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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 97, Folder 2, General correspondence, memos & working papers, January-May 1978.

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** January 4, 1978

**to** AJC Area Directors, JCRCs, Federations, National Jewish Organizations  
Rabbinic Associations

**from** Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director

**subject** NBC-TV Special, "The Holocaust"

As you will note in the enclosed press release, NBC-TV is planning to produce an eight-hour "special" on prime time devoted to a dramatization of "The Holocaust." While the date has not yet been firmly set, it will probably be shown close to Passover, which falls this year on April 21-29.

Having served as the American Jewish consultant to NBC-TV's special on "Jesus of Nazareth," I was invited to serve in a similar capacity for "The Holocaust." At the network's request, I prepared a detailed critique of the scripts written by Gerald Green, which became the basis of script revisions.

Last week, the producers, Robert Berger and Herbert Brodtkin, who head Titus Productions, invited me to see the first rushes of three hours of "The Holocaust." While the final rushes will not be available for another two weeks, it is necessary to withhold any complete judgment of the entire production. But I do want to share with you this preliminary impression - it is thus far an extraordinarily moving and magnificently acted production of a very powerful script on the Nazi holocaust. In ways that documentaries are not able to achieve, this dramatization translates the trauma, the unspeakable horrors, as well as the heroism of Jews in human terms that cannot but help reach the conscience of millions of Americans, non-Jews as well as Jews. Recent efforts to whitewash the Nazi massacre of Jews make this program all the more necessary and compelling.

As you may know, a group of major Jewish education, synagogal, and community centers specialists have been brought together by the National Jewish Welfare Board to prepare cooperatively study and discussion guides for use by Jewish youth and adult groups who will be viewing "The Holocaust." AJC has been happy to cooperate with them, and will join in disseminating those materials when they are available. Since we believe that it is extremely important that millions of American Christians view this film, AJC has been in active communication with the National Council of Churches and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. You will be interested to know that each of these groups is preparing in consultation with us "Christian Study Guides" for use by their churches on all age levels. In addition, the NCC, the NCCB, and the AJC are preparing an "Interreligious Study and Discussion Guide" for use by interreligious dialogue and study groups in every major city in the United States. This guide is modeled on "Film Feedback: Tri-Faith Interface," a Program of 16mm Films for Christian-Jewish Dialogue, that we issued cooperatively two years ago.

We will make copies of these materials available to you for programming with local Catholic and Protestant leaders and churches as soon as they are published.

MHT:RPR  
78-700-1

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** January 9, 1978  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum ✓  
**from** Brant Coopersmith  
**subject** The Other Ad

The ad which appeared in the December 29th edition of the Washington Post in response to the Evangelical ad in support of Israel carried the sponsoring name "American Christians for Peace in the Middle East", 1330 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. The office is in a private rundown apartment on the 9th floor of the Thomas Building which used to house the offices of the Jewish Community Council and which has been sold to a Baptist organization and is being converted to residence, primarily for the elderly. Running the operation from his residence is Charles Binagh, formerly from upper Michigan somewhere in the vicinity of Macinaw City. Binagh is in his late twenties and is described to me by John Steinbruck who has spoken with him as a seedy, rundown looking nervous chain smoker.

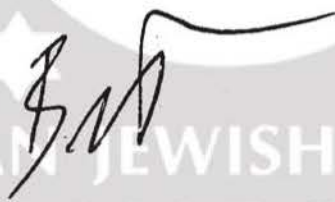
According to Binagh, the idea for the letter which appeared in the form of an ad was generated at a meeting at Duke University at the time the first ad appeared. The people at this meeting--the nature of which is not clear--wanted to react. They drafted a letter and Robert Andrews, a Presbyterian campus minister from the University of Delaware, undertook to solicit the signatures for the letter. However, between the time of that meeting and the time of the appearance of the ad, apparently some money showed up and, according to Binagh, somehow the ad appeared.

Binagh says that he is interested in public relations and developing business and brokerage contacts in the Middle East. He plans to visit there shortly. He is a great admirer of Libya's Kaddafi. He said he has numbers of Jewish friends and, as a matter of fact, a Jew was the best man at his wedding. He wants to set up local discussions and dialogues in churches and even knows a rabbi from Florida who would participate. He was referring to Elmer Berger.

Page 2  
January 9, 1978

Anyone contacting American Christians for Peace in the Middle East will be in touch with Charles Binagh, a seedy individual who has business ambitions in the Middle East and is a great admirer of Kaddafi.

Regards,



BC:gvp

cc: Morris Fine  
Milton Ellerin  
Murray Friedman  
Harold Applebaum





# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

16 January 1978

**TO: Members of the Foreign Affairs Commission**

**FROM: Morris Fine**

I believe you will be interested in the enclosed materials:

- (1) Recent memo from Israel Office on "Jerusalem Interfaith Committee for Aid to Lebanese War Victims"
- (2) Letter from George Gruen to the Jewish Week correcting important errors and omissions in their interview with him published in the previous issue.
- (3) Article in Jerusalem Post of January 3 by Elmer L. Winter
- (4) American Nazis--Myth or Menace? by Milton Ellerin of the Trends Analyses Division

*M.F.*

MF/ac  
Encs.

cc: Area Directors  
SAC

78-550-6

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 1, 1978  
**to** Morris Fine/George Gruen  
**from** M. Bernard Resnikoff  
**subject** Peace on Earth

This seems like a good subject for the first report for 1978.

With the big peace, following President Sadat's appearance at the Knesset, dangling before our eyes, we can lose sight of all the little peaces preceding it. One such is the little peace on the earth at The Good Fence.

AJC's Israel Office got involved in this peace when this story was brought to its attention. Two Christians from Southern Lebanon presented themselves one day at the border in order to visit a wounded relative convalescing at the Safed Hospital. (This is an established practice.) They were carrying two long loaves of bread under their arms, ostensibly as a gift to be brought to the hospital. Acting suspiciously and furtively, the officer-in-charge took the loaves, broke them open, to find a bottle of Arak buried in each loaf. Terror-stricken, the two Arabs waited for the axe to fall. Said the officer to them, "Go back to your car, leave the bread behind and come back holding the Arak high in the air. The purpose of the Good Fence is to make friends, not enemies."

This was the kind of atmosphere that was found when a delegation of national AJC officers visited the Good Fence recently to confer with Israeli and Lebanese authorities, in a program arranged by the Israel Office.

In addition to what is being done for the Lebanese by the military authorities and, through them, by a number of ministries, there are two interfaith groups working on a voluntary basis, offering aid and comfort to those stricken by the Civil War. One is based in Haifa; the other, in Jerusalem -- in which the Israel Office plays a prominent but quiet role.

The members of this committee are a strange mix. Most of them are never seen in other kinds of interfaith activities. Many of the Western Christians, Arab Christians and Moslems work and serve exclusively in the Old City, with little or no previous contact with the Jews of Western Jerusalem. One could not say, therefore, that at committee meetings, new friends were made; relations are polite and correct, not friendly. Who sits where and next to whom, the euphemisms used to skirt sensitive issues, the care with which bland opening prayers are arranged -- all suggest the dynamics of intergroup relations long known to the AJC. Even the official list of committee members does not contain all the members (including one officer) because, as one said to me with a forced laugh, "Well, you know how it is." Well, I do and I don't, but, over the course of time, one does notice a beginning relaxation at the teabreak - but not enough.

One of the fixed rules of the committee was - no publicity. The reason: fear of the exploitation of our activities for political gain. The other interfaith committee up in Haifa loudly proclaims every humanitarian act and candidly acknowledges political objectives. Not so Jerusalem, where visibility has to be at point zero.

Until two things happened almost simultaneously: We were running out of manpower and our sources of funds were shrinking. It took some three months of persuasive discussion before I convinced the committee that, with no ulterior motive, we need to seek publicity and support if we were to survive. With misgivings and certainly not unanimously, the committee finally agreed - but on one condition; that the entire committee see and approve the publicity report before its distribution. With an understanding for the need of "step-by-step negotiations", it was agreed and a first draft was distributed by mail to each committee member. Most responded, changing a word here, deleting a name there. A second draft of the report was then prepared and finally approved. Attached, then, is a copy of that final report - the first publicity about a program that is almost two years old.

MBR:fp



JERUSALEM INTERFAITH COMMITTEE FOR AID TO LEBANESE WAR VICTIMS

Progress Report

(Note: For immediate release. This report may be reproduced in whole or in part.)

Ahmad is a seven year old Lebanese boy. In the explosion which killed two of his brothers he was seriously injured and paralyzed from the waist down. His mother, a Sunni Moslem, managed to bring him to the Israeli border, to the "Good Fence" at Dovev. From there he was transferred for treatment to the Gaza Baptist Hospital. At the hospital Ahmad received extensive care and physiotherapy. Recently his mother was able to take him back to Beirut with Ahmad dexterously maneuvering his wheel chair. The wheel chair and the expensive treatment had been paid for by the Jerusalem Interfaith Committee for Aid to Lebanese War Victims.

Both Kamal and Mustafa lost their legs in land-mine explosions. Custom-made artificial limbs were prepared for the two youngsters at an orthopedic center in Haifa. Numerous trips were made from the Safed Hospital where the boys were being treated, to Haifa, for the proper fitting of the artificial legs. The Jerusalem Interfaith Committee bore the expense of the trips and the limbs.

In terms of finances, it is not an overwhelming operation. But in terms of human needs, the Committee's work is impressive and significant. Operating voluntarily and relying exclusively on free-will offerings, the Committee has solicited and spent upwards of a half million Israeli pounds in this purely humanitarian effort.

Most often, the Jerusalem Interfaith Committee deals with individuals - the boys mentioned above, the resident of Dibel who needed an artificial eye, the four victims who died in hospitals in the Galilee whose bodies had to be transported back to Lebanon for burial, the numerous families of patients (especially children) who require transportation from the border to the hospitals where their relatives are being treated, as well as meal tickets during their stay at the victims' bedsides.

Thus far, the total number of individuals who have been served directly amounts to many thousands. As many as 250 families in one village were served. And for a time, 500 received some kind of help daily.



But sometimes the needs are greater - twenty tons of flour, 300 blankets, forty mattresses and twenty beds, cases of powdered milk, food packages for needy families at Christmas, financial assistance to families who have lost the head of the family in the fighting. These were some of the supplies delivered by the Committee to the Lebanese villages of Klea, Alma el-Sha'ab, Dibel, Shukha, and others.

A little over a year and a half ago, the Jerusalem Interfaith Committee was formed to coordinate the relief efforts of a number of congregations and synagogues. At first, the funds collected by the Committee were channeled through the Red Cross. But gradually the organizers realized that there was room for additional efforts, for supplementary assistance which did not duplicate the activities of either international or other local organizations.

Three co-chairmen initiated the Committee's work - a rabbi, a Roman Catholic sister, and a Protestant minister. Christians, Moslems and Jews are active in the daily efforts. Contributions come from a wide variety of individuals, as well as such organizations as the Catholic Relief Services, the Sisters of Zion, the Jerusalem Baptist Congregation, the Jerusalem Foundation, the American Jewish Committee and the Southern Baptist Convention, which pays the salary of the field representative. Contributions from abroad were derived from Germany, Finland, Scotland, Sweden, Belgium, the United States and countless tourists.

The field representative of the Jerusalem Interfaith Committee is at the Lebanese border daily. He supervises the regular shuttle service from the "Good Fence" to the hospitals at Safed, Nahariya and Haifa, distributes food packages and meal tickets, and takes a personal interest in the welfare of those who cross from Lebanon to Israel.

Aid is given by the Committee regardless of the religion of the recipient. Both Christians and Moslems have benefited from the Interfaith Committee's efforts.

The broad base and inter-faith character of the Committee is reflected in its members, who are:

Sister Lucy Thorson  
Chairperson, Sisters of Zion

Rev. Heinrich Pollack  
Mount of Olives International  
Bible Center

Mr. Ibrahim Sim'an  
Field Representative

Rev. Risto Santala

Père Marcel Dubois  
Superior, Isaiah House

Dr. Wesley Brown  
Center for the Study of Religion

Rabbi André Zaoui  
Har El Synagogue

Miss Jeannine Weil  
Har El Synagogue

Father Joseph Stiassny  
Catholic Relief Services, USCC

Mr. Saleem Nammari

Rev. Thomas Houston  
St. Andrew's Church of Scotland

Mr. Joseph Emmanuel  
Israel Inter-Faith Committee

Mrs. Ellen Schoneveld  
The Netherlands Reformed Church

Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff  
The American Jewish Committee  
Israel Office

Miss Anne Matthews

Père Michel de Goedt

Much has been written about the "Good Fence" between Israel and Lebanon, and even more about the military assistance which Israel has provided to the Lebanese Christians. But little has found its way into the world press about the humanitarian aid given by people of good will the world over to individual refugees and victims. To some extent, this is the fault of the Jerusalem Committee which has shunned publicity lest it appear that it is trying to capitalize on human suffering. But to the Moslem woman who laboriously made her way to the border with her sick child, who was transported to the Safed Hospital by the Committee, provided with food, medicine and care through the Committee's efforts, and then transported back home by the Committee, these considerations are irrelevant. For her, and the thousands of others whom the Jerusalem Inter-faith Committee has helped, what is important is that someone cared enough to help. As the late Superior of the Ecce Homo Convent once said, "If we can't have a big peace, well then let's have a little peace."

Unfortunately, the need continues, as does the work of the Committee. Contributions may be made to the Jerusalem Interfaith Committee for Aid to Lebanese War Victims, P.O. Box 7430, Jerusalem.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

CONTACT: Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff  
Publicity Chairman  
9 Ethiopia Street  
Jerusalem  
Tel. 228862

## Letters

### Amplifies interview

Dear Editor:

I would like to correct and amplify a couple of points that were not adequately developed in the article in the *Jewish Week* of December 25th, based on Elenore Lester's extensive discussions with me:

I never characterized the creation of an independent, completely demilitarized Arab state in a portion of the West Bank as "a desirable solution to the Palestinian problem." On the contrary, I stressed that I personally considered the desirable solution to be one that established a political link to Jordan, the majority of whose population is Palestinian, and which also maintained the West Bankers' economic ties to both Israel and Jordan.

I also stressed the need for Israel to be assured that the proposed demilitarization would indeed be effectively implemented. In this context Miss Lester correctly reported my concern that the Brafman-Mehlman plan (*Jewish Week*, Dec. 11) "presents major questions and difficulties," and that "where the new leadership would come from and who would conduct the plebiscite were crucial."

Presumably because of space limitations, the article omitted my reference to the tragic experience during the British Mandate when Palestinian extremists supporting the fanatic Grand Mufti Hajj Amin el-Husseini systematically assassinated (or "executed") several hundred moderate Palestinian Arab leaders who were prepared to negotiate a compromise settlement with the Jewish leadership in Palestine. My expressed concern that this fanaticism could be an obstacle to a peaceful solution in the future as well has unfortunately been confirmed by the assassination in recent days of two moderate West Bankers by henchmen of the PLO.

**Dr. George E. Gruen**

Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs,  
Foreign Affairs Department,  
American Jewish Committee

# Potential for non-PLO leadership to emerge in new Arab state seen

By ELENORE LESTER

The creation of an independent, completely demilitarized Arab state in a portion of the West Bank is a desirable solution to the Palestinian problem but it presents major questions and difficulties, according to Dr. George E. Gruen, director of Israel and Middle East Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.



Dr. George E. Gruen

Dr. Gruen, responding to the plan proposed by Morris Brafman and William Mehlman in *The Jewish Week* of Dec. 11 said that the issue of where the new leadership would come from and who would conduct the plebiscite were crucial.

"I'm not saying the problems are insurmountable — in fact I have a hunch that given the right conditions, the right kind of leadership would have a chance to emerge. But it's all extremely complicated and touchy," he said. "Take the new mayor of Hebron, Fahed Kawasmeh, who was elected last April. The Western press played up the fact that he 'made no secret of his PLO sympathies.' Well, he has to — for the sake of his life. But the fact is that he is a bright local boy, who defeated a doddering mayor. He is an agronomist, educated at the American University, and he has said that the Israeli governor was a good man who tried to keep the peace. With his knowledge of agriculture he might be the type of leader that is needed. When the push comes to shove a lot of Arab Palestinians will be saying what they now say in private — that they don't want those coffee shop radicals from Beirut (PLO) around."

Gruen, who was in Israel with an American Jewish Committee delegation during Sadat's visit, came back elated by the joy he had felt there. He said that he had been informed that the Egyptian journalists, who came in advance of Sadat, and stepped off the plane not knowing what to expect, wept when they saw women and children cheering them, waving Egyptian and Israeli flags.

"They could see it was spontaneous," said Gruen. "That was obvious everywhere you went."

Gruen, who has been in Egypt three times since 1960, and made his last visit last February, reported that although he had seen some improvements between 1971 and 1977, Sadat's economic problems remained overwhelming. He agreed with a recent statement made by another Middle East specialist, Prof. Bernard Lewis of Princeton, that "Sadat is following his people, not leading them in the desire for peace — the Egyptians are sick of being the blood bank of the Arab world."

Gruen feels that Begin has thus far made all the right moves, and that if Sadat is proposed for the Nobel peace prize as one rabbi suggested, so should all of the Israeli leaders who have sought to meet with Arab leaders for 30 years. He is particularly gratified with Begin's apparent openness on the Palestinian issue because he says that the latest American public opinion polls show that American opinion, while antagonistic to the PLO, is sympathetic to the Palestinians.

In a Dec. 9 article in *The Jerusalem Post*, Gruen reported "The PLO's image has further deteriorated in the past three years as the number of Americans who had heard of the PLO grew from half the population in January 1975 to more than 60 per cent this year. Fully 88 per

cent of informed Americans now regard the PLO as terrorists and similarly overwhelming majorities consider the PLO undemocratic and anti-American."

Gruen goes on to state that Sadat had to be aware of American public opinion surveys, such as the comprehensive poll conducted in March 1977 by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, which found that 73 per cent of the American public interviewed cited Arab refusal to recognize Israel as a major obstacle to peace.

Gruen points out that on Nov. 30, Sadat told a TV interviewer that he continues to believe as he had stated many times before, that the United States "holds 99 per cent of the cards in a Middle East settlement."

"While he was obviously seeking to change Israeli attitudes, it was quite clear by his actions that his bold and dramatic gesture was equally intended to influence American public opinion," declares Gruen.

Although the polls show that the sympathies of Americans are four to one in Israel's favor, Gruen said "this should not lead one to complacency, for the polls also show that between one-third and one-half of the general public is not committed to either side either through ignorance, indifference, or a sense that neither side is completely in the right. This latter factor seems to be growing. In the March Yankelovich study a clear majority of 59 per cent said, 'there is some truth on both sides.' This more 'even-handed' view was shared by nearly three-quarters of all college graduates and persons earning over \$25,000."

The last group, according to Gruen, are not only "better informed and more involved in attempting to influence foreign policy than the general public," but they have also been the most supportive of Israel.

According to the March survey a majority (56 percent) of the American public believed that "the Arab nations" want to destroy Israel, but Americans who were familiar with Egypt considered that country "moderate" by nearly as high a percentage (57) as Israel (62).

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**THE JEWISH WEEK**

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

78-975-3

**date** January 19, 1978  
**to** Staff Listed Below  
**from** Ira Silverman  
**subject** AJC Plans for Promotion and Interpretation  
of NBC Series "Holocaust"

At a small interdepartmental coordinating meeting (January 16, 2:30 P.M.) on how we might most effectively promote and interpret the forthcoming (April 16-19) NBC special series on the Holocaust, the following plans were made:

I. Pre-Showing Promotion

A. We will prepare a packet of materials for distribution to AJC chapters and other selected recipients. It will contain not only the study guide kit assembled by the JWB-coordinated group (in which we participate), but also the Holocaust liturgy written by Franklin Littell for use by Christians, a Jewish service (to be supplied by Yehuda Rosenman), and the study guide being prepared by the National Council of Churches (to be obtained by Marc Tanenbaum). The packet will include a set of detailed suggestions (to be assembled by Harold Applebaum) for chapter programming, including chapter, Jewish community, or interfaith viewing of the show, subsequent discussion or study groups, promoting the use of the model services by local churches and synagogues, etc.

B. In order to promote the widest possible interest in the series, Marc Tanenbaum will explore what the following groups intend to do: The National Council of Churches, The National Conference of Christians and Jews, among others. It might be suggested that churches provide notice of the forthcoming show in their Easter sermons or other appropriate services. Marc will also talk with Rabbis Wolfe Kelman (RA), Israel Klavan (RCA) and Joseph Glaser (CCAR) about how their organizations and member rabbis can promote the programs.

C. After discussing the possibilities with NBC, we will undertake to solicit key Jewish and Christian "testimonials" about the series which can be used for advance promotional purposes. Similarly, we will consider stimulating some inter-agency analysis of the show's content as a mark of approval.

We will also arrange to develop the interest and editorial support of newspaper editorial writers.

## II. Viewing Events

As mentioned above, the packets distributed to AJC chapters will suggest options for programs to view the series: AJC chapters, Jewish community-wide programs, interfaith or inter-ethnic groups, on-campus programs, etc. Local press might also be invited to cover viewer reaction and discussion.

## III. Post-show Projects

A. We (Mort Yarmon, Frances Rosenberg, Marc Tanenbaum) will discuss with NBC officials their plans for analyzing viewer response; we will suggest possible "add on" questions (to be drafted by Gerry Rosenfield), for use in any such survey; on the basis of our determination of NBC plans we will consider mounting, perhaps after a "cooling off" period of a month or so, a more comprehensive study of viewer attitudes -- toward the show, Jews, the Holocaust experience, Holocaust studies, etc. We understand that the Falk Foundation underwrote (\$35,000) a similar survey of viewer response to "Roots;" we will submit as soon as possible a proposal (to be prepared by Irving Levine) to the Falk Foundation to support this proposed AJC project.

B. We will urge NBC to plan several follow-up broadcast panel discussions, interviews, etc. about the meaning and impact of the show -- from special programs to spot appearances on the "Today" show.

C. We will continue our consideration of granting NBC or the Holocaust series producers the AJC Media Award to be presented at the 1978 Annual Meeting in May, one month after the show.

D. We will urge NBC to arrange the widest possible overseas distribution of the series, particularly including translated versions in German and French.

IS:ls

Sent to: \*Harold Applebaum \*Frances Rosenberg  
Marilyn Braveman \*Geraldine Rosenfield  
David Dalin \*Yehuda Rosenman  
Bertram Gold Seymour Samet  
\*Selma Hirsh Phyllis Sherman  
Will Katz \*Marc Tanenbaum  
Irving Levine \*Morton Yarmon  
Gladys Rosen

\*Present at 1/16 meeting



# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

January 23, 1978

**TO: Area Directors  
Staff Advisory Committee**

**FROM: Morris Fine**

**You will be interested in the enclosed material that was prepared as a basis for lay-staff discussions in our department.**

**We hope to revise these documents in light of those discussions but I believe they will be of interest and of possible use to you in their present form.**

**Your reactions will be welcome.**

**MF/ac  
Encs.**

**78-550-9**

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Agenda for Foreign Affairs  
Discussion of Trends, Issues and  
AJC Policy and Program Implications

The following is a summary of some of the principal trends and issues, and their policy and program implications for AJC in the years immediately ahead. Our time-frame is the balance of the first term of the Carter Administration and perhaps 1 or 2 years beyond.

Before listing them, just a word about the principal foreign affairs concern of the United States generally—relations with the Soviet Union. How that will develop will help determine the future of Western Europe, the Middle East negotiations, and other international crisis points, and will have a direct effect on Jewish security.

The President recently stated that it is time to approach our relations with Moscow with less fear and greater confidence. We must assume that our country's policy will continue to be more or less what it has been in the previous 2 Administrations (i.e., under Kissinger), which is to strengthen the network of cooperative ventures in trade and technology with the Soviet Union while trying to achieve an arms limitation agreement. In so doing the previous Administrations hoped to improve the chances for more benign Soviet policies on the Middle East and on Jewish emigration, as well as for more liberal policies generally. This hope is apparently shared by the Carter Administration, and a disinclination to couple trade and economic concessions with commitments on emigration or other forms of liberalization for Soviet citizens will continue to characterize America's policies. This view will have a substantial resonance in public opinion and among influentials.

At the same time, it will be Administration policy to maintain a strong defense posture relative to the Soviet Union. Whether the Administration will energetically resist Soviet attempts to extend its power far from its shores, such as for example to the Gulf of Aden, the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa, remains to be seen.

In general, the Jewish community will have to be alert to trends toward weakening America's defenses, towards ignoring Soviet imperialist adventures especially in the Middle East, and toward limiting U.S. overseas commitments.

An issue that is of direct Jewish concern is that of linkage—linking human rights and freedom of emigration with trade and economic benefits to the Soviet Union. We will probably want to press ahead with the Jackson approach while keeping ourselves open

to compromise if there appears a likelihood that a more benign approach vis-a-vis the Soviet Union will result in significant concessions in the human rights sphere.

### Soviet Jewry

While there has been a small increase in the rate of emigration, it is reasonable to assume that even if these rates increase, there will remain large numbers of Jews who will still be refused permission to leave. At the same time, the ranks of those wishing to leave will grow as a result of the increasing difficulty of young Jews to enter universities, as well as the growing anti-Semitism as a result of the Government's stepped-up campaign to harass and deter would-be emigrants and dissidents. Regarding those who leave, we can assume that there will be continuing and perhaps growing numbers of Jews coming to the U.S. The policy of AJC should continue, as indicated, to be one of pressure for greater emigration and for implementation of the Helsinki Principles.

However, given the large number of Jews who, by force or desire, will remain in the Soviet Union, the AJC should increase its attention to, and efforts on behalf of, the strengthening of Jewish identity within the USSR. We should explore the possibility of bringing educational materials and teachers into the Soviet Union.

### Western Europe

Jewish communities in Western Europe will continue to face both internal and external challenges. The internal challenge consists of maintenance of viable communities in the face of a falling birth rate, rising assimilation and intermarriage and the inability of many small communities to maintain basic Jewish institutions.

External challenges include (1) the growing influence of the Left in all its varieties which in the foreseeable future will probably maintain its anti-Israel/Zionism stance, and the possibility that Communist-dominated governments may come to power in France and Italy. Of particular concern are the anti-Zionist/Jewish activities of Arab, Third World, and Communist student groups on European campuses. (2) The increase in overt anti-Semitic statements and incidents from both the Right and the Left, and the particular vulnerability of Jews to acts of terrorism by the extremists of the Left and the Right. (3) The strengthening of the trend in the EEC of adopting a political policy based on consensus. Given the pro-Arab bias of France, and the aforementioned possibility of a pro-Communist government in Italy, one can expect increasingly unfriendly stands on issues affecting Israel.

The policy of AJC has been the maintenance of close ties between the American Jewish community and the Jewish communities in Western Europe. This activity should be given a much higher



priority than it has had in recent years, in accordance with William Frankel's recommendations. While, given existing communal organizations and structures in Europe, there is little need for further assistance in the areas of health and welfare, AJC may still perform a role in making available to these communities information on new educational techniques and Jewish identity materials for use among the young, working wherever possible through the European Council of Jewish Community Services. It would also be important to reorganize our system of fact-gathering and analysis, with the help of our Paris Office and other correspondents, focussing on anti-Semitic and anti-Israel manifestations so as to better able to cope with them.

#### Eastern Europe

The situation of Jews in Eastern Europe is, on the whole, quite bleak. The small communities in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, will be close to extinction within the next couple of decades. It is expected that the 40,000 Jews in Rumania will number about 10,000 in ten years as a result of mortality, emigration and assimilation.

The policy of AJC should continue to be (1) publicizing and urging governments to implement the basic human rights of emigration, freedom of information, and cultural and religious rights, which are incorporated in international treaties and conventions, as well as the Helsinki Principles. AJC should attempt to implement programs which can make available to existing East European communities, Jewish educational materials as well as visits by Jewish scholars.

#### Latin America

Latin America generally, and South America particularly, will be confronting difficult political and economic problems. Guerilla activities, especially those connected with the Left, will continue to engender violence and unrest. The military regimes, currently governing most of these countries, will react with force and will facilitate the growth in influence of the totalitarian Right. Jews will be particularly vulnerable given this general situation.

To the above must be added growing Arab penetration into the economies of a number of countries, the Arab support of anti-Semitic organizations and continued dissemination of anti-Israel propaganda.

The Carter Administration will probably be pressured to cut still further military and economic aid to certain Latin American countries. This will reinforce the already existing trend to develop closer relations with countries of the Third World and the Eastern bloc.

Nevertheless there will continue to be a desire on the part of most Latin America countries to achieve a better relationship with the U.S. because of their need for American technical and economic assistance, as well as their desire to maintain their image as countries close to the developed West.

The policy of the AJC must be to continue its role as "lobbyist" with the American Government, and to reinforce its contact with agencies such as Amnesty International and various Church groups, in order to mobilize public pressure in support of the security of Jewish communities in Latin America.

The AJC should also seek ways to make available to Latin American Jewish communities technical materials and techniques which can be helpful in stemming the tide of assimilation and intermarriage.

### South Africa

The status of South Africa's Jewish community will become increasingly uncertain as racial tensions mount. Concern exists that in the event of serious racial conflict, Jews, despite their record as a group of opposing apartheid, will not be differentiated from the general white population. The added fact that many of the Black leaders have been influenced by Arab and Soviet propaganda, with its emphasis on Israel's trade with South Africa, exacerbates still further the tension in the community. Emigration, however quiet, will increase primarily to English-speaking countries, but also a significant number making aliyah.

The policy of AJC has been to avoid strong public criticism of apartheid and the South African Government, while at the same time assuring Blacks in this country of AJC's stand. Recently, for the first time, AJC condemned apartheid in its resolution on the topic of human rights. It may become necessary to adopt a more forceful and focused position vis-a-vis South Africa, aligning ourselves with the policy of this Administration. At the same time we should make available information which places Israel's trade in South Africa in the proper perspective. We would be in a stronger position to do this, at the same time appearing more credible in the eyes of black leaders in the U.S. if our position against South Africa's racial policies was unequivocal.

AJC should send a delegation to South Africa for consultation with Jewish communal leaders and other knowledgeable people, Jews and non-Jews. AJC should also conduct discussions with Israeli government officials to elicit information which can be helpful in terms of public relations.

## Israel and the Middle East

A. Most likely, there will be a continuation of negotiations between Egypt and Israel and de facto non-belligerency lasting 3 to 5 years. Less likely, but still important for us to consider, are scenarios B or C below.

Our main concerns will be to encourage the United States to remain politically, economically and militarily supportive of Israel and to act as a mediator encouraging direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict, helping bridge differences while refraining from imposing solutions.

Our programmatic efforts will continue as they have, stressing the risks Israel is taking to achieve a settlement and its continued economic and military aid requirements in anticipation of greater pressures by the Arabs and the United States for Israel to make further concessions, and in view of a potential shift in public opinion favoring the Egyptian position. In addition to a continuation of our efforts to provide information and interpretative materials to the public and foreign policy elites, a greater emphasis will be placed on producing in-depth studies on some of the complex issues that can be expected to arise during the negotiations. Panels of academicians and other experts can be periodically convened to assist us in identifying emerging issues and policy options. In the expectation of a gradual normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt there will be a need to assess the level of Jewish involvement in tourism and business investment in Egypt.

B. (Worse-case scenario) A breakdown of negotiations leading to renewed tension and hostilities and possible escalation to general war.

It would be impossible to predict the consequences of a breakdown in peace efforts in the Middle East. There is a danger that the U.S. will blame Israel for the impasse in the negotiations and will cut off military and economic assistance significantly threatening her security. The U.S. may cooperate with the Soviet Union to impose a settlement. The American Jewish community may face renewed charges of dual loyalty and could experience deep divisions.

Obviously, the AJC as well as the Jewish community would have to mobilize all its resources to counter the charge of Israeli responsibility. We may want to prepare contingency plans for a crisis of this proportion.

C. A comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute is achieved and normal relations develop among Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon.

The achievement of a settlement will require a change in the priorities of the agency and a shift in the focus of many of its activities with respect to Israel and the Middle East. New approaches will have to be developed to convince government officials, the public and the American Jewish community of the need for continued aid to Israel once the immediate threat of war is eliminated.

The AJC, with its experience in inter-group relations and civil rights, could expand the scope of its Israel office to deal with emerging social tensions that may arise in Israel as the external threat diminishes. The AJC could play an important role in fostering democratic values in Israel while promoting the concept of religious pluralism.

As the situation of Jewish communities in Arab countries improves, we may decide to encourage the re-emergence and revitalization of Jewish communities in certain Arab lands.

We will need to continue to monitor trends in global and regional politics, in particular, Soviet efforts to foster instability and the possibility of the radicalization of conservative regimes in the Middle East that may undermine the peace. (See fuller statement attached (Appendix A))

#### Human Rights

We may expect to see a continuation of the Administration's emphasis on human rights, though not necessarily with the same degree of aggressiveness as manifested at the very beginning of Carter's term. The policy may be muted in its application and selectively applied, but it will be pronounced and still visible. Public differences will no doubt emerge as to the wisdom of the Administration's policy, and AJC's voice will have to be added to those who, "turned on" by the Carter campaign, will want to see it more visible and energetically pursued. To the extent that the U.S.S.R. and Argentina are included in the President's list of violations of human rights, to that extent will AJC have a special opportunity, and obligation, to make its voice heard.

The momentum created by the Belgrade conference will continue. This offers AJC an opportunity to support the Belgrade strategy which raises the price to the Soviet Union of their human rights violations and the way they treat dissidents and Jews seeking to emigrate. We will also have to continue to mobilize Administration and Congressional leaders, with respect to human rights violations in Argentina, as well as to approach Argentina leaders themselves.

The movement to strengthen international human rights machinery was advanced by President Carter's signing of the two Covenants on Human Rights. Should these be submitted to the Senate for ratification, AJC will have an opportunity for educational programming in this area of concern. Even if not, it will be necessary to interpret these Covenants from democratic and Jewish perspectives. The project we have embarked upon of preparing a text manual on these Covenants will further that objective.

The UN General Assembly session just concluded demonstrated once again that the UN cannot be depended on to promote the concept of international human rights from the democratic perspective of the protection of the individual against the state. Under the domination of the Soviet bloc and the Third World nations, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution stating that "collective rights must indispensably take priority over the rights of the human person". It also adopted another statement stressing the priority of economic rights (as enunciated in the New International Economic Order). (See attached article by William Korey--Appendix B) It also defeated the proposal for a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. This trend, both in the General Assembly and in the UN Human Rights Commission, will continue. There is an important role to be played by democratic and Jewish non-governmental groups in countering these tendencies, working through their governments and in the private sectors. (See Appendix C for concrete recommendations. It is the conclusion of a longer article by Sidney Liskofsky prepared for publication in the McGill volume on Judaism and Human Rights.)

### United Nations

We see a continuation of the present trends in the UN—politicization, the decline in the Western position, a continued assault on Israel's legitimacy, though muted so long as Middle East negotiations continue, and even a growing asymmetry between the U.S. and the Israel positions. These trends will lead to a reinforced perception in Israel and the American Jewish community that the UN is a "dangerous place" and should be "debunked."

At the same time there is increased recognition, even by Israel, that the UN is a prime area for communicating with the Third World and the mechanism for helping police a Mideast settlement.

AJC will have to balance these perspectives and communicate its views as to how the balance should be struck. We must avoid simplistic notions about the UN, whether as the "enemy of peace" or as the "last best hope of mankind."

We should continue the Ad Hoc Committee on U.S. Policy Toward the UN both to ensure a balanced approach to the UN and to influence U.S. policy.

We must encourage the U.S. to counteract politicization tendencies in the UN and its specialized agencies and conferences, both through its own diplomacy and in concert with its allies, and by enlisting Third World moderates.

We should study the impact of the Zionism-racism campaign and associated anti-Israel manifestations (e.g., in National Union of Students in Britain) as the basis for a countervailing strategy.

We should continue a dialogue with the U.S. Government re steps to pursue an effective multilateral diplomacy.

### Third World

During this period Third World issues and importance in world affairs are likely to increase, particularly in UN forums, in human rights matters and in re Israel.

American sensitivity to African and other Third World interests and outlooks are also likely to grow.

The possibilities of encounters (both of friendly and hostile kinds) will expand, at international conferences, through NGO activity, and as a result of the dramatization of Israel and human rights issues (especially if there is an active negotiating process between Egypt and Israel into which others are drawn.)

The American Jewish community is becoming increasingly sensitized to importance of the Third World, partly because of a growing attention to Africa on the part of media and of black leadership.

We should consult with Israel on Third World issues to determine their "Jewish dimension."

In encounters with Administration officials, we should indicate the interest of AJC in helping to promote a just economic and political order as precondition to a habitable and morally healthy world order in which humane values (and Israel) could thrive.

We should set up talks with U.S. ambassadors on home leave from key Third World countries (Nigeria, Tanzania, India, etc.) establishing AJC's interest.

We should arrange close encounters with key African/Asian/Latin American ambassadors to the UN both directly and under auspices of prestigious NGOs.

1/16/78

78-550-4

Foreign Affairs Department  
Program Planning  
Issues, Trends, Priorities, Programs

## ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Issue: Arab-Israel RelationsI. Trends

A. At present, the most likely scenario is a continuation of negotiations that will result in a state of de facto non-belligerency between Egypt and Israel that will last at least 3 to 5 years. It is likely that no formal peace treaty will be signed between Israel and Egypt until all outstanding issues in the Arab-Israel conflict are resolved, including the Palestinian question, the problem of settlements in the occupied territories, and the status of Jerusalem.

An optimistic projection would envisage some type of agreement in principle on the issues not directly affecting Egypt that would permit it to move toward a bilateral agreement with Israel, including, possibly, some normalization in relations, e.g. economic cooperation, tourism, scholarly exchanges, etc. Left unresolved would be the ultimate disposition of the West Bank and Gaza, the issue of Palestinian self-determination, and the status of settlements in the West Bank. However, the possibility remains that Jordan may enter into negotiations at a later stage, thus enabling some interim resolution of the status of the West Bank and its Arab residents. Syria would remain outside the negotiating process, hostile but militarily neutralized.

The Soviet Union will attempt to retain influence in the region, most probably strengthening its ties with Syria and maintaining its military supply relationship with such radical Arab states as Iraq and Libya, and opposition Palestinian groups. Saudi Arabia can be expected to continue to play an increasingly important economic and political role in the region and to seek to influence U.S. policy in support of basic Arab demands as outlined by Sadat in the Knesset.

Key Concerns:

1. That U.S. policy remain supportive of Israel, politically, economically, and militarily.
2. That the U.S. continue to support direct negotiations, serving as a mediator to help bridge differences but refraining from imposing solutions.
3. That the U.S. not facilitate an increased Soviet role, despite desire for cooperation in other areas such as in the SALT negotiations.
4. That divergence of U.S. and Israeli positions on various aspects of negotiations not result in U.S. pressure for Israeli concessions.
5. That U.S. public opinion may view Egypt as more ready for peace than Israel, and that public opinion may begin to perceive anti-Soviet Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan as more important than Israel for U.S. and Western strategic and economic (oil) interests.



6. That violent opposition by rejectionist Arab states and the PLO not wreck the negotiations.
7. While no territorial dispute exists between Israel and Lebanon, the unresolved conflict between Muslims and Christians and the fate of some 400,000 Palestinians there could complicate negotiations. The Lebanese central government may reach agreement with the Palestinians barring PLO guerrillas from operating in the south. More likely, as the PLO is shut out of the negotiating process, there will be an increase of terrorist activity which may prompt Israeli retaliation and escalation of tension. Danger that Syria may shift to renewed PLO support.
8. Jews remaining in Arab countries that reject negotiations with Israel e.g. Algeria, Iraq and possibly Syria may experience increased harassment and persecution.

#### Policy Implications and Programs

A top priority will be to encourage continued U.S. support for Israel and for direct negotiations between Israel and Egypt, and Jordan, including moderate Palestinians from the West Bank. This will entail a continuation of AJC contacts with leaders of the Carter Administration and Congress stressing the concerns outlined above.

Efforts must also be made to counter the unrealistic expectation, partly created by the media, that a quick solution to the conflict can be achieved. We must point out that long and often difficult

negotiations of the complicated issues lie ahead and that patience is required for success.

Anticipating greater pressure by the Arabs and some segments of U.S. opinion on Israel to make further concessions, an intensified and sophisticated public relations effort, will be required. This will involve a continuation of efforts to provide information through direct contacts and interpretive materials for various audiences from the foreign policy elites to the general public, preparation of op-eds and editorials, etc., plus greater use of radio and television for reaching out to the public. These efforts should stress the risks Israel is taking in order to achieve a settlement.

A need will continue to exist for mobilizing support for long-term American economic and military aid to Israel, pointing out that paper agreements do not eliminate security needs, especially in view of the continued hostility of the more radical Arab states and the expectation of continued terrorist activity by the PLO.

In depth studies on such issues as self-determination for the Palestinians will be required. Panels of academicians and other experts should periodically be convened to assist us in identifying emerging issues, and policy options and possibly help us prepare studies of some of the complex issues that will require attention, e.g. the nuclear factor in Israel-U.S. relations, the intentions of the Soviet Union, the credibility of a formal U.S.-Israel defense treaty and the prospects of gaining Senate and Israel Government approval, the desirability of ending UNRWA in advance of a final Palestinian settlement.

A renewed emphasis on the subject of Jewish refugees from Arab lands will be required as public interest focusses on solution of the Palestinian Arab refugee problem. The AJC will continue to work with WOJAC (World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries) to bring public attention to the other side of the refugee problem in the Arab-Israel dispute.

Our efforts on behalf of Syrian Jewry will continue. Despite some recent progress in this area, the Syrian attitude toward a peace settlement may adversely influence its treatment of its Jewish communities and efforts for emigration must be intensified. AJC must continue to monitor the status of Jews in other Arab countries, e.g. recent disturbing reports concerning the isolated Jews remaining in Northern Yemen.

In the expectation of a gradual normalization of relations between Israel and Egypt, there will be a need to assess the level of Jewish involvement in tourism to and business investment in Egypt, in addition to encouraging Israeli-Egyptian technical and economic cooperation. A related problem will be whether we urge increased economic aid and end our total opposition to American military aid to Egypt.

If negotiations proceed successfully between Egypt and Israel we may be required to mobilize Congressional support--as we did on behalf of Sinai Agreement II--for U.S. involvement in monitoring and surveillance activities as part of a settlement in Sinai. If an arrangement is worked out which would entail demilitarization of the West Bank as opposed to a continuation of Israeli security control of the territory, U.S. monitoring assistance might be required in that area as well, as well as a substantial economic commitment.

While the above has focussed upon efforts within the U.S., we will of course continue to maintain close contact with Israeli officials and with various segments of Israeli political opinion. In addition to the ongoing contacts maintained in New York and Washington and through our office in Jerusalem, periodic visits to Israel by AJC officers, key Foreign Affairs Commission members and staff specialists, can greatly help the process of deeper mutual understanding of issues and identification of changes in trends in important segments of public opinion. This will help minimize the dangers of unnecessary erosion of general American support for Israel or splits even within the American Jewish community.



Trends:

B. (Worst-case scenario) A breakdown of negotiations leading to Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia rejoining the Arab alliance against Israel, mounting tension, renewed hostilities, and possible escalation to general war. A reimposition of the Arab oil embargo.

Key Concerns:

1. Danger that the United States will blame Israel for the breakdown in negotiations.
2. A cut-off of American military and economic aid to Israel, significantly threatening Israel's security.
3. U.S.-Soviet cooperation to impose a settlement acceptable to "moderate" Arabs.
4. The Jewish community in the United States may face renewed charges of dual loyalty and an increase in anti-Semitism as a consequence of an oil embargo directly affecting the mass public. On the other hand if the U.S. adopts a position clearly favorable to the Arabs, the oil weapon may not be used. There may be deep splits in the Jewish community, if Israel is not clearly perceived as in the right.

Policy implications and programs

It would be impossible to predict the consequences of a breakdown in peace efforts in the Middle East. Obviously AJC as well as the Jewish community would have to mobilize all its resources to counter the charge of Israeli responsibility, assuming a credible case can be made for Israel.

A crisis of this nature would not necessarily be similar to those during the 1967 and 1973 wars in the Middle East. Should we now prepare contingency plans for a crisis of this proportion?

### Trends

C. A comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute is under way and normal relations develop among Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon.

This scenario would envisage agreement on general principles for a comprehensive settlement followed quickly by the signing of a formal peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Jordan enters negotiations with Israel and an agreement is achieved for the establishment of a Palestinian entity linked with Jordan or possibly some other arrangement acceptable to moderate Palestinians and Israel. Syria reluctantly participates in negotiations leading to an agreement on the Golan Heights, although it may not be prepared to enter into full normalization of relations with Israel. A formula is devised for some Palestinians in Lebanon to be resettled in the West Bank; the new Lebanese Government effectively prevents Palestinian terrorists from disturbing the Lebanese-Israel border.

Saudi Arabia gives political and economic support to the settlement although possibly announcing its reservations concerning the status of Jerusalem. Jerusalem remains a united city and capital of Israel, with arrangements contrived that are responsive to the religious and political concerns

of the other parties involved. The Arab boycott against Israel is eliminated or adhered to only by the rejectionist states. Economic and technical cooperation increases between Israel, Egypt and Jordan.

Key Concerns

1. That the United States continue to play a supportive role in the settlement, and maintain an interest in the economic development of the region.
2. That the United States continue to supply Israel with economic aid and military assistance and that Congress and the public continue their support of U.S. participation in guarantees and monitoring activities.
3. The potential ability of Palestinian terrorists and extremist Arab states to create renewed tension in the region.
4. Possible radicalization of conservative regimes in the Middle East and Soviet exploitation of opportunities to regain influence and foster instability.
5. The emergence and intensification of social and economic gap issues in Israel as the external threat decreases.
6. Exacerbation of religious tensions.
7. Growing alienation between American Jews and Israelis. Institutional tensions in structures devoted to Israel-Diaspora relations.
8. Decrease in U.S. Jewish contributions of aid to Israel.
9. Increase of tensions between Jewish and Israeli Arabs with renewed and intensified charges of discrimination.

10. A dramatic improvement of the situation of Jews in Arab lands, attracting some Jews who have settled in Israel to return.

#### Policy implications and programs

Clearly, the achievement of a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict will demand a change in the priorities of the agency and a shift in the focus of many of its activities with respect to Israel and the Middle East.

Efforts will still be required to mobilize support for U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel. New approaches may have to be developed to convince government officials and the public of the need for such aid once the immediate threat of war is eliminated.

New approaches toward fundraising efforts in the Jewish community on behalf of Israel will also be required as the crisis atmosphere of recent years diminishes. Efforts will have to stress the new problems Israel may confront in peace, e.g. closing the educational, housing and social gap.

As the normalization of relations between Israel and the neighbouring Arab states develops, the agency may decide to promote American Jewish investment in Arab countries in ways that will demonstrate the tangible benefits of peace as well as encouraging increased direct cooperation between Israel and the Arab countries.

The AJC, with its experience in inter-group relations and civil rights could expand the scope of its Israel office



into an Institute of Human Relations to promote the development of non-partisan voluntary civil rights groups and to deal with emerging social tensions in Israel, e.g. between Jewish ethnic groups, and between Arab and Jewish Israelis, and among the various religious denominations in Israel.

The AJC could also play a significant role in fostering Jewish values in Israel while promoting the concept of religious pluralism. The AJC will continue its efforts to educate the Israelis to the nature of Jewish life and general societies in the United States and other Diaspora communities. American Jewish involvement in overcoming the social and economic disparities in Israel would most likely require reform and a restructuring of the present institutions such as the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization, providing for increased participation and a greater voice in the formulation of policies affecting Israeli domestic problems. Other vehicles for utilizing the expertise of American Jews on behalf of Israel should be developed.

As the situation of Jewish communities in Arab countries improves, a reassessment of our efforts on their behalf will be required. We may decide to encourage the re-emergence and revitalization of Jewish communities in certain Arab countries such as Morocco. However, the danger of overthrow of moderate Arab regimes by radical elements will remain a factor requiring continued monitoring of the situation.

We will have to continue to monitor trends in world politics and their effect on the Middle East. In particular, Soviet efforts to foster instability in the region will require constant attention as well as the shifting alliances among the Arab states that may undermine the peace.

*William Korey*

## The U.N.: Scrapping Individual Rights for Collective Rights

A remarkable inversion of the traditional language of human rights took place, virtually unnoticed, at the past session of the U.N. General Assembly. What had been the isolated Soviet position in 1948 on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emerged triumphant in 1977.

In 1948 Andrei Vishinsky had provided the General Assembly with a classic exposition of the Kremlin view. Human rights, said the prosecutor of the Great Purge epoch, is "a governmental concept" and "cannot be considered outside the prerogatives of governments." He called for either a year-long delay in the U.N. vote or the adoption of amendments that would have restricted individual freedoms in the interest of the state.

With the West then dominant in the General Assembly, Vishinsky's proposals were defeated. Eleanor Roosevelt, the principal architect of the Universal Declaration, predicted that the document, with its stress upon the rights of the individual, would become "the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere." And, indeed, it has.

Last month, however, the General Assembly decided that individual

rights were no longer a principal concern. Two new "priorities" stressing collective and national rights were adopted. An exultant Soviet delegate welcomed the "significant" development as laying down a "new United Nations approach to human rights."

The new first priority of the world body is to combat violations of the "human rights of peoples." Apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism

*The writer is director of the B'nai B'rith International Council.*

headed the list of violations. But the subsequent categories were far more striking: "aggression and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, as well as the refusal to recognize the fundamental rights of people to self-determination, and of every nation to exercise full sovereignty over its wealth and national resources."

The Irish delegate strongly objected to a U.N. resolution in which "collective rights must indispensably take priority over the rights of the human person." Ambassador Andrew Young,

despite his sympathy for Third World aspirations, complained that "the promotion of vital rights of the individual" had been subordinated to this new "higher priority."

Western efforts to redress the imbalance went down to defeat. When an amendment was proposed that would have added the words "of individuals" to the phrase "human rights and fundamental freedoms," it was voted down 54 to 63, with 20 abstentions. Also rejected was an amendment that would have appended the words "for all, without distinction as to race, sex, color, language or religion" after reference to the "protection of rights." Nothing was said in the resolution about such gross and widespread human-rights violations as torture, killings, arbitrary arrest and detentions, and deprivations of speech, press and assembly.

The second new priority decided upon by the Assembly is "the realization of the New International Economic Order," which was held to be "an essential element for the effective promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms." The key phrase is "an essential element." When an amendment was advanced to substitute

for this phrase the words "likely to facilitate," it was rejected by a vote of 44 to 65, with 25 abstentions.

But there is an abundance of evidence drawn from the experience of numerous developing as well as developed countries that would demonstrate that higher economic standards have no necessary connection with improved human-rights conditions. Indeed, not infrequently the correlation is an inverse one. A leading specialist, Harold R. Isaacs, recently wrote: "Never have more 'liberated' people become more subject to more tyrannies in the name of achieving more freedom...."

Besides, the New International Economic Order, however useful its purpose, has little, if anything, to do with human rights. It represents the aspiration of developing countries to restructure the world economy for their own benefit. The focus is upon benefits to be derived by Third World states, not necessarily their populations. Given the structures of most Third World countries, it is an open question whether economic benefits have raised the standard of living of more than their elites.

The new priorities reflect the interests of most Third World governments supported by the Communist bloc. Of the 33 sponsors, only three or four belong to the developed Western world. Almost three-quarters of the sponsors were authoritarian regimes of the right or left. Few sought to challenge the overwhelming majorities that could be mobilized by the geographical blocs. On the roll-call vote in the Third Committee, only 11 Western countries, including the United States, abstained. Some 128 governments were recorded as being in favor, with none opposed.

The task of fleshing out the new priorities was assigned to the next session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, beginning in February. Its "conclusions and recommendations" are to become the basis for programming by the General Assembly. Since the composition of the 32-member commission reflects a U.N. structure in which the Western democracies constitute an isolated minority, the possibility of modifying, let alone reversing, the current trend is severely limited. Yet the effort must be made, if only to preserve at least the essentials of Eleanor Roosevelt's handiwork.

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations

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FO-Eur  
January 24, 1978

MEMORANDUM

To: Morris Fine  
From: A. S. Karlikow  
Subj: West Germany

I met yesterday with Mr. Werner Nachman, President of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland. We briefly discussed the events in Hannover.

Mr. Nachman portrayed this as being essentially a conflict between extreme right and left wing grouplets in the town; and since some of the Jewish lads involved belong to the extreme left groups, also takes on an anti-Semitic cast.

He decried the whole business as being minor though, of course, in this as in similar events, the Zentralrat intervenes immediately with officialdom. The Land Minister of Interior, Mr. Gross, he said, had met with the people in Hannover and was doing a thorough investigation.

One of course should point out that to de-emphasize such incidents has been a constant attitude of the West German Jewish leadership -- but the fact is that they really do not feel there is any significant threat to Jews in Germany given the present situation there, the attitude of the major parties, press, and even the population as a whole.

\* \* \* \*

I discussed with Mr. Nachman three possibilities for action:

--- Teaching of the holocaust. Informed him about the work done in Philadelphia and New York to draw up syllabi on the holocaust for teaching purposes, and urged that the same be done in West Germany. He said the Zentralrat already was thinking along these lines and would be very glad to have such material. I could not show it to him because, actually, it already is in use by the Alliance, to whom we have lent it temporarily since they are planning a colloquy on the holocaust this coming October, whether it should be taught, and how.

We discussed, further, eventually presenting a holocaust syllabus suitable for West Germany to the Conference of Education Ministers for the Laender.

---- I informed Mr. Nachman about the NBC film. He was much interested. We agreed I would let him know what NBC was planning. If NBC does not already have plans to produce the film in West Germany, we thought, we ought to try to arrange for a private showing to see whether one could get this presented in some way as a West German television program. I should appreciate hearing from you what NBC plans are and whether, assuming nothing is planned for West Germany, we could get a copy of the film for such private preview purposes. Naturally, all this will depend on how good it is... and perhaps you can tell us this too.

---- I suggested to Mr. Nachman that just as the Ministry of Interior puts out a regular report on neo-Nazi and other extremist activities so the West German Jewish community should put out its own report -- every six months or so -- on anti-Semitic incidents, listing and evaluating them, and indicating government action taken and with what results. This, I suggested, should be sent out by the Zentralrat to other Jewish communities and organizations like ours, naturally and especially concerned at any signs of anti-Semitism in West Germany.

Nachman felt that this was an idea that merited serious consideration, and he will be telling me what the Zentralrat will be doing in a couple of months.

cc: Ellerin  
Rosenman  
Frances Rosenberg



memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** January 27, 1978  
**to** Area Directors  
(one per office; please share)  
**from** Sonya F. Kaufer  
**subject** A Message to the Kremlin

This is the op-ed for the coming week.

Regards.



SFK:F

cc: National Professional Staff

78-965-5

## A Message to the Kremlin

On January 22, a delegation of Soviet Parliamentarians arrived in the U.S. and will be meeting with individuals and groups in many parts of the country. Their visit coincides with the reconvening of the Belgrade Conference on the Helsinki Agreement - an agreement with human rights provisions which the Soviet Government signed but continues to ignore, especially in relation to Soviet Jews. Indeed, those Soviet citizens who took their Government's signature seriously have been harassed and persecuted and a number of them are now in jail or in exile.

The Soviet Government has acted with special fury against Anatoly Shcharansky, who, for years, has been refused permission to leave the Soviet Union and join his wife in Israel. Mr. Shcharansky was arrested in March 1977 and has been held incommunicado, without trial, ever since. There are fears that he will be subjected to a show trial in order to discourage other Russians from monitoring Soviet human rights violations and pressing their Government to implement the Helsinki Agreement.

As the Soviet Parliamentarians travel around the U.S., Americans should take the opportunity to make clear to them this country's commitment to human rights and to the international agreements safeguarding such rights. Our Soviet visitors should know that when their Government promises to respect the freedoms of its own citizens, the whole world expects that promise to be kept.

**memorandum**

*Fred Coe - President*

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

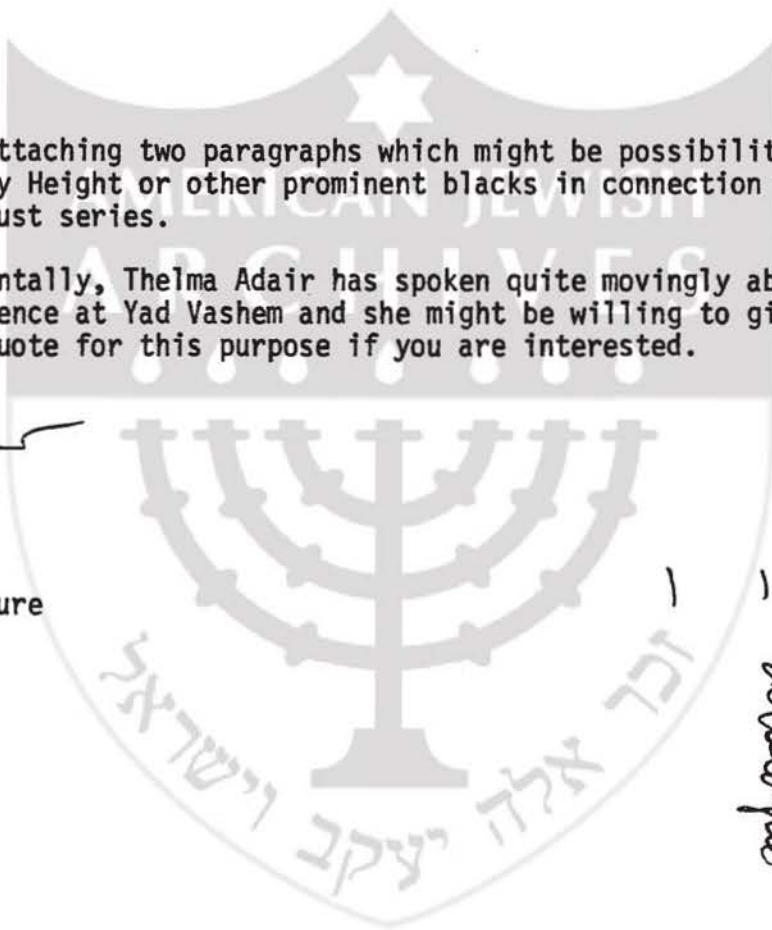
**date** February 21, 1978  
**to** Marc H. Tanenbaum  
**from** Inge Lederer Gibel  
**subject**

I am attaching two paragraphs which might be possibilities for Dorothy Height or other prominent blacks in connection with the Holocaust series.

Incidentally, Thelma Adair has spoken quite movingly about her experience at Yad Vashem and she might be willing to give us a good quote for this purpose if you are interested.

*[Handwritten signature]*

ILG/es  
Enclosure



*Mulholland - welcome*  
*Burr Berger, Brodsky,*  
*- David Hunter*  
*- Panel*  
*- dialogue*  
*How hours / price*

1. As a black woman, there are many scenes in NBC's Holocaust special I recognize from my own history. When an innocent young Jewish girl is driven to insanity by brutal gang rape at the hand of Nazi bullies, when children are torn away from their parents, husbands from their wives, to be sent to unknown suffering -- all these scenes are reminiscent of events black people can well relate to. Still, nothing quite prepares one for the "Final Solution," and it is my hope that all Americans who care about ending man's inhumanity to man will watch this important program.

DOROTHY HAIGHT

2. I strongly urge the black community to watch NBC's Holocaust. Although the suffering of each oppressed group in history is unique, the similarities are important too. <sup>By viewing "The Holocaust,"</sup> ~~In terms of helping~~ Black Americans <sup>will</sup> better understand not only the universality of racist impulses, but also the special history that has made their Jewish neighbors so sensitive to any indication of anti-Semitism, while at the same time ~~is~~ ready to enlist in the struggle of other people for justice. <sup>ON</sup> ~~No~~ other single experience I can think of makes a greater contribution to interracial understanding.



765-6500

*Follow up  
"The Holocaust"*

February 1, 1978

Mr. Stuart Applebaum  
Publicity Department  
Bantam Books  
666 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Applebaum,

At a meeting with representatives of NBC-TV last week I was informed that you are involved in a significant way in the promotion of "The Holocaust" book by Gerald Green.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing some background material which will give you some idea of the nature and extent of our relationship to the NBC-TV special from its very inception.

We attach the greatest importance to helping achieve maximum impact upon the American people about the meaning of the Holocaust not only for Jews but for the whole of mankind.

I wonder if we might arrange to meet together in the near future in order to determine how we might be helpful to one another in realizing our common objectives.

If your secretary would be kind enough to call my office I would like to arrange for a meeting with you and several of our colleagues.

With warm good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
National Director  
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

~~The Holocaust~~ mailing, Jewish Press Clip



HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

Cincinnati • New York • Los Angeles • Jerusalem

March 14, 1978

3101 CLIFTON AVENUE • CINCINNATI, OHIO 45220  
(513) 221-1875

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 E. 56th St.  
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

You belong to a very small group of rabbis and laypeople who have been getting The Globalist Newsletter. Until now, you have been receiving it free of charge despite the fact that there have always been considerable costs involved in its publication. These costs have been defrayed by contributions from a handful of interested laypeople and gifts from rabbis' discretionary funds.

This mode of funding is no longer adequate now that I am attempting to put out the Newsletter on a regular basis and for an expanded readership. It is therefore necessary to turn to you for support.

In reflecting on the kind of contribution you may wish to make, I should like to inform you that gifts from laypeople already received have averaged \$150. I am setting a subsidized student subscription rate of \$10 to \$15. New layreaders will be asked to give a minimum contribution of \$50. As for rabbis, I am confident that each one of you will wish to contribute personally as much as you can afford, and, hopefully, will want to augment the contribution with a generous gift from the rabbi's discretionary fund of \$50 or more. All gifts are tax-exempt, and checks are to be made payable to the Hebrew Union College Research Fund and sent to me directly so that they will be properly posted by the Business Office to my research account. All gifts are supportive of my research in contemporary Jewish and world history, of which The Globalist Newsletter is but one of its fruits.

The Globalist Newsletter was born out of your ongoing interest in my offbeat analyses of international affairs. Your enthusiasm has enlarged the readership from a mere handful to more than two hundred. Your wish to have the Newsletter come out more regularly has led to my decision to give it a try. But without adequate funding, all the enthusiasm and eagerness and commitment will be of little avail.

With all good wishes and warmest regards,

As ever,

Ellis Rivkin

ER:yg



Cincinnati, Ohio

February 7, 1978

Ellis Rivkin, Publisher and Editor-in-Chief  
Connie Yaffe, Managing Editor and Research Associate  
Yetta Gershune, Executive Secretary

Dear Friends:

Now that some time has elapsed since the dramatic Sadat-Begin meeting in Jerusalem, we can see Act I in clearer perspective. At the time, you will recall, we were uncertain as to whether the Sadat-Begin talks represented some modus vivendi which had been worked out between the United States and Great Britain following on some mutual concessions, or whether the talks represented a dramatic move by the United States to break through the bottleneck which had been obstructing a comprehensive Middle East settlement by exposing Britain to a fait accompli: a reconciliation between Sadat and Begin precluding any further war between Egypt and Israel.

It would now seem that the second hypothesis is proving to be the more likely one, since Britain has apparently successfully blunted the Sadat-Begin initiative by holding her client states and the groupings which she supports in the PLO from coming to terms with Israel. As a consequence, all is now bogged down awaiting the resolution of a wide array of conflicts between Great Britain and the United States in Africa, Asia, Central and South America and the Middle East. The line-up as we see it now is as follows:\*

\* Now is italicized so as to underscore the oscillations that characterize (1) international relationships in general, and (2) the relationship between client and patron states in particular. The transformation of West Germany and Japan from inveterate enemies into coddled allies are vivid examples of the first category, while India's odyssey from violent revolution against the British to a cherished member of the Commonwealth, and Taiwan's from pampered pawn to prickly thorn are goodly examples of the second kind. Of especial

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Original documents  
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The Underlying Conflict: U.S. vs. Britain--Strategic

Africa

Horn-of-Africa

Somalia (Great Britain) vs. Ethiopia (United States, Soviet Union, Cuba, Israel)

Eritrea

Anti-Ethiopian liberationists (Great Britain) vs. Ethiopians (United States, Soviet Union, Cuba)

Rhodesia

Internal settlement with elections prior to transfer of power and iron-clad guarantees for the white minority (Great Britain) vs. externally-based guerrillas (United States, Soviet Union, Cuba) demanding transfer of power prior to elections and with no absolute guarantees to the white minority.

The former Spanish Sahara

Morocco and Mauritania (Great Britain) vs. Polisario (United States, Soviet Union, Cuba)

immediate interest is the return, it would seem, of Communist China to the British fold from which she had been snatched by the United States as part of the Vietnam settlement with Britain. Hence Nixon's triumphant visit to Peking. Since Mao's death, however, the new leadership seems to be coordinating their policies more and more with the British. The Saudis, too, who for years were predominately American clients, now seem to have tipped over to the British.

Most helpful in conceptualizing the relationship of client states to the great powers is to imagine each state to be, like a corporation, divided into shares of stock which can be, so to speak, transferred from one patron state to another whenever the calculus of power shifts. Thus whereas, let us say, the United States had held 80 percent of Saudi Arabian stock and Britain 20 percent in 1973, the growth of British power in the past year, which is documented in the body of this Newsletter, has led to a stock transfer with Britain now owning, let us say, 65 percent and the United States 35 percent.

This mode of picturing the relationship of client to patron states has the imprimatur of Winston Churchill who, in October 1944 during the Yalta Conference, offered Stalin the following deal:

[end]

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Asia

Cambodia (Great Britain) vs. Vietnam (United States)

People's Republic of China (Great Britain) vs. Vietnam (United States)

Central and South America

Falkland Islands (Great Britain) vs. Argentina (United States on this issue)

Middle East

P.L.O. terrorists, extremists, rejection front (Great Britain), Arafat, moderates (United States, Israel, Soviet Union)

Oman, Kuwait, Iraq(?) (Great Britain) vs. Iran(?) (United States, Soviet Union, Cuba)

Saudi Arabia (Great Britain) vs. Southern Yemen (United States, Soviet Union, Cuba)

Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Oman (Great Britain) vs. Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon (United States, Soviet Union)

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". . . As far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety percent predominance in Roumania, for us to have ninety percent say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia? And he wrote on half a sheet of paper:

"Rumania	
Russia	90 per cent
The others	10 per cent
Greece	
Great Britain	90 per cent
(in accord with U.S.A.)	
Russia	10 per cent
Yugoslavia	50-50 per cent
Hungary	50-50 per cent
Bulgaria	
Russia	75 per cent
The others	25 per cent

Europe

Ireland Moderate Settlement (Great Britain) vs. Ireland Unification (United States)

Federated Europe (United States) vs. Confederated Europe (Great Britain)

Canada

Unified Canada (Great Britain) vs. Quebec Separatism (United States)

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

Vertical proliferation, horizontal non-proliferation (United States) vs. Vertical non-proliferation prior to horizontal non-proliferation

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"Stalin at once accepted and, though next day (10 October) Molotov in conversation with Eden, made a certain display of 'dragging his feet,' the 'Percentage Agreement' became policy." (Wheeler-Bennett, Sir John W. and Anthony Nicholls, The Semblance of Peace [New York, 1972], p. 559. The "Percentage Agreement" is given by Churchill himself in The Tide of Victory, p. 198.)

And if this way of looking upon client states as though they were divided into transferable shares strikes one as cynical, he can turn to Churchill himself for confirmation that it is indeed cynical. "Might it not," he asked Stalin, "be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner?" Churchill's suggestion to Stalin, however, that the record of this cynicism be destroyed, was not taken up. Stalin had no compunction and told Churchill to keep it. (Quoted in Semblance of Peace, p. 559, and from The Tide of Victory, p. 198.)

Cynical or not, we have on record two heads of state who thought of small states as divisible into transferable shares.

In some future Newsletter we hope to explore this phenomenon in depth.



You will note that most of these conflicts involve crucial choke-points:\* the Horn of Africa and Southern Yemen overlook Bab-el-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden. Oman and Iran border on the Straits of Hormuz and the Gulf of Oman, which also critically affect Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait. Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are directly involved with the Straits of Tiran. The struggle over the Spanish Sahara affects the Canary Islands while any victory for the Polisario endangers Morocco, which controls the African side of the Strait of Gibraltar. Belize (formerly British Honduras) is situated just below the Yucaton Channel and controls access to the Panama Canal. The Falkland Islands overlooks the Strait of Magellan. Cambodia lies off the Gulf of Siam across from the Malay Peninsula.

Some of these Anglo-American conflicts, such as the struggle over Belize, can be documented while others are much more dependent on inference. Here, for example, is a summing-up by Patrick Ketley of American efforts to pressure Britain to partition Belize:

"Washington pressure may be the real explanation of present British techniques. The American view is that a small cricket-playing community, stuck into the Central American mainland by an accident of history, has to be seen as expendable in the greater global perspective."

(The Guardian, January 29, 1978)

Ketley at the same time informs us that there are now 1,500 British troops in Belize and a part-squadron of Harrier Jets, sturdy confirmation that Callaghan is as committed to defend Belize with British forces as his predecessors Wilson (Labour) and Heath (Conservative).

Indeed, R. W. Apple, Jr.'s report from London to the New York Times (January 26, 1978) quotes the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, to the effect that no final agreement would be worked out between Britain, the United States and Guatemala without the approval of the people of Belize:

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In the current mid-east crisis we would roughly estimate the United States controls 99 percent of Israel, 85 percent of Egypt, Syria and Ethiopia, perhaps 40 percent of Saudi Arabia, and 60 percent of Iran. Britain, for her part, controls perhaps 98 percent of Jordan, Kuwait and Oman, 80 percent of Somalia, 60 percent of Saudi Arabia (Britain trains the Saudi air force), and 40 percent of Iran. These suppositions, we must stress, are suppositions and represent the best estimate we can come up with right now.

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\* See The Globalist Newsletter, Vol. III, No. 2, October 28, 1977, p. 35.

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"The Government of Belize has no intention of agreeing to a sell-out [Dr. Owen said]. Twice in the last two years we have gone to the defense of the people of Belize and we are willing to do so again." (My italics)

As for Somalia, note should be taken of the fact that Somalia had once belonged to Great Britain, and its loss now to the Ethiopians backed by the Soviets and the Cubans would wrest from Britain a choke-point astride the entry into the Red Sea.

The crucial significance of the Somali-Ethiopian struggle was pointed out to our readers in the last issue (pp. 33, 39). Since then we have confirmation from Dayan himself that the Israelis are helping the Ethiopian cause:

"Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's disclosure that his country is giving military aid to Ethiopia was divulging no secret. . . ."

"The whole issue was discussed when Moshe Dayan stopped over in Brussels in September last year and conferred with NATO Commander Alexander Haig. . . ."

"Local sources [in Jerusalem] say Israel's aid to Ethiopia consists not only of arms but also of teams of instructors in military aviation and logistics." (Francis Ofner, Christian Science Monitor, February 8, 1978, p. 3)

Such Israeli aid, allowing as it does for highly sophisticated collaboration, puts Israel squarely on the side of the Soviet Union in her efforts to gain control of the vital chokepoint which could cut off all trade to Israel to and from the Indian Ocean. Israel must be looking upon the Soviet Union as a friend who would not hurt Israel, and Somalia as an enemy who would. This assumption accords with our overall theory which has, since 1956, always regarded the Soviet Union as collaborating with the United States' efforts to push the British out of the Middle East.\*

In this respect, it should be noted that the United States not only makes no effort to help the Somalese keep the Russians away from one of the most strategic areas of the world, but, at the very moment when the Ethiopians were launching attacks against the Somalese in Ogaden, sends a presidential envoy, David Aaron, to Adis Abbaba to work out a modus vivendi (Cincinnati Enquirer, February 19, 1978). Nor does the United States feel constrained to obstruct Israel's direct aid to the Ethiopians.\*\*

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\* See The Globalist Newsletter (October 28, 1977), pp. 23 ff.

\*\* Our remarks in the September Globalist to the effect that wherever the Cubans are fighting, there unseen the American flag flies, is being confirmed not only on the Horn of Africa, but in Angola as well:

If Britain is indeed covertly supporting Somalia, she is not likely to allow its clients to work out a settlement satisfactory to Israel and the United States so long as the United States is allowing the Soviets and the Cubans, with Israeli help, to support Ethiopia's massive attack against Somalia and Eritrea. Negotiations now will be drawn out over many months, or even years, as Britain seeks to hold the United States at bay. The Sadat-Begin negotiations should now be looked upon as though it were a seismograph refracting the shocks of world-wide Anglo-American conflict and measuring their relative severity. When Egyptian-Israeli talks seem to be going well, we would suspect that conflicts between Britain and the United States in other parts of the world are moving towards resolution. Contrariwise, when they are bogging down, we would be wise to look elsewhere for the explanation.

Britain's Diplomatic Offensive: Callaghan's Visit  
to India, Pakistan and Aswan

With this in mind, we should like to call your attention to the ever-wider role that Britain has been playing throughout Asia, the Middle East, and Europe since the last Newsletter--a role which has been scarcely noted in the press. Thus though Mr. Callaghan visited India, Pakistan, and held talks with Sadat in Aswan, right on the heels of Carter's visits, the American press was muted. Yet this was in every way a triumphal tour, trumpeted by the Prime Minister to a receptive Parliament:

"India is proud of the way in which she accomplished her return to full democracy," Mr. Callaghan told the House, "and that, in itself, has strengthened her links with Britain. She is conscious that both our countries have a shared history, a shared language, that our legal systems are intertwined and that our historic ties can be accepted at their true value without exaggeration and without bitterness, and as a firm basis on which to build for the future.

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"MPLA has all along showed its determination to crush any secessionist tendencies in the enclave [of Cabinda] to prevent any stop in the flow of foreign currency deriving from the concession fees and production lines unfailingly turned over to the Luanda government by the U.S. controlled Cabinda Gulf Oil Corp.

"While collecting the dollar windfall, MPLA has kept Washington happy by providing crack Cuban forces for the protection of the oil installations and the lives of the American staff manning them."

(To the Point International, 30 January 1978). Italics mine.

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"As Mr. Desai himself put it: 'Britain and India can never be parted.'

"I was honoured to address the Indian Parliament and said that I would be happy if my visit could be the beginning of an attempt to build a new framework of cooperation between India and Britain. We have much in common with this great nation, now the tenth largest industrial nation in the world.

"The Indian Prime Minister and his Cabinet value the Commonwealth connexion and there is much we can do together to use our influence in our own different spheres of influence and in world groupings [for example, the U.N]."

(London Times, January 16, 1973,\* italics mine)

Conjoined with this renewal of a special relationship between Great Britain and India, Mr. Callaghan expressed his understanding of Mr. Desai's view:

"that progress can be made [towards the setting-up of international safeguards to avoid the spread of fissile material that could be used for nuclear weapons] if the present negotiations for a comprehensive test-ban treaty now going on between the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom can be brought to a successful conclusion.

"The effect of such a treaty," Mr. Callaghan pointed out, "by banning all nuclear tests, would be to hamper the development of new nuclear weapons and to curb what is now called vertical proliferation." (Italics mine)

When in the subsequent question period the nuclear proliferation issue was raised by Mrs. Thatcher, Mr. Callaghan again stressed that India would not feel constrained to join the non-nuclear proliferation club unless two conditions were fulfilled:

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\* We are most grateful to Richard Dine, an undergraduate student in the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, for putting at our disposal a Xerox copy of Callaghan's report to Parliament. Mr. Dine has volunteered, as his contribution to The Globalist, to monitor on a regular basis the London Times. Such monitoring will enable the editors to cull data, especially from the Parliamentary debates, which are not otherwise available.

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"One would be the completion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and the second, because of that, vertical proliferation would be ruled out. The third condition would be another round of SALT talks."

Mr. Callaghan then went on to point out that if these three conditions were met, there would actually be no need of even signing the non-proliferation treaty.

What is, of course, striking about Mr. Callaghan's statement is that it stands in stark opposition to Mr. Carter's distress with Mr. Desai's refusal to sign the non-proliferation treaty, a distress so intense that open microphones were conveniently allowed to pick up Mr. Carter's irritation when he told Secretary of State Vance that he was going to write a strong letter to Mr. Desai.

Mr. Callaghan also brought back to Parliament the refreshing news that Pakistan was contemplating rejoining the Commonwealth. This despite the fact that Britain had stood by when Bangladesh had declared her independence. Of special interest to the readers of *The Globalist* is the role that Mr. Callaghan has been playing in the Middle East negotiations. He not only met with President Sadat on his way back to Britain, but was in direct communication with President Carter by telephone and telegram. Here are his own words:

"On my way home to London I was glad to be able to accept President Sadat's invitation to hold talks with him at Aswan. It was clear that a crucial stage had been reached in the historic negotiations between Egypt and Israel and that discussions were not going well.

"Our talks complemented the discussions which I had held last month with Prime Minister Begin.\* Following my talks with President Sadat, I was in touch by telephone and telegram with President Carter in anticipation of Mr. Cyrus Vance's attendance at the political committee negotiations which opened today in Jerusalem. I also sent a full letter to Mr. Begin setting out my views."

(Italics mine)

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\* These talks, largely unreported in the press, left no doubt in Begin's mind that Britain was playing no peripheral role. Here are excerpts from Alexander MacLeod's report to the *Christian Science Monitor* (December 26, 1977):

"Britain has found itself caught up in the Sadat-Begin Middle East peace initiative and able to exercise influence in ways that have surprised [sic!] the Callaghan government.

"According to officials at 10 Downing Street . . . Mr. Begin was grateful to enlist Britain's help in attempts

Mr. Callaghan elaborated further in an answer to an M.P.'s question concerning Mr. Sadat's pessimistic outlook on the forthcoming talks:

"As to whether Mr. Sadat's pessimism was justified, things were sticky last Saturday [January 14, 1978]. The intervention of President Carter helped to remedy the situation. There are hard decisions for Israel to take here, but Israel will have to take these decisions."

(Italics mine)

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to establish contacts with Arab states still remaining neutral in the current Israeli-Egyptian exchanges.

"Mr. Callaghan is keeping in almost daily contact with King Hussein of Jordan, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, and leaders of the Gulf states."

"In circles close to the British Prime Minister, it is being said that the Egyptian and Israeli leaders are displaying 'a clear and genuine will to peace.' But both are worried that without discreet encouragement from the sidelines their peace effort may run into the sands.

"British officials say Britain's historic ties with Israel and long relationship with the Arab states are enabling it to act as a vital channel of communication as the tempo of peace moves increases.

"The one gap in Britain's spectrum of Arab contacts is Syria, but that, too, looks to being filled. . . .

"Britain's chief worry is that what Mr. Begin has to offer on the West Bank of Jordan will not meet the demands of radical Arab opinion. If Israel's proposals for Palestinian representation is too weak, it is felt at 10 Downing Street, President Assad may refuse absolutely to show interest.

"Mr. Callaghan used most of his three hours of talks with Mr. Begin, held at Chequers, the British Prime Minister's country residence, to hammer this point home. He questioned the Israeli leader in detail about Israeli attitudes to the West Bank, emphasizing that Israel must remain flexible if the current peace moves were to lead to a settlement involving the main Arab parties, including Syria.

"The British Government now is satisfied that there is give in Mr. Begin's position on the West Bank.

"In their talks, Mr. Callaghan promised Mr. Begin that he would remain in close touch with President Sadat and other Arab leaders. The Israeli Prime Minister for his part undertook to keep Britain fully up to date about possible modifications in his peace proposals." (Italics mine)

(We are grateful to Rabbi and Mrs. Rav Soloff for sharing with us this report to the Christian Science Monitor.)

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Little wonder, then, that the UPI (the Dallas Morning News, January 14, 1978) reported that Sadat said that "the peace process is passing through a decisive stage, or is in danger" after talking with British Prime Minister Callaghan. Indeed, it seemed for some hours that the proposed meetings in Jerusalem would even be called off. Callaghan, in his closing remarks, left no doubt in the minds of Parliament that his visit to the Far East and his talks with Sadat were to be taken as evidence that Britain was once again in a position to exert her power and influence on a global scale. Here is his summation:

"To sum up, while Britain in the 1970's rightly threw in her lot with the European community, such a relationship should not be exclusive, and we should foster bi-lateral relations with other countries, especially those with whom we have historic and other ties.\*

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\* This is a direct allusion to Kissinger's provocative Year of Europe speech (April, 1973) in which he asserted that whereas the United States and the Soviet had global responsibilities, Europe had only regional ones. The British were furious!

Callaghan is also echoing Anthony Eden's proclamation to the American people that Britain's national character is rooted in her far-flung, world-wide interests. In a speech at Columbia University on January 11, 1953, Eden issued Britain's enduring manifesto:

"The American and British peoples should each understand the strong points in the other's national character. If you drive a nation to adopt procedures which run counter to its instincts, you weaken and may destroy the motive force of its action.

"This is something you would not wish to do--or any of us would wish to do--to an ally on whose effective cooperation we depend.

"You will realize that I am speaking of the frequent suggestions that the United Kingdom should join a federation on the continent of Europe. This is something which we know, in our bones, we cannot do.

"We know that if we were to attempt it, we should relax the springs of our action in the Western democratic cause and in the Atlantic association which is the expression of that cause. For Britain's story and her interests lie far beyond the continent of Europe. Our thoughts move across the seas to the many communities in which our people play their part, in every corner of the world. These are our family ties. That is our life: without it we should be no more than some millions of people living on an island off the coast of Europe, in which nobody wants to take any particular interest."

(Full Circle [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960], p. 40)  
(Italics mine)

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"Everywhere I went, there was a general recognition that the improvement in Britain's position during the last twelve months was of benefit not only to the British people, but also to the world in enabling us to exert a stronger influence in international and economic affairs; and there was a general welcome that Britain is now able to take her proper place in the world once again. [All quotations from Callaghan are taken from the transcript of the Prime Minister's speech as reported in the London Times January 16, 1978]." (Italics mine)

Callaghan's simple declaration: ". . . Britain is now able to take her proper place in the world once again" (italics mine) is, from our point of view, a bombshell, for it reveals that Britain is now able to do what she had not been able to do, and she is now once again assuming her proper place as a world power, a place from which she had been temporarily dislodged. This breakthrough from then to now has, according to Callaghan, occurred in the past twelve months. And if we analyze what has occurred during these past twelve months that could account for Britain's now exerting a stronger influence in international and economic affairs, we note that whereas the pound hovered in the \$1.65-.70 range a year ago, it is now dancing upward from a seemingly secure \$1.95; whereas Britain's reserves then, in January 1967, were below \$5 billion, they are now over \$20 billion--as much, if not more, than our own reserves; whereas holders of sterling were pulling out then, they are buying in now; whereas North Sea Oil revenues were still in the offing then, they are flooding in now; and whereas the breakthrough to a new level of strategic, nuclear power was still awaiting testing then, it has become operational now.

This restoration of Britain to her "proper place in the world" is also allowing Britain to crack the whip in the European Common Market. Foreign Secretary David Owen bluntly informed his colleagues in Brussels that "full-fledged federalism was unrealistic and to some extent mythical":

"'We cannot see,' he declared, 'in concrete terms how nine nations with very different political, social and cultural conditions--some of them still very young nations in political terms--can possibly become federated over any realistic time scale.'" (Christian Science Monitor, February 15, 1978, p. 13)

"'The Community can be suffocated by cant, and the more mouthing of communitaire language can stifle the serious questioning and debate that any active evolving body needs to thrive.'" (The Guardian, February 19, 1978)

Owen's public rejection of federalism and his defining of the community as a confederal system in which the central authority has only limited jurisdiction represents a defiant challenge to the federal



principle as championed by the United States. And Britain is putting her interests where her words are by taking a tough stand on (1) how the community's budget is to be prepared, (2) the holding of direct elections for an European parliament, (3) fisheries resources, and agricultural and food policy, (4) gaining for herself the EEC's jet nuclear-fusion project. (Cf. ibid.; also The Guardian, February 12, 1978, pp. 7, 12; The Economist, February 11, 1978, p. 58.)

This offensive against the EEC has aroused the dire apprehension of Britain's partners. Le Monde lashed out against Britain's disruptive role and raised the question as to whether Britain is truly community-minded:

"The saddening spectacle in Brussels these days comes as a confirmation that the British do not understand the language of the community. . . .

". . . As the Netherlands minister for agriculture and fisheries put it concisely: The question is whether Britain is prepared to abide by the treaties and work together with its partners, or whether the EEC is moving into a phase where any discussion will be blocked if it is not going in Britain's favour.

"After Britain re-negotiated its terms of accession to the EEC in 1975 and Wilson's successful referendum, it gave a solemn undertaking to behave like any other member-state of the Community. But the day to day record in Brussels demonstrates that the promises have not been kept. Whatever the issue--industry, agriculture, fishing, energy, or institutions--the British when they are not hampering discussions, ask for special treatment. Must it be recalled that because of them, election to the European Assembly on universal suffrage has been put off for a year, that British imports of foodstuffs are being massively subsidised without any rhyme or reason by the European Agricultural Fund, while simultaneously London cunningly makes use of the EEC's financial regulations to keep its contributions to the Community budget down to levels far from commensurate with its economic power.

"After all, why would the British have given up insisting on special treatment or showing a lordly indifference to Community interests seeing that the other members of the Community, with a few exceptions, have all been crawling spinelessly before their demands? . . ."

(The Guardian, February 12, 1978, p. 11)  
(Italics mine)

### Britain's Attainment of Nuclear Parity

Some of these developments were drawn to the attention of our readers in The Globalist of September 15, 1977 (pp. 2-11). Particular emphasis was placed on the diplomatic leverage opening up to Britain by virtue of her achieving what I called "level" nuclear parity with the United States, since such leverage had enabled Harold Macmillan in 1958 to press Eisenhower and Dulles to have Congress revoke the McMahon Act. Since its passage at the end of World War II, this Act had effectively blocked Britain's access to U.S. nuclear technology and know-how. Indeed, Macmillan had succeeded in wresting from the United States a twenty-year nuclear cooperation treaty, a treaty which is now about to lapse.

At that time, in 1958, when Britain had succeeded in developing an operational H-bomb, Macmillan had used language very similar to that used by Callaghan in his recent address to Parliament. In a B.B.C. broadcast reported in the London Times of February 24, 1958,\* Macmillan told the British people that the possession of the H-bomb "puts us where we ought to be, in the position of a Great Power." This was echoed by Randolph Churchill when, in a speech to the American Chamber of Commerce in London on November 13, 1958, he left no doubt in the minds of his listeners that if Britain had had H-bombs in 1956, she would not have had to back down in the Suez Crisis:

"Britain can knock down twelve cities in the region of Stalingrad and Moscow from bases in Britain and another dozen from bases in Cyprus. We did not have that power at the time of Suez. We are a major power again." (Cited by Andrew Pierre, Nuclear Politics: The British Experience with an Independent Nuclear Deterrent 1939-70 (Oxford Press: London, New York, Toronto, 1972), p. 96, italics mine).

Callaghan's assertion that Britain is now able to exert a stronger influence in international and economic affairs, and is now able to take her proper place in the world, summing up as it did the very concrete acts of power which Callaghan had just consummated--(1) an assurance from Desai that "Britain and India can never be parted," as Desai and Callaghan took the first steps towards building a new framework of cooperation as they anticipated the use of their "combined influence in our own different spheres of influence and in world groupings"; (2) an undergirding of Desai's refusal to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty until vertical proliferation is ruled out; (3) a reconciliation with Pakistan paving the way for her reentry into the Commonwealth; (4) the direct involvement in the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations via talks with Sadat at Aswan, telephone and telegraphic communications with Carter, a letter sent directly to Begin setting out Callaghan's views of the hard decisions Israel will have to make, and a reference to the talks he had previously had with Begin--confirms our hypothesis that Britain has consummated a major nuclear breakthrough to level parity with the United States within the past twelve months.

Since this hypothesis is so fundamental to our analysis and since Britain's role as an awesome nuclear superpower is rarely acknowledged, it is essential that our readers be aware of the following facts: (1) Britain did indeed carry through a series of nuclear tests during the past twelve months which involved a parity breakthrough; (2) this breakthrough enhanced an already existing strategic nuclear deterrent of frightening proportions, and an already existing delivery system of proved reliability and effectiveness.

Let us now consider each of these seriatim.

### Great Britain: Superpower--Recent Nuclear Breakthroughs

#### 1. Britain did indeed carry out a series of nuclear tests during the past twelve months.

Here is the evidence: The London Times (May 18, 1977) reported that Mr. Frank Allaun "unsuccessfully sought an emergency debate to discuss the Government's development of new hydrogen bombs.

"He said that in the Guardian today there was a report headed 'U.K. H-bomb plans go ahead.' It stated that scientists at Aldermaston were working on a miniature H-bomb and new Polaris warhead.

"In the Daily Mail today there was another report under the headline 'Mulley confirms new H-bombs.' In this report the minister refused to confirm or deny a report that the Government were trying to beat an expected ban on all nuclear tests, including those underground.

"This statement followed a report occupying the front page of the Daily Mail yesterday headed 'Secret H-bomb, Britain Acts to Beat Ban.' It stated that the test at Nevada of a highly advanced H-bomb prototype was planned and had been advanced several months and was expected soon.

"Presumably this test was to be kept secret and made without any previous announcement to the House as with earlier tests. Why should it be kept secret?

"There was unfortunately reason to believe that the British Government was planning a further test at Nevada, because when the former Secretary of State for Defence (Mr. Ray Mason) was asked for an assurance that there would be no more, he refused to give it.

"The matter was urgent. Negotiations between President Carter and Mr. Brezhnev to stop all nuclear

test explosions was under way. Their prospects might well be damaged by such a test. It undermined and conflicted with President Carter's declared aims. . ."

(Italics mine)

The Arkansas Gazette of Monday, May 16, 1977 (see The Globalist Newsletter, III:1, September 15, 1977, p. 3) carried the following story:

"British nuclear scientists are rushing to finish work on a hydrogen bomb and warhead to beat a ban on hydrogen bomb tests expected from President Carter, London's Daily Mail said today.

"The Conservative Daily said the projects will give Britain a weapons system independent of the United States.

"It said the British Cabinet ordered the rush because it believes the twenty-year-old nuclear cooperation treaty [signed in 1958, following on Britain's development of operational H-bombs] with the United States is unlikely to be renewed by President Carter when it expires next year. That would exclude Britain from the underground testing base in Nevada.

"A scheduled Nevada test of an advanced British hydrogen bomb has been brought forward several months and is expected soon." (Italics mine)

And soon it was. On November 9, 1977, the Dallas Times Herald, under the headline "British Test-Fire Improved Polaris," reported as follows:

"Cape Canaveral, Fla. (UPI). A British Polaris A-3 missile was fired down the U.S. Air Force's eastern test-range from Cape Canaveral Tuesday evening in a test of improvement made by the British to the American-built rocket. Navy officials who aided in the test-firing called the late afternoon launch "a complete success." It was the second of a series of tests to be conducted in the next few years. The first flight, September 12, also was successful. The British have four nuclear submarines equipped to fire Polaris missiles."

The evidence is clear-cut: (1) Britain has successfully tested an improved Polaris A-3 missile capable of delivering a miniaturized H-bomb of highly advanced design; (2) this British breakthrough was hastened by the British so as to beat out the expiration of the nuclear cooperation treaty with the United States allowing Britain to use our underground testing facilities in Nevada; (3) Carter was

hoping that a test ban treaty could be negotiated prior to the British testing, assuring, as it would have, U.S. nuclear level superiority over Great Britain; (4) the United States, far from welcoming continued nuclear collaboration with Great Britain, was looking forward to the expiration of the treaty which it was not planning to renew.

Strategic Nuclear Parity and the Calculus of World Power:  
The H-Bomb Paradigm of 1957-8

With these facts in mind, let us recall that the nuclear cooperation treaty was signed in 1958, only after the British had successfully demonstrated to United States observers that she had indeed developed operational H-bombs. Prior to this demonstration, Britain had been excluded by the McMahon Act from any special claim for access to United States nuclear technology and know-how, despite Britain's significant contributions to the development of the atom-bomb by the United States during World War II. Britain was thus compelled to develop the A-bomb and the H-bomb without any American help despite the fact that the United States was aligned with Great Britain during the Cold War, utilizing British air bases, and was dependent on the Congo ores controlled by Britain for the super high-grade uranium which could be mined nowhere else for the production of its own bombs. The twenty-year nuclear cooperation treaty (August 4, 1958) was thus "imposed" on the United States by Great Britain because her attainment of nuclear level parity confronted the United States with the stark choice of either cooperating in some areas with Great Britain and gaining some access to British technology and know-how or taking the risk of Britain's excluding the United States from any access to her independently developed processes, processes which, Macmillan reassures us, were by no means limping behind America's:

"... but in some respects we are as far and even further advanced in the art than our American friends. They thought interchange of information would be all give [Macmillan's italics]. They are keen that we should complete our series, especially the last megaton, the character of which is novel and of deep interest to them. This is important, because it makes this final series complementary rather than competitive--and therefore easy to defend in Parliament." (Harold Macmillan, Riding the Storm, p. 565, Diary entry for September 1, 1958).\* (Italics mine)

Similarly, the amendment of the McMahon Act (July 2, 1958) was "imposed" on the United States. It was "the great prize" (Ibid., p. 323) which Macmillan so earnestly strove to carry off when he tussled with Eisenhower and Dulles in Washington in October, 1957. ("Honeymoon in Washington," Ibid., pp. 311-341, "the great prize" is on p. 323).

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\* Cf. The Globalist Newsletter, Volume III, No. 1 (September 15, 1977) pp. 7-11.

Subsequently, Macmillan "compelled" the United States to provide Britain with Polaris missiles when he met with Kennedy at Nassau in December, 1962. Then Macmillan made it clear to Kennedy that "if the difficulties arising from the development of Skybolt were used, or seemed to be used, as a method of forcing Britain out of an independent nuclear capacity, the results would be very serious indeed." (Macmillan, At the End of the Day, p. 357). Kennedy resisted as best he could, but he finally agreed to provide Britain with Polaris missiles and to recognize that they were to be truly "independent":

"The arrangement finally agreed was that we should be supplied with the Polaris missile, we making our own warheads, which we were quite able to do. In return, our nuclear fleet was to be 'assigned' to NATO, except in cases 'where Her Majesty's Government may decide that supreme national interests are at stake.' This meeting, in which the arguments were much more violently contested than in any previous one, was an exhausting experience:

"The discussions were protracted and fiercely contested. They turned almost entirely on "independence" in national need. I had to pull out all the stops--adjourn, reconsider; refuse one draft and demand another, etc., etc. . . ."

(Ibid., p. 360, the Diary entry is dated 23 December 1962)  
(Italics mine)

This "compelling" of the United States to sustain Britain as an independent nuclear power is fully in line with Macmillan's thinking, frankly shared, that his goal has always been to get American Presidents to do what Britain would like them to do:

"However, I have always thought about American Presidents that the great thing is to get them to do what we want. Praise and blame can be left to history."

(Macmillan, Pointing the Way, p. 392,\* italics mine)

It should also be noted that Macmillan's assessment of American statesmen borders on the contemptuous:

". . . It's rather sad [he remarked when McNamara sought to arrogate to the United States a monopoly of nuclear weapons], because the Americans (who are naive and inexperienced) are up against centuries of diplomatic skill and finesse."

(At the End of the Day, p. 335,\*\* (italics mine))

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\* Cf. The Globalist Newsletter, Vol. III, No. 1 (Sept. 15, 1977), pp. 11-12.

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\*\* Ibid., p. 12

Finally, it should be recalled that no sooner had Great Britain in the spring of 1957 carried out its first successful test on the road to an operational H-bomb, than the United States in collaboration with the Soviet Union sought to abort Britain's effort by calling for an immediate nuclear disarmament. This was attempted through Eisenhower's Special Assistant on Disarmament, Harold Stassen. Macmillan was furious:

"Mr. Stassen . . . has filed an extraordinary set of proposals, without telling us or the French--or it seems, the State Department. Nor has he given copies to anyone except the Russians! Is this America's reply to our becoming a nuclear power--to sell us down the river before [Macmillan's italics] we have a stockpile sufficient for our needs? Some of my colleagues suspect this."

(Macmillan, Riding the Storm, p. 301, Diary entry for 2 June 1957, italics mine)

Macmillan saw the United States, Britain's public ally, working jointly with the Soviets, America's public foe, to obstruct Britain's consolidation of level parity. In a letter to President Eisenhower, he bluntly called the President's attention to the fact that the Stassen Plan would cut off Britain from nuclear weapons which she deemed vital to the defence of her interests:

". . . A cynical critic might say that, at the end of the process [as envisaged by the Stassen Plan] . . ., two great nuclear powers would remain: The United Kingdom would be prevented from developing the nuclear strength which she is just beginning to acquire; and all the other countries of Europe would have signed away their right to defend themselves with these weapons for the rest of time, whatever changes may take place in the political conditions of the world [which would radically alter existing alliances]."

(Ibid., p. 302, italics mine)

Macmillan's determined stand finally "compelled" the United States to back off. At a dinner on June 18, 1957, attended by Harold Stassen and Selwyn Lloyd, Macmillan cracked the whip:

"I took a very tough line with Stassen and I think he was a bit shaken. Anyway, he agreed to alter the text of his reply to the Russians, in order to make it less difficult for us. The tests and the 'cut-off' (of material) are the fatal things for us if they come too soon."

(Ibid., p. 306, Diary entry 18 June 1957, italics mine)

The evidence is thus both clear and on the public record:

(a) The United States refused to help Britain develop either the A-bomb or the H-bomb by invoking the strictures of the McMahon Act.

(b) Britain's mastery of H-bomb technology spurred the United States to advance the Stassen Plan, in collaboration with the Soviet Union, in the hope that it would prevent Britain from carrying through the final testing needed to make their H-bomb fully operational.

(c) Britain was powerful enough (1) to veto the Stassen Plan and (2) to have the McMahon Act revised so as to allow for nuclear cooperation with the United States.

### Great Britain: Superpower--Her Nuclear Arsenal

2. Britain's recent nuclear breakthroughs are increments to already existing nuclear deterrents of awesome destructive power. Here are the facts which have been publicly acknowledged:

In August, 1964, in an article entitled Would Labour Give Up the Bomb (Sunday Telegraph, August, 1964, pp. 12-14), Leonard Beaton listed the following British nuclear holdings: (a) a stockpile of perhaps 300 H-bombs, and (b) an atomic stockpile of perhaps 1,200 A-bombs. To deliver these bombs, Britain at that time had (a) Mark II Vulcan and Victor bombers with Blue Steel missiles, (b) other V-bombers, (c) Canberra bombers, (d) Buccaneer bombers, (e) Scimitar fighter bombers. (See Andrew J. Pierre, Nuclear Politics, p. 268.)

Since then, Great Britain has built four Polaris submarines carrying sixteen missiles armed with H-bomb warheads. These four Polaris submarines are in and of themselves sufficient to serve as an effective national deterrent as David Owen, formerly Secretary of the Royal Navy (1968-70) and now Britain's Foreign Minister, has pointed out in his The Politics of Defence (New York, 1972), p. 181:

"For the reasons already stated relating to the refit cycle of the Polaris submarine, it is argued that there must be four submarines in operation, and that this is the minimum necessary to ensure a credible national deterrent."  
(Italics mine)

And Britain does indeed have four Polaris submarines! This means, as Owen points out, that at all times there is at least one Polaris submarine on patrol, and this one is itself sufficient to serve as a national nuclear deterrent:

"Yet one Polaris submarine, actually on patrol, is still by any standards a formidable unit, capable--with its sixteen missiles--of inflicting a heavy toll on any



aggressor nation and able to fire from its submerged position in any part of the ocean with a quite extraordinary degree of accuracy. Unless and until the Soviet Union develops a comprehensive anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system around its major cities, there is no reason to believe that the A-3 missiles on British submarines--with some modification--will not be capable of adequate penetration for the next few years; so the question of developing a second-generation missile system is not an immediately pressing issue. The future of the British Polaris force need not become of central importance before the middle of the 1970s."

(David Owen, The Politics of Defence, New York, 1972, p. 102, italics mine)

Britain is thus right on target with a second-generation missile system utilizing miniaturized H-bombs of advanced design!

Britain's status as a superpower sporting an effective independent nuclear deterrent has once again been assured.\*

#### Great Britain: Superpower--The R.A.F.

In addition to her four Polaris submarines soon, if not already, to be armed with second-generation missiles, Britain has an air force which has no equal in Europe and which in some respects is superior even to our own. This superiority is spelled out in a special supplement to the Economist (December 17, 1977), entitled "In and Out of the Clouds," pp. 3-5 of the separately paginated supplement.

The grueling, unremitting, and superb training of the R.A.F. pilots and aircrew is nonpareil:

"The low rate of success in the training courses [only one in four make it] means that the pilots and aircrew who fight their way through to the operational squadrons can take it--the wear and tear of mock missions for a war which no one wants to happen. The polish on their performance makes them the envy of Nato. The tactical evaluation exercises, conducted by multinational teams on the control front in Nato and by purely British teams in the United Kingdom, put the RAF squadrons at the top

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\* The unwillingness of the United States to cooperate with Britain even on the Polaris beyond that required by treaty is exemplified by the rule "that no British personnel can go to the reactor section of an American Polaris boat." (David Owen, The Politics of Defence, p. 179)

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of the league. And it is not just the aircrews alone. The RAF trains hard and regularly at operating from damaged airfields and, with the Harriers, from dispersed sites, under simulated conventional, chemical and nuclear attacks. To mount such exercises is difficult, to carry them through uncomfortable. But this is almost certainly the most realistic training of its kind to which any air force in the world subjects itself."

(Economist supplement "In and Out of the Clouds"  
[December 17, 1977], p. 12)

The crews are trained to measure up to Grand Prix standards:

"The same exacting criteria are applied to aircrew training. Here the RAF recognizes the distinction between rally and Grand Prix racing drivers. Both demand a high degree of technical competence (and first-rate back-up teams); but the latter requires an extra ounce of nerve. The RAF trains its men up to that pitch."

(Ibid.)

This pitch proved itself to be beyond that which the American Air Force was able to attain, when the RAF outclassed the Americans during simulated war exercises in Nevada this past summer. Here is the Economist's report:

"How successfully [the RAF pitches its aircrews] was demonstrated this summer when a mixed squadron of Buccaneers went out to Nevada. There, the USAF has devised and now operates the toughest training course of all. It goes by the name of 'Red Flag.' There across the flat desert of Nevada, strike/attack aircraft have to penetrate Russian-style radars and Sams, elude the best American fighter pilots in the business and then drop live bombs on a realistic air complex. In a month of such operations the Buccaneers were shot down fewer times than the USAF's average in a week." (Ibid.)

Where the RAF is unexcelled is in its ability to fly, as the Economist puts it, "the lowest of the low":

"The reason why the Buccaneers did so well was because they flew low, very low. Among the air forces of the world the RAF is, indeed, "the lowest of the low." It trains its pilots and navigators to operate at 250 feet and less. That is the most demanding flying of all. ..."

(Ibid.)

This ability, according to the Economist, allows for an offensive strategy aimed at knocking out the enemy's airfields and interdicting his ground forces:

"The RAF flies low to get through. It wants to get through (and back) because, outnumbered as the Nato air forces would be, it believes the best form of defence is attack. Its motto appears to be: create more chaos and confusion among them than they can create chaos and confusion among you. . . It makes a doctrine, a dogma almost, out of interdiction of an enemy's airfields first and then of the 'choke points' of the enemy's ground forces in the rear areas of the battlefield (bridges, road junctions and the like) second. . . Small in numbers but bold in thinking, it seeks to get the enemy's air force off its own and the army's back by hitting it where it hurts--at its bases."

(Economist supplement "In and Out of the Clouds"  
[December 17, 1977], p. 20)

Britain's Jaguars and Buccaneers stationed in Germany are on the ready to take off quickly with nuclear bombs exclusively under British control:

"The Jaguars and Buccaneers in Germany have a longer range than the Harriers. Both are strike/attack aircraft, with the Buccaneers assigned to the longer range targets. At any moment of time a number of these aircraft are on 'Quick Reaction Alert' (QRA), ready for flight in a matter of minutes and loaded with nuclear bombs. (These bombs are British and do not therefore, as tactical nuclear weapons of American origin in West Germany do, come under the 'double key' system of release.)"

:(Ibid.)

The parentheses enclosing the message that the British nuclear bombs are exclusively under British control should not mislead us into thinking that this message is some casual afterthought. It is the crux of Britain's power, for it means that Britain can drop nuclear bombs on every Warsaw Pact city within range of the Buccaneer. For all practical purposes these delivery systems represent a strategic option, even though by definition the Jaguars and Buccaneers are labeled "tactical." So long as Britain has the power to inflict unacceptable nuclear damage on East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and even the Soviet Union itself, then she can trigger off a nuclear war by her response to some Soviet provocation and confront the United States with choices she would not like to have to make.

Among the features which make the Buccaneer a formidable strike/attack aircraft is that it can "lay its [nuclear] bombs down in low-level flight," and its pilots can "pitch up" so as to toss the bombs

in a high parabola on to the target" so that the Buccaneer is kept out of range of defending Sams and guns (Economist supplement, p. 20).

The RAF's power is by no means limited to West Germany. Indeed, three-quarters of the RAF is stationed in Britain in Strike Command, which includes V-bombers, transport aircraft, strike/attack aircraft, maritime aircraft, helicopters and interceptors. Especially noteworthy are the Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) Nimrods which have an impressive array of equipment: highly advanced radar, active and passive sonars, computers, magnetic anomaly detectors, homing torpedoes, and nuclear depth charges. Britain's air bases are protected by Bloodhound missiles and rapier squadrons.

#### Great Britain: Superpower--The Tornado

All this power is soon to be augmented by the coming on line of the Tornado, a two-seater plane which will be able to fly at twice the speed of sound at high altitudes and just over the speed of sound for short distances at low altitude; drop its weapons with high accuracy in all conditions of darkness and under all weather conditions; to fly as low as 150 feet via its terrain-following radar system, making it the second true all-weather attack aircraft in the world (America's E-111 being the other). Of the two versions of the Tornado, the so-called GR-1, according to the Economist (December 17, 1977, p. 31) "is designed to penetrate an enemy's defences at a very low level and high speed in all conditions of light and weather and to make accurate single-pass attacks, visual or blind, at its targets. . . Plainly the Tornado has been designed so that it can attack enemy airfields, lines of communications and support areas. It is a strike/attack aircraft for interdiction missions. . ."

As for the other version of the Tornado, the F-2 interceptor, "it carries," so the Economist assures us, "a radar designed to pick up aircraft at long range and to direct missiles against them. The F-2 has a good weapon load and will be able to engage a number of targets flying below it--known in the trade as 'snap up, snap down' capability--with its four British-made Sky Flash missiles. In addition, it will carry two improved Lidairnder missiles which home on the heat emitted by an aircraft. . . Its design suits it best for operations over the seas which surround the British Isles. It has been designed to take on enemy bombers. . . rather than to take on enemy fighters in close combat. For Strike Command, it is just what the doctor ordered." \* (Ibid., italics mine)

#### Great Britain: Superpower on Guard

Besides the oncoming Tornado, Britain is considering the development of a Stovl (Short take off and vertical landing) with supersonic speeds. The Stovl, it should be pointed out, is a British technique and would allow aircraft "to operate from dispersed, hidden sites and from the undamaged parts of one's own airfields." (Ibid.)

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\* The oncoming Tornado, along with the RAF's hedge-hopping prowess may partially explain the U.S. decision to build the cruise missile.

Britain is thus by any measure a superpower:

(a) Strategically, Britain's four Polaris submarines are designed to serve as an independent nuclear deterrent.\* In addition, Britain's V-bombers are strategic bombers whose effectiveness as a deterrent, given the support of the strike/attack Jaguars and Buccaneers, should not be underestimated. They are especially ominous in the eastern Mediterranean, since from their bases on Cyprus they are within easy range of Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Istanbul.

(b) Strategic-tactically, the Jaguars and Buccaneers in West Germany and Great Britain serve a dual function, depending on how one defines strategic. What needs to be stressed is that the Buccaneers carry nuclear weapons routinely.

In addition to Britain's bases in Germany and the British Isles, there are the two sovereign bases on Cyprus whose complement of V-bombers, Jaguars, Buccaneers, Nimrods, etc. are nowhere dealt with in the Economist Survey, and there is the Royal Navy whose role in the defense of the realm is considerable, even if not easy to assess.

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\* "The realistic conclusion therefore is that for all practical purposes, the United Kingdom does [Lord Chalfont's italics] possess an independent capacity for nuclear deterrence, and that it will continue to do so as long as even one missile-firing submarine can be kept at sea. . . .

"For myself, having spent much time in sombre contemplation of the issues, I find it difficult to resist the conclusion that, so far as Britain is concerned, what is needed is the simple ability to deter a potential enemy from attacking us or our allies.

"This requires a combination of two elements--the demonstrable ability to fight a non-nuclear war in the event of being attacked, together with the ability to persuade the enemy that we can and might [Chalfont's italics] retaliate with nuclear weapons, especially if nuclear weapons were used against us. In the absence of more convincing evidence than has so far been produced, it seems clear that the existing Polaris fleet will be capable of providing the second element for some considerable time to come. The Soviet Union has no effective defence against ballistic missile attack and with or without an agreement on strategic arms limitation, is unlikely to achieve one in the foreseeable future."

(Lord Chalfont, London Times 1/22/78. Italics mine unless otherwise designated.)

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(c) Strategic-interdictively, the Nimrods keep Soviet submarines under continuous surveillance as they pass through the Greenland-Iceland-United Kingdom (GIUK) chokepoint and beyond. The Nimrod system is always operating under war conditions and can finish off any Soviet submarine should this become necessary or desirable. Here are excerpts from an account in the BBC Listener of the vigil which is kept, day in - day out, night in - night out, on every Soviet snip from the moment it leaves Murmansk until it passes through the Greenland-Iceland-United Kingdom (GIUK) gap.

"But how can anyone have the slightest idea where even to begin looking for Soviet submarines in the huge expanse of waters they patrol? The answer is that the main Soviet submarine base for the whole of the big northern fleet is in Murmansk, by the North Cape. To reach the Atlantic, Soviet submarines must pass through a geographical chokepoint known as the GIUK gap. The relatively narrow waters of the gap between Greenland, Iceland, and the United Kingdom have now been bugged by the Americans. . . ."

"The tracking, above and below water, of every Russian submarine begins the moment it leaves Murmansk. Spy satellites monitor the dive and then, as the sub rounds the North Cape, Royal Norwegian Air Force maritime surveillance P3Bs, reacting to satellite and SOSUS-inspired intelligence, take up the search. They fly lonely patrols over a 90-million-square-mile area, usually finding one to four Soviet submarines a day."

"The subs heading west will then be handed over by the Norwegians to the Royal Air Force Nimrods operating out of Kinross in Scotland. In these remote northern airbases, discipline is warlike. There are even scrambles, super-secret intelligence briefings, and midnight sorties, and no reporter learns more than a fraction of what is really going on."

"Soviet sub sightings and transit routes are coordinated in an atmosphere redolent of World War II. At the joint Navy/Air Force maritime surveillance center, at Pitreavie near Edinburgh, the bunker is guarded by armed airmen, is nuclear blastproof, and would be self-sufficient for months in the event of war. From this concrete hold in the ground, the patient and secret tracking of Soviet submarines is handed over to the enormous U.S. Air Force base at Keflavik, Iceland, and from there to the eastern seaboard bases of Brunswick, Me., and Jacksonville, Fla."

"An ASW commander, once he has located a Russian sub, may 'ping him to death' by remorselessly directing active sonar at the submarine, informing it in no uncertain terms that it has been located and might as well come up. Without secrecy, a submarine becomes as vulnerable as an alligator on land."

(Atlas, January 1978, pp. 18-19, italics mine)

And if Britain knows how to manage the Greenland-Iceland-United Kingdom (GIUK) chokepoint, are we going too far when we assume that she knows how to monitor and manage the Strait of Gibraltar, the Dardanelles, or the Strait of Magellan (Falkland Islands), and all those other straits which she controls, even though the BBC Listener focused on the Greenland-Iceland-United Kingdom straits exclusively? And would we be far off the mark if we posited that Britain is making every possible effort to keep the Horn of Africa out of Soviet/Cuban/ U.S./ Israeli hands?

If, then, Britain was a superpower twelve months ago, how much more a superpower she must be, now that all her advanced weapon systems are soon to be armed with successfully-tested, highly miniaturized H-bomb warheads of advanced designs, extending, as it will, the range and accuracy of Britain's delivery systems. Little wonder, then, that the pound exalts; the London Stock Exchange soars; the reserves of the Bank of England pile up, and Callaghan announces to the House Britain's resumption of her "proper place in the world."

Great Britain: Superpower--The City of London:  
Financial, Shipping and Commodity Capital of the World

And to what end this striving for level nuclear parity? To sustain, nurture, and augment a complex global economic system knitted together by London, the financial center, not only of the sterling bloc, but of the entire world! London, and not New York, is the Queen of finance, insurance and shipping! The regal list is set down in Euromoney's (January, 1978) special survey (pp. 69-87) devoted to the City of London:

"The City of London

- . earns a £1.7 billion net surplus in foreign exchange annually.
- . earns a third of the country's net invisible surplus.
- . has doubled its foreign income during the last two years [astonishing in view of what was thought to be Britain's near bankruptcy in the fall of 1976].
- . has more foreign banks (over 275) than any other financial centre.
- . has more American banks than New York.
- . has the largest network of overseas bank branches.
- . operates the largest international insurance market in the world.

- . has a larger stock market turnover than Frankfurt, Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels combined.
- . accounts for the largest share of the worldwide Euro-currency market.
- . accounts for two-thirds of the world's shipping freight market.
- . operates some of the world's largest commodity markets."

(p. 69)

Now what is striking is that London's comparative advantage tends to grow, rather than diminish, with the expansion of New York and Chicago as world financial centers because such expansion widens and deepens the network, and London is Queen because she reigns over the networks:

"London's foreign business differs from that in other centres in two ways. In the first place it covers a far wider spectrum of activities--money, commodities, insurance, shipping, professional services and information services. New York has the money, the capital, the security houses and some of the insurance companies, though it shares commodities with Chicago and shipping remains primarily domestic. Zurich and Frankfurt are mainly money, capital and security centres. Secondly, the volume of London's international [italics Euromoney's] business dominates its total turnover in a way that only Zurich can emulate. . . (p. 71)

"London's relations with New York naturally looms large. These remain the twin centres of world finance. Only in London and New York is it possible to say that the money markets and stock markets have the depth to absorb vast international transactions on a daily basis without affecting prices unduly; and it is not by chance that the bulk of the huge currency surpluses of the newly-rich Arab world have been placed short-term in London and New York rather than elsewhere. New York's markets have the depth and resilience provided by the needs of the world's largest industrialized economy. London, by necessity, gains its extensive turnover from international transactions of all kinds.

"When New York opened its doors to international loans again three years ago, it was widely supposed that London would feel the draught. The results have not borne out the fears, not because New York has been unable to take advantage of the freedom from exchange controls, but rather because New York's reentry onto the world's capital market scene has simply widened the network [over which the city of London presides]."

(pp. 83-84). Italics mine.



No matter how hard the United States has hit Sterling since World War II by forcing one devaluation after another, the city of London has not only maintained its preeminence but enhanced it. When, for example, President Kennedy introduced the interest equalization tax to discourage Americans from lending money abroad and making dollars available to Britain, it spawned the Eurodollar and the Eurobond market which gravitated naturally to London. Similarly, the city of London over the past twelve months has once again bounded from off the ropes to retain its title as financial centre of the world.

And in preparing itself this time for the next go-round of dollar pressure on the pound, the Bank of England has been investing a high percentage of its reserves in United States Treasury notes so that the Bank of England will have immediate access to dollars without suffering unduly high losses, since, unlike the city of New York, the United States cannot easily go bankrupt. Indeed, Britain's buying-up of treasury notes was on such a magnitude (\$2-3 billion a month) that when Britain offered to buy up more than two-thirds of one month's issue, the Federal Reserve moved in to limit the amount. This large-scale investing at first propped up the dollar and then, when Britain pulled out in December and offered to buy only a few hundred million, the dollar plummeted and required the first massive intervention by the Federal Reserve Board.

### Great Britain: Sceptred Isle

Little England indeed! Awesome superpower astride the crucial chokepoints of the world; world centre of international finance, insurance, shipping, and commodities; head of a world-girdling Commonwealth of thirty-six states, rich in natural resources and cheap labour power; a state governed by agile, adroit, experienced, innovating masters of statecraft and stagecraft; a regal establishment sustained and defended, strategically by the Royal Navy's independent nuclear deterrent, the Polaris, strategically-tactically by V-bombers, Jaguars, Buccaneers and Nimrods, manned by RAF crews which have no peers, and by a fleet unmatched by any European NATO power and so beyond the Soviet's "Navy" as to stretch comparison to the edge of meaning, and covertly by a network of intelligence services and clandestine operations so advanced, complex, and effective that they alone of all the intelligence systems of the world, deserve five stars-- does not such an England still remain the sceptred isle?

### The United States at Bay? Israel at Sixes and at Sevens?

This is the Great Britain which is now squared off against the United States in Europe, in Cyprus, in the Caribbean, in South America, in Asia, in Africa and the Middle East. It is this Great Britain that is contending with the United States over the Law of the Sea, over the structure of the economic and political systems of the Third World, and over a comprehensive test ban treaty to determine whether Britain's

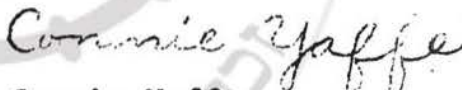
attainment of level parity will be congealed, or whether the United States will escalate to ultimate strategic weapons. It is this Great Britain whose shadow hovers over the Sadat-Begin negotiations--now ominously when Britain scores a victory on one or more of the many fronts, and now less threateningly as the United States gains mastery.

When such titans are locked in combat to determine the shape of the world to come, Israel can hardly expect the United States to do for Israel what it cannot do for itself. So long as Callaghan has Carter at bay, the Israeli-Egyptian talks are bound to be stalled. But of this we can be sure--the United States is as firm in its support of Israel as ever. Perhaps, even more so, since Israel is the only secure United States salient in the Middle East--a salient which offers the United States hope in its struggle to wrest the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb from British control; to protect the Straits of Tiran from British intrusion; and to keep the Suez Canal in the hands of an anti-British ruler. And since the United States has as yet untapped economic, technological, and intellectual resources beyond those available to Great Britain, Israel has more hope for a peaceful and prosperous destiny than those states whose survival is dependent on British power, however impressive and frightening that power may be. The spiral of development may be halting, but it is by no means halted.

Globally yours,



Ellis Rivkin  
Editor-in-Chief and Publisher



Connie Yaffe  
Managing Editor and Research  
Associate

#### Post-Scriptule

After completing this issue, we came upon several items of such import that we felt we should share them at once with our readers:

#### Arab Investments and the Dollar Crisis

Although we have been aware of the crucial role which the investment of Arab oil funds must be playing in the struggle between the dollar and the pound, we have found it very difficult to find precise information on the extent of these holdings; the structure of the portfolios of these holdings; and, what is most crucial, the shifting of these holdings from one currency system to another. Unfortunately,

the data I had collected during 1976 when the pound was falling and which gave some exact figures of how much the Arab states were transferring from sterling into dollar accounts were lost with my journal while touring Greece during my sabbatical.

This loss has been to some extent offset by some figures published in To the Point International (23 January, 1978), p. 15, revealing the extent to which Arab oil revenues are invested in dollars, and the catastrophic consequences for the dollar should the Arabs and especially the Saudis shift their dollar investments to sterling and other currencies:

"... The U.S. has to watch these relations [to the oil exporting countries] both to safeguard the flow and the price of its imports and to encourage the oil exporting countries to maintain and even increase their investments in dollars or dollar-related assets. If the Arabs were to prefer other currencies or assets--and December's sudden dive in the dollar suggests they are tending in that direction--the huge amounts involved would damage U.S. economic power, prestige, and leverage. . . . As economist Samuel Brittan explains, if there were confidence in the dollar, the oil producers' 40,000 million [i.e., \$40 billion] surplus could comfortably offset the U.S. trade deficit. 'The weakness in the dollar pretty clearly reflects a shift in the portfolio preferences of the Arabs.'

"The Arab oil producers--led by Saudi Arabia with \$55,000 million [i.e., \$55,000 billion] of its reserves in U.S. denominated investments--hold dollar assets of \$130,000 million [i.e., \$130 billion]. While there is little fear that existing dollar assets will be liquidated, there is real anxiety that the Arabs may divert some of their new surpluses elsewhere. A London banker has warned that support operations for the dollar, and interest rate differentials would have little effect if this happened on any scale. . . ." (Italics mine)

The oil exporting states, especially Saudi Arabia, have found themselves in a double bind. Having decided to fix oil prices in dollars when the dollar was riding roughshod over the pound, these states now find that their incomes insofar as purchases outside the dollar system are concerned has dropped, at the very moment when their dollar deposits in American banks, their dollar investments in American bonds, and their dollar investment in American securities are depreciating. At the same time, these states see the value of sterling rising dramatically against the dollar. Hence they are understandably tempted to pull out of dollars and shift to "harder" currencies. Among these harder currencies sterling is extremely attractive, not only because the pound has risen from \$1.60 $\frac{1}{2}$  in December 1976 to \$1.94 $\frac{1}{2}$  in March 1978, and not only because the interest their deposits earn from British banks are highly favourable, but because as pointed out in the body of the Newsletter, only London can absorb capital

flows in such huge amounts. The mark, the Swiss franc and the yen may seem to be "stronger" than the pound, but Frankfurt, Zurich, and Tokyo can only absorb a fraction of what London can!

The tables are turned once again. When the price of oil skyrocketed after the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Britain took a battering because overnight she had to shell out vast sums to meet her oil needs. As a consequence her balance of payments staggered downward under this pressure.

As time went by, however, the billions which were being paid out by Britain, the EEC, the United States, Japan, etc. began to find their way to British banks for deposit, and to British securities for investment. The upshot was that within time Britain was in balance as far as her oil accounts were concerned--the \$10 billion, let us say, Britain spent on oil was offset by the \$10 billion which the Arab states reinvested in Britain. In addition, the high price of oil which at first was so deleterious for Britain's balance of payments, opened up the possibility for an oil bonanza from the North Sea.

This relief, however, was short-lived; for the United States mounted an all-out offensive against the pound in 1976, beating it down to \$1.59+. This decline in the pound encouraged the Arab states to pull out of sterling and invest in the dollar. For six months or more in 1976, from about June to December, the withdrawal of Arab funds was massive. The shock to sterling was so shattering that Britain had to come hat-in-hand to the International Money Fund for a loan to bail her out, and had to agree to conditions which, for the first time, intruded on Britain's hitherto sacredly guarded sovereignty over her budget.

And now it is America's turn, as Britain lures Arab capital out of the declining dollar and into the bouncing pound. To defend the dollar at all costs in the face of such a massive outflow would be hazardous indeed, since it would mean reducing U.S. reserves without any guarantee that the tide could be stemmed.

In addition, it should be pointed out--though a full analysis must await a future newsletter--that American banks have lent tens of billions of dollars to Third World countries, many of whom belong to the Commonwealth-sterling bloc, and many of whom are perched on the edge of bankruptcy. These days Chase Manhattan--not to speak of Citicorp, Hanover Manufacturers Trust, etc.--needs a friend on Threadneedle Street.

The pivotal role of the Saudis in effectuating any Middle East settlement can now be spelled out in dollars and pence. The request for F-15's can no longer be easily brushed aside. The need to offset British training of Saudi aircrews with American training of those who will fly American aircraft becomes more imperative. As a consequence, the Sadat-Begin talks mark time as Carter and Callaghan play their cards close to their chests, each hesitating to call the "bluff" of the other, lest neither be bluffing.

RABBI HIRSHEL L. JAFFE

March 14, 1978

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

I tried to get you  
by phone recently but to  
no avail. First, I wanted to

consult with you about our  
Holocaust observance here in  
Newburgh with Father Flannery  
as guest speaker. Your mailings have  
been excellent!

Second, a wealthy  
former congregant of mine  
was interested in making a  
sizable endowment gift to  
the Committee and wanted me  
to speak with you on his behalf  
as he will be out of the country  
for a considerable length of time.

Sincerely

Hirshel L. Jaffe

Maximum Security  
Stormville, N.Y.

Keys  
Green Haven  
Prison  
Mica  
Not Christian  
Rev. Robert  
M. Tim  
High School

WU INFOMASTER

INFORMATION  
MARCH 17 1978

CWS NYK

023653C076 1541EST

MA 01 NL NEW YORK NY MARCH 17, 1978

PMS THE HONORABLE ALFRED L. ATHERTON

UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE

NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE WAS SENT TO THE PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER  
" WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE EAST  
AND BELIEVE THAT PEACE IN THAT AREA DEPENDS ON THE REDUCTION  
OF VIOLENCE. WE SUPPORT YOUR EFFORTS IN THE PRESENT  
NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD PEACE FOR THE ENTIRE REGION, BASED ON  
STATED U.S. POLICY. THE VICIOUS CYCLE OF VIOLENCE  
WILL NOT BE INTERRUPTED UNTIL ISRAEL HAS SECURED AND RECOGNIZED  
BORDERS AND THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND  
THEIR OWN HOMELAND IS RECOGNIZED.

CLAIRE RANDALL, GENERAL SECRETARY

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A."

TWX 710 581 5981 CWS NY

02 NL NEW YORK NY MARCH 17, 1978

PMS HONORABLE CYRUS VANCE

SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Oct 30 78

bc: Harold Applebaum, Marc Tanenbaum

March 24, 1978

His Excellency Bishop Carroll T. Dozier, Rabbi Harry K. Danziger,  
Sister Mary Anne Guthrie, and Reverend Harry Moore

William A. Gralnick

Catholic/Jewish Conference Revised Format

Attached is a revised conference format per our discussion in Memphis on February 27, 1978. The conference will be on Monday, October 30, 1978 in Memphis.

Harry Moore is proceeding with his tasks of inviting Ben Hooks.

Bishop Dozier is inviting Bishop Joseph Frances of Newark.

Bill Gralnick has invited Rabbi Tanenbaum.

For the 1:45p.m. panel, each of the organizers will choose a participant from their own religion. The moderator has not been chosen yet. Nor has a site. Suggestions are in order.

Bill Gralnick will act as a clearing house for ideas.

Please post the conference date on the appropriate community and/or office calendars. I expect to visit Memphis in the next several months and will coordinate calendars with you prior to my picking a trip date.

Kindest personal regards.

AG/ln

enc

cc: Dr. Thomas N. Stern  
Father Tom Kirk  
Brother Jeff Gros

FAITH THAT DOES JUSTICE

Religion and Its Impact on Human Relations

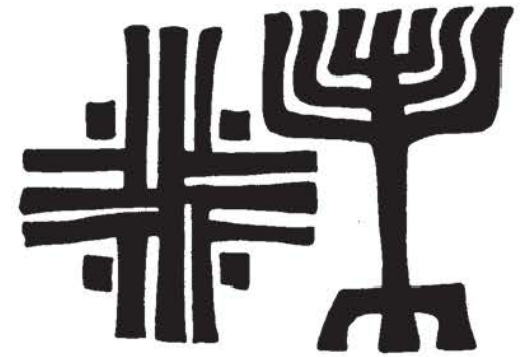
October 30, 1978 - Memphis, Tennessee

- 9:00a.m. Registration and Welcome
- 9:30a.m. Keynote: Religion as a Force in Society  
Bishop Joseph Frances  
Roman Catholic Diocese of Newark, New Jersey
- 10:30a.m. Panel Discussion: The Social Philosophy of Theology  
Do the three "Western" faith experiences demand of their followers an ecumenical communal concern?  
Where has religion succeeded and failed in this area?  
Moderator: Reverend James Hatley  
Catholic: Bishop Carroll T. Dozier  
Protestant: Benjamin Hooks  
Jewish: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
- 11:30a.m. -  
12:00Noon Questions and Answers
- 12:00Noon -  
12:15p.m. Break
- 12:30p.m. -  
1:30p.m. Lunch and Luncheon Address: "Religion and Politics: A Look at the Middle East"
- 1:45p.m. Panel Discussion of Role of Religion in Memphis  
Moderator:  
Catholic:  
Protestant:  
Jewish:
- 3:00p.m. Break out Groups with Discussion Leaders
- 4:00p.m. Report to Plenary Session
- 4:30p.m. Adjournment
- 8:00p.m. Closing Address: Benjamin Hooks and Rabbi Tanenbaum



- NOTE:
- 1) To avoid "tisk" repetition, need people who are committed to constructive change, i.e. Ben Hooks
  - 2) Need a planning session on the afternoon panel as it's the key to the conference.
  - 3) Should attempt to draw from beyond Memphis so plant seeds in other communities, i.e. maybe a priest could bring a non-Catholic, maybe a given lay person could bring another, etc.





ASSOCIATES IN SEARCH

an interreligious quest for mutual understanding and acceptance.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1978

CATHEDRAL OF

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

7:30 P.M.

A convocation of the three religious communities of Savannah to share concerns, to probe beneath the surface of awareness, and to grow in friendship as children of the Creator God.

ASSOCIATES IN SEARCH  
CONGREGATION MICK VE ISRAEL

20 EAST GORDON STREET  
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA 31401



You and your friends  
are invited  
to an evening of Interfaith  
Learning and Sharing  
March 29, 1978  
Wednesday, 7:30 P.M.  
The Cathedral of St. John the Baptist  
Abercorn & Harris Sts.  
Reception following in  
St. Vincent's Hall

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
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Permit No. 619  
SAVANNAH, GA.



**DR. CLAUDE UPSHAW BROACH**

Dr. Claude Upshaw Broach is Director of the Ecumenical Institute, co-sponsored by Wake Forest University (Baptist) and Belmont Abbey College (Catholic). Reared and schooled in Georgia and the South, he brings to our interdenominational, interreligious "trialogue" awareness of the southern faith experience.

Educated in Athens Public Schools, a graduate of the University of Georgia, he received his Th.M. and Th.D. Degrees at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. In tribute to his academic and human excellence, Mercer University, Belmont Abbey College and Stetson University granted him honorary doctorates.

Before assuming his present position, Dr. Broach served a thirty year ministry as senior pastor of St. John's Baptist Church in Charlotte, N.C. He was a charter member and first president of the Charlotte Family Life Council, trustee of Wake Forest University, and was active in the furtherance of interracial, interdenominational activity in Mecklenberg County.

Like Rabbi Tanenbaum, he attended Vatican Council II in Rome as an accredited "visiting theologian."

Renown as a lecturer, Dr. Broach has spoken on more than 40 U.S. and foreign campuses. He has also published numerous articles and books, including "The Baptists" and "Before It Slips My Mind."

One of America's leading clergymen-teachers-authors, Dr. Broach has been honored in recent years with membership on the faith and order commission of the National Council of Churches, and the North American Academy of Ecumenists. His connection to the World Council of Churches proceeds from his service as liaison officer.

We are honored to welcome him to Savannah as a spokesman of the Christian faith.

**PROGRAM**

*Statement of Purpose and Invocation*  
*Reverend John A. Kenneally*  
*Chancellor, Diocese of Savannah*

*Introduction of Speaker*  
*Dr. Thomas D. Austin*  
*Pastor, First Baptist Church*

*Address*  
**Dr. Claude Upshaw Broach**

*Introduction of Speaker*  
*Rabbi Saul J. Rubin*  
*Rabbi, Temple Mickve Israel*

*Address*  
**Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum**

*Interpretation and Benediction*  
*Rev. John Cuddy,*  
*Director of Ecumenism*  
*and Interreligious Affairs,*  
*Diocese of Savannah*

**Reception - St. Vincent's Hall**

**Program sponsored by the Diocese of Savannah,  
The First Baptist Church, Temple Mickve Israel  
and the American Jewish Committee.**



**RABBI MARCH. TANENBAUM**

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is the National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee and has been a pioneering leader and thinker in interreligious relations for nearly 25 years.

A graduate of Yeshiva University and the Jewish Theological Seminary, Rabbi Tanenbaum holds five doctorates, honoris causa. He has also been the recipient of numerous awards and honors, the latest being from the Religious Heritage of America, "for building bridges of understanding between people of all religions, for exercising religious leadership in the struggle for social justice and charity, and for uplifting the true dignity of man under God."

A religious historian and authority on Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations, he has written and lectured extensively on the history, theology, and sociology of Judaism and Christianity. Rabbi Tanenbaum is a founder and co-secretary of the joint Vatican-International Jewish Consultative Committee, and of a similar liaison body with the World Council of Churches. He was the only rabbi at Vatican Council II, where he was widely consulted by Catholic and Protestant authorities during the deliberations that led to the Vatican Declaration of Non-Christian Relations, which repudiated anti-Semitism and called for fraternal dialogue between Christians and Jews.

Rabbi Tanenbaum has been co-author and co-editor of numerous publications; he has also authored numerous monographs and essays, among them, "Holy Year 1975 and the Jewish Jubilee Year," published in seven languages as an official document by the Vatican office for Holy Year.

He has served as visiting professor at the Graduate Ecumenical Institute in Bossey, Switzerland, and has lectured at major universities and seminaries in the United States, Europe and Israel. During an interview with Newsweek magazine, Rabbi Tanenbaum was described as "the American Jewish community's foremost apostle to the gentiles . . . who has been able to solicit support from all factions of the Jewish community."

We are honored to welcome him to Savannah as a spokesman of the Jewish faith.

Toledo - 8<sup>30</sup> a.m. - WED.

11. Cardinal / visit Synagog. el Transito -  
1-~~Cardinal~~ Sinai Rest.  
4 p.m. Balmes #3 - Jcc - Madrid  
8. Sisters of Zion

Marcel Garsales Martin Private of Sephardic Museum (not other synagogue) Spain - Official residence  
Rabbi Garçon I - Toledo

Meeting of the Liaison Committee  
Madrid, April 5-7, 1978

- 1) Moeller
- 2) Cardinal
- 3) R. Sobel
- 4) R. Garsales

II - MADRID - 9<sup>00</sup> a.m.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

1. The Image of Judaism in Christian Education

Wed - 4 p.m.

- Introductory Paper Fr. J. Mejia
- Situation in German Language Area Prof. C. Thoma
- Situation in French Language Area Fr. B. Dupuy, O.P.
- Situation in Spanish Language Area Fr. V. Serrano
- Situation in English Language Area Dr. E. Fisher

2. The Image of Christianity in Jewish Education

Thurs. a.m.

- The Situation in Israel Prof. Sh. Talmon
- The Situation in the USA Rabbi S. Hoening

3. Exchange of Information Talmon

- ✓ a) Israel Law on Proselytism - M. Tanenbaum, B. Brochner
- ✓ b) Prof. Talmon's Proposal of Stock-taking of Work of Liaison Committee
- ✓ c) Future of Prof. Federici's paper
- ✓ d) Questionnaire to Bishops' Conferences
- ✓ e) Human Rights Situation in Some Areas, notably in USSR and Latin America Southeast Asia
- f) Catholic Dialogue With Islam
- g) Report on SCA Mission to Egypt and Progress in Establishing Muslim-Jewish Dialogue
- h) Recent "Osservatore Romano" Editorial on "lack of Jewish forgiveness" of Nazi Crimes
- i) Resurgence of Nazism and Anti-Semitism in Germany OBERAMMERGAU
- j) Updated Report on Middle-East Situation

- Mr. T. Freedman
- Dr. P. Warszawski
- Rabbi M. Tanenbaum
- Rabbi H. Sieghan
- Rabbi B. Brickner
- Dr. G.M. Riegner
- Prof. Sh. Talmon

4. Time and Place of Next Meeting :

Sobel  
Riegner  
T. Freedman  
J. Leichten  
B. Brickner  
F. Becker  
MT  
S. Hoening - PAPER  
Warszawski  
H. Sieghan

Talmon  
du Bois  
Toledano

visit by Bill!

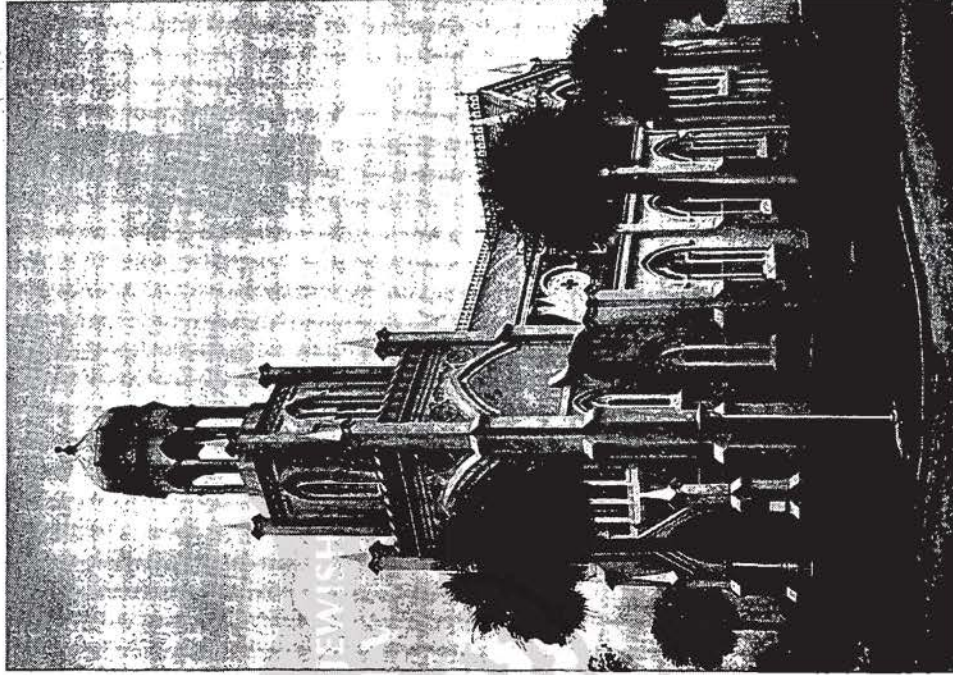
My very best  
wishes to you for a  
happy peace and  
a healthy, productive  
year.

Be K,

Saul

[Rabbi Saul J. Rubin  
20 East Gordon St.  
Savannah, Ga. 31401]

April 7, 1978



TEMPLE MICKVE ISRAEL SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

another program of  
comparable excellence.

RABBI SAUL J. RUBIN

Many thanks, Marc.

Dear Marc:

We appreciate all the  
good you have done,  
even as we enjoyed  
the moments of  
sharing - man to  
man. You are ideally  
suited for the responsibility  
that are yours.

The limitation of  
language prevents me  
from adequately communi-  
cating the impact of  
your message on this  
community. The "after-  
shock" is yet being  
felt. Plans are  
already in process  
for extending dialogue  
and arranging for

You will be told  
of the future building  
of interfaith connections  
that began with you

Oct 30 '78

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE  
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-SE  
SUITE 118  
1699 TULLIE CIRCLE  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30329  
PHONE. 404-633-6351

ACTION REQUESTED MEMORANDUM

DATE: April 12, 1978

TO: Marc Tanenbaum

FROM: William A. Gralnick

SUBJECT: Camp Henry Jacobs

Ever since your appearance in Memphis, the camp thru NEC member Harvey Pierce has been after me to book you. They do a training institute that covers a wide area of Mississippi and Tennessee.

The attached letter represents a response to my suggestion that they consider Jim, Judy, or Yehuda. Apparently they want you and are willing to pay for the privilege. Since you are to be in Memphis the Monday of Halloween week why not accept the invitation contingent upon it being the week-end of October 28, just prior to Halloween.

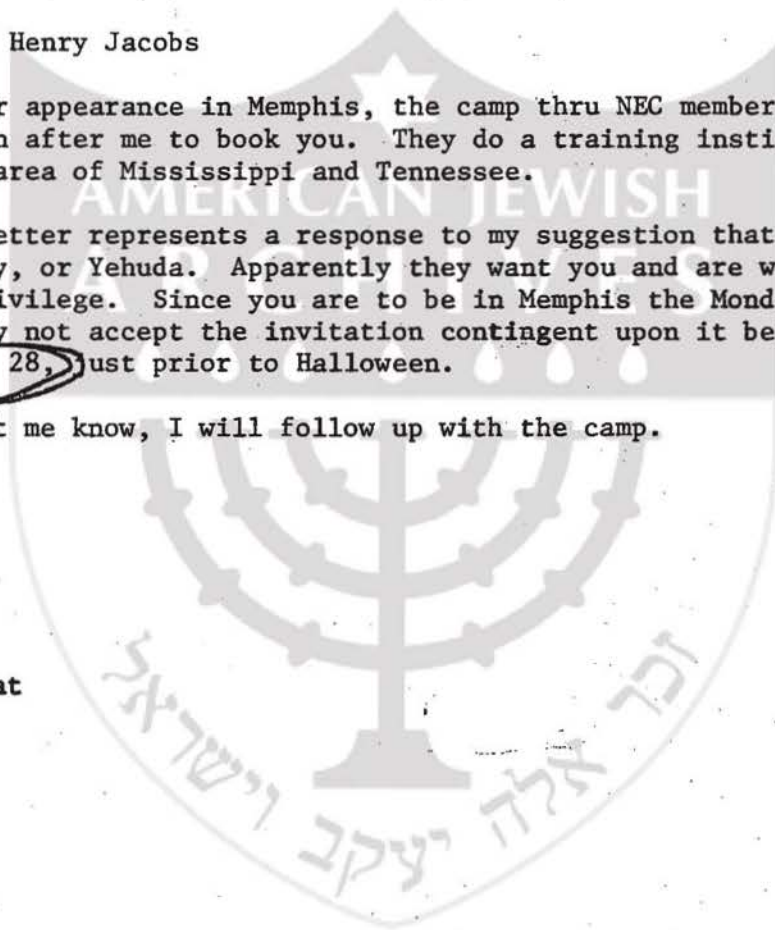
If you will let me know, I will follow up with the camp.

Regards.

WAG/lm

enc

cc: Shula Bahat



APR 07 1978

April 3, 1978

Mr. William A. Gralnick  
The American Jewish Committee  
1699 Tullie Circle, N.E. Suite 778  
Atlanta, Georgia 30329

Dear Bill,

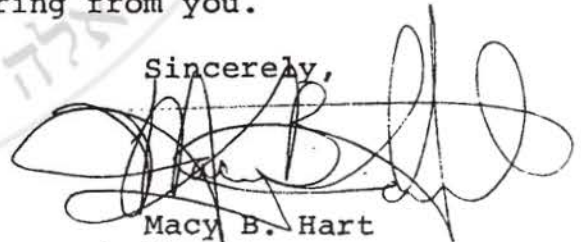
Thanks for your immediate reply to my last letter. I can certainly send you our dates and honorarium if one is required. I will want to speak with Rabbi Tanenbaum to "place" him in the area in which he will speak.

No doubt he already has command of this area but I want to tell him about the Camp and the people it serves. Unlike other Jewish Camps, we have assumed the responsibility of providing Jewish life for the many small Congregations that we serve.

The possibilities for dates are fairly well open now. We do three seminars a year; the Fall Seminar - in September or October; the Winter Seminar - in February; and the Spring Seminar in May. If you could send me a list of several weekends in those months, we can select a couple and get back to you. I am in the beginning stages of lining up all three of next year's seminars now. The honorarium has been set as up to \$500.00 plus plane fare.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Macy B. Hart  
Director



### Henry S. Jacobs Camp

Macy B. Hart  
Camp Director  
Utica, Mississippi 39175  
(601) 885-6042

The aim of the Camp Institute for Living Judaism is to enable children, youth and adults of the Reform Jewish Congregations to discover the values of Judaism through creative camp life and to apply them in their relationships in family, Congregation and community.



MBH:sr



14 April 1978.

Dear Ilana,

Here are some of the materials I promised to send you concerning Ukrainian-Jewish relations - I think that you will find them interesting and useful.

See you soon.



## DECLARATION

### CONCERNING THE FORMATION AND GOALS OF A SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF UKRAINIAN JEWRY

The Jews of Ukraine make up no less than 7 percent of all the Jews in the world. Living in a sea of Ukrainians, the Jews cannot remain indifferent to the environment surrounding them. History has shown that the fate and the very existence of the Jews in Ukraine depends on the local environment, on the development of national processes in Ukraine.

In his time, Zhabotynskyi, with exceptional insight, foresaw the significance of a correct Jewish policy in relations with the national forces of the peoples, on whose territories the Jews in diaspora lived. Socialist and Bundist circles, who at one time set the tone in the political movements of the Jews of the Russian empire, failed to understand this in good time and rejected Zhabotynskyi's ideas. A correct political course was not taken; attempts at reaching an understanding with local national forces began too late and were implemented inconsistently. Directly or indirectly, these mistakes cost the Jews <sup>many</sup> thousands of victims in Ukraine.

Today the Soviet regime systematically implements a policy of rousing Ukrainian-Jewish enmity. This policy is implemented in Ukraine, in the places of imprisonment where Ukrainian and Jewish political prisoners are held, and in the KGB-inspired foreign press. One must not rule out the possibility that ~~that~~ the KGB inspires and finances some Jewish publications in the United States and other countries, if they are directed against the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian national movement. Unfortunately, a portion of the press in Israel (above all, the socialist) repeats the fabrications of the KGB, thereby encouraging

and kindling Ukrainian-Jewish hatred.

At the same time, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian political prisoners, who today comprise a majority in Soviet prisons and concentration camps, fervently supports the prisoners of Zion, combats anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist provocations on the part of the camp authorities, and prevents Jewish pogroms in the camps. Ukrainian dissident circles in Ukraine firmly support the recognition of the national rights of the Jewish people, including their right to emigrate to Israel. The Ukrainian emigration in the Free World makes every effort to normalize relations with the Jews, defends the prisoners of Zion, and agitates in behalf of Israel.

Unfortunately, the specific problems of the Ukrainian Jews do not find understanding in Jewish political spheres. The mistakes of the pre-revolutionary period in tsarist Russia are being repeated, and this threatens the Ukrainian Jews with dangerous and uncontrollable consequences.

On the other hand, Israel's vital and urgent tasks in the strategic sphere force us to devote great attention to the national movements of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. The Russian empire under tsarist and communist regimes remains the most predatory force in the international arena, poised, in the first place, against the Mediterranean region, the Near and Middle East. The Russo-Turkish conflict for domination of the Black Sea and for influence in the Balkans lasted three hundred years. Once in control over the Black Sea, Russia turned towards the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Today there is a huge Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, Soviet expansionism threatens the Near and Middle East and the African continent.

Simultaneously, the modern Russian empire has become the principal source of anti-Semitism, where, as in Hitlerite Germany, it is one of the cornerstones of official policy.

Given these conditions, the anti-imperialist national movements of the non-Russian nations of the USSR, as well as the anti-imperialist forces within the Russian nation, are our natural allies. We do not have the right to ignore the significance of this crucially important factor, if we wish to safeguard the interests of our people and of our state.

On the basis of all that has been said above and taking into consideration that Ukraine and the Ukrainian national movement is the largest oppositional force in the Russian empire, we, the undersigned, have organized a Society for the Study of the Problems of Ukrainian Jewry, with the following goals:

- 1) To study the history and culture of the Jews of Ukraine.
- 2) To study the current problems of the Ukrainian Jews, the problems of securing the safety of Jews in Ukraine and the possibility of their repatriation to Israel.
- 3) To study in connection with this the problems of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Ukraine and in the whole world, the history, present <sup>status,</sup> ~~situation,~~ significance and future prospects of these relations.
- 4) To conduct an elucidatory campaign stressing the importance of the oppositionist forces and the anti-imperialist struggle in the Russian empire for Israel and the Jewish people. We speak of the understanding of this problem and of the formulation of a correct political stance, and not of the direct participation of Soviet Jews in the oppositionist struggle in the USSR; this question requires further study on a different plane and on another level.

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5) We call upon those who have come from other parts of the Russian empire -- the Baltic states, the Caucasian and Central Asian states -- to conduct an identical study of the question of relations between the Jews and the local populations of those states.

• We call upon Jewish political circles in Israel and in the whole world to show understanding for the problem we propose to study in behalf of the interests of our people, in behalf of the struggle for our future and of the life and repatriation of the Jews in diaspora.

Signed: Maya Ulánovska - former political prisoner  
Mark Perakh - professor, former political prisoner  
Arye Vudka - former political prisoner  
Yakov Suslensky - former political prisoner  
Henrikh Shakhnovich - writer from Kiev  
Israel Kleiner - Jewish activist from Kiev  
Alexander Feldman - former political prisoner  
Edward Korytnyi - Jewish activist from Kiev  
Arkadiy Levin - former political prisoner  
Alexander Uchytel - former political prisoner  
Oleh Frolov - former political prisoner  
Solomon Dreisner - former political prisoner

AN APPEAL TO JEWS AND ALL PEOPLE OF GOODWILL.

There are few peoples in the world whose histories are not intertwined, in one way or another, with the history of the Israeli people. The LORD chose this people and predestined it to a unique fate -- a fate inhumanly harsh. But at the same time, He endowed this people with an uncommon steadfastness, which, coupled with their faithfulness to the commandments of their forefathers, has since time immemorial served to the world as a model of incomparable spirituality. For two intolerably long millenia the descendants of Abraham groaned in Babylonian captivity, dressed themselves in rags and cast ashes upon their heads. But finally, as prophesied and thanks to the best sons of Israel, the Star of David rose over the lands of Zion and its light reached the most remote corners of the diaspora, illuminating with hope the faces of those in whose hearts the desire to return to the land of their fathers had never died and stirring those who under the burden of age-old persecution had almost severed their ties with the heavy yet glorious seed of Jacob.

There is no doubt that one of the principal criteria for measuring a people's spirituality, humanism and culture is its attitude towards the Jewish people. This is how it has been and how it will be for time everlasting. In our time, when the Lord's prophecy about Israel's rise from the ashes has so miraculously come

true, a state's attitude towards the Jewish question boils down, to a considerable degree, to the problem of Jewish rehabilitation. Generally speaking, any state whose gates are closed to the free movement of peoples can only be anti-democratic; moreover, it is seven times over more inhumane if it prevents the Jews from returning to the land of their ancestors. For many years the Soviet government hypocritically proclaimed that there was no Jewish problem in the USSR, just as there were no Jews who might want to return to Israel, until in 1970 a group of Jews, headed by KUZNETSOV and DYMSHITS illegally attempted to leave the country which had become a prison for them. Since then Soviet emigration policy, publicly exposed as blatantly hypocritical, has been partly liberalized -- many thousands have been able to leave the USSR, and even more thousands are dreaming about doing so. The right to emigrate is a great human right, and if it exists even in as small a measure as in the USSR, many people are able to breathe more easily.

But what about those who selflessly rose against oppression, hypocrisy and cruelty? How much longer must they languish in jails? Is it not obvious that they are being consumed in their hard-labor camps not for the crimes their unjust judges officially charged them with, but because they courageously unmasked the evil face of the present-day Pharaohs, and because they became a symbol of the



firm resistance of the best part of Jewry against the state policy of forcible assimilation by any means possible. No, assimilation is not the physical destruction of a people; it is not the traditional genocide which is impossible to conceal from the eyes of the world and thus escape world-wide indignation; it is a measure that threatens the very meaning of life, its spirit. Only the strong can withstand this devious and systematically implemented policy of assimilation. There are few of them, but the very fact of their existence exposes the unholy designs of the assimilators, whose temporary successes prove not that they are right, but are merely the result of their Satanic might.

Take the example of E. KUZNETSOV, who can be described in the words of the Gospel: "He is a true Israeli, devoid of subservience." Kuznetsov stands as incontrovertible proof that the most cherished desires of that ungodly state are invalid, a state which in its sinister pride prevents people from living in accordance with the traditions of their fathers and has decided to create the so-called "new man", chained fast to the chariot of faith of government-approved ideology.

KUZNETSOV is a man of many striking talents, he is a brilliant organizer blessed by a profound understanding of man. Could he not have adjusted to the system as successfully, and even more so, as many others and silence his desire for liberty, the voice of his conscience, and the call of his blood? But he chose another path,

and for 15 years now has been carrying the martyr's cross of a prisoner, a cross that is especially heavy for him as a Jew and an outstanding individual. Small wonder that this unique figure has become a sort of litmus paper in our hard-labor zone by which the true nature of every prisoner can be tested: there is not a single honest man who does not respect KUZNETSOV, just as there is not a single villain who does not fear and hate him. This unambiguous polarization of good and evil, one of the antennae of which is one's attitude to that unique phenomenon -- the seed of Abraham and Jacob, is characteristic of the whole world, and in my prayers I ask the Lord to create the kind of international and religious harmony that we have in our prison camp during the long years of resisting the forces of darkness and which can serve as a model for all honest men.

I appeal to all people of goodwill and especially to all true sons of Israel to do everything possible to gain the release of Eduard KUZNETSOV and his comrades. They represent the spirit of this spiritless world, and the struggle for their release from captivity cannot be sacrificed in the name of any utilitarian considerations. Their fate has become symbolic for many of us, although we belong to different faiths. MAY their release serve as a symbol of future liberty of all sons of the Lord!

Father Vasyl Romanyuk

September 1, 1977

REV. VASYL ROMANYUK--Dissident in the UkSSR.

Data:

Residence: Kosmach (village in the Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast)  
Educational Background: Rev. Romanyuk studied in the Theological Seminary in Moscow.

Dissident Activity:

The Commissioner of Church matters in the Ivano-Frankivs'k oblast withdrew the Rev. Romanyuk from his duties for a month because he asked his congregation to wear the Hutsul attire and practice the Hutsul tradition. He also asked them not to sell old things to the tourists. The commissioner asserted that these actions "smelled with nationalism".

On May 4, 1970 the KGB conducted a house search in the village of Kosmach in order to find anti-soviet articles and documents. Rev. Romanyuk's house was searched. No documents of this nature were found. However, the following were confiscated: a row of religious books, Lesia Ukrainka's dramatic poem 'Boyarynia', M. Voznyak's History of Ukrainian Literature, M. Arkas's 1909 publication of the History of Ukraine, the book World History, and a two year file of the newspaper Nedilya (between 1954-56). The other confiscated material were calendars, printed Christmas carols, his correspondence, Lepkyy's poems, notebooks, and resumes of religious character. After the material was confiscated Rev. Romanyuk asked Pryhorynychkyy, the captain of the Ivano-Frankivs'k KGB, why they considered the History of Ukraine anti-soviet when it was allowed during the tsar's censorship. The captain answered that it wasn't directly anti-soviet however, it could lead to anti-soviet thought. The only books that were returned to Rev. Romanyuk were those of religious character.

On November 27, 1970 Rev. Romanyuk wrote a letter to the Ukrainian Supreme Court protesting the harsh sentence administered to V. Moroz.

In January 1972, Rev. Vasyl Romanyuk was arrested for his dissident activity. In July 1972, he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, and three years in exile.

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**ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЕ И. ДЗЮБЫ В БАБЬЕМ ЯРЕ 29 СЕНТЯБРЯ  
1966 ГОДА.**

*(в 25-ю годовщину расстрела в Бабьем Яре)*

Есть предметы, есть трагедии, перед безмерностью которых любое слово бессильно и о которых больше скажет молчание — великое молчание тысяч людей. Может быть, и нам подобало бы тут обойтись без слов и молча думать об одном и том же. Однако молчание много говорит только там, где все, что можно сказать, уже сказано. Когда же сказано еще далеко не все, когда еще ничего не сказано — тогда молчание становится сообщником неправды и несвободы. Поэтому мы говорим, и должны говорить, где можно и где нельзя, используя всякий из случаев, которые представляются нам так нечасто.

И я хочу сказать несколько слов — одну тысячную часть из того, о чем я сегодня думаю и что мне хотелось бы тут сказать. Я хочу обратиться к вам как к людям — как к своим братьям по человечеству. Я хочу обратиться к вам, евреям, как украинец — как член украинской нации, к которой я с гордостью принадлежу.

Бабий Яр — это трагедия всего человечества, но произошла она на украинской земле. И поэтому украинец не имеет права забывать о ней так же, как и еврей. Бабий Яр — это наша общая трагедия, трагедия прежде всего еврейского и украинского народов.

Эту трагедию принес нашим народам фашизм.

Однако не нужно забывать, что фашизм начинается не с Бабьего Яра и им не исчерпывается. Фашизм начинается с неуважения к человеку, а кончается уничтожением человека, уничтожением народов — но не обязательно только таким уничтожением, как в Бабьем Яре.

Вообразим себе на минуту, что Гитлер победил бы, немецкий фашизм победил бы. Можно не сомневаться, что они создали бы блестящее и "процветающее" общество, которое достигло бы высокого экономического и технического развития, знало бы все те научные и другие достижения, которые знаем и мы. И, несомненно, бессловесные рабы фашизма со временем "освоили" бы космос и летали бы на другие планеты представлять человечество и земную цивилизацию. И этот режим все сделал бы для того, чтобы утвердить свою "правду", чтобы люди забыли, какой ценой куплен такой "прогресс", чтобы история оправдала или же забыла безмерные преступления, чтобы нечеловечное общество казалось людям нормальным и даже самым лучшим в мире. И уже не на развалинах Бастилий, а на оскверненных, утрамбованных толстым слоем песка и забвения, местах народных трагедий стояла бы официальная надпись: "Здесь танцуют".

Поэтому мы должны судить о том или ином обществе не по его внешним техническим достижениям, а по тому, какое место занимает и что значит в нем человек, как ценятся в нем человеческое достоинство и человеческая совесть.

Сегодня в Бабьем Яре мы вспоминаем не только тех, кто тут погиб. Мы вспоминаем миллионы советских воинов — наших отцов, — отдавших свою жизнь в борьбе против фашизма. Мы вспоминаем о жертвах и усилиях миллионов советских людей всех национальностей, самоотверженно работавших для победы над фашизмом. Мы должны думать о том, чтобы быть достойными их памяти, чтобы быть достойными долга, налагаемого на нас памятью о несметном количестве людских жертв, надежд, порывов.

Достойны ли мы этой памяти? Должно быть, нет, если и до сих пор среди нас находят место разные формы человеко-ненавистничества и в том числе та, которую мы называем стертым, ставшим банальностью, но страшным словом —

антисемитизм. Антисемитизм — явление "интернациональное", он существовал и существует во всех обществах. К сожалению, не свободно от него и наше общество. В этом, может быть, и не было бы ничего удивительного — ведь антисемитизм — плод и спутник векового бескультурья и неволи, первое и неизбежное порождение политического деспотизма, и преодолевается он — в масштабах целых обществ — нелегко и нескоро. Но удивляет другое: то, что на протяжении послевоенных десятилетий против него по сути действенная борьба не велась, более того — он временами искусственно подкреплялся. Выглядит, что забываются указания Ленина о борьбе с антисемитизмом, как забываются ленинские указания о национальном развитии Украины.

А во времена Сталина были откровенные, очевидные попытки сыграть на взаимных предубеждениях части украинцев и части евреев, попытки под видом еврейского буржуазного национализма, сионизма и т. п. — обрубить еврейскую национальную культуру, а под видом украинского буржуазного национализма — украинскую национальную культуру. Эти хитро обдуманные кампании нанесли вред обоим народам и не способствовали их сдружению, они только прибавили еще одно тягостное воспоминание в тяжкую историю обоих народов и в сложную историю их взаимоотношений.

К этим воспоминаниям мы должны обращаться не для того, чтобы беречь старые раны, а чтобы до конца вылечить их.

Как украинцу, мне стыдно, что и среди моей нации — как и среди других наций — существует антисемитизм, существуют те позорные, недостойные человечества явления, называемые антисемитизмом.

Мы, украинцы, должны в своей среде бороться с любыми проявлениями антисемитизма или неуважения к еврею, непонимания еврейской проблемы.

Вы, евреи, должны в своей среде бороться с теми, кто не уважает украинского человека, украинской культуры, украинского языка, кто несправедливо видит в каждом украинце скрытого антисемита.

Мы должны выжить всякое человеконенавистничество, преодолеть всякие недоразумения и всей своей жизнью выбороть настоящее братство.

Казалось бы, кому как не нам понимать друг друга и кому как не нам подать человечеству образец братского общежития? История наших народов настолько похожа в своем трагизме, что в библейских мотивах своего "Моисея" Иван Франко воспроизвел путь украинского народа в облачении еврейской легенды, а Леся Украинка одно из самых сильных своих стихотворений о трагедии Украины начала словами: "И ты когда-то боролась, как Израиль...".

Великие сыны обоих народов завешали нам взаимопонимание и дружбу. С украинской землей связана жизнь трех величайших еврейских писателей — Шолома Алейхема, Ицхока Переца и Менделе Мойхер-Сфорима. Они любили эту землю и учили творить на ней добро. Блестящий еврейский публицист Владимир Жаботинский выступал на стороне украинского народа в его борьбе против русского царизма и призвал еврейскую интеллигенцию поддерживать украинское национально-освободительное движение и украинскую культуру.

Одним из последних гражданских действий Тараса Шевченко было известное выступление против юдофобской политики царского правительства. Леся Украинка, Иван Франко, Борис Гринченко, Степан Васильченко и другие выдающиеся украинские писатели хорошо знали и высоко ценили величие еврейской истории и еврейского духа, с искренней скорбью писали о страданиях еврейской бедноты.

В прошлом у нас не только слепая вражда и горькие недоразумения, хотя их было и много. В прошлом — и образцы мужественной солидарности и взаимопомощи в борьбе за общие идеалы свободы и справедливости, за лучшую долю своих наций.

Эту традицию мы, теперешнее поколение, и должны продолжать, противопоставляя ее плохой традиции недоверья и недомолвок.

К сожалению, есть ряд факторов, не содействующих внедрению и распространению той благородной традиции солидарности.

Среди них — отсутствие настоящей публичности, гласности в национальных делах, в результате чего вокруг больших вопросов создается своеобразный "заговор молчания". Хорошим примером для нас тут могла бы быть постановка этого дела в братской социалистической Польше. Известно, какими сложными были отношения поляков и евреев в прошлом. Теперь же не осталось и следа бывшего недоброжелательства. В чем "секрет" такого успеха? Во-первых, поляков и евреев сдружило общее бедствие во второй мировой войне. Во-вторых — и этого у нас, к сожалению, нет — в социалистической Польше межнациональные отношения являются предметом научного социологического изучения и публичного общественного обсуждения, предметом постоянного внимания и вмешательства прессы, литературы и т. п., — а все это и создает атмосферу хорошего и успешного национального и интернационального воспитания.

О таком — действенном, а не только на словах — воспитании должны заботиться и мы, прилагая все свои силы. Мы не можем оставлять вне внимания факты антисемитизма, шовинизма, неуважения к любой национальности, хамского отношения к любой национальной культуре и национальному языку. Хамства у нас много, и у многих оно начинается с отказа

от самого себя, от своей национальности, культуры, истории, языка, хотя такой отказ не всегда бывает добровольным и не всегда человек в нем виновен.

Путь к настоящему, а не фальшивому братству — не в самозабвении, а в самопознании. Не отрекаться от себя и приспособляться к другим, а быть собой и уважать других. Евреи имеют право быть евреями, украинцы имеют право быть украинцами в полном и глубоком, а не только формальном значении этих слов. Пусть евреи знают еврейскую историю, еврейскую культуру, язык и гордятся ими. Пусть украинцы знают украинскую историю, культуру, язык и гордятся ими. Пусть они знают историю и культуру друг друга, историю и культуру других народов, умеют ценить себя и других — как своих братьев.

Достичь этого трудно, но лучше стремиться к этому, чем безразлично махнуть рукой и плыть за волной ассимиляторства и приспособленчества, добра от которых не будет, а будет лишь хамство, кощунство и скрытое человеконенавистничество.

А мы должны всей своей жизнью отрицать цивилизованное человеконенавистничество и общественное хамство. Ничего более важного, чем это, сейчас для нас нет, ибо иначе все общественные идеалы тратят свой смысл.

Это наш долг перед миллионами жертв деспотизма, это наш долг перед лучшими людьми украинского и еврейского народов, которые призывали к взаимопониманию и дружбе, это наш долг перед украинской землей, на которой нам вместе жить, это наш долг перед человечеством.

## ОБ АВТОРЕ

Иван Михайлович Дзюба родился в 1931 г. в донецком селе Мыколаевке в крестьянской семье. Окончил филологический факультет Донецкого педагогического института и аспирантуру при Институте литературы им. Т. Шевченко Академии наук УССР. В литературно-критической области Иван Дзюба был выразителем и деятелем возрождения украинской литературы. Ряд критических статей, опубликованных Дзюбой, начиная с 1950 года, способствовали, в частности, и возрождению литературной критики на Украине после упадка, в котором эта критика находилась в сталинскую эпоху. Вышедшая в 1959 г. его работа *Обыкновенный человек или мецанин*, его очерки и статьи о Григории Сковороде, Лесе Украинке, Тарасе Шевченко, Андрије Головке — принадлежат к числу лучших образцов литературно-критической публицистики.

Дзюба был участником десятков протестов, петиций, обращений к органам власти — против преследования деятелей украинской культуры. В 1963 г. он выступал на запрещенном органами КГБ собрании украинской интеллигенции Киева по поводу 50-й годовщины смерти Леси Украинки, а в 1964 г. на поминках по Василе Симоненко. Тогда Дзюба в своей речи сказал:

“Наш долг перед памятью Василя Симоненко — сделать так, чтобы, когда умирает светлый человек, оставались после него не ‘живучие рабы’, а живые души, способные бороться”.

В сентябре 1965 г. Дзюба был основным оратором на собрании в кинотеатре “Украина”, где сотни киевлян протестовали против тогдашних арестов на Украине.



В сентябре 1966 г. Дзюба выступил с речью в Бабьем Яре в Киеве, по случаю 25-летия массового гитлеровского злодеяния над евреями.

Во время массовых арестов на Украине, 11-14 января 1972 г. Дзюбу вызывали на допросы в КГБ, периодически производили у него обыски.

2 марта 1972 г. состоялось заседание Президиума Союза писателей Украины, где было рассмотрено персональное дело И. М. Дзюбы и он был исключен из ССП Украины, 18 апреля его арестовали.

В первой половине марта 1973 г. состоялся над ним суд. Приговор гласил: пять лет лишения свободы.

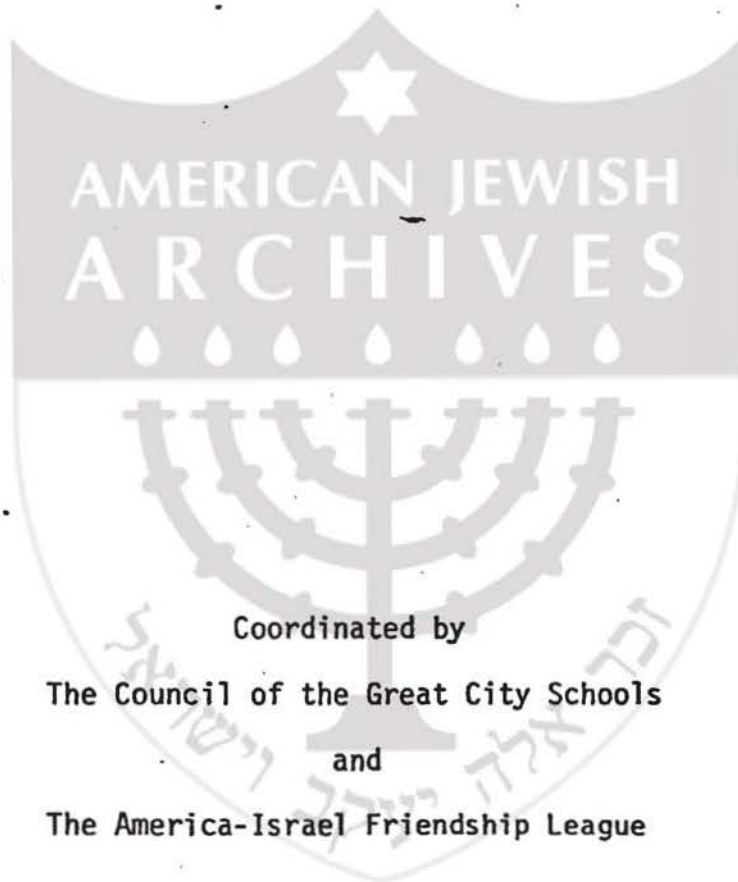


Revised

March 10, 1978

DRAFT

The  
America-Israel Student Exchange Program



## AMERICA-ISRAEL STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAM

For the second consecutive year, the America-Israel Friendship League is proposing and coordinating an international student exchange program. This year's effort is being made in cooperation with the Council of the Great City Schools, Washington, D.C. The Council is an educational organization formed in 1956 to represent twenty-eight of the nation's largest urban school systems and to conduct studies of unique educational problems facing its members. The Council's involvement in the project has been sought to encourage the participation of the nation's urban school systems in international student exchanges and to evaluate the impact of such projects.

The project planned for 1978 will involve an exchange of high school students between the United States and Israel. Funding for student travel and expenses is being provided by a grant from the U.S. State Department to the America-Israel Friendship League and by the Ministry of Education of The State of Israel. Additional funding for the evaluation and curricular component of the project is being sought from the U.S. Office of Education/DHEW.

### OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

The basic goal of the student exchange is to encourage inter-cultural understanding between the countries of the United States and Israel. The specific objectives of the 1978 American-Israeli exchange program are to enable participating students to:

- A. Experience the social, cultural and educational environment of the host country;
- B. Compare and contrast social, cultural and educational experiences of the host country with those of home;

- C. Serve as resources and spokesmen both in the host country and, upon return, to the home, school and community; and
- D. Explore alternate methods of dealing with interests, aspirations and problems of peers from other races.

#### PROJECT COMPONENTS AND EVALUATION:

The U.S. segment of the project is being designed to allow the widest possible participation and to allow its impact to be clearly discerned. Because this year's program is a trial run, its evaluation is of particular importance. Continuation and expansion of the program to other U.S. cities rest heavily in the program's ability to demonstrate its own merits.

#### Project Advisory Committee

To oversee the design and operation of the U.S. segment of the program, an advisory committee will be formed. We envision, at this stage, that the committee will be comprised of a superintendent, board member, principal, and one school person from each of the six participating urban school systems, and of Council staff and League representatives, and of a member-at-large from the U.S. Office of Education. The committee will guide the development of the pre-trip orientation and of the program evaluation.

#### Student Selection

A total of thirty American High School students will be selected to participate in the international exchange. Five students will be chosen from each of six Council member school systems. The participating cities include: Detroit, Michigan; Dallas, Texas; Cleveland, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; San Francisco, California and New York City.

The students to participate in the project will be selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- A. Participants must be in either their sophomore or junior year of high school; school systems will be asked to select the majority of the participants from the tenth grade;
- B. Participants must be able to act as spokesmen for their schools and communities;
- C. Participants must be recognized leaders among their peers and must be self-disciplined to function effectively with limited supervision in a foreign country for a period of four weeks;
- D. Participants must be of academic ability sufficient to offset absence from school and classes for the four week exchange period.
- E. Participants must be willing and able to report back to the school and community about their experiences in Israel; and
- F. Participants must reflect the ethnic, gender and religious mix of respective school systems.

The Superintendent of Schools from each of the six cities will be asking their Student Governments to coordinate the selection process at each of the individual high schools. All high school students in those cities will be eligible to apply for the project. Student applicants must meet the criteria previously listed along with having written parental consent for the trip. The final pool of eligible students will be asked by the Student Governments to prepare a brief essay on how they could contribute to the project. Five participants in each city will be selected by the Superintendent of Schools on the basis of the essays and on interview.

Another group of students from each city will be selected to serve as the basis on which to measure the project's impact. These comparison students will be selected from the pool of applicants and will be matched as closely as possible to those students who actually make the trip. One adult, in addition, will be chosen by the Superintendent of Schools to coordinate the planning, the curricular and evaluation tasks in each city.

Program Components

The specific activities in which all the students will be involved will be determined by representatives of the America-Israel Friendship League, the Council of the Great City Schools and the Ministry of Education of the State of Israel. The details of the exchange are being developed as a cooperative venture among the parties involved in the project. Students participating in last year's project were able to spend two weeks in an urban Israeli school and some time on a rural Kibbutz. In addition, they used their visit to give presentations on American culture, to address local community groups, to visit historic areas of the country, to participate in local secular and religious community activities and to reside in the households of host families. This year, similar activities including visits to a Kibbutz, to urban schools, archeological digs, settlements and a variety of other historic sites are being planned for the students.

The trip is now scheduled for the month of May, 1978. Students will arrive in New York on Saturday, April 29 for a two-day orientation to be held at the League's Headquarters in New York. The orientation will focus on the planned activities and on the cultural particulars the students will need to know. On Tuesday, May 2nd, the students will leave New York via Trans World Airlines and will arrive in Tel Aviv on May 3rd. The cost of the trip for each student will be partially covered by a grant from the U.S. State Department to the America-Israel Friendship League and partially by the League. The Council is seeking funds from the U.S. Office of Education to cover the costs of sending one teacher or curricular specialist or evaluations specialist from each city. The school personnel will be selected by the superintendents. Insurance for the students will be arranged by the League through consultations with the Council's

Washington office. The International Education Division of the Office of Education/DHEW is being requested to sponsor the evaluation and curricular segment of the project.

### Project Evaluation

The evaluation segment will be one of the most important parts of this year's project. The Council and the League are particularly interested in assessing the impact of the project on the students and on the communities to which they return. The evaluation will be conducted in three parts:

- A. The first part of the evaluation will focus on pre-trip activities. The briefing session and other pre-trip activities will be the main targets of this phase. The Council will be most interested in: 1.) conducting an inventory of activities designed to prepare students for the trip, and in 2.) assessing student satisfaction with those activities. Student satisfaction will be examined after the trip, so that the students have an accurate basis on which to judge how well prepared they were.
- B. The second phase of the evaluation will concentrate on the activities in Israel. Here the Council is interested in: 1.) making an inventory of the kinds of activities in which the students participate in Israel, 2.) assessing the kinds of activities individual students undertake of their own initiative, and 3.) measuring the extent to which students select members of other races to participate in joint but voluntary activities. Students will be asked to keep a daily log of their activities throughout the trip.
- C. The final segment of the evaluation will focus on the impact of the trip. The evaluation will center on: 1.) determining what aspects of the trip need special attention or change in the future, 2.) assessing whether or not the students felt prepared for the trip and how future pre-trip activities might be altered, 3.) comparing the attitudes of participating students with those who were not selected to go on the trip and 4.) estimating the impact of the trip on the communities from which the students came. The attitudes on which the assessment will concentrate include those of ethnocentrism, self-confidence, and cultural and racial tolerance. In addition, the Council will examine gains in knowledge about Israel and its language. The Council research staff is open as to the exact nature of the variables to be examined.

To assess the impact of the trip on the schools and the communities, the Council will use a standard critical incident interviewing technique. The technique permits the quantification of 1.) the exact nature of the activities undertaken by the returning students, 2.) the outcome or results of those activities, and 3.) the factors influencing the success or failure of the activities attempted. The beauty of the technique is that the results are easy to understand, often capture much of the flavor of an activity, and are quantifiable.

The evaluation will be coordinated by the research staff of the Council of the Great City Schools. Much of the data collection will be handled directly, however, by the Superintendent's staff designate in each city. Each of the evaluation persons will be instructed by the Council staff on the particulars of the data collection efforts. All data analysis and report writing will be handled directly by the Council research staff. A final report will be prepared for The Office of Education and all other participating parties.

#### ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

##### America-Israel Friendship League

It is understood that the League will be assuming responsibilities for:

- A. Acting as a liaison among all parties involved in the project,
- B. Making domestic and international travel arrangements for participants,
- C. Preparing the trip itinerary and arranging for student insurance,
- D. Arranging and conducting the pre-trip orientation and post-trip debriefing,
- E. Arranging for student insurance coverage and suitable supervision for students in New York, and
- F. Assisting and coordinating the project.



The Council of the Great City Schools

It is understood that the Council will be assuming responsibilities for:

- A. Providing overall management services and supervisors of the project,
- B. Selecting cities and students to participate in the project,
- C. Obtaining proper parental consent, insurance and medical data for students traveling to Israel,
- D. Recruiting and selecting adults to accompany the students and to assist in the data collection effort,
- E. Conducting the evaluation of the project,
- F. Facilitating visits to urban schools and classrooms for Israeli high school students coming to the United States in October, 1978.

Israeli Government

It is understood that the Minister of Education of the State of Israel will be assuming responsibility for:

- A. Coordinating travel arrangements within the State of Israel for project participants and accompanying adults,
- B. Arranging proper supervision for students while in Israel,
- C. Assisting in the development of any curricular activities,
- D. Providing facilities for housing, local visits, tours and basic human necessities for the participants, and
- E. Arranging, coordinating and implementing and educational experience in the Israeli schools for the visiting students.

U.S. State Department

It is understood that the U.S. Department of State, Education division will be providing partial funding for student air and ground transportation and for participant insurance. This funding will be supplemented by the America-Israel Friendship League.

U.S. Office of Education/DHEW

The Office of Education/DHEW is considering a grant to the Council of the Great City Schools to support the evaluation and curricular component of the project.







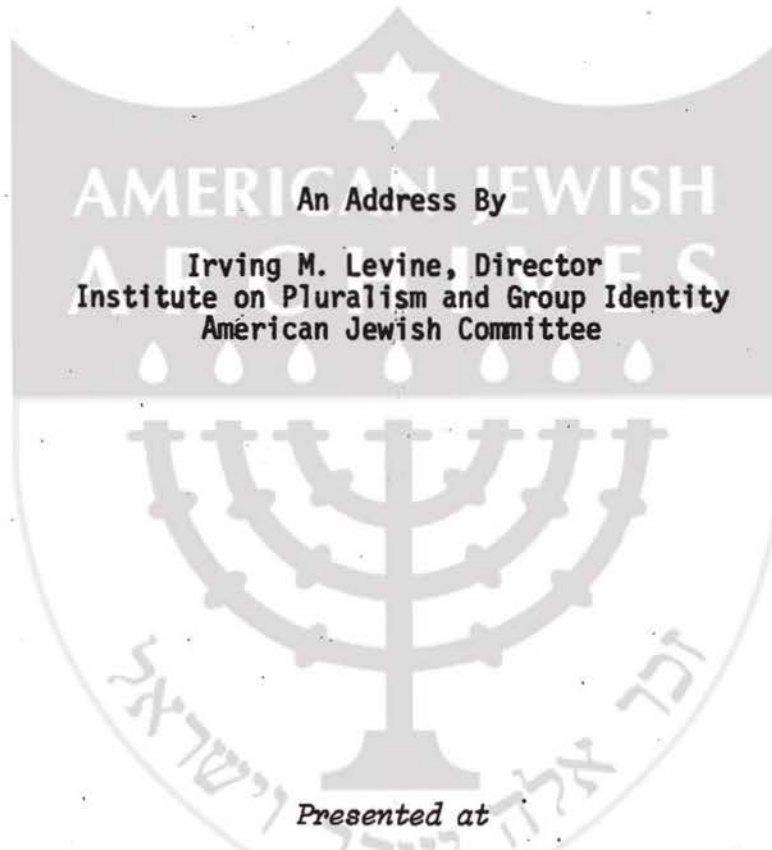
# INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY

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IRVING M. LEVINE, *Director*

## BOLSTERING THE FAMILY THROUGH INFORMAL SUPPORT GROUPS

### A GROUP IDENTITY APPROACH



An Address By  
Irving M. Levine, Director  
Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity  
American Jewish Committee

Presented at

*The Philadelphia Conference on  
"The American Family 1978: Human Values and Public Policy"*

Co-sponsored by

*The Philadelphia Chapter of the  
American Jewish Committee  
and  
St. Joseph's College*

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## THE CHALLENGE OF COPING

It is clear that families, whether "traditional" or "modern," have a great deal that they must do for each other, even with professional and institutional interventions to help. The family must cope with the life cycle of each of its members and with members joining and leaving the family unit. In addition, adjustments are called for as the family moves from place to place or from one social position to another. Finally, because of social and economic changes which surround them, the family deals with new values and new technologies.

Some families flounder at one or more of these transition points, yet, surprisingly, the majority carry on and succeed. Before we weigh the impact of public policy on the family, we need to understand the potential of the family unit, which we hope to foster.

How do families meet day to day changes and crisis situations? Dr. Gerald Caplan (1974a, 1974b), one of the leaders of the community mental health movement, talks about the family as a "support system" in an emotional and a material sense. For the individual, the family is the first to shelter, to teach, to correct, and to defend--and they are frequently the last. Without intimate help to interpret and to face his or her own life and the outside world, the individual sickens in body and spirit, even if all biological needs are met.

Coping with the expected or unexpected in life involves many activities, such as:

- kin get-togethers at mealtimes, for weekly visits, over the telephone, to celebrate a new arrival or mourn a new loss, to applaud a member in time of growth or distinction
- mutual help among neighbors for routine, emergency, or social action undertakings
- mobilizing in the workplace to aid the family breadwinner to care for those who are dependent upon him or her
- shared commitment, rejoicing and sorrow through religious faith as well as

through attendance at a house of worship

-- joining forces with those of the same age, sex, ethnic or racial or regional identity for the betterment of the group, be the aims social, economic or political

The history of urban America is rich in examples of how families help their own and their natural communities to deal with the demands of the larger society. In Beyond the Melting Pot, Glazer and Moynihan (1970) describe the early immigrants' push, as a family and in wider alliances, to overcome poverty, prejudice and dislocation in New York:

The Jews had a passion for higher education instilled in them as they grew up. They made tremendous sacrifices to be able to say my son, the doctor, (pps. 155, 156, 163).

The Italians maintained powerful ties to the neighborhoods where they had first settled. Rather than flee urban blight, and even with affluence, many undertook their own home-based projects of urban restoration, (pps. 187, 188).

The Irish built their church and its schools into large and respected institutions; enduring great financial sacrifice and the sentiments of anti-Catholic groups, (p. 230).

The will to work together is not solely an urban or an ethnic or an historical phenomenon in America. In Appalachia this winter, local responses have sustained striking coal miners through months of hardship (Boeth et al., 1978: 25):

"As early as last spring, many families sensed a long strike coming on, planted oversized gardens and canned extra produce to help see them through ... Few banks in the mountains have repossessed or foreclosed on mortgages, and town stores traditionally extend unlimited credit--knowing they will always get back every dollar. (According to one miner), 'You won't find nobody around here who won't put you up, feed you or clothe you...'"

Family coping is an enduring legacy throughout this country, a legacy which calls for major recognition in planning the national future.

As myths about the American family are dispelled, it will become simpler to see how kin groups can and will mobilize to attend to the individual. One of the myths which may die hardest is that of the independence of the individual from intimate

ties, given that life's daily tasks are now met by complex and impersonal groupings-- the mechanized farm, the public utility, the construction firm, etc. Nevertheless, precisely because of the impersonality and complexity of our environment, each of us needs a "support system," even as the astronaut does in the shifting and inhospitable environment of outer space. Christopher Lasch in his book (1977) refers to the family as a "haven in a heartless world."

#### COOPERATION TO SURVIVE

In a society like the U.S. which prizes competition and sometimes seems to agree (unfortunately) with Darwin that the "law of the jungle" is the natural state of things, it is well to remember that the groups which survive at whatever level of technology, are often those which are most adept at cooperation.

Characteristics of the family include the following:

1. Through childhood and adolescence, the formative years, the young person learns from the family and outsiders trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, a coherent identity, and the capacity for intimacy (Erikson, 1968: 94).
2. As a member of small, face-to-face, tightly knit groups like the family, individuals are valued for who they are as well as for what they do, have general and lasting responsibilities to one another, and perform on the basis of internal rather than external rewards. This is almost the reverse of the classical bureaucracy with its premium on productivity, special tasks and moveable workers, and monetary payment to ensure performance.
3. As a unit in a social network, the individual is linked to relatives and to others in the community. A crucial aspect of these linkages is a give and take known as reciprocity. Depending on the kind of network in which individuals participate, reciprocity will be governed by different norms, (Collins and Pancost, 1976: 27).



4. As a member of a family, an individual has kin to help, a) mobilize psychological strengths to meet personal emotional needs, b) take part in his or her tasks, and, c) offer extra material and technical aid to bolster his or her performance.

The individual does not "go it alone" in a complex society but depends upon other groups to build an identity, to learn how to act towards others, to find ways to share feelings and the fruits of labor, and to make sense out of a bombardment of new knowledge. The individual relies on the family as one of many groups to stand between him or her and the environment as well as to offer refuge. The idea of a group acting on behalf of or protecting the individual from larger realities brings us to the model of the mediating structure. According to Rutgers sociologist Peter Berger and Worldview magazine editor Richard Neuhaus (1977: 22), the mediating structures are "...those institutions standing between the individual and the larger institutions of public life." These structures include the family, neighborhood, church, voluntary association, and groups organized around a plural identity, be it ethnicity, sex or whatever. Natural mediating structures allow "power to the people, power which can be usurped by the "megastructures" of modern society.

It is true that individuals often require a mediator or advocate, yet megastructures remain so dominant because the balance of power has not been righted between big and small in our society. The omission of family life from policymaking priority, pointed out by Jimmy Carter, is also articulated by Andrew Billingsley, (1976: 10) President of Morgan State University:

"We sometimes say that the family is the most important unit in society today, but there is no national policy or commitment to that view. Thus, a host of other units---corporations, individuals, markets, and even colleges and others turn out to be more important in the sense that they get more admiration and support from national society than families do."

#### FAMILY COHESION AND CARING

How does the family express its solidarity as a critical helping network, a network which can address a variety of survival challenges. The family shapes an

identity as the individual grows up or grows old, leaves home or starts a new household. This identity is shaped by the beliefs of family members about the world and by the points at which family members actually communicate with one another. The family shares, giving and demanding. As Robert Frost wrote in his poem, "The Death of the Hired Man:"

"Home is the place where you have to go, there, they have to take you in."

This sharing is more than a trade of goods and services. There are exchanges of companionship and information which are crucial to the lives of family members.

#### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The neighborhood is a far less demanding and giving social network than the family, yet there is for neighborhood residents a forum for building an identity, for learning how to behave, for helping exchanges, and for finding out about the outside world, perhaps even forming an alliance to meet it. Neighbors influence, aid, organize, provide models for, and compete with each other. Neighbors may also mediate for one another, acting for the benefit of one of their own who may require contact with a bureaucratic organization or program. A typical mediator is the neighborhood "gatekeeper," a knowledgeable local person who helps the newcomer or the person in trouble to get the assistance they need. The gatekeeper stands at a juncture between the lay person and the professional and serves as a "grass roots 'expert'".

#### RELIGION

Religion continues to play a vital part in the lives of American families. The congregation is, in a spiritual and often geographical sense, a group of neighbors but, more than that, it also provides powerful internal as well as external supports. Congregations are linked through a variety of gatherings, through contact with a spiritual force which is common to all, through a tradition of wisdom embodied in holy writings and sermons, and through a membership which may be dispersed enough to welcome the individual or family in transit to a new locale. All of these links

reinforce each other and the help which is available to the individual (Caplan, 1974b: 25, 26). Furthermore, family and faith strengthen one another, particularly since religion deals with the entire family throughout its developmental life cycle. Religion provides ritual observances for life transitions, a setting where marriage partners may meet, promising future generations of followers, and a basis for shared values and thinking within the family and congregation.

#### ETHNICITY

Ethnicity, like religion and the extended family, has been labeled as a casualty to modern, industrial culture. In the U.S., however, religion, family, and ethnic group membership and identity, while in transition, are hardly ready for the "last rites." As is demonstrated with kin and religious ties, such ties aid group coping and cohesion in unique but often subtle ways. The same may be said of ethnic bonding.

Harvard sociologist Orlando Patterson has argued recently that ethnicity "served its purpose" for the early immigrants to America, helping them to deal with initial economic and social adjustments. Today, he maintains, groups such as Jews and Eastern Europeans have become assimilated and have quite contentedly married out and moved out of their original enclaves. Revived interest in ethnicity, then, becomes " . . . largely an ideological revival wrought by alienated and disenchanted intellectuals and activists in a dangerous alliance with conservative political demagogues."

Patterson holds an extreme view of the perils of ethnicity and while he may be correct to warn of the hazards of ethnocentrism and group chauvinism, he is misreading the American reality by so easily discounting the power of ethnicity to remain as an important contemporary force. He too easily dismisses social, psychological and political needs for ethnic identity and he underestimates the positive force of ethnic social cohesions.

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The U.S. currently experiences no deficit of new immigrant groups with their distinctive patterns for meeting culture conflict and change. Researchers at the National Opinion Research Center, show ample documentation of the persistence of ethnic differences among the older immigrant groups and proceed to point out the fallacies of the "myth of the 'melting pot'."

The disregard of ethnic group behavior to focus on the inner, unconscious life of the individual -- where the mental health field has devoted most of its attention -- means that subcultural pride and pain rarely receive full recognition, for example, in human services programs.

There is no question that ethnicity remains alive and well in the American home, contributing to the varied ways with which some families deal with the survival challenges which are common to all.

#### HUMAN SERVICES

To complete any discussion of natural or traditional adaptations to human needs, it is essential to assess the more formal or bureaucratic end of the spectrum. Much of recent social commentary on family life effectively polarizes the issue -- pitting family and community caregiving against large, impersonal programs without full attention to what each does best.

Remember that programs which touch the family most closely like Social Security, public education and housing, Medicare/Medicaid, public assistance, and community mental health are extremely necessary.

What implications do all this have for the human services programs, consider three of the more forceful indictments against the human services:

1. They intrude at the point where the family and other community groups literally "know best," e.g. in deciding where a child should attend school, in institutionalizing day care services, in turning over the care of the handicapped to professionals.

2. They fail to account for the range of natural supports which are available. Since, conceivably, there is almost no limit to human needs, a professional response is not the answer in every case, and a combination of professional with nonprofessional inputs is preferable in terms of the public investments involved.
3. They are "near-sighted" -- underestimating the diversity in American culture (ethnicity, race, religion, age, region, etc.), focusing on pathology instead of on natural supports in the environment, and defining the community to be served in terms of physical boundaries rather than as a functioning of informal and formal associations of people.

These criticisms stem from highly divergent perspectives, from both left and right, yet they arrive at a common advocacy of the natural helping system of which the family is a part. Do we have to make a choice between public vs. private initiative or have we, instead, a range of alternatives?

#### SELF-HELP AND MUTUAL AID GROUPS

Last, let's not forget that one of the fastest growing movements, in the millions according to the Northwestern University Institute on Self-Help Groups, is the burgeoning self-help and mutual aid movement. From Alcoholics Anonymous to Parents Without Partners to recently widowed women, this phenomena must be recognized as one of the most significant new forces in the delivery of inexpensive services. Professionals must put themselves in a position where they encourage this development, stimulate the organization of more such groups, service them when service is sought and resist being threatened by the flourishing nature of this movement.

Self-help groups provide a terrific service for their members. They also often serve to teach members of these groups that they can make good use of additional and more intensive professional services.

## A SOCIAL CONSERVATION APPROACH TO FAMILY AND COMMUNITY COPING

Human services need not work at cross purposes with family and community life. What is required is both an incorporation of natural groupings like the family into public planning and a design for doing so. Such a design must center around the ways in which individuals identify themselves and use that identity to band together into homes, neighborhoods, ethnic, religious and voluntary associations, and the like. Since America remains pluralistic, the resources and requirements of each of these "grass roots" groupings will differ somewhat.

To safeguard and to benefit from the strengths of the private sector should be a primary aim of public programs and planning. To meet this objective, I want to advocate what I called a "social conservation approach" which I first presented at the 1976 White House Conference on Ethnicity and Mental Health. The principles of this approach are as follows:

1. Individuals are strengthened if they can relate positively to their group identity. Awareness of and respect for one's ethnic, family, religious and neighborhood traditions and group history contribute to one's sense of self and provide psychic energy for managing life.
2. The natural and informal systems of family, neighborhood, work, religion, and ethnic group should be an important base for providing human services to individuals in need.
3. Programs should be fine-tuned, to offer choice of preferred forms of help for different groups of people in different ethnic, religious, social and economic circumstances and different living environments.
4. The expertise of professionals and technicians should be meshed with the experience and common sense of the people. A partnership that respects both training and everyday existence is the best arrangement for providing help to those in need.

For social conservation to be workable, professionals would need to recognize lay support systems, to assess and reinforce them, to train others to use them, and to help "link-ups" to occur.

#### A SOCIAL CONSERVATION APPROACH TO PUBLIC POLICY

Social conservation is an approach for policymaking and prevention, not just for a response to need on a person by person or family by family basis. The operations of existing legislation and regulations along with those of formal institutions at all levels, many of which touch the family, call for reevaluation as well as new planning. To maintain and bolster the economic and social well-being of our nation we must accept the following:

1. Recognition of the family, ethnic, neighborhood and religious groups and other voluntary self-help and mutual aid associations as primary and competent caring and sharing units.
2. Creation of national neighborhood, national full employment and national health insurance policies.
3. Designation of the family unit, in its diverse structural and cultural forms, as the most important unit in society.

4/30/78



Randall added that the day before the resolution on Israel's use of anti-personnel weapons came to the floor, the board had approved a resolution supporting wide-ranging disarmament by all nations. The board also authorized the distribution of a study document entitled "The Military Market: Arms Exports in Christian Perspective" that states, "The selling of notoriously inhumane weapons (such as "anti-personnel and napalm bombs) should be outlawed, along with the production or use by any country."

The resolution on Nazism, which mentions specifically the Skokie march and recent demonstrations by the National Socialist White People's Party in St. Louis, says, "...we also repudiate and oppose any anti-semitic teaching or action and, in particular, those Nazi activities in the U.S.A. which give support to prejudice, contempt or hatred directed against Jews and which have their precedent in the tragic event of the holocaust."

Churches are asked to be alert to and resist "the implicit and explicit advocacy of Nazi ideology by various groups and persons in the U.S.A...."

In a related action, the board also approved a resolution expressing concern about the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and "the repeated evidences of the Klan's prejudices against and attempts to oppress blacks, Jews, Roman Catholics and foreign-born Americans."

It criticizes "the Klan's reliance on tactics of falsehood, intimidation, terror and violence in the guise of patriotism" and asks church members to "oppose the evils of the Ku Klux Klan."

The Office on Christian-Jewish Relations of the National Council sponsored a well-attended breakfast for the Governing Board members. Speaking was Rabbi A. James Rudin, assistant director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee and a fraternal observer at Governing Board meetings since 1971.

Christian-Jewish relations was also on the agenda at a breakfast meeting of the top officials of the council's member church bodies. William L. Weiler, executive director of the Office on Christian-Jewish Relations addressed that group. Weiler also spoke to the delegations from several churches, explaining his office's stand against the "Christian Yellow Pages Directory" and asking them to inform church members about the "destructive and prejudicial nature" of the directory.

Strong support for the work of the Office on Christian-Jewish Relations and its continuation were expressed by board members during budget discussions.

THE UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM  
WEST COAST BRANCH OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA  
15600 MULHOLLAND DRIVE • LOS ANGELES, CA 90024 • (213) 879-4114 • 472-9366

Office of the Assistant President  
and Dean of Continuing Education

May 17, 1978

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
6550 Wetherole Street  
Apt. 5A  
Rego Park, New York 11374

Dear Marc:

In behalf of the University of Judaism, myself personally, and all those who were involved in connection with your lecture series and Weekend Institute here on the West Coast, I want to express to you our profoundest thanks. Your talks were uniformly penetrating, enlightening and stimulating. Our people learned so very much from you. Your approach, as well, is such that your audiences will long remember what they heard.

Yours is a great gift and I know that I speak from all of us here how privileged we are to have you as one of the key leaders in the Jewish-Christian realm. Yours is wondrous and holy work.

Enclosed is a check in the amount of \$3200 which covers the basic fees as agreed upon in my letters dated June 24, 1977 and July 29, 1977. The additional \$200 is for your talks to the Earl Warren Institute and the Board of Rabbis as per our agreement. I have asked our financial office to send you a check to cover your expenses.

With renewed thanks for everything and with all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Jack

Rabbi Jack Shechter

JS:bg

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
WHAT'S TROUBLING AMERICAN JEWS

BY  
BERTRAM H. GOLD

ANNUAL MEETING

MAY 18, 1978

ACCORDING TO THE PROGRAM, I'M SCHEDULED TO TALK TO YOU THIS AFTERNOON ABOUT "WHAT'S TROUBLING AMERICAN JEWS." I MUST TELL YOU, HOWEVER, THAT IF THE TITLE HAD BEEN "WHAT'S NOT TROUBLING AMERICAN JEWS," IT WOULD HAVE PRODUCED A MUCH SHORTER SPEECH. BUT I AM PLEDGED TO STICK TO THE PROGRAM, SO YOU'RE STUCK WITH A LONGER AND MORE DISCURSIVE ADDRESS.

LAST WINTER WE ADMINISTERED A CAREFULLY-THOUGHT-OUT QUESTIONNAIRE TO SOME 1100 INDIVIDUALS ACROSS THE COUNTRY, ASKING WHAT CONCERNS THEM MOST, AS AMERICANS AND AS JEWS. IT WASN'T -- AND DIDN'T PRETEND TO BE -- A SCIENTIFIC SAMPLING OF THE ENTIRE JEWISH POPULATION. THE QUESTIONNAIRE WAS ADMINISTERED TO MEN AND WOMEN ACCESSIBLE TO VOLUNTEERS WORKING OUT OF NINE AJC OFFICES: NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, LONG ISLAND AND PHILADELPHIA IN THE EAST; CLEVELAND IN THE MIDWEST; MIAMI IN THE SOUTH; DALLAS IN THE SOUTHWEST; AND DENVER AND LOS ANGELES IN THE FAR WEST.

IF WE WERE TO STUDY A PROFILE OF THE PEOPLE INTERVIEWED, WE WOULD RECOGNIZE JEWS VERY MUCH LIKE OURSELVES. ALMOST ALL ARE NATIVE BORN, AS WERE NEARLY HALF OF THEIR PARENTS. THEY ARE WELL EDUCATED: MORE THAN 75 PERCENT HAVE HAD SOME COLLEGE TRAINING AND ALMOST ONE-THIRD HAVE GONE ON TO POST-GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION. ONLY 24 PERCENT CONSIDER THEMSELVES

POLITICALLY RIGHT OF CENTER; OVER TWO THIRDS LABEL THEMSELVES AS DEMOCRATS. BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, THE LARGEST NUMBER ARE CONSERVATIVE, FOLLOWED BY REFORMED, "JUST JEWISH," AND ORTHODOX. FORTY-THREE PERCENT HAVE INCOMES OVER \$25,000.

ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS THAT BECOMES CLEAR, AS WE LOOK AT WHAT OUR RESPONDENTS HAVE TO SAY, IS THAT JEWS ARE STILL LIKE EVERYONE ELSE, ONLY MORE SO. AND SO THE BAG OF CARES WE SHLEP ALONG WITH US CONTAINS ALL THE CONCERNS OF MOST AMERICANS, ALONG WITH SOME VERY SPECIAL AND INTENSE JEWISH ANXIETIES.

OUR QUESTIONNAIRE LISTED TEN AREAS OF GENERAL CONCERN, RANGING FROM INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT TO NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE AND RACE RELATIONS. AT LEAST 90 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS WERE EITHER VERY CONCERNED, OR MODERATELY CONCERNED, ABOUT EACH ITEM. THE ISSUE THAT LOOMED LARGEST WAS CRIME -- PERHAPS BECAUSE OLDER PEOPLE WERE OVER-REPRESENTED IN OUR SAMPLE -- AND INFLATION WAS RIGHT BEHIND. AFTER THE SEVENTY-SIX PERCENT WHO WERE VERY CONCERNED WITH CRIME AND THE 74 PERCENT WHO CITED INFLATION, CAME A HIGH CONCERN WITH ENERGY, FAMILY LIFE, MORALITY AND ETHICS -- AN INTERESTING MIX OF ECONOMICS AND HUMAN VALUES.

IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 92 PERCENT WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST AND 84 PERCENT WERE EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT ARAB ECONOMIC INFLUENCE. ALMOST TWO-THIRDS WERE VERY WORRIED ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE POSITION OF THE U.S. IN THE WORLD TODAY.

AS WE MIGHT EXPECT, BY FAR THE GREATEST JEWISH ANXIETY INVOLVES THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL. NINETY PERCENT -- 30 PERCENT

MORE THAN ON ANY OTHER JEWISH ISSUE -- WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT ISRAEL'S SECURITY, AND 93 PERCENT CONSIDERED ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL ESSENTIAL TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY.

FAMILY LIFE AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE AGED WERE BOTH CITED AS OF GRAVE CONCERN TO 62 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS. ANTI-SEMITISM SCORED 55 PERCENT -- ALTHOUGH ONLY ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THOSE INTERVIEWED REPORTED EXPERIENCING IT THEMSELVES, IN THEIR WORK OR IN SOCIAL RELATIONS. MORE THAN HALF OF OUR RESPONDENTS SAID THEY WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT ASSIMILATION, INTERMARRIAGE, THE ATTRACTIONS OF CULTS FOR YOUNG JEWS, JEWISH EDUCATION AND RACIAL QUOTAS IN JOBS AND EDUCATION.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS ADD UP TO? IT SEEMS TO ADD UP TO TWO KINDS OF WORRIES. ON THE ONE HAND, AMERICAN JEWS ARE WORRIED ABOUT EXTERNAL SECURITY -- THE EXISTENCE AND SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL, FEAR OF CRIME, INFLATION, THREATS OF AN ANTI-SEMITIC REVIVAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, AMERICAN JEWS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT INTERNAL SECURITY -- THE JEWISH FAMILY, JEWISH IDENTITY AND THE QUALITY OF JEWISH LIFE. THE WORRIES ARE DEEP AND PERVASIVE; YET JEWS ARE NOT PESSIMISTIC. TWO-THIRDS OF THOSE INTERVIEWED SAID THEY WERE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY.

THE CRITICAL QUESTION IS: IS SUCH OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED? I THINK THAT WHETHER ONE VIEWS THE FUTURE WITH OPTIMISM OR PESSIMISM, WITH A SENSE OF OPPORTUNITY AND CONFIDENCE OR A SENSE OF RESTRICTION AND FAILURE IS DETERMINED BY ONE MAJOR PHILOSOPHICAL PERCEPTION. HAVE WE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE ADAGE OF ABUNDANCE THE SLOGAN OF SCARCITY? DO WE LOOK ON OUR OWN

COUNTRY AND THE WORLD AT LARGE AS FETTERED PERMANENTLY, BY DIMINISHING SUPPLIES AND RESOURCES, OR DO WE SEE OURSELVES CAPABLE OF CONTINUING GROWTH AND, WITH AN ADVANCING TECHNOLOGY, OVERCOMING THE VERY REAL PROBLEMS OF DWINDLING NATURAL RESOURCES.

THIS COUNTRY WAS BUILT ON THE VISION OF AN EXPANDING FRONTIER -- FIRST A GEOGRAPHIC FRONTIER, BECKONING OUR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN EVER WESTWARD; AND LATER, AN ECONOMIC FRONTIER, PROMISING AN EVER-FULLER FUTURE. CERTAINLY FOR MOST OF THIS CENTURY WE HAVE BEEN NURTURED IN THE BELIEF THAT OUR POTENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH WAS LIMITLESS, AND THAT IT WAS SUCH GROWTH THAT MADE POSSIBLE OUR DEMOCRATIC, PLURALISTIC, POLITICAL SYSTEM, WITH ITS PROMISE OF AN EVER-INCREASING SHARE OF LIFE'S MATERIAL COMFORTS FOR EVERYONE.

DURING THE PAST DECADE, HOWEVER, THE FRONTIERS SEEM TO HAVE DISAPPEARED AND WITH THEIR DISAPPEARANCE BROUGHT INTO QUESTION SOME OF OUR MOST CHERISHED BELIEFS.

IF YOU ARE CONVINCED THAT WE NOW LIVE IN A PERMANENT AGE OF SCARCITY, AND THAT GROWTH WILL BE SHARPLY LIMITED, IT MUST FOLLOW THAT YOU WILL PLACE A GREATER EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT. FOR IF THERE IS TO BE A RATIONING OF EVER-DIMINISHING RESOURCES, IT DAMN-WELL-BETTER BE THE GOVERNMENT THAT DOES IT. IN THAT CASE, WE NEED A STRONG GOVERNMENT -- AND WE HAVE LEARNED, TO OUR SORROW, THAT A STRONG GOVERNMENT CAN VERY QUICKLY COME TO MEAN AN AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT.

ONCE ONE IS CONVINCED THAT THERE CAN BE NO GROWTH, ONE BEGINS TO FIND VIRTUE IN THE IDEA. AND SO SOME ARGUE "WHY BOTHER DEVELOPING AN EVER-MORE-SOPHISTICATED TECHNOLOGY? WHY

RISK ADDED ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION, NUCLEAR ACCIDENTS, COMPUTER SPYING, AND THE HOST OF OTHER DANGERS THAT MAY WELL ACCOMPANY INCREASED KNOW-HOW? WOULDN'T IT BE BETTER", THEY SAY, "TO KEEP TO A ZERO GROWTH RATE, OR EVEN TO RETURN TO A SIMPLER WAY OF LIVING ALTOGETHER?"

IT'S A VERY SLIPPERY PATH -- THAT NO-GROWTH NOTION -- FOR IT SHARPLY REDUCES OUR CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. IF WE CAN'T, AND IN ANY CASE DON'T WANT TO, DEVELOP OUR TECHNOLOGY, AND THERE IS NOT ENOUGH DOMESTIC OIL TO SUPPLY OUR NEEDS, ISN'T IT WISER TO MAKE SOME ACCOMODATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA -- TO SELL HER OUR F15'S FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN IF IT DOES THREATEN ISRAEL'S SECURITY? AND IF WE HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN OUR OWN STRENGTH, ISN'T IT MORE SENSIBLE TO OVERLOOK THE SOVIET UNION'S MOVE INTO AFRICA AND MAKE THAT EXTRA CONCESSION IN THE SALT TALKS EVEN THOUGH SOME EXPERTS BELIEVE IT IS DANGEROUS TO DO SO?

COMMITMENTS ARE LESS BINDING AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT EASIER TO BREAK WHEN EVERYTHING IS HARDER TO GET AND EVERYONE FOCUSSES ON OBTAINING HIS OR HER SHARE. INDEED, IN SUCH CONTEXT, OTHER PEOPLE'S NEEDS, JUSTICE, MORAL PROMISES, EVEN A VISION OF THE FUTURE BECOME LESS IMPORTANT THAN ONE'S OWN DESIRES AND THEIR GRATIFICATION. AND AS WE LOSE THE CAPACITY TO CARE ABOUT OTHERS, WE LOSE THE WILL TO RESIST DOMINATION AND INJUSTICE.

THE MOST FRIGHTENING ASPECT OF THE NO-GROWTH PHILOSOPHY IS THAT IT LEADS INEVITABLY, TO AN ANTI-HUMAN IDEOLOGY. IF THERE IS TO BE NO ECONOMIC GROWTH WHAT DO YOU DO ABOUT INCREASING WORLD POPULATION? SO WE'RE BEGINNING TO HEAR MORE ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF "TRIAGE" OR THE "LIFEBOAT ETHIC" -- WHICH

MEANS CONCENTRATING OUR LIMITED MEANS ON THOSE WHO WILL BE MOST PRODUCTIVE AND FORGETTING ABOUT THOSE WHO AREN'T. THE HUNGRY MILLIONS IN ASIA AND AFRICA ARE WRITTEN OFF IN SUCH A VIEW OF WHAT'S POSSIBLE -- AND SO ARE OUR OWN 7,000,000 UNEMPLOYED AMERICANS IN THEIR OCEANS OF POVERTY.

THE IDEA THAT WE ARE OBSTRUCTING THE STABILITY OF SOCIETY BY PRODUCING TOO MANY PEOPLE HAS LED TO THE CAMPAIGN FOR ZERO POPULATION GROWTH; AND WHILE THE JEWISH BIRTHRATE WAS FALLING BEFORE THIS NOTION BECAME PREVALENT, IT HAS MADE IT MORE FASHIONABLE TO DEFY THE BIBLICAL ADMONITION TO GO FORTH AND MULTIPLY, AND TO JUSTIFY OUR LOW FERTILITY RATES. IN FACT, IF WE COMBINE OUR FAILURE TO REPRODUCE OURSELVES AND OUR HIGH RATE OF ASSIMILATION, WE JEWS ARE FAST BECOMING AN ENDANGERED SPECIES. BUT EVEN BEYOND THIS, THE FACT THAT WE ARE HAVING FEW CHILDREN AND HAVING THEM LATER IN LIFE HAS AN IMPORTANT EFFECT ON THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION IN JEWISH ACTIVITIES. LET ME QUOTE YOU A FEW STATISTICS.

A RECENT STUDY FOUND THAT WHILE ONLY TWENTY-TWO PERCENT OF YOUNG MARRIED COUPLES WITH NO CHILDREN BELONG TO A SYNAGOGUE, FIFTY-SIX PERCENT OF COUPLES WITH CHILDREN UNDER 14 ARE MEMBERS OF A CONGREGATION. ONLY THREE PERCENT OF YOUNG MARRIED COUPLES WITHOUT CHILDREN HAVE HIGH LEVELS OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY; BUT THAT FIGURE GROWS TO 33 PERCENT IN THE CASE OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN FIVE YEARS OR YOUNGER.

WHATEVER RESERVATIONS ONE MAY HAVE ABOUT THIS DATA, WE KNOW THAT PARENTHOOD IS A SPUR TO INVOLVEMENT IN JEWISH LIFE -- BECAUSE FOR GOOD OR ILL, JEWISH PARENTS DEPEND ON JEWISH INSTITUTIONS RATHER THAN THEIR OWN HOME LIFE TO PROVIDE JEWISH



IDENTITY FOR THEIR CHILDREN, AND THIS CONNECTION DRAWS THEM INTO OTHER JEWISH TIES. AND SO, WE HAVE REASON TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF ZERO POPULATION GROWTH FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY -- EVEN THOUGH, PARENTHETICALLY, RECOGNITION OF THIS PROBLEM IS FAR FROM UNIVERSAL. OF THE TWELVE ITEMS WE LISTED AS POSSIBLE AREAS OF JEWISH CONCERN IN OUR SURVEY, OUR LOW BIRTHRATE RANKED TWELFTH. NONETHELESS, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL OF US -- INCLUDING OUR BURGEONING JEWISH WOMEN'S MOVEMENT -- GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THIS PHENOMENON.

DESPITE MY BELIEF IN THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY, I SEE NOTHING AROUND THE TECHNOLOGICAL HORIZON THAT WILL MAKE CHILDBEARING A BURDEN MORE EQUALLY SHARED BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN. THAT BEING THE CASE, AND IF WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE STRENGTHENING OF THE JEWISH FAMILY, WE NEED TO TURN OUR ATTENTION TO A WHOLE SERIES OF JEWISH COMMUNAL AND GENERAL PROGRAMS THAT WILL NURTURE AND SUPPORT THE JEWISH FAMILY -- MORE AND BETTER DAY CARE SERVICES FOR THE CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS, TRANSPORTATION TO JEWISH SCHOOLS AND CENTERS, PROFESSIONAL SERVICES THAT WILL HELP COUPLES COPE WITH THE NEW RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN, MORE AND BETTER SERVICES FOR SINGLE PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN, TO NAME BUT A FEW.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT OUR JEWISH COMMUNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT IS IN ITS SECOND YEAR OF A THREE YEAR PROGRAM TO DEVELOP WAYS OF STRENGTHENING THE JEWISH FAMILY, AND HAS A TASK FORCE THAT IS CURRENTLY WORKING ON IDENTIFYING THOSE FAMILY POLICIES

WHICH WILL PARTICULARLY FULFILL THE JEWISH INTEREST. AND OUR INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY HAS BEEN PLAYING A PIVOTAL ROLE IN THE PREPARATION OF THE UPCOMING WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FAMILY POLICY.

COMING BACK TO MY CONTENTION THAT A FOCUS ON "NO-GROWTH" CAN LEAD TO DISASTER FOR EVERYONE, AND PARTICULARLY FOR JEWS, I ADMIT IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO IGNORE THE FACT THAT SHORTAGES OF VITAL MATERIALS DO EXIST, AND MAY EVEN BECOME MORE SEVERE. BUT WE CANNOT, AND MUST NOT, COMMIT SUICIDE FOR FEAR OF DEATH. I BELIEVE THAT ALL THE PROBLEMS WE WILL BE CONSIDERING THIS WEEKEND -- ENERGY, THE MIDDLE EAST, HUMAN RIGHTS, NEO-NAZI MARCHES, INTERGROUP TENSIONS, INTERRELIGIOUS ISSUES, THE ROLE OF THE CHAPTERS -- MUST BE ADDRESSED WITH CONFIDENCE IN OUR CAPACITY TO SOLVE THEM. WE MUST ASSUME THAT OUR TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES WILL CONTINUE, THAT WE HAVE THE WILL TO STAND FAST ON MORAL ISSUES, AND THAT WE WILL MAKE SUCH TRADEOFFS AS ARE NECESSARY, OUT OF STRENGTH, NOT WEAKNESS, AND WITH DUE REGARD FOR OUR EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL SECURITY.

OUR POLICY AND PROGRAM DECISIONS MUST ALSO BE BASED ON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN JEWISH LIFE. OF ALL OF THESE, I SUGGEST THAT THE TWO MOST PROFOUND CHANGES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE BEEN, FIRST, THE SHIFT FROM THE RELIGIOUS TRADITION TO SECULAR AND ETHNIC FACTORS AS THE PRINCIPAL TIE THAT BINDS US AS JEWS; AND SECOND, THE OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE AND CLAIM OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL UPON US. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THESE TWO DEVELOPMENTS ARE INTERRELATED.

JUDAISM, CONCENTRATING AS IT DOES ON LAND AND PEOPLE, HAS ALWAYS CONTAINED WITHIN IT STRONG ETHNIC ELEMENTS. OUR RELIGION

HAS HISTORICALLY FOCUSED MORE ON MAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO MAN THAN ON HIS RELATIONSHIP TO GOD. OUR BASIC JEWISH IDENTIFICATION LAY NOT IN RELIGIOUS PERFORMANCE BUT IN HAVING BEEN BORN TO A JEWISH MOTHER. ONE WHO WAS SO BORN WAS A JEW, EVEN WITHOUT RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND BELIEF; ON THE OTHER HAND, ONE COULD NOT ADOPT THE JEWISH RELIGION WITHOUT ALSO BECOMING PART OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

OVER THE YEARS, THE LOSS OF A SEPARATE POLITICAL IDENTITY, COMBINED WITH THE DECLINE IN RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND THE GROWTH OF SECULARISM, RESULTED IN EVER-INCREASING EMPHASIS ON THE COMMON ETHNIC TIES BINDING JEWS TOGETHER. THOSE TIES WERE ACCENTUATED BY THE HOLOCAUST -- WHICH MADE IT CLEAR THAT HAVING A JEWISH GRANDMOTHER MADE ONE A JEW, AND BY THE CREATION OF ISRAEL -- WHICH PROVIDED A CONCRETE, HIGHLY VISIBLE ENTITY WITH WHICH TO IDENTIFY.

YET, WHILE ISRAEL HAS BECOME A MAJOR FOCUS OF JEWISH PEOPLEHOOD AND HAS DONE MUCH TO STRENGTHEN OUR SENSE OF IDENTITY AND BELONGING, IT HAS ALSO GENERATED SOME STRAINS AND TENSIONS. FOR IT MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT A NUMBER OF THE PREMISES AND ASSUMPTIONS OF ZIONIST IDEOLOGY HAVE NOT BEEN SUSTAINED.

THERE WAS THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF A JEWISH STATE WOULD, ONCE AND FOR ALL, LEGITIMIZE US AS A PEOPLE. TODAY, THIRTY YEARS AFTER ITS ESTABLISHMENT, ISRAEL IS STILL FAR FROM BEING UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED.

THERE WAS THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF A JEWISH STATE WOULD FASHION THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE IMAGE OF ALL OTHER PEOPLE, BLUE COLLAR AS WELL AS WHITE, IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE AS WELL AS IN COMMERCE AND THE PROFESSIONS. THAT HASN'T HAPPENED, EITHER IN THE WEST OR IN ISRAEL. WHILE IT MAY BE TRUE THAT IN ISRAEL THERE ARE JEWISH THIEVES AS WELL AS JEWISH POLICEMEN, AND JEWISH PROSTITUTES AS WELL AS JEWISH CUSTOMERS, MORE AND MORE OF THE MENIAL LABOR IS BEING DONE BY ARAB LABORERS, AND THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE JEWISH STATE IS ALMOST AN UNEVEN AS IT IS ELSEWHERE.

THERE WAS THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF A JEWISH STATE WOULD HELP ERADICATE ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE WORLD. INSTEAD WE HAVE SEEN ANTI-JEWISH HOSTILITY TRANSFERRED TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND BACK AGAIN TO JEWS IN OTHER LANDS, IN A NEW FORM OF POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM. THE CURRENT SYLLOGISM READS: ZIONISM IS RACISM; ALL JEWS ARE ZIONISTS; THEREFORE ALL JEWS ARE RACISTS.

THERE WAS THE ASSUMPTION THAT WITH EXISTENCE OF A JEWISH STATE THERE WOULD BE AN INGATHERING OF JEWS TO ISRAEL AND A GRADUAL WITHERING AWAY OF THE DIASPORA. THIS TOO, HAS NOT HAPPENED. ONLY 20 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S JEWISH POPULATION LIVES IN ISRAEL AND BOTH THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE COMMUNITIES OF WESTERN EUROPE ARE FLOURISHING. OUR TASK FORCE ON ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWISH INTERACTION, COMPOSED EQUALLY OF AMERICAN AND ISRAELI JEWS, ADOPTED AS A BASIC PRINCIPLE THE FACT THAT "THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE HISTORIC CREATIVITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE DIASPORA," AND THAT "BOTH ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWRY HAVE AN EQUAL STAKE IN THE CONTINUED VIABILITY OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY." EVIDENTLY, AMERICAN JEWS SHARE THIS BELIEF. IN OUR SURVEY, 77 PERCENT OF OUR RESPONDENTS FELT THAT THE CENTER OF JEWISH LIFE RESTS BOTH IN ISRAEL AND IN THE UNITED STATES.

WHAT THEN DO I MEAN BY STRAINS AND TENSIONS? BY FAR THE GRAVEST OF THESE CENTERS AROUND THE ISSUE OF DISSENT. (IT'S A TERM WHOSE CONNOTATION I DON'T PARTICULARLY LIKE IN THIS CONTEXT, BUT I USE IT FOR WANT OF A BETTER ONE.)

AS AMERICAN CITIZENS, WE SEEM TO HAVE FEW QUALMS ABOUT DISSENTING FROM ANY NUMBER OF AMERICAN POLICIES, INCLUDING THOSE THAT AFFECT ISRAEL. ONLY 13 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS IN OUR SURVEY WERE WORRIED THAT THE SO-CALLED JEWISH LOBBY MIGHT STIR UP FEELINGS AGAINST JEWS, AND 77 PERCENT FELT THAT IT WAS GOOD TO SHOW OTHER AMERICANS "THAT JEWS ARE NOT AFRAID TO SPEAK UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS."

I HAVE LITTLE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT IF THE GENERAL PUBLIC PERCEIVES AMERICAN INTERESTS AND ISRAELI INTERESTS TO BE DIFFERENT, THERE WILL BE INCREASED ATTACKS ON JEWISH LOBBYING EFFORTS -- PRECISELY WHEN SUCH EFFORTS ARE LIKELY TO BE MORE IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY THAN EVER. IT WILL BE OUR JOB TO POINT OUT THAT ETHNIC LOBBYING IS AS LEGITIMATE AS BUSINESS LOBBYING, UNION LOBBYING, REGIONAL LOBBYING, VETERAN LOBBYING, AGED LOBBYING AND ANY OTHER KIND OF LOBBYING. THE TRUTH IS THAT ETHNIC LOBBYING HAS ALWAYS PLAYED A FAR GREATER ROLE IN THE MAKING OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY THAN THOSE WHO RUN OUR FOREIGN POLICY ARE WILLING TO ADMIT.

SO WE DO NOT, AND SHOULD NOT, HESITATE TO DISSENT AND TO CRITICIZE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY WHEN WE DISAGREE WITH IT. BUT WHEN IT COMES TO PUBLIC DISAGREEMENT OR DIFFERENCE WITH ISRAELI POLICIES, WE ARE MUCH LESS SUREFOOTED. AFTER ALL, WE ARE NOT ISRAELI CITIZENS; IT IS THEY WHO MUST LIVE OR DIE BY THE DECISIONS THEY MAKE; AND IF ISRAEL'S LEADERS MAKE DECISIONS THAT ARE UNPOPULAR WITH THEIR PEOPLE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WITHIN ISRAEL WILL SEE TO IT THAT NEW LEADERS ARE SUBSTITUTED.

ALL OF THIS IS TRUE, OF COURSE. YET, AS THE CONCEPT OF PEOPLEHOOD HAS SHARPENED AND THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP AND INTER-DEPENDENCY OF ISRAELI AND DIASPORA JEWRY HAVE INTENSIFIED, THE RESPONSIBILITY ON OUR PART TO BE HONEST -- AND CRITICAL, WHERE NECESSARY -- HAS INCREASED ACCORDINGLY. OBVIOUSLY, ONE WAY TO MEET THIS RESPONSIBILITY IS TO MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN TO THE ISRAELIS, AND THUS HAVE SOME INPUT INTO THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS THERE. THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS DONE

THIS OVER THE YEARS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. BUT IT IS NOT ALWAYS EASY TO KEEP SUCH VIEWS FROM BECOMING PUBLIC.

RICHIE MAASS AND I SPENT A WEEK IN ISRAEL LAST MONTH, AS PART OF WHAT HAS NOW BECOME KNOWN AS THE "GROUP OF EIGHT." IT CONSISTED, IN ADDITION TO US, OF THE PRESIDENTS AND THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE AND THE NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL -- THE THREE MAJOR NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS AGENCIES AND THE COORDINATING BODY REPRESENTING 100 LOCAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL. WE WENT TO TELL ISRAEL'S LEADERS ABOUT THE EROSION OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, AND TO EXPLAIN THAT ISRAEL'S LAUDABLE PEACE PLAN WAS BEING OBFUSCATED BY SIDE ISSUES SUCH AS THE NEW INTERPRETATION OF RESOLUTION 242 AND THE SETTLEMENT POLICIES. AND WE ALSO WENT TO STRESS THE NEED FOR AN IMPROVED ISRAELI PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM. IN THAT CONNECTION I THINK YOU WILL BE INTERESTED TO KNOW THAT WE AT THE AJC HAVE PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN WORKING WITH A GROUP OF TOP COMMUNICATION EXPERTS IN THE PREPARATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM ON BEHALF OF ISRAEL.

THOUGH WE DILIGENTLY AVOIDED PRESS AND MEDIA INTERVIEWS, THE ISRAELI NEWSPAPERS WERE FULL OF STORIES ABOUT OUR VARIOUS MEETINGS WITH ISRAELI LEADERS, AND MANY DETAILS IN THOSE STORIES HAVE BEEN PICKED UP BY THE ANGLO-JEWISH PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.

OF COURSE, IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT WE WENT ON A PRIVATE MISSION AND THAT WHATEVER NEWS STORIES APPEARED DID SO IN A JEWISH SETTING, WHICH IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM AN AP DISPATCH. I SUPPOSE THAT'S TRUE, BUT THE AP, TOO, CAN READ THE ANGLO-JEWISH PRESS AND REPORT FROM IT IF IT CHOOSES. AND I CAN'T HELP BUT REMEMBER THAT IN OUR YEARS OF WORK WITH EXECUTIVE SUITE --

AN UNDERTAKING BASED LARGELY ON PERSUASION -- WE FOUND IT NECESSARY AT TIMES TO GO PUBLIC.

I WAS INTERESTED IN PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S VIEWS ON THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS DISAGREEING WITH ONE OR ANOTHER ISRAELI POLICY. HE WAS ASKED ABOUT IT AT A SMALL, PRIVATE MEETING DURING HIS LAST VISIT HERE. AND HE REPLIED THAT, SINCE THE LAND BELONGED TO ALL THE JEWISH PEOPLE, IT WAS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES PUBLICLY ON ANY ASPECT OF ISRAELI POLICY. IN EXPRESSING THAT RIGHT, HE SUGGESTED THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO WHAT THE IMPACT ON ISRAEL MIGHT BE AT ANY GIVEN TIME. "IT'S ALL A MATTER OF 'SECHEL'," HE CONCLUDED.

IN THE LIGHT OF THIS RESPONSE, I AM EQUALLY DISTURBED BY THOSE WHO VIEW PUBLIC DISSENT FROM ANY ISRAELI POLICY AS "TREASON" AND BY THOSE WHO CONSIDER SUCH DISSENT "COURAGEOUS" AND "HEROIC." BOTH GROUPS, IT SEEMS TO ME, PERCEIVE THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AS RIGID, CONTROLLING AND MONOLITHIC. AND SUCH A PERCEPTION -- AND, IF THERE IS ANY SUBSTANCE TO IT, SUCH A REALITY -- MUST BE THOROUGHLY RESISTED.

WHAT IS IMPORTANT, AND MUST BE EMPHASIZED AGAIN AND AGAIN, IS THAT THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IS UNIFIED IN ITS ESSENTIAL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, AND FOR SAFE AND SECURE BOUNDARIES THAT GO BEYOND "MINOR RECITIFICATIONS" IN '67 BORDERS; AND IS OVERWHELMINGLY OPPOSED TO AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. IT IS ONLY WITHIN THIS VAST CONSENSUS THAT DIFFERENCES EXIST.



BUT EVEN SUCH LIMITED DISAGREEMENT IS INTOLERABLE TO SOME; AND THE INTOLERANCE FOR DISSENT IS NOT LIMITED TO ISSUES AFFECTING ISRAEL. I AM AMONG THOSE, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN JEWISH SENSIBILITIES NEED TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN EVALUATING GENERALLY HELD PRINCIPLES. I WOULD, THEREFORE, SUPPORT THE RESOLUTION ARISING OUT OF THE THREATENED NAZI MARCH IN SKOKIE THAT WILL BE PRESENTED FOR DISCUSSION TOMORROW. I AM NEVERTHELESS APPALLED AT THE FEROCIOUS ATTACK, FROM SOME QUARTERS, ON THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT JEWISH INTERESTS ARE BETTER SERVED BY NOT TAMPERING WITH THE FIRST AMENDMENT, AND NOT DRAWING ADDED PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE HANDFUL OF PSYCHOPATHS WHO SEEK THE LIMELIGHT BY THREATENING TO STRUT THROUGH A JEWISH NEIGHBORHOOD WITH SWASTIKAS.

THE MORE WE SEE OURSELVES AS BESIEGED AND BELEAGUERED, THE MORE IMPATIENT WE BECOME WITH THOSE WHO DISAGREE, AND THE MORE ANGRILY WE LASH OUT AT THEM. WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO MAKE THE SAME MISTAKE THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITY DID IN THE 60s, WHEN THE PREVAILING DOCTRINE THAT ALL WHITES WERE RACISTS LEFT THEM NO CHOICE BUT TO TRY TO GO IT ALONE.

WE KNOW VERY WELL THAT NO GROUP CAN GO IT ALONE, AND THAT WE NEED FRIENDS AND ALLIES. BUT WE WON'T MAKE FRIENDS OR KEEP

THEM UNLESS WE MODERATE OUR PUBLIC PARANOIA. CERTAINLY WE MUST STAND FIRM ON ISSUES THAT ARE IMPORTANT TO US; BUT EVERYONE WHO DISAGREES WITH US IS NOT AUTOMATICALLY "THE ENEMY," AND EVERY TIME WE ARE CALLED UPON TO TRADE OFF ONE GOAL FOR ANOTHER IT IS NOT THE END OF THE WORLD.

WE HAVE ALL BEEN DISAPPOINTED IN THE WAY IN WHICH THE SENATE VOTED ON THE PRESIDENT'S MIDDLE EAST ARMS PROPOSAL AND I AM SURE THAT MANY OF THE SENATORS WHO VOTED WITH THE ADMINISTRATION DID SO WITH ANGUISH AND UNCERTAINTY. BUT I AM EQUALLY SURE THEY DID SO BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THAT THEY WERE VOTING FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL. WE NEED NOW TO WORK MORE CLOSELY THAN EVER WITH THEM TO ENSURE THAT ISRAEL'S CAPACITY TO DEFEND HERSELF WILL BE STEADFASTLY SUPPORTED IN THE FUTURE.

LET ME CONCLUDE WITH SOME RANDOM THOUGHTS ON HOW THE CHANGES IN JEWISH LIFE THAT I HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT HAVE AFFECTED THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY -- A SUBJECT WHICH WE SHALL BE TALKING ABOUT THIS AFTERNOON.

THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A DISPERSION OF POWER IN THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY - BETWEEN SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS INTERESTS, BETWEEN LOCAL AND NATIONAL CONCERNS, AND BETWEEN DIFFERING IDEOLOGICAL GROUPS. OUR NEW CONSCIOUSNESS OF PEOPLEHOOD AND THE NEEDS OF ISRAEL HAVE TENDED TO MOVE US IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER JEWISH UNITY, AND THIS IN TURN HAS CREATED PRESSURES FOR THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN FEWER SOURCES.

BUT A UNIFIED JEWRY DOES NOT CALL FOR A SINGLE VOICE OR A SINGLE POWER CENTER. CHANGING JEWISH NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS HAVE LED TO CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS. THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT, WHICH WAS CREATED TO MEET LOCAL HEALTH AND WELFARE NEEDS, MOVED THROUGH ITS UJA RELATIONSHIPS TO A CONCERN FOR ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND WELFARE NEEDS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT BECAME APPARENT THAT MEETING JEWISH NEEDS ALSO MEANT ENHANCING THE QUALITY OF JEWISH LIFE, WHICH REQUIRES INTENSIFIED JEWISH EDUCATION AND JEWISH CULTURAL PROGRAMS, NEW SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR THE JEWISH FAMILY AND, MOST IMPORTANT, INVOLVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL.

AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, ON THE OTHER HAND, STARTED AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM, FOCUSING ON EXTERNAL JEWISH SECURITY AND COMING TO THE REALIZATION THAT EXTERNAL SECURITY WON'T MATTER IF THERE IS AN EROSION OF INTERNAL JEWISH LIFE. THE SEAMLESS NATURE OF JEWISH NEEDS MAKES ALL ITS COMPONENTS INTERRELATED, AND THE SO-CALLED "PURITY" OR "SCRUPULOUSNESS" OF ORGANIZATIONAL PURPOSE IS NO LONGER -- IF IT EVER WAS -- VIABLE. THERE IS NO ONE "RIGHT" PERSON OR GROUP IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND NO ONE "RIGHT" ORGANIZATION TO CONCERN ITSELF WITH THE QUALITY OF JEWISH LIFE.

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE AS AMERICANS AND AS JEWS WILL BE WITH US FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. ONLY A PLURALISTIC JEWISH COMMUNITY WITHIN A POLITICALLY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY -- A SOCIETY CONFIDENT IN ITS CAPACITY TO GROW AND TO OVERCOME OUR PROBLEMS -- CAN MEET THE CHALLENGES AND REAP THE REWARDS THAT TOMORROW CAN BRING TO US ALL.

# INTERRELIGIOUS

# Newsletter

## A REVIEW OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

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### RELIGIOUS, COMMUNAL LEADERS PRAISE HOLOCAUST TV DRAMA

The epic nine-hour film drama, Holocaust, recently telecast nation-wide by NBC-TV, won strong praise from leaders of major religious communities in the United States, as well as from spokesmen for a variety of civic, educational and communal organizations.

The film presentation was lauded not only as a powerful emotional experience, but as a historically and morally important effort to depict the brutalities of the Hitler era, particularly the Nazi attempt to annihilate European Jewry, to millions of Americans who were unaware of the historical realities. Nearly one hundred and twenty million people -- one of the largest audiences on record for a television special -- watched all or part of the four-night series, including members of the White House staff and the Cabinet.

AJC's national director of Interreligious Affairs, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, served as script consultant to NBC and Titus Productions for Holocaust, and AJC helped prepare the official NBC study guide which relates episodes and characters in the film to concrete history, provides general background information and bibliographical suggestions, and raises questions for group discussion and clarification. The study guide has been distributed to schools, churches and synagogues across the country in the hundreds of thousands.

Statements praising the film drama and pointing to its significance were issued by Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Jewish and Protestant leaders, including officials of Southern Baptist, Lutheran and Methodist church groups, and of the National Council of Churches. Executives of communal organizations, such as Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, George Meany of the AFL-CIO and Terry Herndon of the National Education Association, also underscored the importance of the film's message.

Among the moving testimonies to Holocaust was one by Archbishop Torkum Manogian, Primate of the Armenian Church in North America, who said it recalled painfully for him the genocidal annihilation of Armenians in 1915, and the fact that then, as with the Jews, Christian nations did nothing about the massacres. He noted



*Scene from HOLOCAUST*

that Adolph Hitler told his officers not to have scruples about killing Jews because, "Who remembers what happened to the Armenians?" The Archbishop expressed the hope that the Holocaust would "send a shiver of conscience through its viewers" and if so, "it will have served a great purpose in sensitizing mankind to its rampant inhumanity."

Editorials in a number of Christian journals pointed to the lessons to be learned from Holocaust. In his widely-syndicated column in the Catholic press, Msgr. George Higgins commented:

*The lesson of the holocaust and of the television program by the same name is that it is never too soon for Christians to come to the defense of Jews who are being threatened by any form of anti-Semitism. Indeed the holocaust might never have happened if a sufficient number of Christians had learned this lesson in Europe before rather than after the rise of Nazism....It now remains for the American people and for Catholics in particular to take up where NBC left off and, through a variety of educational methods, to try to plumb in greater depth the causes and the meaning of the holocaust and its implications for the future.*

In recognition of the "historic contribution of the television dramatization Holocaust toward increasing understanding of the meaning of the Nazi Holocaust for all people," AJC presented its 1978 Mass Media Award to the National Broadcasting Company and Titus Productions Inc. at its annual meeting in May.

*Copies of the NBC study guide, A Viewer's Guide to Holocaust, prepared in cooperation with AJC, are available from The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York, 10022, at 15¢ per single copy, \$12.00 for orders of 100.*

#### INTERRELIGIOUS TASK FORCE ON SOVIET JEWRY DELEGATION URGES STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS STAND IN BELGRADE AND ROME

In a recent trip to Belgrade and Rome, a high-level delegation of American Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders strongly pressed the case for human rights and religious liberty in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The trip, undertaken to demonstrate broad-based American support for the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, was sponsored by the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, and was led by Sister Ann Gillen, the Task Force's executive director; Professor Andre Lacocque, a national co-leader of the Task Force; and Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC's assistant national director of Interreligious Affairs. Other members of the delegation were: Professor Thomas E. Bird, chairman of Slavic Languages Department, Queens College, City University of New York; Dr. William Phillippe, synod executive of the United Presbyterian Church, Synod of the Piedmont (Maryland, Delaware, D.C., Virginia and North Carolina), Baltimore, Maryland; Rev. John A. Radano, chairman of Religious Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey; and Judge Charles Z. Smith, president of the American Baptist Churches, and associate dean of the University of Washington Law School, Seattle, Washington.

The delegation praised the human rights position of Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. Ambassador to the Belgrade Conference. The American religious

Leaders also met with representatives of Great Britain, Holland, the Vatican, Spain and Hungary. (It was the first time an Eastern bloc country had met with an inter-religious group in Belgrade.)

In Rome, the delegation conferred with Vatican officials and also participated in the international Sakharov hearings, where they heard stirring personal testimonies about the abuse of human rights and religious liberty of Jews and Christians in Eastern Europe.

Following this trip, Interreligious Task Force leaders participated in the National Foreign Policy Conference on Human Rights sponsored by the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D. C. in late February. The issue of Soviet Jewry was an integral part of this Conference. Sister Ann Gillen, Rabbi Rudin and Judge Smith all served on the planning committee of the Conference and also as panelists during the proceedings.

There are 15 local and regional Interreligious Task Forces on Soviet Jewry around the country.

## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

### BAPTISTS AND JEWS FACE THE FUTURE

A three-day conference co-sponsored by AJC and the Christian Life Commission of the Baptist General Convention of Texas brought together some 200 Baptists and Jews, pastors and rabbis, scholars and political leaders, at Southern Methodist University in Dallas last December. Described by Dr. James M. Dunn, director of the Christian Life Commission, as "an exciting and fruitful dialogue for Baptists and Jews exploring the relationships between our religions, our shared Scriptures and our common ethical commitments" the unprecedented meeting covered a variety of contemporary subjects of common concern to both groups.

The opening session was addressed by Dr. Jimmy R. Allen, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, who movingly recalled the fate of the Jews in the Nazi era in an address stressing the importance of religious liberty in a pluralistic society. The Honorable Allard Lowenstein, United States Representative for Special Political Affairs to the United Nations, underscored the importance of human rights as a prerequisite for world peace, and called upon Christians and Jews to openly express their opposition to transgressions against human rights and religious liberties. The discussion of human rights as a moral imperative was discussed by Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon and the Honorable Rita Hauser, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN and present chairperson of AJC's Foreign Affairs Commission.

IAD's Judith Banki and Rabbi A. James Rudin were among the speakers at concurrent sessions devoted to such subjects as world hunger, church-state relations, the role of women in Jewish and Baptist traditions, anti-Semitism and racism, religious liberty and cults, and Baptists and Jews in the USSR. A session on Israel and the Jewish-Christian dialogue was addressed by Professor Franklin Littell of the Department of Religion, Temple University, and IAD's Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum. The concluding luncheon was addressed by Texas Congressman James Wright, House Majority Leader, who gave an emotional eyewitness account of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel.

"A Call to Conscience," issued at the close of the meeting, stressed common bonds and a shared commitment to democratic traditions while acknowledging "our distinctive religious differences as believing Christians and Jews."

## ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ASSURES AJC ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Israeli Minister of Justice, Shmuel Tamir, has assured the American Jewish Committee that recent legislation against the use of material inducements to conversion will not restrict religious freedom or the pursuit of normal education or philanthropic activities by Christians or any other religious group in Israel.

(Mr. Tamir's statement referred to a law, enacted last December by the Israeli Knesset, that made it a criminal offense both to give or promise money or other material benefits in order to entice a person to change his religion, or to receive such benefits.)

Noting that the law had aroused concern among Christian leaders in the United States, "and particularly among those very leaders who have been Israel's staunchest friends and supporters in the American Christian community," AJC President Richard Maass wrote to Mr. Tamir, and to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, asking for a clarification of the law's intention.

"We share with other Jews," Mr. Maass wrote, "the feeling of moral offense at proselytization, whose purpose is to undermine Judaism and the continuity of the Jewish people." However, he added, "we believe it important that government spokesmen in Israel reassure our Christian friends and neighbors as to Israel's unwavering commitment to freedom of religion and to the full exercise of the rights of the Christian minority in Israel."

Mr. Tamir, in his reply declared that "there is no intention whatsoever on the part of the Israeli Government to restrict in any way religious freedom of the Christian community or any other community in Israel or to impede them from the pursuit of normal educational or philanthropic activities." He added:

*The government and the people of Israel are fully cognizant of and greatly appreciate the positive attitude and support of the many Christian religious bodies both in Israel and abroad to the State of Israel and the Jewish people. We, on our part, have over the years striven to create mutual trust, respect and understanding between the different religious communities in Israel. Never have the various religious communities enjoyed such freedom of religious worship and freedom of access to the holy places as they do now under Israeli jurisdiction.*

## NEW BOOK DOCUMENTS EVANGELICAL-JEWISH DIALOGUE

At a meeting welcoming the publication of Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation: On Scripture, Theology and History, leaders of the two communities noted progress in mutual understanding at the same time acknowledging that serious problems remain between them.

Published by Baker Book House in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the volume contains papers presented at the first national symposium of evangelicals and Jews, held in New York in December 1975. It was jointly edited by IAD's Rabbis Marc H. Tanenbaum and A. James Rudin, and Dr. Marvin R. Wilson, professor of Biblical and theological studies at Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts.

While stressing that the book provides a "deepened perception" of the values and beliefs of the two groups, and illustrates the diversity and pluralism that exist within each of them, Rabbi Tanenbaum cautioned that the publishing of the cooperative study had not dissolved "the real and extensive problems that continue to exist between evangelicals and Jews, especially on the level of people in the street." Among these, he said, were the fear of Christian proselytizing by Jews and such "born-again only" publications as the Christian Yellow Pages, which seek to "exclude Jews and others from the mainstream." Dr. Wilson declared that "too often, Jews have been viewed as trophies to be bagged" by evangelicals, and commented that evangelicals "need to know how Judaism has been reshaped by the teachings of the rabbis since Biblical times."

Dr. Wilson and Dr. Arnold T. Olson, former president of the Evangelical Free Church of America, agreed that most evangelical Christians are strong supporters of Israel's right to the Holy Land. Dr. Olson was among a number of prominent evangelicals who placed a public advertisement in some forty newspapers, affirming their belief in biblical prophecy and Israel's "Divine Right to the Land," and voicing "grave apprehension concerning the recent direction of American foreign policy vis-a-vis the Middle East."

Not all evangelicals believe in Israel's divine right to the land, Dr. Wilson noted, but, "We see Israel as the land of the Bible," and share with Jews "a common interest in the survival of Israel."

Rabbi Rudin compared the present time in evangelical-Jewish relations to "the period just prior to Vatican Council II, when Catholics and Jews began a rich and fruitful dialogue."

Also speaking at the conference was Dan Van't Kerkhoff, editor at Baker Book House.

#### SYMPOSIUM COMMEMORATES ISAAC CENTENNIAL

Despite measurable improvement in Christian teaching about Jews and Judaism, aspects of what Jules Isaac called "the teaching of contempt" may still be found, both in religious education materials and in the popular imagination. This was one of the conclusions reached by Christian and Jewish scholars at a symposium commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the noted French-Jewish historian, whose analyses of prejudice in Christian teaching paved the way for many recent reforms.

Panelists for the symposium, which was co-sponsored by AJC and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, were: Mme Claire Huchet-Bishop, a friend and disciple of Prof. Isaac and editor of the English translations of his books; Dr. A. Roy Eckardt, professor in the Department of Religion Studies, Lehigh University; Dr. Eugene Fisher, executive secretary of the Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops; and Judith Banki, AJC's assistant national director of Interreligious Affairs. Serving jointly as hosts of the meeting were AJC's Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and Donald McEvoy, the NCCJ's senior vice president for National Program.

Dr. Fisher cited the three major themes highlighted in Isaac's analysis as (1) "the charge that the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world was a punishment by God for their so-called rejection of Jesus' mission and person;" (2) "the allegation that Judaism was degenerate at the time of Jesus;" (3) "the deicide charge, which blamed all Jews, past and present, for the death of Jesus."



He pointed out that, following the condemnation of all three charges by Vatican Council II, a concerted effort was initiated to "eradicate negative and false portrayal of Jews and Judaism in Christian religious textbooks."

Referring to his own recent study of Catholic teaching materials, Faith Without Prejudice, Dr. Fisher noted that "the deicide and the divine retribution themes have entirely disappeared from our textbooks." He added, however, that "the charge of Jewish degeneracy, while muted, remains an area of problems, as does the typical depiction of the Crucifixion in both our classroom and liturgy."

Mme. Bishop, who is Catholic, and author of the book, How Catholics Look At Jews, deplored the fact that the new ecumenism has been confined largely to the top level of the religious communities, and has not reached the masses of Christians at the parish level. She also maintained that "anti-Zionism today is but the accepted word for anti-Semitism, whether people are aware of it or not."

Dr. Eckardt noted that, although some Christian leaders, "in order to redeem the Christian past vis-a-vis the Jewish people and Judaism, are calling for a reform in the teaching of the Church," they often "end up retaining the very teachings that have caused all the trouble -- especially those doctrines associated with the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus, and with the return of the Jewish people to their land."

"The outcome of this kind of reform," he added, "is no more than Christian triumphalism with guilt feelings. What is needed is a thoroughgoing revolution within the Church, in the spirit of Jules Isaac, but going far beyond his important criticisms."

Mrs. Banki cited several "contemporary variations on the themes that Jules Isaac described as the 'teachings of contempt.'"

"Although Christian scholars have largely repudiated the negative stereotype of the Pharisees as legalistic hypocrites, and even place Jesus within or close to the Pharisaic tradition," she said, "the Pharisees continue to serve as convenient whipping boys. Thus, a Roman Catholic diocesan newspaper, commenting recently on a Supreme Court decision, described the Justices as "outdoing the biblical Pharisees, at least in empty legalism, if not in sheer hypocrisy!"

She also cited editorial comments in Christian publications that compared the Eichmann trial to the trial of Jesus, and described such comparison as "obscene."

#### AJC CRITICIZES CONVERSIONARY CAMPAIGN

The AJC sharply criticized the special missionary campaign of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, that seeks to convert the Jewish people to Christianity. The Synod, at its 1977 Convention, committed itself to a "two-year goal of persuading fifty percent of our congregations to prepare themselves for effective witness to the Jewish people." IAD's Rabbi A. James Rudin called the conversionary effort "a moral affront to the Jewish people and to forty centuries of Jewish religious life and theological self-understanding."

"By singling out Jews for intensive proselytizing," he stated, "the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has, in effect, branded Judaism as an inadequate and incomplete religion."

In December 1977 and again in April of 1978, Rabbi Rudin and Jordan Harburger, AJC West Central Area Director, met in St. Louis with the Missouri Synod leadership responsible for implementing the Church's resolution promoting evangelism among Jews. The AJC representatives expressed their deep concern about the intent and implications of the resolution. They specifically called for suspension and revision of a training manual entitled "Witnessing to Jewish People," which they said "employs base stereotypes that do gross violence to the integrity of Jews and Judaism."

Rabbi Rudin and Mr. Harburger expressed the hope that the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod will abandon its present missionary campaign directed at the Jewish community and will instead embark on programs of education and true dialogue that will advance mutual respect and understanding between Lutherans and Jews.

#### VISITORS TO ISRAEL

Recent interreligious tours to Israel involving community leaders, lay and clergy, coordinated by AJC's Visitors to Israel Program, included a trip sponsored by the Federation of Lansing, Michigan; a Philadelphia study tour co-led by the Rev. Robert M. Hoag and Rabbi Harold Waintrup; and a group from Waterbury, Connecticut organized by The Rev. Andrew Smith and Rabbi Joel Chazin.

Letters from Christian and Jewish participants in these tours to IAD's Inge Lederer Gibel, national coordinator of the program, expressed appreciation for "a deeply moving spiritual experience..." for "new insights," for AJC's "excellent coordination, not only of sites but of meetings with important Israeli personalities," and for "the openness and democratic candor with which those on the tour were able to hear a variety of views regarding Arabs and Jews in Israel and the Middle East."

*Interreligious study tours offer a unique opportunity for Christians and Jews, in a traveling dialogue, to see Israel through each other's eyes. Special itineraries are tailored to the interests of each group. Leaders wishing to form a study tour or join a future group should write to AJC's Visitors to Israel Program.*

#### DR. BILLY GRAHAM, ARCHBISHOP THOMAS DONNELLAN ADDRESS AJC'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

In his first open address to a major national Jewish organization, the Rev. Billy Graham called on evangelical Christians and Jews to work together for "the peace of Jerusalem" and an end to terrorism. The noted evangelist, who spoke before AJC's policy-making National Executive Council in Atlanta, Georgia last October, received AJC's National Interreligious Award.

Dr. Graham condemned anti-Semitism, saying "the institutional church has sinned through much of its history and has much to answer for at the Judgment, especially for the anti-Semitism practiced against the Jewish people." He also called on Christians and Jews to work together toward establishing better race relations and higher ethical and moral codes.

Speaking the previous evening to AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission, The Most Rev. Thomas A. Donnellan, Archbishop of Atlanta, pointed to the landmark developments which had brought about a new beginning in Catholic-Jewish relations.

"Obviously the bishops of the United States have recognized that an important element in their dialogue with the Jewish people has been and will continue to be the place that the State of Israel plays in the identity of Jews," he declared, referring to guidelines on Catholic-Jewish relations issued by the U. S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Archbishop Donnellan noted that the American hierarchy has declared that reconciliation, peace and justice in the Middle East must entail recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state with secure boundaries, and recognition of the rights of Palestinian Arabs. He emphasized that the second point "would not mean an alignment with any particular spokesman for the Palestinian Arabs," and added his own personal conviction "that concessions to terrorists are self-defeating and in the long run, more costly to humanity."

#### IAD BRIEFS

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, who was named one of America's ten most influential religious leaders in a poll conducted by The Christian Century, was one of a delegation which investigated the plight of Vietnamese boat people and other Indo-chinese refugees during a ten-day mission to Thailand, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Singapore. The delegation, led by Leo Cherne, chairman of the International Rescue Committee, had planned to visit Malaysia as well but other members -- including author James Michener, Bayard Rustin, the Hon. William Casey and Ambassador Cecil Lyon -- unanimously declined when Rabbi Tanenbaum was refused entry to the predominantly Moslem country.

Rabbi Tanenbaum also participated in a three-day conference of world Jewish leaders and Vatican officials in Madrid and Toledo, Spain. A warm welcoming address by Toledo's Cardinal Martin, and a moving response by Rabbi Ronald Sobel of Congregation Emanu-El in New York, recalled the poignancy of the Jewish experience in Spain, where a golden age of Jewish culture and learning which had flourished for nearly five hundred years was ended by the Spanish Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jewish community. That bitter legacy was faced candidly by both groups as they probed contemporary issues in hope of a more humane world.

The Women's Interreligious Dialogue on the Middle East, which began in New York and is now going strong in Philadelphia, brings Christian, Jewish and sometimes Arab American women together to explore and deepen their understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Philadelphia dialogue, which includes Jewish, Baptist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Quaker and Roman Catholic women, has been spear-headed by Joan Dickstein and is co-chaired by Susan Weinberg, both board members of AJC's Philadelphia Chapter. Also, IAD's Inge Lederer Gibel has recently sparked the formation of a WIDME in Cincinnati.

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