denied ever saying such a thing, and Goldberg this week called the Boston report "a total lie". Tutu had met with the Board only once, last year, and there had been "a cordial exchange of views".

Goldberg said he had tried to investigate the INB, and discovered neither the Israel Censorship Board nor the Israel Press Office had ever heard of it. It was identified, he said, only by a post-box number. He has written to the Boston paper denying the report.

Meanwhile an American journalist has also investigated the INB, and alleged a connection between the report and Rabbi Meir Kahane, an ultra-right Israeli political leader who emigrated from the US several years ago. A number of ultra-right groups have consistently attempted to undermine Jewish support for the anti-apartheid movement, both in South Africa and internationally.

Tutu denies he made anti-Jewish attack

Citizen
10/2/86

By BERT van HEES
CAPE TOWN. —
Anti-Semitic sentiments, allegedly expressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were last night denied and condemned as an "orchestrated campaign to discredit the relation-

ship between the Archbishop and the Jewish community of South Africa".
Although Archbishop

"Archbishop speaks from the rough notes; often off the

TO PAGE 3

Tutu could not be reached for comment yesterday, a spokesman for his office also questioned the authenticity of a speech in the cleric's handwriting in which he is alleged to have said: "In terms of the New Testament, the Jews must suffer. Therefore, we will put it into practice if we will be in charge . . . there will be no sympathy for the Jews in South Africa when the Blacks take over."

Tutu denies 'attack'

FROM PAGE 1

It is unlikely that he had a handwritten speech . . . he just does not work that way," the spokesman said.

"He has an exceedingly good relationship with the South African Jewish community, and is even on first-name terms with rabbis in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

"What has been said

are outright lies . . . Something that's just been cooked up.

"We want to point out that it looks like an orchestrated endeavour to discredit the relationship the Archbishop has with the Jewish community in South Africa. It is known that his relationship with the Jewish Board of Deputies of South Africa is a very sound one, and that his future visits to Israel will carry their support.

"However, we dispute absolutely these lies and want to place on record that the Archbishop enjoys a very good relationship with the Jews in South Africa.

"We sincerely hope that any misunderstanding that has been created by quotes from these reports will be corrected.

The president of the Zionist Federation, Mr Julius Weinstein, yesterday also denied knowledge of anti-Semitic utterances allegedly made by Archbishop Tutu.

Mr Weinstein was reacting to the February newsletter of conservative journalist Martin Spring, entitled Martin Spring's South African Newsletter.

In the newsletter, Mr Spring says that according to a columnist in the Washington Times, Archbishop Tutu told a group of South African Jews that Jews are "the biggest exploiters of Blacks in South Africa".

He says the original speech, in the Archbishop's own handwriting, is in the possession of the New York City

Jewish Theological Seminary.

Mr Spring quotes Archbishop Tutu as having said: "In terms of the New Testament, the Jews must suffer. Therefore, we will put it into practice if we will be in charge . . . there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the Blacks take over."

Mr Weinstein said he had attended most of the congresses and conferences of the Jewish Board of Deputies, a sister organisation, and to his knowledge the Archbishop had not addressed any of these meetings.

"If Archbishop Tutu had made such blatant anti-Semitic remarks there would have been an immediate reaction from South African Jews. We would never have allowed such remarks to go unanswered and unchallenged."

Prof Michael Katz, chairman of the Jewish Board of Deputies, last night also denied that Bishop Tutu had made any anti-Semitic statements.

"He had lunch with the Board in 1986 and he did not say what he was supposed to have said in 1984," Prof Katz said.

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible





February 25, 1987

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Diana Aviv

RE: Press Reports of Archbishop Tutu's Comments at a Meeting
With the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (1985)

In the NJCRAC memorandum of January 23, 1987 on this subject, we indicated that the story attributing anti-Semitic statements to Archbishop Tutu in his meeting with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies was, according to follow up investigation, false.

Since then, many Anglo-Jewish newspapers have run the article about the Archbishop and concern has continued to be expressed on this topic.

Thus we thought it might be helpful to share with the Anglo-Jewish press in your community the excellent press statement of the American Jewish Committee on this subject.

DA:bp

O,EX,NATL.EX

P
L
E
A
S
E
S
E
E
M
E
S
S
I
O
N

Tutu Diamond

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

2/27/87

443 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016

(212) 684-6950

February 27, 1987

Dr. David Gordis
Executive Vice President
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

MAR - 4 1987

Dear David,

The American Jewish Committee's press release of Ted Ellenoff's refutation of the news reports of Archbishop Tutu's statements to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies was most helpful and effective. Unfortunately the nettlesome and inaccurate reports of Archbishop Tutu's meeting continue to be reported in the Anglo-Jewish Press.

Diana Aviv, our Director of Domestic Concerns has been in touch with Alan Kagedan in regard to this issue and has discussed our suggestion of circulating the American Jewish Committee's statement to NJCRAC member agencies. This release will serve well to amplify on our own memorandum of January 23 on the same subject.

Cordially,

Albert D. Chernin
Executive Vice Chairman

ADC:bp

encl.

OFFICERS
CHAIR
Michael A. Polovin, Flint
VICE CHAIRPERSONS
Raymond Epstein, Chicago
Rae M. Ginsburg, Boston
Jack B. Jacobs, Delaware
Gerald Kraft, B'nai B'rith
David Leibenow, Detroit
Severly Minkoff, Women's American ORT
Ruth Popkin, Hadassah
Arden E. Shenker, Portland, OR
Matthew B. Weinberg, San Francisco

Bernard S. White, Washington, DC
Barry Ungar, Philadelphia

Albert E. Arent, Washington, DC
Jordan C. Band, Cleveland
Lewis D. Cole, Louisville
Aaron Goldman, Washington, DC
Irving Kane, Cleveland
Jacqueline K. Levine, MetroWest NJ
Theodore R. Mann, Philadelphia
Bernard H. Traeger, Bridgeport
Lewis H. Weinstein, Boston
Bennett Yanowitz, Cleveland

Albert D. Chernin

Charney V. Bromberg

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Howard I. Friedman
Bee Hoffman

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
Abraham Goldstein
Gary A. Schonwald
B'NAI B'RITH—

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Kenneth Blalock
Alan Lassack
HADASSAH

Ruth B. Hurwitz
Thelma C. Wolf

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
David I. Ashe
Herbert Magidson

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.
Harvey S. Friedman
Samuel Greenberg

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
Lenore Feldman
Barbara Mandel

UNION OF AMERICAN
HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
Harris J. Gilbert

Alexander M. Schindler
UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

Sidney Kwestel
Marcel Webber

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA—
WOMEN'S LEAGUE
FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

Franklin P. Kretzler
Selma Weintraub

WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT
Bea Forrest
Gertrude White

Gilbert Baker, Houston
Steve Chernof, Milwaukee
Marilyn Glaser, Baltimore

Mara Giuliani, Hollywood, FL
Lucy Goldman, San Diego
Marshall Grossman, Los Angeles

Heleen Hoffman, Palm Beach
Howard Kahn, Minnesota
Harvey Kaplan, Kansas City

Jacob Kirshner, Middlesex NJ
David Minkin, Atlanta
Michael Newmark, St. Louis

Norman Patz, MetroWest NJ
Burton Perlman, Cincinnati
Theodore R. Seton, San Francisco

Evelyn Smith, Phoenix
JoAnn R. Spiegel, Pittsburgh
Arnold Sweet, Dallas

Samuel J. Tenenbaum, Columbia, SC
Peggy Tishman, New York
Herbert S. Wander, Chicago

Julie Zimet, El Paso

Norman S. Davis, San Antonio
Carol Dragul, Cincinnati
Frederick Frank, Pittsburgh

Herbert Goldman, Baltimore
Milton I. Goldstein, St. Louis
Stuart A. Handmaker, Louisville

Shirley T. Joseph, Buffalo
Aileen Kassen, Cleveland
H. Ronald Klesko, Philadelphia

Donald E. Letton, Miami
Stanley H. Lowell, New York
Israel Miller, New York

Michael G. Rapp, CRC Directors Assn.
Robert A. Riesman, Rhode Island
Robert S. Schroyer, Chicago

Steven Schwarz, Wilkes-Barre
H. William Shure, New Haven
Stanley Solina, AJCRW

Sheldon U. Tenenbaum, Savannah
Norman D. Tilles, Rhode Island
Jerry Wagner, Hartford

Marion A. Wilen, Philadelphia
Maynard Wishner, Chicago
Judith Wolf, Boston

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 5, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan
subject Archbishop Tutu

Further to the Boston Jewish Times story attributing harshly anti-Semitic remarks to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, about which AJC issued a press release, attached are materials received from the Board of Deputies of South African Jews, and from NJCRAC, which has circulated the AJC release to local CRCs.

cc: Theodore Ellenoff
E. Robert Goodkind
David Gordis
David Harris
Leo Nevas
Marlene Proviser



Tutu

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 6, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan
subject Archbishop Tutu

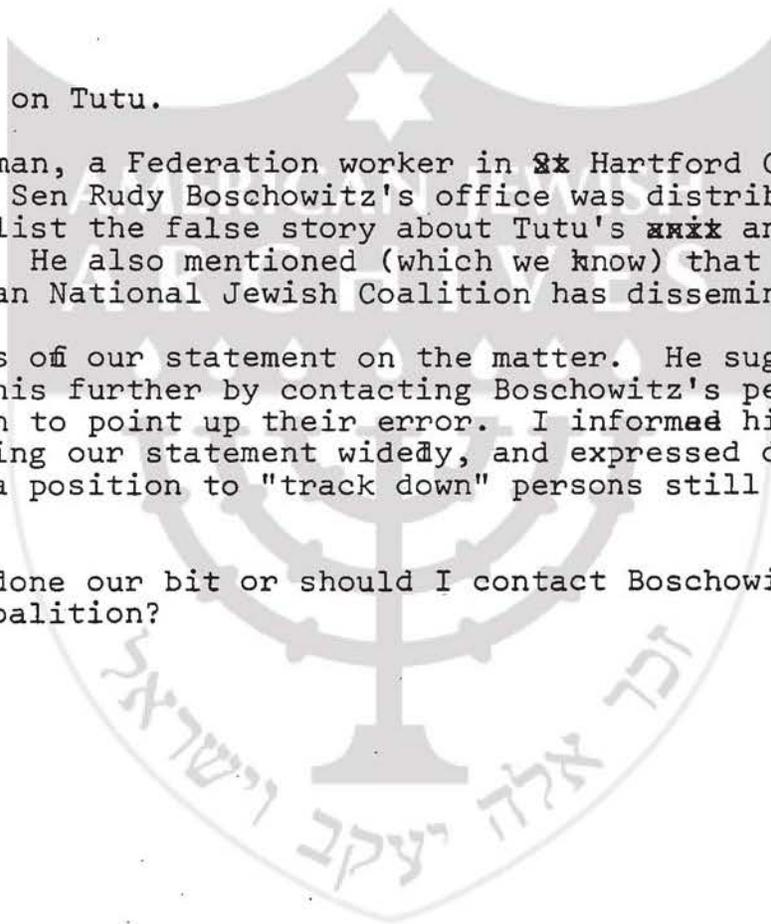
Yet more on Tutu.

Bob Fishman, a Federation worker in ~~2~~ Hartford CT, called to say that Sen Rudy Boschwitz's office was distributing to its donors' list the false story about Tutu's ~~xxxx~~ anti-Jewish remarks. He also mentioned (which we know) that the pro-Republican National Jewish Coalition has disseminated the story.

Bob knows of our statement on the matter. He suggested that we pursue this further by contacting Boschwitz's people and the Coalition to point up their error. I informed him that we were circulating our statement widely, and expressed doubt that we work in a position to "track down" persons still using the story.

Have we done our bit or should I contact Boschwitz and National Jewish Coalition?

Best.



TUTU - NAZIS

JTA, London, March 10, 87 - in 90 minute address punctuated w rrequent quotations from the Bible and warm refs to he Jewish people, Tutu drew repeated comparisons between the suffering of fellow blacks at the hands of apartheid regime and of Jews under the Nazis.

"Your people know what one's taling about, having suffered because you belonged to a particular racial group. You were forced to wear arm bands. WE DON'T CARRY ARM BANDS...THEY JUST HAVE TO LOOK AT US."

Claiming that apartheid was as evil as Nazism or Communism ever were, he sa some of the most terrible things Jews had experienced were happening to his own people. "YOU DON'T NEED GAS CHAMBERS: WHEN YOU PU CHILDREN WHER WHEREES THERE'S NOC FOOD, GAS CHAMBERS WOULD MAKE A NEARER DEATH."

"The So Afr govt had estroyed stable communities , 3½ m people had been dumped like rubbish into arid Bantustans. God's chil ren made to starve by deliberate govt policy. Thru forcing Black wrkmen to live 11 months a year away from their families, family life was being deliberately destroyed by a govt which had dedicated a special day to the sanctity of ~~the~~ family/ life.

OSLO(UPI) 12/12/84 - likened his nation's apartheid system to Adolf Hitler's "final solution." / "Blacks are systematically being stripped of their So African citizenship and being tured into aliens in the land of their birth, at Oslo Univ auditor where he was ayded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize

"This is apartheid's final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness

denial of blacks political rights except in what it calls independednt tribal homelands set up in small barren areas of So Afr/ eventaulay process would mean the nation's 23 m balcks would be citizens of homelands and not the So Afr nation.

nonviolent crusade aainst apartheid, charged So Afr 4.5 million member white minority had saken 87% of land./I come from a brautiful land richly endowed by God...but apartheid has confirmed some in their selfish ness causing them to grasp greed ly a disporpt share of the country.

audience incl former So Afr polit prisoner Denis Goldberg

ISRAEL

Tutu - (1) some So Afr Jews, (2) condemn Israel-So Afr ties

speaking to a packed assembly of Brit

JTA March 11, 87 (London, March 10, 87) Jews, Yakar Jewish Ed Foundation in

NW London, 3 day visit to Brit

praised the contribution of some So Afr Jews to the struggle against apartheid, but ROUNDLY CONDEMNED ISRAELI LINKS WITH SO AFR GOVT.

*Mag
art*

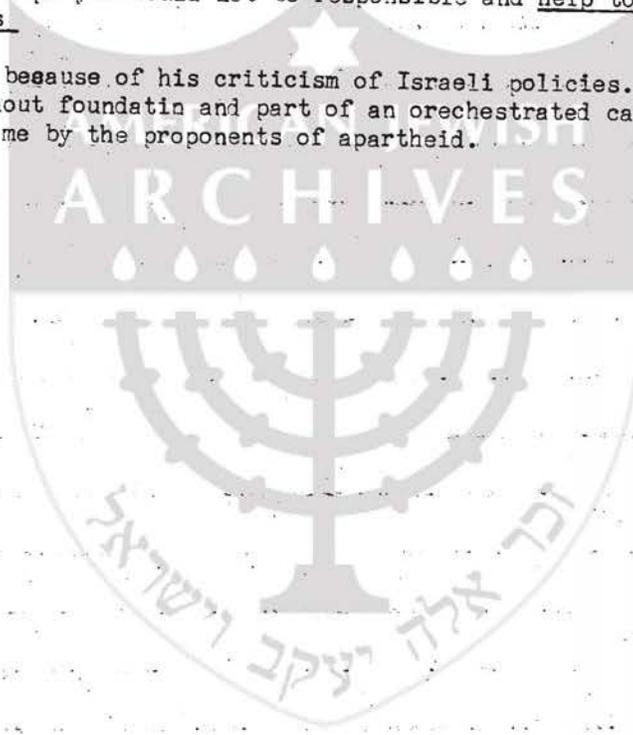
"ISRAEL'S INTEGRITY AND EXISTENCE MUST BE GUARANTEED. BUT I CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW A PEOPLE WITY YOUR HISTORY WOULD HAVE A STATE THAT WOULD COLLABORATE IN MILIATARY matters with South Afr and carry out policies that are a mirror image of some of the things from your people suffered.

"I am very firmly opposed to apartheid and will oppose anything that helps it, from whatever sources."

London, 3/11/87 (JTA) - spoke approvingly of the massive popular demonstr in Tel Aviv against the Phalangist massacres in the Palest refugee camps of Sa Sabra and Shatill in Beirut.

ANTI-J TERRORISM - he had no difficulty in condemning evil from wherever it comes, "I'd long desperately to see Shalom in that part of the world.. but I'd hope you would not be responsible and help to make other people refugees

ANTI-S? because of his criticism of Israeli policies. "These charges are without foundatin and part of an orchestrated campaign of vilification against me by the proponents of apartheid.



Tuvia Desmonde

Y Neiman David

3/12/87

BOSTON COLLEGE
CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS 02167

DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY
(617) 552-3880

March 12, 1987

MAR 18 1987

Dear Dr. Gordis:

Here is a copy of the article I wrote which appeared in MIDSTREAM
in May of 1985.

Cordially,

David
David Neiman

Dr. David M. Gordis
Executive Vice President
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022



Controversy persists over report on Tutu's remarks

By Joseph Polakoff

Washington (Special) — Controversy extending through four months over a report in the Boston Jewish Times that attributed anti-Semitic remarks to Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa appears to have ebbed pending outcome of the prelate's presumed visit later this year to Israel.

While the matter in the Boston newspaper regarding the prelate's views was originally reported more than a year ago by columnist Benno Varon, a former Israeli ambassador to Central America who had met him in South Africa, controversy began heightening last fall with additional reports that aroused wide international attention.

A climax was reached on Feb. 18 when the American Jewish Committee's president, Theodore Ellenoff, termed a report in the Boston weekly "baseless and inflammatory" and declared that both South African Jewish spokesman and Archbishop Tutu have "categorically denied these charges."

Ellenoff's statement referred to the report three months earlier, on Nov. 27, that alleged Archbishop Tutu told a closed meeting of the board of Deputies of South African Jews in 1984 that "Jews were the biggest exploiters of Blacks, so they must suffer," and that "there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the Blacks take over."

The report also said that the Board failed to publicize these remarks "out of fear that Tutu would become even more anti-Jewish."

Ellenoff cautioned that "the crisis afflicting South Africa is a natural breeding ground for sensationalistic and false reports about prominent political figures there" and that "in addition to distorting the truth, such reports confuse and inflame debate about South Africa at a time when clear-headed thinking is required from all those who oppose apartheid and support non-violent demo-

cratic change."

Stan Lukin, publisher and editor of the Boston newspaper the last four years and a member of the American Jewish Press Association, confirmed Ellenoff's quotations from his paper were accurate. He found no fault with the committee nor the Philadelphia Exponent which, Lukin said, had also condemned the report.

"There's nothing wrong with the committee criticizing an American Jewish paper," he said in a telephone interview. "I don't object to it. Neither is there anything wrong with the Philadelphia Exponent. I'm not offended by that. The question is Tutu. There's just too much smoke here. Too many examples, at the very least, of theological anti-Semitism."

"Tutu is to be in Israel later this year. Let's see what happens from that trip. Nothing would delight me more than to find there is not one shred of evidence supporting the accusation that Tutu is an anti-Semite."

Lukin said an Israeli newsletter called "Israeli News Bulletin" which is published three times monthly and has a post office box address on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, quoted from speeches allegedly made by the archbishop, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, in New York, Hartford and other places in America.

"I ran the item under a headline on Page 21 on Nov. 27, 1986, 'Jews must suffer,' says Bishop Tutu."

"The response from that was the greatest since I owned the paper," Lukin said. Fifteen phone calls came from South Africa, "disagreeing and agreeing and expressing interest in learning more," he said. "Calls came from all over America. ABC News, talk shows, the Washington Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, from lobby and special interest groups."

To back up his information, Lukin said, he contacted the Jewish Community Relations Council in Hartford.

"We confirmed," he said, "the spirit of anti-Semitism in his speech there (Hartford) if not the letter. We have the text of the entire speech."

March 19, 1987

Rabbi David Neiman
Boston College
Department of Theology
Chestnut Hill, MA 02167

Dear David::

Many thanks for your letter of March 12th and the enclosed reprint of your very thoughtful article on Bishop Tutu. I read it with great interest. You make some very good and important observations. The larger questions of the appropriate strategy for the Jewish community, both in relation to Tutu and the South African question generally, remain troubling and unresolved.

It was a joy to spend an evening with you last week. I hope our paths cross again soon.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Dr. David M. Gordis

DMG:stg

[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Little Honor Own Land

**Tutu, Honored Around World,
Angers Many in South Africa**

W.P. C 10 4.5.86

By Adrian Croft
Reuter

JOHANNESBURG—To most people outside South Africa, Bishop Desmond Tutu is a widely honored man of peace. To some white South Africans, he is an ogre intent on subverting the white-dominated country.

The black bishop who won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize is often attacked in the South African media, some whites have stopped contributing to the Anglican church to protest his political views, and he has received several death threats.

"What supreme irony," Tutu told a recent news conference in Johannesburg. "The world keeps honoring us . . . Yet in our home country, the government and most of its white supporters regard us as the devil incarnate and its agents in the press and radio and television go to extreme lengths to vilify and discredit us."

His call this week for worldwide economic sanctions against South Africa to force an end to apartheid is sure to bring increased criticism, if not something worse.

The progovernment media condemned Tutu for saying during a recent trip to the United States that it was time the West supported the goals of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), a guerrilla group fighting white rule in South Africa.

Cabinet Minister Chris Heunis voiced shock at "this call by the bishop, who has been internationally honored for his contribution to peace . . . His backing of a terrorist organization can only be described as deplorable."

Tutu, 54, came back to South Africa saying he could not understand what all the fuss was about. He said he supported the aims of the ANC but not its violent methods.

A few weeks later, the bishop came under renewed attack in the media when he joined other churchmen in urging foreign banks not to help Pretoria resolve a foreign debt crisis precipitated by mass violence in black townships.



ASSOCIATED P

Tutu urges foreign banks not to help Pretoria resolve debt crisis and voices sympathy for radical ANC.

Tutu ran into opposition from an unexpected quarter in February when he was booed by some sections of a huge crowd he was addressing in Johannesburg's black township of Alexandra. Until recently, Tutu would have held any black crowd in the palm of his hand.

The bishop was trying to mediate between the government and residents of the township, where at least 22 blacks were killed in four days of riots. The youths were disappointed with the noncommittal response to their demands that Tutu brought back from the government.

Tutu said in an interview that he was saddened but not surprised by the black youths' response. "Those young chappies were saying that I must agree that they should go and attack the police. I said, 'No, I can't.'"

Tutu believes that he and others who oppose violence will one day be crushed by the militant township youth, but he said that he will not alter his stance.

"It is a position that I hold with every part of my being. If it is one that is going to lead to my

rejection, then so be it. I will not change it in order to curry favor," he said.

"My position is not determined by political maneuvering . . . I think even my worst enemy would agree that I do seem to have a measure of consistency. I am saying the same things; these will not change . . ."

Although some Anglicans had withheld funds from the church because of his activities, some whites wrote to him to express their support, he said.

Of the death threats, he said, "In the end, I have just got to say: 'God, I am doing your will . . . If You think I must be pushed off center stage, okay.'"

Despite his high profile, Tutu says he would not consider taking a role in any future black majority government.

"I don't have the capacity to be a politician, it is possible that the people could demand, but I think once our leaders are back . . . we will then do the things that we love doing, being preachers."

South Africa — a Lebanon?

3-14-88

By Desmond M. Tutu

CAPE TOWN

Black South Africans have exercised the most remarkable patience in pressing for their human rights.

In the 1950's, they launched a nonviolent defiance campaign. In 1960, their peaceful protests were met with the bullets of Sharpeville and the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress. With nothing to show for half a century of pleading, the black leadership went underground or into exile to begin an armed struggle.

But the peaceful campaigning went on, with Steve Biko and other young black intellectuals forging a new philosophy of black consciousness that helped people assert their humanity and self-respect. The uprisings of 1976 began as peaceful protests by our children against their fifth-rate education and turned violent only in reaction to police bullets.

In the 1980's, the pattern has continued. While increasing numbers, the young in particular, have chosen violence as a last resort, many of us still explore every last possible peaceful avenue for change. We have developed a range of organizations (the largest of which is the United Democratic Front, a coalition of about 600 anti-apartheid groups) whose purpose is to resist a Government that in 1984 went so far as to incorporate apartheid into the Constitution by creating separate chambers of Parliament for different races.

We have used many nonviolent ways of trying to bring change, such as strikes, rent strikes and consumer boycotts. The authorities have responded by declaring states of emergency and tightening emergency regulations. They ban peaceful protest, they detain our children and they ban our leaders. Step by step, since 1985, President P. W. Botha's Government has closed off avenue after avenue of peaceful political change — most recently, last week's ban on the newly formed Committee for the Defense of Democracy.

At the same time, Mr. Botha isn't even delivering the "reforms" he promised us. A few years ago, many claimed that the Government's "final solution" — its policy of uprooting people from their homes and dumping them to starve in the bantustans in pursuance of its aim of segregation — had been abandoned. Now we hear otherwise. In Mr. Botha's old parliamentary seat, the authorities want to remove the people of a small place called Lawaakamp. When the people appealed, he told them he was op-

Desmond M. Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1984, is Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

posed to forced removal "unless it is accompanied by the provision of better living standards."

Just over a fortnight ago, the Government removed nearly all effective means of working for true change by peaceful means when it prohibited political activity by 18 organizations and banned 18 leaders.

What other church leaders and I found particularly horrifying were the restrictions placed on two leaders of the United Democratic Front who had been advocates of peace in two of the most desperate crisis areas of our land — at a squatter camp in Cape Town and the townships around Pietermaritzburg in Natal province.

In an unusually strong statement, we argued that when we saw the banning of these leaders, the harassment of peacemakers, the Government's failure to arrest people against whom there is clear evidence of murder and assault, we could only conclude that "the authorities are deliberately obstructing peace in our country and en-

It's time for
Washington,
London
and Bonn
to make new
demands
on
Pretoria.

couraging violence among our people."

"Their purpose," we said, "is to use surrogate forces to smash effective opposition to their heretical policy of apartheid, and to insure as far as possible that it is the blood of black people, and not of white people, that is spilled in pursuance of their aim."

If allowed to continue, the deliberate incitement of violence in our country will turn it into a Lebanon-like wasteland.

We felt so strongly about this that on Feb. 29 we tried to proceed to Parliament to present a petition calling on the Government to turn from the path it had chosen. The most creative response to a peaceful act of Christian witness that the Government could come up with was to arrest us all.

It has become abundantly clear that the present Government has chosen a military option for the future. The Law and Order Minister, Adrian J. Vlok, has spoken openly of

the need to "eliminate radicals and revolutionaries."

Not only does the Government threaten the security and lives of the people of South Africa, it is destabilizing the whole of Southern Africa and threatening the interests in the region of its major trading partners, including the United States, Britain and West Germany. Even if its most extravagant claims of offering a power sharing deal with blacks were to be believed, they offer nothing more than token black faces in the Cabinet. The Government has no intention of relinquishing control.

As one who believes that one ought never to resort to violence under any circumstances, I also believe there can come a time — as when the Nazis invaded Europe — when it is justified to take up arms to overthrow an unjust system. I can therefore sympathize with those South Africans who have already decided that violence is justified.

For myself, though, I agree with Dr. Allan Boesak, head of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and a patron of the United Democratic Front, when he says that we must not descend to the Government's level in responding to its latest actions with violence. That is the reason that a number of us in Cape Town formed the Committee for the Defense of Democracy to fight peacefully against the Government's suppression of its opponents. And now, the Government has chosen to ban even this group.

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that those of us who ask desperate people to take nonviolent action are filled with despair when they learn that the U.S. and Britain have once again vetoed international attempts to do the same. The American and British decisions to veto sanctions in the U.N. Security Council were all the more staggering in the light of the South African representative's arrogant challenge to the Security Council to "do your damndest."

I want to issue a challenge to the American, British and West German Governments. You say you are against apartheid. If you are, then make three demands of the South African Government:

First, the state of emergency must be lifted.

Second, last month's restrictions against our peoples' organizations and leaders must be lifted.

Third, detainees, particularly children, must be tried in open courts or released.

If the Government does not meet these demands, you must cut diplomatic ties. That would not be a radical step to take in the circumstances. It's not going to cost jobs and lives. It would be a gesture, but a dramatic one with profound psychological consequences for those who wield power in South Africa.

Or do you want another Lebanon? □

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



MIDSTREAM

A Monthly Jewish Review

MAY, 1985

VOLUME XXXI, No. 5

ARTICLES

- 3 JOEL CARMICHAEL *The Kingdom of God and the KGB*
10 J.A. EMERSON VERMAAT *The World Council of Churches and the Agony of Southeast Asia*
17 PAUL GINIEWSKI *Is the Diaspora Eternal?*

FICTION

- 21 SHOLOM ALEICHEM *Two Stories*

POETRY

- 20 ABRAHAM SUTZKEVER *Don't Sing the Sorrowful*
24 MARIE SYRKIN *Oh, Diaspora!*

ESSAY

- 25 MOSES ABERBACH *Josephus and His Critics — A Reassessment*

HISTORY

- 30 GERSHON MAMLAK *An Early Diaspora: The Point of Purim*

TOPICS

- 33 MARSHALL J. BREGER *"Zionism Equals Racism" — The Campaign*
36 DAVID NEIMAN *Bishop Tutu and the Jews*
38 GLORIA L. CHARNES *Something in a Name*

ISRAEL

- 41 HAIM CHERTOK *"My Home Is Over Jordan"*
44 ERIC ROZENMAN *Four Voices*
48 JAMES A. LEWIN *Notes from the Western Wall*

MEMOIR

- 52 SIDNEY HOOK *Encounter with Espionage*

REVIEW ESSAY

- 56 EDNA KRANE *Shylock — Symbol or Stereotype?*

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

- 59 MICHAEL RÜBNER *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel, by Stephen Green*
60 WILLIAM KLUBACK *Martin Buber. A Centenary Volume, Haim Gordon, Jochanan Bloch, eds.*
62 ALEXANDER WOHL *The Jews of Hope — The Plight of Soviet Jewry Today, by Martin Gilbert*

LETTERS

- 63 INNA HECKER GRADE, LEWIS H. WEINSTEIN, ASHBEL GREEN,
EUGENE RACHLIS, CURT LEVIANT

MIDSTREAM — A Monthly Jewish Review, published monthly, except June-July and August-September, when bi-monthly, by The Theodor Herzl Foundation, Inc. Board of Directors: Kalman Sultanik, Chairman; Charlotte Jacobson, Vice-Chairman; Isadore Hamlin, Secretary; Allen Pollack, Israel Miller, Emanuel Rackman, Marie Syrkin, 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022. Subscription: \$15.00 a year, \$25.00 for two years, \$35.00 for three years. Single copy \$2.00. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. 10001. Copyright © 1985 by The Theodor Herzl Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, Index to Jewish Periodicals, The American Humanities Index, Guide to Social Science and Religion in Periodical Literature, and Index of Articles on Jewish Studies. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by return postage. Postmaster: Send address changes to — MIDSTREAM 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

Delgado
Israel -

T-12

198, 205, 205, 225, 293, 311, 312
(76, 177, 205, 228, 331, 358)

6/11/88

USSR - thanks - no selfish interest

MAZUS

Foreign [Nazis] - Croatia - Foreign Jews?

Since 1948 when Afrikaner Govt (Dutch descent) took power, apartheid has been law.

There are frightening similarities between the Nuremberg laws of 1935 & the legal system of apartheid. There is also one major difference. Nazi law was designed to eliminate Jews.

Apartheid law is designed to deny blacks & coloreds CITIZENSHIP, WEDDING, BUSINESS, CHOICE OF SPOUSE, CHOICE OF PLACE TO LIVE. (A MAJORITY HAVE 'RIGHTS' AS AMERICANS RECEIVE THEM)

Blacks, coloreds are imprisoned, tortured, 'banned' & even murdered for trying to gain rights of occupation & self-determination

11/10/86
Week 10

simpleistic fundamentalism -
apocalyptic - nuclear scathed earth

charming, playful,
mischievous self

his appointed
messiah
from God -
role to be
righteous
nations
a promise
that
God has
given
the
world
Symbol of
SA's own
future -
narrow image

Chosen people - perfection (we are all sinners)
ideal used as club / but silent on Xmas, New Year

ideal typical. ideal projection - theology not history

- opportunism / rash
- danger of becoming old news (SA control of news)
- God takes side of oppressor!

Holocaust - sympathy for Jews / limited possibility of sympathy
for nation / Calculus - if one can rescue 1 for Jews, it might
be transferable to black So. Africans - victims should not
be competing, they should be helping one another

- Total holes to be hated

P. 358 (most RC of Anglican traditions)
CONSERVATIVE & MOD - 'we can be like the Israelis & take the world to
get stuffed. F - the world!'

political
warfare

- Israel - South Africa - cooperate on security & boundary matters

- Zionism is poison / techniques for suppressing uprising

+ - thank God, Israel came into being / ought to be treated
with integrity

- condemned all forms of terrorism from any source
- condemned anti-S. ^{1970-77 JTA - London} ^{SA Jews joined struggle, but}
condemned Israeli links w. S. Africa

- Black-Jewish relations will not improve until Israel
categorically ^{requires} ^{respects} ties to South Africa

11/21/89

- We blacks cannot understand how people with your kind of history
(can) allow the fruit of Israel, as distinct from its people, to share the
kind of relationship it does with So. Africa ^{(17M in total trade among SA trading}
^{partners (from Jewish}

+ Train South African medical workers - \$100,000

02/2/89

- distressed by Israel's collaboration w. So Africa which is 'carrying
out policies that are so reminiscent of Hitler's African madness

major
variant - some Israeli relations / NBC News report Israel helping SA
develop advanced missile technology / NBC report based on American security
sources, reports Bush admin to pressure Israel can't help. issue of behind - cynical
way of holding our hands to the fire

MARC H. TANENBAUM
International Consultant
American Jewish Committee

45 East 89th Street
New York, NY 10128

PLEASE RUSH

212-831-2952 FAX: 212-876-8351

DATE: - January 8, 1980

TO: Mr. Howard Goldberg, OP-ED, New York Times

FAX #: - 556 - 4100

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES
INCLUDING COVER SHEET - 5

MESSAGE AREA

Dear Howard,

I hope the enclosed article
on Tutu is acceptable. I will be at home
(831-2952) after 4 p.m.

Look forward to hearing from you.

IF THIS BOX IS CHECKED, PLEASE FAX BACK TO CONFIRM RECEIPT
OF THIS FAX.

RESPONSE AREA

Best,
Marc

THE ABOVE FAX WAS RECEIVED GARBLED. PLEASE RESEND FAX.

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY
COMMENTARY (575 words)

FOR RELEASE
JANUARY 12, 1990

ARCHBISHOP TUTU IS MORE ANTI-JEWISH THAN HE ACKNOWLEDGES

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Copyright 1990, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.)

-NEW YORK

I first met Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop of South Africa and Nobel laureate, in his church in October 1985. Helen Suzman, the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's parliament, arranged for an American Jewish Committee delegation to meet with Tutu for a frank discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

After the usual courtesies, the archbishop launched into a long lecture to us about how apartheid is the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust, and the Jews are spectators to the black tragedy.

Suzman -- as did we all -- bristled with anger. She was the first member of the South African parliament to campaign against the evils of apartheid more than a quarter century before Tutu was on the scene. She also organized the first liberal party in South Africa to combat apartheid.

"Listen, Desmond," Suzman said, "I have devoted my entire life and career to battling against apartheid. Terrible and tragic as is apartheid, it is no way the equivalent of the Nazi Holocaust which tried to destroy physically the entire Jewish people. I wish you would stop exploiting that great Jewish tragedy for your purposes."

Tutu seemed to be embarrassed and remained silent for awhile.

But he obviously has not remained silent since then. He has consistently exploited Judaism and the Jewish historic experience. I am not sure whether he really believes what he has been saying about Jews and Judaism, or whether he is cynically distorting -- even raping -- Jewish sancta for his own dramatic purposes.

In 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he asserted that apartheid owes its origins to the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated Gentiles from Jews, was the earliest form of apartheid, Tutu said. So what about the courtyards that separated priests from Levites, from Israelites, men from women? Did that make the Jews anti-Semitic?

Then, he freely spoke about the "arrogance of Jewish power" and "the Jewish lobby." Tutu seems to have memorized the Protocols of the Elders of Zion as well as he has the Bible.

Now, on his latest visit to Israel, he flamboyantly calls for the creation of a Palestinian state, and calls on the Jews to forgive the Nazis. Support unconditionally for a PLO-dominated state is another irresponsible monkey wrench tossed gratuitously into the delicate peace process that is painstakingly being put together.

And while affronting Jews for not forgiving the Nazis sounds very Christian, I have not yet heard Archbishop Tutu call on 23 million blacks in South Africa to forgive the racist Afrikaaners.

Indeed, this self-styled disciple of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi declared on Jan. 25, 1986, in New York, "I believe there are situations where one has to use force."

Examining the record of Archbishop Tutu's declarations over recent years, I have come to the conclusion that his mind-set is that of the medieval Christian tradition, which believed that Jews are morally exhausted and that Christianity has come to supersede Judaism as a "superior" form of religion. Thus, we see it is classic anti-Judaism which feeds his consistent pattern of anti-Jewish attitudes. Some Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant to the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

Israel
secure
borderless

Commentary

165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022
(212) 751-4000



NORMAN PODHORETZ, EDITOR

January 25, 1990

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
45 East 89th Street
New York, N. Y. 10128

Dear Marc: AMERICAN JEWISH

I really think this piece properly belongs not in Commentary but in a weekly like the New Republic or (better still) on the New York Times op-ed page (which would, of course, require a shortened version). In any case, thanks for letting me see the manuscript, which certainly made my blood boil.

Yours,

NP:hr

Norman Podhoretz

ARCHBISHOP TUTU AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican primate of South Africa and 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, is clearly the most visible international symbol of the just struggle against apartheid. He is at the same time rapidly becoming a stormy embodiment of suspicion and strain between Black and Jewish communities in many parts of the world.

Since the days of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s non-violent leadership of the civil rights movement, a majority of American Jews have been profoundly committed to justice and full human rights for African-Americans, but also for South African and other black peoples. These sensibilities, forged by prophetic values of social justice and the Jewish historic experience of anti-Semitism and persecution, leaped to vigorous life in consequence of unshakable Jewish trust in Dr. King.

Dr. King did not play semantic or political games with Jews. Jews knew they could count on him, and he knew he counted on the Jewish people. He unambiguously supported Israel's security, and advocated the human rights of Soviet Jewry and all other peoples. He opposed every form of anti-Semitism and bigotry in word and deed. He appreciated with special understanding the uniqueness of the "final solution" for the Jews and its singular horrors/under the Nazis, while not minimizing the sufferings of other peoples in World War II.

In heartfelt response, American Jews marched with Dr. King, demonstrated, were cattle-pronged, beaten, imprisoned, and did everything possible financially and politically to help the movement succeed during its long, tortuous struggle. Some Jews even sacrificed their lives.

TUTU

- 2 -

Tanenbaum

Archbishop Tutu appears to be unraveling much of Dr. King's historic bonding with the Jews in the United States, Israel, and elsewhere. Often with beguiling humor, the Anglican divine since 1984 has been denigrating virtually everything sacred or important to Jews - religion, history, culture, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel.

For some time, many Jews - myself included - have resisted the easy temptation of characterizing Archbishop Tutu as anti-Semitic. The cause of dismantling the monstrous evils of the apartheid system is morally urgent. The archbishop is a man of stature and has made an historic contribution to this epochal struggle for freedom and human decency. His vital role should not be compromised by demagogic polemics. Indeed, most Jewish leaders I know have wanted to trust and support Archbishop Tutu and the anti-apartheid campaign as they did the late Dr. King and the civil rights movement.

But regrettably, even tragically, the archbishop himself has been compromising his role. He has been systematically undermining Jewish trust in him, and the evidence has become increasingly disturbing. Beneath his smiles and occasional "friendly" words of reconciliation between Blacks and Jews, Archbishop Tutu appears to be constructing a subtle anti-Jewish mythology.

That emerging mythos is a fusion of traditional Christian anti-Jewish themes - which he learned in his parochial mission schools to which he was confined in his early fundamentalist training - with more recent forms of a Third World radical ideology. That strange fusion of ancient religion and liberation politics stigmatize both Judaism and Zionism as racist - in the mode of the obscene United Nations resolution.

The record of Tutu's statements has become lengthy, therefore, these representative citations will serve to illustrate the issues:

TUTU

-3 - Tanenbaum

On Judaism as "racism"

On November 28, 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Archbishop Tutu asserted, quite incredibly, that apartheid in effect was incubated in the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated ritually Gentiles from Jews, the Anglican cleric stated, was the earliest form of apartheid.

These were his precise words: "The historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles are separated by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple (which was) a kind of model which reflects the racial separation in South Africa."

But the temple courtyards also ritually separated the Israelite priests from the Levites, from the ordinary Israelites, and men from women. Did that make the early Palestinian Jews anti-Semitic?

One month earlier, on October 23, 1984, the archbishop preached a sermon at the prestigious St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Darien, Connecticut, in which he compared "apartheid with ancient Jewish practices." According to the Hartford Courant (October 29, 1984), "Tutu cited what he said was the refusal of ancient Jews to allow gentiles into the Temple in Jerusalem. Just as the Temple was destroyed because it walled out many," he said, "so the South African laws that separate blacks from and whites must fall."

Tutu then added, "The Jews thought they had a monopoly on God. Jesus was angry that they could shut out other human beings."

It would literally take a treatise to separate fact from fiction, and to correct the distortions of Temple religion and history in these off-hand statements. On the alleged Jewish "monopoly on God" canard and Jesus' anger, suffice it to say that the revolutionary concept of God as the Creator of all mankind Jesus learned from the Hebrew Scriptures, the only Bible that he read and studied in the Synagogue.

TUTU

- 4 -

Tanenbaum

On "Jewish Arrogance and Power"

Tutu rejected any criticism that these "Temple sermons" verged on theological anti-Semitism. During his November 25, 1984, address at the Jewish seminary, he responded: "This Jewish sensitivity comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people woo their support."

To his caricatures of the Hebraic religion in Biblical ~~religious~~ times, the archbishop now adds the new mix of 19th century conspiratorial fantasies about the Jews in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a potent anti-Jewish brew of past and present hostile imagery.

The Holocaust - "Forgive the Nazis"

On July 26, 1985, the Jerusalem Post quotes Tutu as expressing his resentment against "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust," and "the Jewish monopoly on suffering."

During his Christmas 1989 visit to Israel (actually to the West Bank and East Jerusalem), the archbishop adjusted his schedule at the last minute to come to the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial. Following his visit, he offered this message to world Jewry:

"Our Lord would say that in the end the positive thing that can come is the spirit of forgiving, not forgetting...We pray for those who made it happen, help us to forgive them and help us so that we in our turn will not make others suffer."

Tutu's pious and presumptuous comments enraged most Jews and for several very real reasons. First, it was clearly a statement of the ancient polemical contrast between Christian forgiveness and alleged Jewish vengefulness. This was heard as coming from a prominent Christian leader whose classic faith has refused for nearly 2,000 years "to forgive" the entire Jewish people for the alleged single crime of the Crucifixion of Jesus, and has inflicted untold vengeance and punishment

TUTU

- 5 -

Tanenbaum

on the Jews for two millenia.

Second, the point of the moral message seemed to be less the issue of forgiveness than to preach to the Israelis that they should not behave like the Nazis and "make others" suffer. Or put more bluntly, forgive the real Nazis, and attack the Israelis, the mythic "new Nazis."

(A Jewish religious reaction against Tutu's preachment is that Judaism requires genuine repentance by the sinner before one can realize forgiveness. Repentance (teshuvah) call for an unambiguous acknowledgment of wrong-doing, an overwhelming sense of shame for one's evil deeds, a determination to change, and then demonstration of an actual change of behavior. These are the preconditions to forgiveness - especially if the sinner participated in the attempted massacre of an entire people. Some Christian theologians would call Tutu's form of forgiveness "cheap grace," which ultimately becomes an encouragement to do more violence since there is no real accountability.)

Talking about forgiveness, strange, but the good archbishop has not appealed to the 23 million Blacks in South Africa "to forgive" the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this disciple of non-violence of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Ghandi, declared on January 10, 1986, in a Washington Post interview:

"You may find that even placid, quiet people like us have suddenly picked up stones and we are fighting."

In an apocalyptic mood expressed in that interview, the archbishop warned that there could be a time of "naked terrorism" in South Africa, with "militant black attacks" on "all school buses (which) carry only white children" and "black servants poisoning the morning coffee of their white masters."

TUTU

1/6 -

Tanenbaum

The desperate feelings of Archbishop Tutu over the frightful plight of his people are completely understandable. Having seen for myself the oppressive conditions and suffering of black people at the racist hands of many white South Africans, I empathize strongly with his fears and angers.

My point has to do with double standards. If a Jew, and especially an Israeli, had spoken to the press about the uses of "naked terrorism" against the Arab states and PLO factions - who have repeatedly declared their intentions to destroy Israel with missiles and poison gas - I rather suspect that Archbishop Tutu would see nothing morally wrong in lecturing Jews on the evils of abandoning their historic mission of being "a light unto the nations." Self-defense for South African blacks, and every other people, is indeed morally justifiable; for the Jews and/or Israelis, Tutu preaches that it means you have "lost direction and are untrue to you/calling." (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 28, 1984).

~~Thus, the only Jews Tutu seems able to comprehend are mythological but dead Jews of the Bible. Real Jews, living with all the dilemmas of the modern world, do not exist for him, and if they do, it is only because they will practice Christian forgiveness.~~

On Israel and a Palestinian state;

In his latest visit to Israel during Christmas week~~end~~ 1989, he assured the world that "the Jewish State has the full right to territorial integrity and security." Lest his lapse into sympathy for Israel be misunderstood, he immediately equated Israel with South Africa and called for the creation of a Palestinian state.

"I find worrisome parallels between the way the Government of Israel and South Africa react to unrest," Archbishop Tutu is quoted as saying in The New York Times (December 24, 1989.) "If I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank could describe events in South Africa."

TUTU

- 7 -

Tanenbaum

Earlier, on March 10, 1987, in a talk before British Jews in London, the archbishop said, "Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, But I cannot understand how a people with your history would have a state...that would carry out policies that are a mirror image of some of the things from which your people suffered." ((Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 11, 1987.)

On November 28, 1984, in New York, he accused Israel of having "connived" in the massacres of Palestinian women and children ~~in~~ at the Sabra and Shattila refugee camps in Beirut in 1982. His conclusion contradicted the findings of the Kahan judicial inquiry which gave evidence that the massacres were carried out ~~by~~ by Ph^angist Christians ~~against~~ against Palestinian Muslims.

Thus to Tutu, Zionism is equivalent to racism. But in fact he has gone beyond the United Nations declaration by stating in a speech at Oslo University on December 12, 1984, that apartheid against the blacks is the equal of Nazism's "final solution" against the Jews. Saying that South African blacks are "being turned into aliens in the land of their birth," he asserted that "this is apartheid's final solution just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (UPI, December 12, 1984.)

The syllogism now has taken form: South Africa's apartheid is the equivalent of Adolf Hitler's "final solution" of the Jews; Israel's "repression" of the Palestinians (dramatized by "connivance" over the Sabra and Shattila massacres) is equivalent to South Africa's apartheid; therefore, the Israelis are carrying out Nazi-like policies of "a final solution" against the Palestinians.

Thus, the pattern of Archbishop Tutu's views toward Jews and Israel raise some troublesome and unanswered questions:

Why is he seeking to minimize, if not relativize, the Nazi holocaust's meaning for Jews? Is there an ideological calculus that the Nazi holocaust and the final solution have absorbed such massive emotional intensity in the U.S. and the Western world, that there is little space left for any comparable intensity of moral

TUTU

- 8 - Tanenbaum

and emotional response to the claims of apartheid?

A method would seem to be developing among Tutu, ~~xxxx~~ and some other black leaders, to relativize the Nazi holocaust and absolutize apartheid. Is it really necessary to break the so-called "Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust...and on suffering" in order to make the case that "apartheid is the final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (Oslo, Dec. 12, 1984).

Tutu drives home the relativizing of the Holocaust by saying, "some of the most terrible things Jews had experienced were happening to his own people. You don't need gas chambers; when you put children where there is no food, gas chambers would make a neater death." (London, March 10, 1987, Jewish Telegraphic Agency.)

There are frightening similarities between the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and the "legal" system of apartheid. There is, however, one fundamental and decisive difference: the evil system of apartheid was established in 1948 to deprive 23 million blacks in South Africa of their essential human rights. The Nazis' "final solution" was conceived as a program to deprive the entire Jewish people of life itself.

The same religious-ideological calculus appears to be extended to Israel by the Archbishop and others who share his strategy. Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, Tutu says, but Israel is a Nazi-like state that inflicts an apartheid existence on Palestinians and makes them into refugees. (There is never any suggestion that the Arab states and the PLO may have contributed to this tragic circumstance.) Thus, whatever moral claims Israel has on the conscience of the world is being systematically eroded by this stance.

In sum, if we understand Archbishop Tutu accurately, the Jews do not have a monopoly on God; they have lost their "chosenness" and have ceased to be "a light unto the nations;" they suffer from "an arrogance of power;" "they claim a monopoly on suffering," and the Jewish State is a mirror image of the Nazi state.

The real tragedy is that two victim peoples have been cast into competing with one another over who is the greater victim, rather than face together their

Reply no - 10/23/90

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 16, 1990

Rabbi Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
45 E. 89th St., Apt 18F
New York, NY 10128

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Our new president, former Congressman Bob Edgar, has asked me to contact you and invite you to become a charter member of the National Advisory Board of the School of Theology at Claremont. As Chair of the Board of Trustees, I am delighted to ask you to participate in this exciting new venture. Similar to what some schools call a "Board of Visitors", this new National Advisory Board will help STC plan for the future of theological education.

I am enclosing some important background material on STC. You will note that we have a rich history and an international reputation as a "reconciling community of religious scholars." With the arrival of our new president, we invite you to join us in shaping a creative future for this great institution.

The first meeting of the National Advisory Board will be held from 8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., on Wednesday, December 5, 1990, in the Butler Lounge on the STC campus in Claremont, California. This meeting will follow the formal December 4 inauguration of Dr. Bob Edgar. I hope you will join us for both occasions, but especially for the National Advisory Board meeting.

In a few days, you will receive additional details and information from President Edgar. Please review the enclosed material and get back to us as soon as possible concerning your willingness to serve.

October 16, 1990

page two

I look forward to seeing you in December at the inaugural celebration and especially for the first meeting of the STC National Advisory Board.

Sincerely,



Roy D. Miller
Chair, Board of Trustees

RDM/nkm
Enclosures



NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1990

- _____ Yes, I would like to be a charter member of the
National Advisory Board for the School of Theology.
- _____ No, I will not be able to participate on the
National Advisory Board.
- _____ Yes, I will be able to attend the first meeting of the
National Advisory Board on Wednesday, December 5th.
- _____ Sorry, I will not be able to attend this particular
meeting of the National Advisory Board.

(please print name)



THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT
Office of the President
1325 North College Avenue
Claremont, CA 91711-3199

OP-ED (Draft)

The New York Times

IS ARCHBISHOP TUTU AN ANTI-SEMITE?

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

I first met Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican primate of South Africa and Nobel Laureate, in his parish church in October 1985. Helen Suzman, then the feisty anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's parliament, arranged for a small Jewish delegation to meet with Tutu for a discussion about apartheid and black-Jewish relations.

After the usual friendly courtesies, the archbishop launched into a long lecture to us about how apartheid is the equivalent of the Nazi holocaust, and that the Jews are spectators to the black tragedy.

Suzman - as did we all - bristled with anger. She was the first member of the South African parliament to campaign against the evils of apartheid more than a quarter century before Tutu came on the scene. She also led in organizing the Progressive Federal Party whose main objective was to combat apartheid. Her life had been threatened numerous times by racist Afrikaaners.

"Listen, Desmond," Suzman said, "I have devoted my entire life and career to battling against apartheid. Terrible and tragic as it is, apartheid is in no way the equivalent of the Nazi holocaust. Apartheid deprives black people of their most basic human rights. The Nazis tried to deprive the entire Jewish people of life itself."

Suzman added, "Apartheid's evil stands morally condemned on its own terms. It does not require you to exploit that great Jewish tragedy to make its case."

Tutu seemed to be embarrassed and remained silent for awhile.

But obviously he has not remained silent since then. Alas, with growing frequency he has denigrated Judaism and the Jewish historic experience, which,

Let the record speak for itself:

In 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, quite incredibly Archbishop Tutu asserted /that apartheid owes its origins to the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The Temple courtyard which separated ritually Gentiles from Jews, the Anglican cleric ~~suggested~~ ^{stated} proposed, was the earliest form of apartheid.

These were his precise words: "The historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles as represented by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple (was) a kind of model which reflects the racial separation in South Africa."

So what about the Temple courtyards that ritually separated the Israelite priests from the Levites, from the ordinary Israelites, and men from women? Did that make the first century Jews anti-Semitic?

Tutu rejected any of the scholarly criticism that he was badly distorting Jewish religion and history, and was verging on theological anti-Semitism. "This Jewish sensitivity," he responded, comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people woo their support." The Anglican divine seems to have made a mish-mash of the conspiratorial ~~fantasies~~ ^{ancient} fantasies about the Jews in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and Biblical culture of some 3,000 years ago.

The archbishop has also crafted a composite and hostile caricature of the Biblical revelations about the "chosen people of Israel". Contradicting the Scriptural teachings that God's covenant with Israel is "permanent, everlasting," (Deuteronomy 7, Psalm 89), the Anglican preacher now declares, "The Jews thought they had a monopoly on God!"...Jesus was angry that they could shut out other human beings." (Connecticut talk, October 1984). It just so happens that the breakthrough concept of God the Father of all mankind, Jesus learned from the Hebrew Scriptures, the only Bible that he read and studied in the synagogue.

During his recent trip to Israel, the Archbishop, after visiting the Yad Vashem memorial, called on world Jewry "to forgive the Nazis." (In July 1985, Tutu said he resented "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust."). That sounded very pious and very Christian. It was obviously a statement of contrast of Christian ^{the ancient polytheist} forgiveness and Jewish vengefulness.

Yet, I haven't heard the good archbishop appeal to millions to blacks in South Africa "to forgive" the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this disciple of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Gandhi, declared on January 25, 1986 in

Tutu rejected at once any of the scholarly criticism that he was badly distorting Jewish religion and history, and was verging on old-style theological anti-Semitism. "This Jewish sensitivity," he responded, "comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful group in this land and all kinds of people woo their support." Thus, the Anglican divine seems to have made a mish-mash of the 19th century conspiratorial fantasies about the Jews in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the misunderstanding of Biblical culture of 3,000 years ago.

The archbishop has also crafted a composite and hostile caricature of the Biblical revelations about "the chosen people of Israel." Contradicting the Scriptural teachings that God's covenant with Israel involved a special responsibility for (not) furthering justice and did imply privilege, the Anglican preacher declared:

"The Jews thought they had a monopoly on God. ... Jesus was angry that they could shut out other human beings." (Tutu's talk in Connecticut, October 1984.)

It just so happens that the breakthrough concept of God as the Father of all mankind Jesus learned from the Hebrew Scriptures, the only Bible that he read and studied in the Synagogue.

During his recent trip to Israel, the Archbishop, after visiting the Yad Vashem memorial, called on world Jewry "to forgive the Nazis." (In July 1985, Tutu said he resented "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust.") That sounded very pious. But it came across to many as a restatement of the ancient polemical contrast between Christian forgiveness and alleged Jewish vengefulness. Judaism, however, requires repentance by the sinner and fundamental change of behavior before he can achieve forgiveness - especially if he tried to massacre an entire people.

Talking about forgiveness, strange, but I have not heard the good archbishop appeal to millions of oppressed blacks in South Africa "to forgive" the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this disciple of non-violence of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi, declared on January 25, 1986, in New York, "I believe there are situations when one has to use force."

In his latest visit to Israel, Tutu assured the world that "the Jewish state has the full right to territorial integrity and security." Lest his lapse into sympathy for Israel be misunderstood, he immediately called for a Palestinian state and then equated Israel with South Africa. "What is happening in the West Bank and Gaza could, just changing the names, describe what is happening in South Africa."

If the canard that "Zionism is racism" is acceptable to the United Nations, why not for Archbishop Tutu?

Examining the full record of Archbishop Tutu's pronouncements over recent years, one is inevitably driven to ~~the~~ ^{conclude} conclusion that his mind-set is profoundly ~~formed~~ ^{shaped} by the ~~ambivalence~~ ^{negative} of unreformed, medieval Christian tradition toward Jews and Judaism, with spill-over/perceptions toward Israel. Despite occasional sympathetic gestures, his core Christian identity is based on the ~~massive-medieval~~ ^{pre-modern} traditions that proclaimed the Jewish religion and people to be morally and spiritually exhausted. Traditional Christian belief - before Vatican Council II and the World Anglican Conference at Lambeth - appropriated the Jewish Scriptures and prophecies while seeking to displace the Jews or render them marginal.

Archbishop Tutu's statements about alleged apartheid in the Jewish Temple, "Jewish arrogance," the "Jewish monopoly on God...and the holocaust," "forgive the Nazis," and "Israel is another South Africa" testifies to his traditionalist anti-Jewish mind-set.

That poses a sad and difficult challenge for many Jews. While respecting the role of Archbishop Tutu as a leader in the struggle against apartheid, Jews will need to sort out the essential moral issues from Tutu's personal deviations. The essential question involves an ~~unimpeded~~ ^{unimpeded} commitment to struggle against the scandal of apartheid, and rejection of all forms of racism, anti-Semitism and bigotry. And our black fellow-citizens will need to understand that Jews will continue to derive their motivations in support of justice from the living teachings of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and much less so than from the prophet from Capetown.

--

Rabbi Tanenbaum was program chairman of the first National Conference on Race and Religion in 1963, and was active in the civil rights movement.



"the Jewish state has the full right to territorial integrity and security."
 Lest his lapse into sympathy for Israel be misunderstood, he immediately equated Israel with South Africa. "What is happening in the West Bank and Gaza could, just changing the names, describe what is happening in South Africa." If the canard that "Zionism is racism" is acceptable to the United Nations, why not for Archbishop Tutu?

Examining the full record of Archbishop Tutu's pronouncements over recent years, one is inevitably driven to the conclusion that despite his ^{occasional} contemporary ~~revolutionary rhetoric~~, his mind-set regarding Jews and Judaism is in fact that of the medieval Christian tradition. The ^{ancient} culture proclaimed that the Jewish religion and people were morally and spiritually exhausted, and that Christianity ^{has appropriated} ~~came both to fulfill~~ the Jewish prophecies ^{while} ~~as well as to displacing~~ its traditions. ^{Judaism, for Jews.}

In short, Christianity is now "the new Israel" and Archbishop Tutu is one of its new prophets, preaching repentance ^{so much} not to Christians but to the "failed" mother faith of Judaism. ^{as/}

Jews have lived with and survived these "teachings of contempt" for some 2,000 years. They will prevail over these latest assaults, both theological and ideological.

The crucial challenge, as I see it, is to sift out ^{and personality problems,} the essential moral issues from the ^{accidental} ~~accidental~~. Opposing the scandal of apartheid is the essential question, as is rejection of all forms of ^{anti-Semitism,} racism and bigotry. And Jews will continue to derive their motivation and inspiration for ^{opposing} dismantling apartheid and ^{combating} ~~and, inevitably, much less so~~ (racism) from the living teaching of Isaiah and Jeremiah, ~~rather~~ than from the prophet from Capetown.

--
 Rabbi Tanenbaum was program chairman of the first National Conference on Race and Religion in 1963, and was active in the civil rights movement.

OPED * Tutu

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican primate of South Africa and international 1984 Nobel Peace Laureate, is unquestionably the most visible/symbol of the ~~historical~~ just struggle against apartheid. He is at the same time rapidly becoming the troublesome embodiment of stress and suspicion between black and Jewish communities in many parts of the world.

(Next to the survival issues of Israel, Soviet and Ethiopian Jewry, and combatting anti-Semitism,) ~~xxx~~ helping to dismantle apartheid has been ~~xx~~ probably/the most commanding issue of conscience among most Jewish people, certainly in the United States. The overwhelming and constant support of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s leadership of the civil rights movement by the majority of American Jews, among others ~~Jews~~, is evidence of how profound has been Jewish ~~xxxxxxxx~~ commitment to justice and full human rights for our black fellow-citizens.

The key to that commitment, I believe, was the pervasive trust that Jews felt for Dr. King. ^{in 1984 St. Augustine, Fla.} (When he was imprisoned in a Birmingham jail, he sent a telegram to a convention of Reform rabbis asking for their support. Within 48 hours, sixteen rabbis flew to Birmingham ^{St. Augustine} and were arrested for solidarity for Dr. King and the movement. That instantaneous response, joined by literally thousands of other acts of identification with America's black citizens, was a natural and spontaneous movement of reciprocity to Jewish moral ~~xxxxxxxx~~ and political causes. for Dr. King's personal commitment/~~to support of Israel, human rights for~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ Jews came to feel intuitively, deeply that Dr. King was their trusted friend in support of Israel's security, the human rights of Soviet Jews, clear opposition to anti-Semitism, a sensitive appreciation of the singular horrors Jews suffered under the Nazis, while not minimizing the tragedies of other peoples in World War II.

Dr. King did not play word games with Jews. He was for real and we knew we could count on him, and he knew he could count on us.

Archbishop Tutu appears to ~~xxxx~~ be turning Dr. King's historic bonding with the Jews into a collection of ~~frayed~~ ~~flogging~~ assaults on virtually everything Jewish - religion, history, culture, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel.

Look at the record:

How are we to understand this record, if not to explain it?

First, there is the substance of his views: then, his method and style.

Why is he seeking to minimize, if not trivialize the Nazi holocaust's meaning for Jews? Is there a Machiavellian calculus that the Nazi holocaust and the Final Solution have absorbed such massive emotional intensity in the U.S. and the Western world, that there is little space left for any comparable intensity of moral and emotional response to the claims of apartheid?

The method would seem to be developing among Archbishop Tutu, among some other black leaders, to minimize, relativize the Nazi holocaust, and absolutize apartheid. Break "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust" and insist that "apartheid is the final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan ~~xxxx~~ madness." (Oslo, 12/12/84)

He drives home the relativizing of the Holocaust by saying, "some of the most terrible things Jews had experienced were happening to his own people. You don't need gas chambers; when you put children where there is no food, gas chambers would make a neater death." (London, March 10, 1987, JTA)

Foreign for news

There are frightening similarities between the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and the "legal" system of apartheid. There is, however, one fundamental and decisive difference: ~~the Nazi holocaust's final solution was conceived~~ ~~the evil system of apartheid was established in 1948 to~~ ~~deprive~~ ~~23 million blacks in South Africa~~ their essential human rights.

The Nazis' "final solution" was conceived as a program ~~to~~ to deprive the entire Jewish people of life itself.

Foreign for news

3
That same Machiavellian calculus appears to be operating in Tutu's mounting attacks on Israel, and his support of the PLO

Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, Tutu says, but I cannot understand how a people with your history would have a state that would carry out policies that are a mirror image of some of the things from which your people have suffered. (March 10, 87)

Israel, he is suggesting subliminally, is a Nazi-like state that inflicts an apartheid existence on Palestinians, and makes them into refugees. Thus, whatever moral claims Israel has on the conscience of the world is being systematically eroded by Tutu.

So Tutu's logic runs this demonic course, if we understand him accurately. The Jews don't have a monopoly on God; they have lost their chosenness, and have ceased to be "a light unto the nations." arrogance of power Anglican parish Christianity, despite its parochialism, has displaced the Jews as "the light unto the nations" and Desmond Tutu is the prophet from Capetown judging the deficiencies of the Jews, Israel, and the rest of the world.

Tutu - metaphors

Apartheid is Nazi's final solution - make South Africa

absolutely
apartheid
relation
Nazi
holocaust
(never
death)

white into Nazi's process, relativizes Holocaust -

- use Israel as mirror image of South Africa - Because
of chosen people, should be ideal state, instead an oppression
state / South Africa based on Dutch Reformed Church - strong

Colonial thinking - should be liberal state of equality & justice

instead, it is a fallen state, like Israel / Israel is like Nazis,

∴ South Africa is also Nazi-like

competing for advantage in victimization

→ minimize holocaust, ^{to} maximize apartheid
- (issues of truth, justice put aside)

PROPHECY SPEAKS - prophetic, apocalyptic

prophecy self-fulfilling - white coffee, buses

precipitate crisis / Armageddon repeat / born again

(School end policy)

- JUSTIFY our cause - palest stones, we way have to use

404-874-7077 (Andy Yang)

Carol Moldauer - Jan 23 - 8⁰⁰ am. marriott

FBI 6B
935-3790

I first met

a 1985 Archbishop Desmond Tutu, ^{the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate,} whom I first met ^{He} in dialogue at his ~~own~~ parish church in Durban, Africa. ^{He} is a warm, friendly man with a ^{beginning} mischievous sense of humor. He is also a ^{celestial} symbol of the just struggle against the ^{fabled} evil system of apartheid in his country.

Crusader for Justice But could it be that this internationally prominent clergyman is also a covert anti-Semite? The record in ^{recent years} increasingly suggests that that ^{may} ~~could~~ be well be ^{the case.}

In 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, he asserted that ^{South African} apartheid owes its origins to the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard which separated Gentiles from Jews, the Anglican cleric said, was the earliest form of apartheid. These were his precise words: "The historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles as represented by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple (was) a kind of model which reflects the racial separation in South Africa."

So what about the ^{temple} courtyards that actually separated the Israelite priests from Levites, from ordinary Israelites, and men from women? Did that make the Jews anti-Semitic?

Tutu ~~has~~ rejected any criticism that he was anti-Semitic, saying, "this Jewish sensitivity... comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people woo their support." The Anglican divine seems to have memorized the conspiratorial fantasies about the Jews in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" as well as he has the Bible.

frustratingly into the delicate peace process that is delicately painstakingly being put together

Indeed, this self-styled disciple of the Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Gandhi declared on January 25, 1986 in New York, "I believe there are situations where one has to use force"

despite the often self-proclaimed revolutionary rhetoric

Examining the full record of Archbishop Tuttle's declarations over recent years, I have come to the conclusion that his mind-set ^{toward Jews and Judaism} is that of the medieval Christian tradition. That ancient culture believed that Jews and Judaism are morally and spiritually exhausted and that ~~his~~ Christianity ^{is superior} has come to supersede the Jewish revelation as a "superior" form of religion.

Christianity is now the "new Israel" and Archbishop Tuttle is one of its leading new prophets preaching repentance to the failed western faith of Judaism.

Jews everywhere stand solidly opposed to the blasphemy of apartheid, and will continue to struggle against its horrors in every possible way. Their moral motivation and inspiration will continue to come from Israel and Jerusalem, and not from the prophet from Capetown.
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

OP-ED (Draft)

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ARCHBISHOP TUTU AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican primate of South Africa and 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, is clearly the most visible international symbol of the just struggle against apartheid. He is at the same time rapidly becoming a stormy embodiment of suspicion and strain between Black and Jewish communities in many parts of the world.

Since the days of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s non-violent leadership of the civil rights movement, a majority of American Jews have been profoundly committed to justice and full human rights for African-Americans, but also for South African and other black peoples. These sensibilities, forged by prophetic values of social justice and the Jewish historic experience of anti-Semitism and persecution, leaped to vigorous life in consequence of unshakable Jewish trust in Dr. King.

Dr. King did not play semantic or political games with Jews. Jews knew they could count on him, and he knew he counted on the Jewish people. He unambiguously supported Israel's security, and advocated the human rights of Soviet Jewry and all other peoples. He opposed every form of anti-Semitism and bigotry in word and deed. He appreciated with special understanding the uniqueness of the "final solution" for the Jews and its singular horrors/under the Nazis, while not minimizing the sufferings of other peoples in World War II.

In heartfelt response, American Jews marched with Dr. King, demonstrated, were cattle-pronged, beaten, imprisoned, and did everything possible financially and politically to help the movement succeed during its long, tortuous struggle. Some Jews even sacrificed their lives.

Archbishop Tutu appears to be unraveling much of Dr. King's historic bonding with the Jews in the United States, Israel, and elsewhere. Often with beguiling humor, the Anglican divine since 1984 has been denigrating virtually everything sacred or important to Jews - religion, history, culture, the Nazi holocaust, and Israel.

For some time, many Jews - myself included - have resisted the easy temptation of characterizing Archbishop Tutu as anti-Semitic. The cause of dismantling the monstrous evils of the apartheid system is morally urgent. The archbishop is a man of stature and has made an historic contribution to this epochal struggle for freedom and human decency. His vital role should not be compromised by demagogic polemics. Indeed, most Jewish leaders I know have wanted to trust and support Archbishop Tutu and the anti-apartheid campaign as they did the late Dr. King and the civil rights movement.

But regrettably, even tragically, the archbishop himself has been compromising his role. He has been systematically undermining Jewish trust in him, and the evidence has become increasingly disturbing. Beneath his smiles and occasional "friendly" words of reconciliation between Blacks and Jews, Archbishop Tutu appears to be constructing a subtle anti-Jewish mythology.

That emerging mythos is a fusion of traditional Christian anti-Jewish themes - which he learned in his parochial mission schools to which he was confined in his early fundamentalist training - with more recent forms of a Third World radical ideology. That strange fusion of ancient religion and liberation politics stigmatize both Judaism and Zionism as racist - in the mode of the obscene United Nations resolution

The record of Tutu's statements has become lengthy, therefore, these representative citations will serve to illustrate the issues:

On Judaism as "racism"

On November 28, 1984, in an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Archbishop Tutu asserted, quite incredibly, that apartheid in effect was incubated in the Holy Temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. The temple courtyard, which separated ritually Gentiles from Jews, the Anglican cleric stated, was the earliest form of apartheid.

These were his precise words: "The historical separation between the Jews and Gentiles are separated by the wall of separation in the Jerusalem Temple (which was) a kind of model which reflects the racial separation in South Africa."

But the temple courtyards also ritually separated the Israelite priests from the Levites, from the ordinary Israelites, and men from women. Did that make the early Palestinian Jews anti-Semitic?

One month earlier, on October 23, 1984, the archbishop preached a sermon at the prestigious St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Darien, Connecticut, in which he compared "apartheid with ancient Jewish practices." According to the Hartford Courant (October 29, 1984), "Tutu cited what he said was the refusal of ancient Jews to allow gentiles into the Temple in Jerusalem. Just as the Temple was destroyed because it walled out many," he said, "so the South African laws that separate blacks ~~from~~ and whites must fall."

Tutu then added, "The Jews thought they had a monopoly on God. Jesus was angry that they could shut out other human beings."

It would literally take a treatise to separate fact from fiction, and to correct the distortions of Temple religion and history in these off-hand statements. On the alleged Jewish "monopoly on God" canard and Jesus' anger, suffice it to say that the revolutionary concept of God as the Creator of all mankind Jesus learned from the Hebrew Scriptures, the only Bible that he read and studied in the Synagogue.

On "Jewish Arrogance and Power"

Tutu rejected any criticism that these "Temple sermons" verged on theological anti-Semitism. During his November 25, 1984, address at the Jewish seminary, he responded: "This Jewish sensitivity comes from an arrogance - the arrogance of power because Jews are a powerful lobby in this land and all kinds of people woo their support."

To his caricatures of the Hebraic religion in Biblical ~~religious~~ times, the archbishop now adds the new mix of 19th century conspiratorial fantasies about the Jews in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a potent anti-Jewish brew of past and present hostile imagery.

The Holocaust - "Forgive the Nazis"

On July 26, 1985, the Jerusalem Post quotes Tutu as expressing his resentment against "the Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust," and "the Jewish monopoly on suffering."

During his Christmas 1989 visit to Israel (actually to the West Bank and East Jerusalem), the archbishop adjusted his schedule at the last minute to come to the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial. Following his visit, he offered this message to world Jewry:

"Our Lord would say that in the end the positive thing that can come is the spirit of forgiving, not forgetting...We pray for those who made it happen, help us to forgive them and help us so that we in our turn will not make others suffer."

Tutu's pious and presumptuous comments enraged most Jews and for several very real reasons. First, it was clearly a statement of the ancient polemical contrast between Christian forgiveness and alleged Jewish vengefulness. This was heard as coming from a prominent Christian leader whose classic faith has refused for nearly 2,000 years "to forgive" the entire Jewish people for the alleged single crime of the Crucifixion of Jesus, and has inflicted untold vengeance and punishment

on the Jews for two millenia.

Second, the point of the moral message seemed to be less the issue of forgiveness than to preach to the Israelis that they should not behave like the Nazis and "make others" suffer. Or put more bluntly, forgive the real Nazis, and attack the Israelis, the mythic "new Nazis."

(A Jewish religious reaction against Tutu's preachment is that Judaism requires genuine repentance by the sinner before one can realize forgiveness. Repentance (teshuvah) call for an unamiguous acknowledgment of wrong-doing, an overwhelming sense of shame for one's evil deeds, a determination to change, and then demonstration of an actual change of behavior. These are the preconditions to forgiveness - especially if the sinner participated in the attempted massacre of an entire people. Some Christian theologians would call Tutu's form of forgiveness "cheap grace," which ultimately becomes an encouragement to do more violence since there is no real accountability.)

Talking about forgiveness, strange, but the good archbishop has not appealed to the 23 million Blacks in South Africa "to forgive" the racist Afrikaners. Indeed, this disciple of non-violence of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mahatma Ghandi, declared on January 10, 1986, in a Washington Post interview:

"You may find that even placid, quiet people like us have suddenly picked up stones and we are fighting."

In an apocalyptic mood expressed in that interview, the archbishop warned that there could be a time of "naked terrorism" in South Africa, with "militant black attacks" on "all school buses (which) carry only white children" and "black servants poisoning the morning coffee of their white masters."

The desperate feelings of Archbishop Tutu over the frightful plight of his people are completely understandable. Having seen for myself the oppressive conditions and suffering of black people at the racist hands of many white South Africans, I empathize strongly with his fears and angers.

My point has to do with double standards. If a Jew, and especially an Israeli, had spoken to the press about the uses of "naked terrorism" against the Arab states and PLO factions - who have repeatedly declared their intentions to destroy Israel with missiles and poison gas - I rather suspect that Archbishop Tutu would see nothing morally wrong in lecturing Jews on the evils of abandoning their historic mission of being "a light unto the nations." Self-defense for South African blacks, and every other people, is indeed morally justifiable; for the Jews and/or Israelis, Tutu preaches that it means you have "lost direction and are untrue to you/calling." (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 28, 1984).

~~Thus, the only Jews Tutu seems able to comprehend are mythological but dead Jews of the Bible. Real Jews, living with all the dilemmas of the modern world, do not exist for him, and if they do, it is only because they will practice Christian forgiveness.~~

On Israel and a Palestinian state;

In his latest visit to Israel during Christmas week~~end~~ 1989, he assured the world that "the Jewish State has the full right to territorial integrity and security." Lest his lapse into sympathy for Israel be misunderstood, he immediately equated Israel with South Africa and called for the creation of a Palestinian state.

"I find worrisome parallels between the way the Government of Israel and South Africa react to unrest," Archbishop Tutu is quoted as saying in The New York Times (December 24, 1989.) "If I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank could describe events in South Africa."

Earlier, on March 10, 1987, in a talk before British Jews in London, the archbishop said, "Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, But I cannot understand how a people with your history would have a state...that would carry out policies that are a mirror image of some of the things from which your people suffered." ((Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 11, 1987.)

On November 28, 1984, in New York, he accused Israel of having "connived" in the massacres of Palestinian women and children ~~ix~~ at the Sabra and Shattila refugee camps in Beirut in 1982. His conclusion contradicted the findings of the Kahan judicial inquiry which gave evidence that the massacres were carried out ~~by~~ by ^aPhar~~is~~gist Christians ~~against~~ against Palestinian Muslims.

Thus to Tutu, Zionism is equivalent to racism. But in fact he has gone beyond the United Nations declaration by stating in a speech at Oslo University on December 12, 1984, that apartheid against the blacks is the equal of Nazism's "final solution" against the Jews. Saying that South African blacks are "being turned into aliens in the land of their birth," he asserted that "this is apartheid's final solution just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (UPI, December 12, 1984.)

The syllogism now has taken form: South Africa's apartheid is the equivalent of Adolf Hitler's "final solution" of the Jews; Israel's "repression" of the Palestinians (dramatized by ~~connivance~~ "connivance" over the Sabra and Shattila massacres) is equivalent to South Africa's apartheid; therefore, the Israelis are carrying out Nazi-like policies of "a final solution" against the Palestinians.

Thus, the pattern of Archbishop Tutu's views toward Jews and Israel raise some troublesome and unanswered questions:

Why is he seeking to minimize, if not relativize, the Nazi holocaust's meaning for Jews? Is there an ideological calculus that the Nazi holocaust and the final solution have absorbed such massive emotional intensity in the U.S. and the Western world, that there is little space left for any comparable intensity of moral

and emotional response to the claims of apartheid?

A method would seem to be developing among Tutu, ~~xxxx~~ and some other black leaders, to relativize the Nazi holocaust and absolutize apartheid. Is it really necessary to break the so-called "Jewish monopoly of the Holocaust...and on suffering" in order to make the case that "apartheid is the final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's Aryan madness." (Oslo, Dec. 12, 1984).

Tutu drives home the relativizing of the Holocaust by saying, "some of the most terrible things Jews had experienced were happening to his own people. You don't need gas chambers; when you put children where there is no food, gas chambers would make a neater death." (London, March 10, 1987, Jewish Telegraphic Agency.)

There are frightening similarities between the Nuremberg laws of 1935 and the "legal" system of apartheid. There is, however, one fundamental and decisive difference: the evil system of apartheid was established in 1948 to deprive 23 million blacks in South Africa of their essential human rights. The Nazis' "final solution" was conceived as a program to deprive the entire Jewish people of life itself.

The same religious-ideological calculus appears to be extended to Israel by the Archbishop and others who share his strategy. Israel's integrity and existence must be guaranteed, Tutu says, but Israel is a Nazi-like state that inflicts an apartheid existence on Palestinians and makes them into refugees. (There is never any suggestion that the Arab states and the PLO may have contributed to this tragic circumstance.) Thus, whatever moral claims Israel has on the conscience of the world is being systematically eroded by this stance.

In sum, if we understand Archbishop Tutu accurately, the Jews do not have a monopoly on God; they have lost their "chosenness" and have ceased to be "a light unto the nations;" they suffer from (they claim "a monopoly on suffering," "an arrogance of power;" and the Jewish State is a mirror image of the Nazi state.

The real tragedy is that two victim peoples have been cast into competing with one another over who is the greater victim, rather than face together their

true common enemies - racism, anti-Semitism, hatred, and exclusion from the mainstreams of many societies.

Someday perhaps the prophet from Capetown will join hands with the descendants of the prophets of Israel to recognize that what should bind them together is far greater than what should be allowed to divide them.

--

Rabbi Tanenbaum, ~~xxxx~~ was the program chairman of the first National Conference on Race and Religion, and was active in the civil rights movement since the 1960s.

