



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 97, Folder 5, General correspondence, memos & working papers, October-December 1979.

CAMBODIAN FAMINE: Campaign to Reach Congress!

Your help is urgently needed to persuade the U.S. government to provide massive aid to millions of Cambodians who face starvation. We can still make a difference now! Your call, mailgram, or letter to Washington can help build the political will for our country to respond quickly and generously to the desperate need of millions of human beings in Cambodia.

What can you do?

- 1) CONTACT YOUR REPRESENTATIVE AND SENATORS IMMEDIATELY TO APPROVE ADDITIONAL FAMINE RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS FOR ALL CAMBODIANS. Urge your friends and members of your church to do the same. Letters or mailgrams should be sent to:
 - Representative _____, Washington, D.C. 20515
 - Senator _____, Washington, D.C. 20510
 The telephone number for representatives and senators is 202/224-3121.
- 2) Study the enclosed materials and BFW Background Paper #41, which you received with your October Newsletter.
- 3) Get local newspapers, radio, and television to publicize the Cambodian famine and the need for substantial U.S. Aid. Write a letter to the editor.

This call to action is in addition to the QUICKLINE request for contact with President Carter.

What's Happening in Cambodia?

Over two million people are facing starvation now. If food aid and essential medical supplies are not quickly sent into Cambodia and distributed on a massive and continuing basis, there will be little hope for those who have managed to survive so far. Political and military conflicts between the Vietnamese-backed government and Chinese backed guerrillas have frustrated international relief efforts for months. Despite these obstacles, international agencies have recently worked out ways of providing aid to most of the needy within Cambodia.

How can the United States Help?

In August, the State Department said our government would be willing to contribute to an international relief effort aimed at helping all Cambodians. Although U.S. law prohibits direct economic aid to Cambodia, an exception can be made for "disaster assistance" funds and Food for Peace commodities donated through international or private voluntary agencies. So far, the U.S. government has provided only \$625,000 to help those few Cambodians who have been able to reach the border with Thailand. The administration is considering whether to submit requests to congress for additional disaster funds for an airlift into Cambodia and longer-term food aid over the next six months.

News Stories

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1979

2.25 Million Cambodians Are Said to Face Starvation

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Special to The New York Times

HANOI, Vietnam, Aug. 3 — United Nations and Red Cross officials said in interviews here and in Ho Chi Minh City this week that 2.25 million Cambodians were facing starvation.

The officials, who agreed to discuss their recent fact-finding trip to Cambodia after being promised anonymity, also described the widescale starvation, shocking as it was, as only one element of what seemed to be the near destruction of Cambodian society under the regime of the ousted Prime Minister Pol Pot.

"I have seen quite a few ravaged countries in my career, but nothing like this," one official said. He added that as much as \$100 million in food and medical aid was urgently needed.

Plight Held Worse Than Refugees'

The officials, representing the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva and the United Nations Children's Fund in New York, expressed dismay that the concern of many Western nations over the plight of the Vietnam refugees had overshadowed what they said would be a far greater tragedy in Cambodia.

The relief officials indicated that some people were dying of starvation in Cambodia now. In a famine situation such as exists there, not everyone affected will

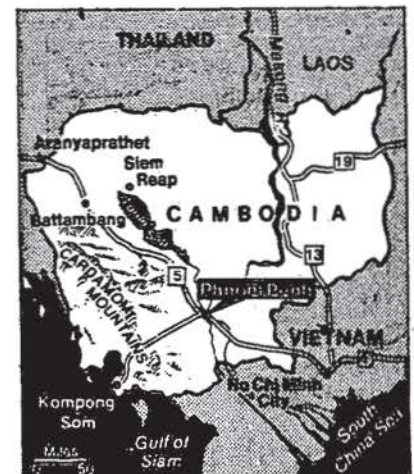


United Press International

Cambodian refugees at a camp in Ban Laem, Thailand

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

Bread for the World has been following the situation in Cambodia carefully. Since the above article appeared, UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross have negotiated acceptable arrangements with the Cambodian government in Phnom Penh for the transfer and monitoring of famine relief. The president is now free to use special emergency authority to send some immediate aid into Cambodia. But emergency funds are limited. Therefore congress must quickly enact special legislation to provide immediate and large-scale aid to Cambodia.



Aid Program Will Be Too Late for Many Cambodians

By **BERNARD D. NOSSITER**
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Sept. 30 — Sometime this week, Jacques Beaumont is due to leave Phnom Penh where he has been measuring misery and its relief for more than a month. He will come here to deliver a grim report to his chiefs at the United Nations Children's Fund.

Even before Mr. Beaumont arrives, the Children's Fund, generally known as UNICEF, has sketched in the bleak outlines of the tale, pieced together here from the fragmentary radio reports he has sent out. Although Cambodia's new rulers have now given a green light to a large-scale international relief effort, tens of thousands of people are likely to die before the emergency program is in high gear.

Even then, the program will provide no more than about 14 ounces a day of rice or wheat to the two-and-a-quarter million people under the control of the Vietnamese-backed regime in Phnom Penh. According to nutrition experts, 14 ounces of rice daily provide 1,500 calories, just enough to sustain life.

For weeks and perhaps months, probably no more than 3,000 tons of relief supplies a week could be unloaded and distributed, according to aid experts. If all of this is food — and it won't be — it would provide about six ounces a person.

\$100 Million Program Projected

These calculations are derived from rough estimates for a \$100 million program made at UNICEF headquarters here.

Of course, the aid, whether 6 or 14 ounces, is not expected to reach every man, woman and child. Cambodia has suffered a breakdown in administration, transportation and almost every other aspect of modern life on a terrifying scale, the aid specialists report. In the early weeks of the relief effort, most Cambodians are likely to continue foraging in a desolate countryside.

They were first driven from green fields into cities by the carpet bombing by United States planes during the Indochina War. Then the Cambodians were driven from the cities by the regime of Pol Pot. Now Mr. Pol Pot and his followers have been driven to the borders of Thailand by Vietnamese soldiers. The Vietnamese have installed the latest ruler, Heng Samrin.

The devastation these events have caused has been captured by United States satellite photos. They show that only 5 percent of the arable land is under cultivation and about 95 percent is lying fallow. Dikes for irrigation have crum-

bled. Terraces for cultivation have fallen away.

Aid experts say the Cambodians have been driven to eat the seed they were supposed to plant.

'Grave Famine' Foreseen

"We are dealing with people who are dying," says Henry R. Labouisse, the former United States diplomat who is executive director of UNICEF. "I think a lot of people are going to die of hunger. A grave famine is likely."

The Children's Fund and the International Committee of the Red Cross, the two partners in the international aid effort, have been drawing up plans for help with authorities in Phnom Penh for months. Mr. Labouisse speaks tactfully of talks with the Heng Samrin regime but the crucial conversations have been with the real rulers, the Vietnamese. The negotiations involved, among others, Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations and ranking United States diplomats.

During this time, a thin trickle of food and medicine, totaling about 150 tons, has reached Phnom Penh. Bigger plans were stalled on at least two points. The Vietnamese balked at any relief for the people still under control of the Pol Pot forces near the Thai border, but the two international agencies insisted that supplies must be distributed without political favoritism. Cambodia's rulers also resisted demands that the Red Cross and UNICEF be permitted to send teams of their own to make sure that the relief

went to Cambodians and not to Vietnamese soldiers.

Last week, a satisfactory accord was reached. The two agencies believe they have assurances that they can distribute aid to reach civilians without discrimination. The Red Cross will send in a delegation of unspecified size and the Children's Fund will open an office in Phnom Penh.

Effective Distribution Stressed

Exactly how many people can go into Cambodia to monitor the program has not yet been fixed. Mr. Labouisse talks of a dozen, at least to begin. He will not say so, but it is clear that this is too few for even spot checks. The agencies evidently hope the number of their representatives on the ground will grow.

"I want to insure the effective distribution of relief supplies for those to whom it is intended," Mr. Labouisse says. "That means it doesn't go to the army."

He readily acknowledges that any operation like this is a calculated risk and that some aid will inevitably end up in soldiers' hands. But if the Vietnamese Army as an institution attempts to take the aid, he warns, "it won't happen a second time."

The logistical problems of the relief operation, expected to cost \$100 million over six months, are staggering. The two agencies expect little trouble chartering planes to move supplies from Bangkok. But then the trouble begins.

Transportation Is a Bottleneck

"You just can't send in large amounts overnight," Mr. Labouisse says. In recent weeks, Phnom Penh could not cope with more than 40 tons a week, a fraction of the 6,600 tons the relief planners eventually hope to reach.

The Cambodians are so weak and their transport is so short, Mr. Labouisse says, that packages larger than 110 pounds have been unacceptable. Mr. Beaumont had to draw a sketch of a forklift so that the Cambodians could improvise a crude version to move supplies from the plane to the ground.

Apart from wheat, rice, flour and medicines, the first planes flying in under the expanded program will bring trucks.

If all goes well, the agencies will eventually reach close to 7,000 tons a week. That is not far from the 1,300 tons a day that the United States flew in at the height of its desperate and futile airlift to save the regime of Marshal Lon Nol in March 1975.

West's Cambodian Aid Called Cover by Hanoi

BANGKOK, Thailand, Sept. 30 (AP) — Vietnam accused the West today of conducting a "smear campaign" against Cambodia and said that international aid programs for that country were a cover for "intervention and aggression."

At the same time, the Communist Party newspaper Nhan Dan denied that Vietnam was intercepting any of the aid destined for Cambodians. It said it was sending its own "heartfelt relief" to Cambodia, as were Laos, the Soviet Union and East Germany.

It accused the United States of trying to paint a dark picture of Phnom Penh's Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin Government by calling for aid. It also said that Washington was trying to bring back the ousted Prime Minister of Cambodia, Pol Pot.

October 1, 1979

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Reports of serious food shortages in certain areas of Cambodia have been a source of concern for us for some months. Recently it has become apparent that a major international effort will be required if wide-spread famine affecting millions of Cambodians is to be averted. Independent reports from a variety of recent visitors to the area--including representatives of the press, religious organizations, and international relief agencies--all attest to the urgency of the situation.

On several recent occasions, you have spoken of your hope that the international community act to prevent starvation in Cambodia. We are very much aware of the unusual complexities of assistance to people in a country at war, especially when our government does not recognize any of the conflicting parties as representative of those people. The normal procedures for adequate supervision, control and monitoring are at once more important and more difficult. We understand that lengthy negotiations between international agencies and various governments in Southeast Asia have now succeeded in establishing arrangements under which relief supplies may be provided, distributed, and monitored. This should remove what we hope will be the final obstacle to the launching of a major international response.

We are aware that restrictions prohibit any form of U.S. development assistance to Cambodia. However, there are no statutory prohibitions against the use of U.S. Food for Peace (PL-480, Title II) commodities or against the use of Disaster Assistance funds after October 1, 1979. We wish, therefore, to register our strong support for your efforts to encourage an international response to the Cambodian famine fully commensurate with the need. We urge you to pursue all available bilateral and multilateral channels, including private voluntary organizations, to see that the United States moves quickly and effectively in responding to this crisis. Some of our organizations have already begun our own efforts to respond as an expression of broad public concern.

Sincerely,

The Most Rev. Edwin B. Broderick, Executive Director, Catholic Relief Services/
United States Catholic Conference, Inc.

Dr. George A. Chauncey, Chairman, Interreligious Task Force on U.S. Food Policy

Dr. Bernard A. Confer, Executive Director, Lutheran World Relief

Stephen Hayes, Director, Office of Peace and Development Education, International
Division, Young Men's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

Herbert Katzki, Associate Executive Vice President, American Jewish Joint Distribu-
tion Committee.

Dr. Paul F. McCleary, Executive Director, Church World Service

Rosalie Oakes, Executive, World Relations Unit, National Board of the Young Womens
Christian Association of the U.S.A.

Louis Schneider, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee

Joseph Short, Executive Director, Oxfam-America

Arthur Simon, Executive Director, Bread for the World

Edward F. Snyder, Executive Secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation

Edgar Stoesz, Associate Executive Secretary, Mennonite Central Committee

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S **ENERGY INFORMATION SERVICE**

165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 751-4000

Phyllis Sherman, Director, Energy Program

October 11, 1979
Vol. 1, Issue 4

ENERGY PAYMENT ASSISTANCE FOR LOW INCOME PEOPLE

Both the Administration and Congress are grappling with the problem of providing assistance to poor people and the aged on low fixed incomes who may be unable to pay for fuel to warm their homes this winter. While most agree that something must be done so that the poor do not have to choose between heating and eating, there is division on how this should be accomplished and whether the funds should come from general revenues or the windfall profits tax.

The poor pay about four times more of their total income for heating than the national average. In 1977 the average price of a gallon of heating fuel was 47.5 cents. As of August 1979, it was 80 cents.

Those who believe that something must be done immediately, if relief is to be available by the time the cold weather approaches, favor decoupling aid to the poor from the windfall profits tax. The Senate Finance Committee is still bogged down in attempting to settle the tax issue. There also is Congressional interest in giving middle income people a tax break to offset the rising costs of energy.

Carter Proposal

The President's proposal is divided into two parts: cash assistance to the low income population and emergency aid to families facing short term energy crises.

The combined programs would be funded at \$1.6 billion in 1980 and at \$2.4 billion from 1981 to 1983. The revenues are to come out of the Energy Security Fund provided by the windfall profits tax.

Special energy allowances would be available this winter only to people who already receive either Supplemental Security Income or Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Using the established channels of distribution, checks averaging about \$200 per family will be sent out early in 1980.

The Community Services Administration (CSA) would, as they have for the past three years, handle special crisis intervention. The program envisioned by the Administration would provide eligible households with up to \$400 to help pay for necessary fuel, warm clothing, blankets, etc., but not for weatherization. CSA would be in charge of dispersing the block grants to states during 1980 and after that HEW will distribute the funds.

Congressional Bills

Senate Bill 1724, introduced by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. with support from Jacob Javits who has introduced a similar bill (S 1270), calls for spending \$1.6 billion for energy aid but out of general funds not the Energy Security Fund. It provides broader eligibility than does the Carter plan by including all households with incomes below 125 percent of the "lower living standard" (\$11,875 per year for a family of four in 1979). Most of the aid would go directly to utility and fuel oil companies that supply the poor with heat. States would decide the amounts of assistance for each family within certain guidelines. Beneficiaries would have to pay the difference between their actual bill and the amount supplied by the state. S. 1724 would de-emphasize the role of the CSA energy crisis program which has been attacked by the GAO as being poorly managed.

Senate Bill 1725, sponsored by Gaylord Nelson, would not go into effect until 1980. It would let states determine how to provide the energy aid and would limit eligibility to households with income below 85 percent of the lower living standard.

The Senate appears likely soon to approve an emergency appropriation in excess of \$1 billion for aid to the poor and the Williams bill is expected to be "marked up" by October 22. Similar bills are being prepared in the House by the Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor and HEW.

Disagreement Over Who Should Get the Aid and How It Should Be Distributed

The Administration has stated that low income energy assistance is contingent upon enactment of a windfall profits tax. The opposition says aid to the poor is too important to hold off until the windfall tax is passed. The Carter plan does not call for passage of new authorizing legislation which the Williams proposal does.

The Administration limits aid to those already receiving Federal government welfare assistance. The Williams approach expands eligibility for energy aid but it would require new mechanisms to determine who was eligible and to distribute the aid. This may be difficult for some states.

As to how the aid should be distributed, the Administration wants to send checks to the poor while the Williams bill would provide money rebates to fuel companies. Advocates of the Williams approach argue that this is the best way to ensure that the aid goes only for essential heating. Vendor payments would also give the Federal government say over the way heating suppliers conduct their business and would prohibit them from shutting off power to the poor. The fuel stamp approach has been discarded because it could not be put into operation in time.

Public Support

The American Jewish Committee, a number of civil rights organizations, senior citizen groups and other civic and religious organizations have called for immediate aid to the poor, but there has been no public outcry on their behalf.

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

OCTOBER 12, 1979
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY BERTRAM H. GOLD, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, RESPONDING TO GOVERNOR JOHN CONNALLY'S "NINE-POINT PLAN" FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Governor Connally's prescription for a Middle East settlement rests on a number of fallacies.

***Governor Connally believes that "the oil of the Middle East...the life blood of Western Civilization" will flow freely and "return to stable ...prices" if only the Arab-Israel dispute is settled through virtual total Israeli withdrawal. The truth of the matter is that the OPEC countries which include non-Arab nations, decide their supply and pricing of the oil the West needs on what they think the traffic will bear. To accept Gov. Connally's thesis, moreover, is to agree that Saudi-Arabia and OPEC can decide any aspect of American foreign policy by threatening the U.S. with their "oil weapon." We don't think Americans will, or should, agree to this.

***Governor Connally declares that the Camp David Summit approach is without force or effect. On the contrary, the Camp David Accords provide a framework and a time-table for dealing with the complex remaining issues in the Arab-Israel conflict. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, which is being implemented on schedule, must be given the time to work. The United States played a key role in helping the parties reach agreement but it was only after President Sadat made the crucial decision to recognize the legitimacy of Israel's existence in the region that negotiations could proceed. Mr. Connally fails to acknowledge the extraordinarily important concessions that Israel agreed to and for the sake of peace with Egypt. By setting out the details of the outcome of negotiations, Governor Connally hurts rather than helps the prospects for a more comprehensive agreement. What Arab party can be expected to accept less than the United States proposes?

....more

Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 41 rue Paul Doumer, 75016, Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel

Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. E. National 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

***Governor Connally contends that Israel's "failure to withdraw from occupied territory prevents Israel's antagonists from recognizing the existence, much less the security of Israel. However, from the conclusion of the 1949 Armistice Agreements until June, 1967, the Israelis did not control one inch of the territory Governor Connally asks them to give up yet no neighboring Arab State was prepared to recognize Israel's existence even within the vulnerable armisticed demarcation lines. It was at Arab insistence that these lines were declared to be temporary and not permanent political boundaries.

Governor Connally's nine-point peace plan does provide some interesting ideas, such as regional economic and strategic cooperation with an enhanced role by the United States, NATO and Japan but these will remain empty dreams unless such so-called "moderate" Arab states as Jordan and Saudi Arabia stop attempting to sabotage the historic Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

Most importantly, the best chance for peace today is not a new nine-point program but continued U.S. support of the Camp David Peace process, which can with patience and good will indeed serve as a cornerstone of a comprehensive peace.

79-960-171
10/12/79



October 12, 1979

Bertram H. Gold

Milton Himmelfarb

Irving Crespi's review of the
Gallup data for August

Crespi has sent me a review he
did, which is a kind of preliminary
analysis. I hope to be able to speak
with Bill Schneider fairly soon, to
see what more should be done.



MH:rg

cc: Selma Hirsh
Abe Karlikow
Seymour Samet
Ira Silverman
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmon

Review of August 1979 Gallup Survey
Irving Crespi

This analysis is based on the proportion that gave a "negative" answer to each of the three questions, namely:

1. Agrees that American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to U.S.
2. Feels it is bad for the U.S. that many American Jews have close ties to Israel
3. Thinks U.S. should pay more attention to the Arabs

Although the first two questions both deal with the issue of dual loyalty, there are two reasons for concluding that they measure different aspects of the issue. First, statistically significantly different proportions gave negative responses to each question--29% to the first and 18% to the second. Secondly, and of particular interest, the pattern of response by education is quite dissimilar for the two questions. Thus, on the first item, the proportion that gave a negative response decreases with increasing education--from 37% among those who have not graduated from high school to 13% among college graduates. On the other hand, there is no statistically significant difference by education in response to the second item.

While the survey data provided no direct evidence of how the questions differ in meaning, it is useful to speculate as to the reason for this variation in response--if only to provide guidance to future inquiry. Considering only the face meaning of the question wordings, the first item measures beliefs--that is, what is perceived to be fact, whereas the second item asks for an evaluation--namely, what is good or bad for the U.S. Thus, the survey data indicates that some Americans who believe it is a fact that American Jews give their primary

loyalty to Israel nonetheless do not conclude that close ties to Israel are detrimental to the U.S. This apparent anomaly may be due to a belief that Israel is an ally of the U.S. in the Middle East--particularly vis a vis the USSR and unreliable Arab sources of oil.

In most demographic groups, the proportion that believes American Jews give their primary loyalty to Israel is significantly greater than the proportion who feel that Jewish ties to Israel is bad for the U.S. However, among college graduates the reverse is true. In this segment of the public, which is usually the most politically active and informed, close ties to Israel on the part of American Jews is deemed bad for the U.S. by a larger proportion (20%) than believes American Jews are more loyal to Israel (13%). This suggests that concern over close ties to Israel does not stem only from beliefs about dual loyalty, but also from other factors--such as, perhaps, the protection of U.S. strategic and oil interests in the Middle East. In any event, it is clear that there is not a simple one-to-one relationship between concern over Jewish ties to Israel and perceptions of dual loyalty.

Analysis of responses to the third question is to some degree complicated by a possible ambiguity in the question wording. Although the preamble presents one policy alternative as "United States should pay more attention to the demands of the Arabs", the word "demand" does not appear in the final question "pay more attention to the Arabs". While the preamble is explicit, it is possible that some people misinterpreted the omission of the word "demands" from the final question. Thus, it may be that the survey overestimates the incidence of pro-Arab sentiment by a few percentage points. The following comments, however, ignore that possibility.

The most direct way to determine whether there is any correlation between opinion regarding how responsive the U.S. should be to Israeli and Arab interests is to cross-tabulate the third item by each of the other two. I recommend that this be done. The available data suggest that any correlation is likely to be limited. Response by education follows a pattern that is different from the pattern for the other two items. In this case, the proportion pro-Arab increases with education (in contrast to the lack of any differentiation by education on the second item and the decrease in negative response by education on the first item). That is to say, although the college educated are the least likely to perceive American Jews as being more loyal to Israel, they are the most likely to favor a U.S. policy that is more responsive to Arab demands.

Whatever reasons may account for a pro-Arab opinion (e.g. concern over oil, geopolitical considerations, or sympathy for the Palestinian position), it appears that at this time holding such an opinion does not raise issues of dual loyalty. On the other hand, the fact that the college educated are as likely as the less well educated to think that close ties to Israel on the part of American Jews is bad for the U.S. suggests a different interpretation. It may be that support for a pro-Arab policy has led some of the college educated who do not think American Jews are more loyal to Israel nonetheless to deplore close ties.

These alternative interpretations need to be tested, for example, by the cross tabulation recommended above. Also, one objective of a continuing monitoring effort should be to track whether the relation between pro-Arab sympathy and perceived dual loyalty changes over time.

It is noteworthy that on all these questions men are more likely than women to give a negative response. To some degree, this is due to the fact that

women are also more likely in each case to have answered "don't know", as well as to have given a favorable response. An important line of investigation would be to analyze the extent to which the crystallization of opinion (as measured by low rates of "don't know" responses) is associated with negative responses. This might prove to be a leading indicator of opinion trends.

In light of increasing tension between blacks and Jews, differences by race are important. However, it should be noted that the "non-white" category as used by Gallup includes more than blacks. While the number of non-whites in the sample who are not black is undoubtedly small, and excluding them is unlikely to change the results in any significant way, it would still be useful to have tabulations based specifically on blacks. In any event, and taking into account the small sample size involved, there does not seem to be any statistically significant difference between whites and non-whites on any of the three items. Combined with the results of the recent Newsweek poll conducted by Gallup, this finding suggests that at this time black leadership is more negative than is the general black public.

Differences by age regarding dual loyalty are small or non-existent. However, the incidence of pro-Arab responses decreases with age. Thus, older people, who are more likely to have direct memories of Nazi anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, are least likely to be sympathetic to the Arab position. However, there is no evidence that more wide spread pro-Arab sympathies among the young has led to greater concern about issues of dual loyalty.

There is no difference between Protestants and Catholics on the two dual loyalty items. However, Catholics are somewhat more likely to express a

pro-Arab opinion on the third item. Since Catholics are generally more likely than Protestants to express a pro-minority attitude in polls, this result conforms to the interpretation that the Palestinian issue is generating Arab support among traditionally liberal segments of the public. (The relatively large support for Arab demands among young adults also fits this pattern). Nonetheless, the difference in the demographic pattern of responses between the first two items and the third item supports the inferences that, so far at least, a more accepting attitude toward "Arab demands" has not led to increased fears about dual loyalty among American Jews.

Differences by region and size of community tend to be small and statistically insignificant. The same is true for political party identification.

A final observation is that, except for the case of the college educated, the demographic analysis casts little light on the question "who are most likely, and least likely, to express negative attitudes concerning dual loyalty?". Apparently, influences not captured by demographic characteristics are at work. Attention needs to be paid to identifying these characteristics.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date 19th October, 1979.

to James Rudin

from M. Bernard Resnikoff

subject

This is a gloomy report of a meeting with a delegation, consisting of board members of the N.C.C., that took place in this office on the evening of Monday October 15.

Participating in the consultation were:

- Thomas Hamilton of the United Church of Christ;
 - Margaret Blemker, Secretary for the Near East United Church Board for World Missions;
 - Lamar Gible, Peace and International Affairs Consultant for the World Ministries Commission of the Church of the Brethren;
 - The Reverend Ermet Floyd, President United Church Board for World Ministries in Greensboro, North Carolina.
- They were joined by Wesley Brown of Tantar.

These good folks were here on a fact-find mission in a programme prepared for them by the Near-East Council of Churches, of the W.C.C. According to Brown who briefed me in advance, as well as by the members themselves, the purpose of this visit was to re-examine afresh the role of the Church in the Middle East.

I had known in advance and confronted them in the beginning, with the fact that in their planned itinerary, there was not a single meeting with any Israeli, Jew or Christian, and that the meeting with me, on the evening of their departure, was only arranged at the intervention of Wesley Brown who suggested to them that it might be a good idea to check in with a Jew. I allowed myself to wonder how balanced such a tour can be and if this is not another example of what leads so many Israelis to agree that the bias of N.C.C. is there in Macey's window for everyone to see. The main response was that the programme was set up for them without their initial input.

The discussion continued, in a way that was just a little bit too correct to suit my taste, with their levelling charges at the unfairness in the recent Judy Bankki report. They did say they responded to that alleged unfairness. Having put me on the defensive, they then pursued a number of topics.

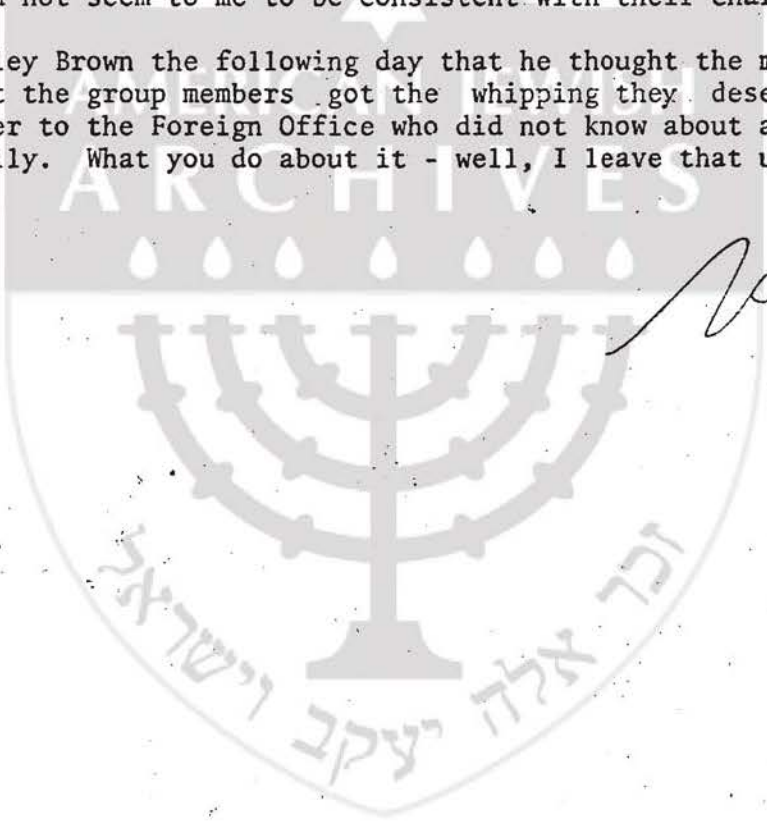
James Rudin
October 19, 1979

To nobody's surprise, their questions centered mainly on topics of: Autonomy, the refugees, the PLO, Palestinians and the like. Totally disgusted by the whole experience, the approach and the questions, I allowed myself to wonder out loud that if this is a mission to investigate the role of the church in the Middle East, how come they didn't ask any questions about love, reconciliation, the Israeli side, the Jewish view. It seemed, I told them, that their concern was exclusively political -- and while a political interest is certainly legitimate, it did not seem to me to be consistent with their charge.

I was told by Wesley Brown the following day that he thought the meeting was effective and that the group members got the whipping they deserved. I reported the matter to the Foreign Office who did not know about a visit of the group, naturally. What you do about it - well, I leave that up to you.

MBR: eb

cc: Abe Karlikow



NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Oct. 25-28

Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, Ca. 94106
415-772-5000

MORTON YARMON, *Director of Public Relations*

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOM: State Room

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Oct. 4....Jacob Timerman, the Jewish publisher who was released last week after being held under house arrest by the military government of Argentina for two and a half years, will be honored by the American Jewish Committee at the annual meeting of AJC's top policy-making National Executive Council, to be held October 25-28 at the Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco.

Mr. Timerman will receive the organization's Institute of Human Relations Media Award at the Executive Council's gala annual dinner on Saturday evening, Oct. 27. It will be his first public appearance in the United States since his departure from Argentina.

Other distinguished speakers who will address the meeting will be former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin; nationally syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft; Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; philanthropist and civic leader Benjamin H. Swig; Dr. Judith W. Klein, prominent West Coast psychologist; Richard Maass, AJC's National President; and Bertram H. Gold, its Executive Vice President.

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is this country's pioneer human relations organization, with more than 40,000 members in 80 chapters and units throughout the United States. It also maintains offices in Paris, Jerusalem, and Mexico City.

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Morton K. Blaustein of Baltimore, more than 400 AJC leaders are expected to attend the San Francisco meeting, whose purpose is to assess the current national and international

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Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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scenes and to develop policies that will serve as guidelines for the organization's activities in the coming year.

Among the topics to be considered will be the Palestinian issue and other developments in the Middle East; new dimensions in Black-Jewish relations; the Jewish stake in oil and energy; United States immigration policy; conversions to Judaism and their impact on Jewish families and communities; and the status of Jews in the Soviet Union, South America, and other parts of the world.

On Thursday evening, Oct. 25, prior to the official opening of the meeting on Friday morning, separate meetings will be held by AJC's four program advisory commissions, each dealing with a major area of the organization's activities -- domestic, foreign, communal, and interreligious affairs.

The Domestic Affairs Commission will hear a presentation on the intergroup relations concerns of the Mexican-American community from a leading representative of that group. This is part of AJC's ongoing effort to work with the Hispanic community, the newest and fastest growing minority in the country.

The Foreign Affairs Commission will deal with three major areas of concern. Its members will hear first-hand views of leading experts on the Soviet Union concerning the problems of Soviet Jewry; will receive a report on issues facing Jews in Latin America; and will consider options for a more active AJC policy against apartheid in South Africa.

The Jewish Communal Affairs Commission will hear a presentation by Dr. Klein on "Jewish Identity and Self Esteem," based on her extensive research project on ethnotherapy in relation to Jews. In addition, the Commission will announce the establishment of a National Jewish Family Center, which will undertake a broad range of programs to strengthen the quality of American Jewish family life.

The meeting will open officially on Friday morning, Oct. 26, with a plenary session at which Mr. Gold will present the keynote address, "Charting The Future."

The Friday luncheon session will feature an address by Mr. Rabin, who will discuss the current situation in the Middle East and prospects for peace in the region.

At the afternoon session on Friday, the AJC leaders will consider the Jewish community's stake in two major national issues -- the oil and energy crisis, and current immigration policies.

On Friday evening, the delegates from all over the country will be dinner guests in the homes of members of AJC's San Francisco chapter as they welcome in the Jewish Sabbath.

The program on Saturday, Oct. 27, will begin with a luncheon at which Rabbi Schindler, whose organization represents 730 Reform synagogues in the United States and Canada, will discuss latest developments on his proposal, made earlier, that Jews should begin to proselytize among the un-churched and mixed-marriage couples. Following his presentation, there will be responses from Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's National Director of Interreligious Affairs, and Yehuda Rosenman, Director of the agency's Jewish Communal Affairs Department.

Immediately prior to the gala annual dinner on Saturday evening, a cocktail reception will be held in honor of Benjamin H. Swig, one of San Francisco's leading citizens, a member of AJC's National Executive Council and a member of the Advisory Board of its San Francisco Chapter.

At the annual dinner, the AJC leaders from across the country will be joined by members of its San Francisco Chapter and their friends, to make an estimated attendance of close to 700 people. Also expected at the dinner are a large number of leading San Francisco representatives of business and industry, colleges and universities, religious and ethnic groups.

A highlight of the dinner will be an address by Mr. Kraft on "Cross Currents in American Foreign Policy." Mr. Kraft, whose column appears thrice weekly in 170 papers in this country and abroad, was one of two columnists who accompanied President Nixon to China in 1972. He was the only columnist to serve on the 1976 presidential debate panels.

In addition to the presentation of the Media Award to Mr. Timerman, the dinner will also be the occasion of the presentation of AJC's Distinguished Leadership Award to Mr. Swig. Also, Mr. Maass will report on the state of the organization in his presidential address.

The closing morning of the meeting, Sunday, Oct. 28, will be a policy session, at which the organization will determine its stance on a variety of issues for the coming year.

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

10/3/79
79-960-161
A, REL, EJP, NPL

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

October 25-28, 1979
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, Ca. 94106
415-772-5000

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1979

PRESS ROOM: State Room

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25...Establishment of a National Jewish Family Center, to deal with the problems, needs, and trends in Jewish family life in the United States, was announced today by the American Jewish Committee at the annual meeting of its National Executive Council, its top policy-making body, which continues through Sunday at the Fairmont Hotel here.

"We are responding to the many economic, social and cultural forces that threaten and have radically affected the internal structure of the American family, which is rapidly evolving in uncharted territory," said Yehuda Rosenman, Director of AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Department, in making the announcement at a meeting of the commission that he directs.

"While its main objective will be to maintain and strengthen the American Jewish family, the Center is to deal with all issues that affect the American family as well as the specific needs of the Jewish family.

"The Jewish community and the nation as a whole need the traditional strengths of cohesive families. Looking to the '80s', to survive and flourish, families will have to be resilient, dynamic and adaptive, and must be supported by social policies that are responsive to the needs of the family and individuals within them."

Among the Center's activities will be to research the dynamics of contemporary Jewish family life, disseminate information, and train lay and professional leaders. Based at AJC headquarters in New York, the Center will have ties to universities, other research institutes and professionals in the field.

The Center was originally proposed in a report "Sustaining the Jewish Family" issued by the Committee's Task Force on the Jewish Family. The report represented the culmination of three years' research and consultations.

The Task Force as well as AJC's National Committee on the Jewish Family, chaired by Howard F. Gilbert, are part of the ongoing work of AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Department,

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which convened two national as well as local and regional conferences during the research stage.

Having as its main objective to maintain and strengthen the American Jewish family, the Center will deal with all issues which affect the American family as well as the specific needs of the Jewish family.

E. Robert Goodkind, Chairman of AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Commission, announced that under the Center's sponsorship, several projects have already been initiated, including:

- * A Jewish Family Impact Questionnaire to help Jewish communal organizations -- synagogues, family service agencies, centers and others, to assess the impact of their policies and programs on family life.
- * A pilot study of two-career families, with two or more children in Washington, D.C.
- * Two conferences, one of which focuses on the development of general and Jewish identity in children from single parent and two-career families, the other on the historical evolution of the Jewish family.

In addition, the Center will begin regular publication next month of the National Jewish Family Center Newsletter, to serve as a clearinghouse for those whose research and program innovations are being developed to support family life. The newsletter will be issued three times a year.

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10/5/79
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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

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Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, Ca. 94106
415-772-5000
PRESS ROOM: State Room

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, Tv-Radio

FOR RELEASE AFTER 7 P.M.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1979

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25...A noted psychologist said today that American Jews, as they approach the 1980s, resemble other ethnic groups in the U.S., in that they are faced with the loss of traditional moorings from which to base their sense of self-identity.

In a presentation to a session of the American Jewish Committee's Jewish Communal Affairs Commission, Dr. Judith Weinstein Klein of Berkeley noted that "past generations of American Jews shared the immigrant experience, religious ritual and a collective fervor against anti-Semitism, as a basis for one's Jewish identity. Today's American Jews have a wide range of feelings about themselves as Jews, based on a number of variables."

The session, chaired by E. Robert Goodkind, Chairman of the Commission, was preliminary to the opening tomorrow of the National Executive Committee's top policy-making Council meeting being held here through Sunday.

Reporting on her two-year study "Ethnotherapy -- Healing Conflicts in Jewish Identity", Dr. Klein said that the "dilemma of Jewish group identity versus assimilation, conflicts in self-esteem, a strange family panic about intermarriage and many other concerns, still plague even the most alienated of Jews."

Dr. Klein's study in ethnotherapy, therapy that recognizes that a member of an ethnic minority views oneself based upon experiences within his or her ethnic milieu, was conducted among 120 Jews in the San Francisco Bay area.

The study indicated that a wide range of variables, including family memories, historical identifications, one's body image, and self-concept, were all variables that determine one's Jewish identity.

Dr. Klein noted that men and women who showed a positive Jewish identification "statistically shared a higher sense of self-esteem, lower level of self-denigration and were generally less alienated than those with a negative Jewish identification."

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Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees
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Among those sharing a positive sense of Jewish identity, Dr. Klein found that they displayed their feelings in varied ways, including:

- * Having Jews among closest friends;
- * Participating in family observances of Jewish holidays;
- * Accepting of their body image;
- * Associating valued personal traits such as intelligence and warmth with their Jewishness;
- * Expressed a desire to defend Israel;
- * Connected positively with the Jewish past by associating with a Jewish historical mythic figure.

"For individuals with negative Jewish identity," Dr. Klein noted, "the condition can often best be recognized and resolved through group ethnotherapy sessions."

The model for these groups was first developed by Dr. Price Cobbs in the early 1960's, when he explored whites' attitudes toward race and change of negative self-images among Blacks. While Dr. Cobbs' groups included Black-White confrontation among the dynamics, Dr. Klein's groups have developed dynamics of confrontation between Jews and the anti-Semite within them.

Dr. Klein pointed out that during the group ethnotherapy sessions, positive Jewish associations were at first forgotten under the weight of "negativism."

"Positive feelings, such as intelligence, warmth, sensitivity, survival expertise do emerge as the group discusses ideals. But in examining stereotypes, individuals are faced with the distance between one's sense of self, their ideal of self and the realization that for any minority group, ideals are often based on someone else's values," Dr. Klein explained.

"Group and self-pride are inextricably linked," Dr. Klein emphasized. "By developing an acceptance and positive outlook for one's ethnicity, self-acceptance becomes the logical result."

Yehuda Rosenman, Director of the AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Department, remarked that Dr. Klein's research on Jewish identity complimented past studies and upcoming activities of the department, including two retreats for AJC members in April, 1980, that will explore the participants' sense of Jewish identity through a series of consciousness-raising workshops.

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10/12/79
79-960-172
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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

October 25-28, 1979

Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, Ca. 94106
415-772-5000

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

FOR RELEASE AFTER 7 P.M.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1979

PRESS ROOM: State Room

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25....A prominent Mexican-American charged today that, the American public's view of Mexican-Americans was based largely on ignorance and misconceptions that will have to change as Chicanos begin to organize and become one of the largest minority groups in America during the 1980s.

Vilma S. Martinez, President and General Counsel of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), speaking this evening before the American Jewish Committee's Domestic Affairs Commission, noted that while various members of the media had begun to portray the Mexican-American community in a more balanced manner, traditionally most Mexican-Americans had been pictured as "illegal aliens or gang members" and had thus suffered the consequences of such stereotypes.

The session, chaired by Sholom Comay, Chairman of the Commission, was preliminary to the opening tomorrow of the Committee's top policy-making National Executive Council meeting, continuing through Sunday, at the Fairmont Hotel here.

Ms. Martinez emphasized that ignorance about Mexican-Americans was pervasive, adding that, "Because of the publicity surrounding 'illegal aliens,' most of whom are hard-working taxpayers, many Americans have distinct misconceptions about Mexican-Americans. I have spoken to many 'well-informed' people who think that all Mexican-Americans live near the border and that the majority of us are agricultural workers. In fact 80 per cent of us live and work in metropolitan areas across the country."

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"This obsession with undocumented aliens obscures attention that should be directed to the immediate concerns and needs of Mexican-American citizens in the United States: high unemployment, denial of voting rights in some parts of the country, high illness, mortality and drop-out rates. Daily, we have to fight to guarantee our children the bilingual education they need," Ms. Martinez added.

"This is not to say that we should ignore the issue of undocumented aliens," she said, "but we must look at the complexities of the issue. Study after study indicates that undocumented aliens are a boon to the economy, rather than a source of high unemployment."

Conservative estimates indicate there are 12 million Hispanic-Americans in the United States today. But Ms. Martinez indicated in her address "Hispanics: Soon America's Largest Minority", that the number may be closer to 15 million, and that according to the U.S. Census Bureau Hispanics will be the nation's largest minority in the near future.

Seymour Samet, AJC Staff Director of the Domestic Affairs Department, said that, "We are aware that the intergroup relations agenda needs to give considerable prominence to the concerns of Hispanic-Americans. Accordingly, AJC is planning to allocate additional resources for joint efforts in areas of mutual concern."

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10/17/79
79-960-176
A, ETH, NPL

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

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Fairmont Hotel
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CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

FOR RELEASE AFTER 7 P.M.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1979

PRESS ROOM: State Room

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25...Despite a serious effort by Oberammergau town officials to cleanse the 350-year-old Passion Play of its anti-Jewish polemic and prejudice, the drama remains "structurally anti-Semitic." It continues to malign Jewish law, to depict the Judaism of Jesus' time as corrupt and punitive, and to dramatize those Gospel sources which cast the most negative light on Jewish motives and actions.

These conclusions emerge from the latest line-by-line analysis of the revised 1980 Oberammergau Passion Play published by the Inter-religious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee. The findings of the study, entitled "Oberammergau 1980-Progress and Problems," were made public here today at a meeting of the AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission, whose national chairman is Robert S. Jacobs of Chicago. The Commission is meeting in connection with the AJC's National Executive Council sessions, continuing through Sunday at the Fairmont Hotel here.

In presenting the study's findings to Commission members from throughout the country, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's national interreligious affairs director, who met with Oberammergau officials on four successive occasions since 1977, declared:

"Our systematic study of the 1980 text finds that a number of significant passages, scenes, and languages changes have been made which correspond in detail to the findings of the German-language analysis which AJC delegations submitted to the Oberammergau Town Council and discussed with them during our four meetings in 1977, 1978, and 1979. The removal of these anti-Jewish passages are to be welcomed. Nevertheless, the overriding conclusion of our (more)

latest study is: 'As it stands, the drama retains an anti-Jewish impact despite the well-intentioned efforts of those who have revised it.'

Conducted by Judith H. Banki, AJC assistant interreligious director, the study analyzes in detail major problem themes or areas in the 1980 text, and comes to these general conclusions:

"Faced with the formidable task of removing the anti-Semitism from a structurally anti-Semitic drama, those who revised the script for the 1980 performance of the Oberammergau Passion Play have tried to accomplish this end largely through judicious cutting. They have made a serious effort to cleanse the play of accusations of collective Jewish guilt and rejection, and of anti-Jewish polemic and prejudice. They have deleted the explicit allegations in the 1960 and 1970 text that God has rejected the Jewish people and ended His covenant with them. They have removed many of the most blatant expressions of sadism, vengefulness and greed on the part of the traders (in the Temple), the priests and 'the people.' They have added an introductory exhortation cautioning each spectator to 'recognize himself as guilty in what happened...'

"Unfortunately," the AJC study continues, "these well-meaning modifications are undermined by the drama itself, for the way in which the story unfolds and develops has not been basically altered. ... Thus, the Jewish religious leaders of the time are all lumped together as hateful enemies of Jesus who cynically manipulate the populace into a screaming mob, and who hound Jesus to the cross and derive joyful satisfaction from his condemnation and suffering. The merchants, though their importance has been diminished (in this text), still play their non-Biblical role.

"Pilate is still portrayed as a sympathetic weakling, forced into condemning Jesus by the cruel Jews against his will. Jewish law is still depicted falsely as harsh and punitive. The Jewish people still call down the blood curse upon themselves and their children. In short, revision of the Oberammergau drama has taken the form of substantial cutting, but not of essential rethinking. The traditional anti-Jewish polemic which shaped the original text has not been examined, nor have the insights of current Biblical and extra-Biblical scholarship been incorporated into the dynamics of the play.

"To provide a historical background based on contemporary Biblical scholarship would require far more profound structural changes in the
(more)

Oberammergau Passion Play than are found in the present revised text, despite its significant improvement over earlier versions. It would require a basically different orientation to the major characters in the drama and the way they interact....Whether or not the present format of the Passion Play can be adapted to accommodate these realities is an open question," the study concludes.

Rabbi Tanenbaum reported that "significantly, a leading Catholic priest-scholar in Germany, Father Wilm Sanders of Hamburg, who is a member of the Ecumenical Study Commission of the German Catholic Bishops Conference and German Coordinator for the Societies for Christian-Jewish Relations, has completed his own study of the 1980 revised text, and his conclusions coincide with those of the American Jewish Committee study. These are summarized in his words:

"The play for 1980 is certainly not the play for all of the future, nor has Oberammergau taken seriously its opportunity to share in the changed understanding of the relationship between Jews and Judaism to a large part of Christendom as our ecumenical study group formulated in 1970.

"With abbreviations and the change of words alone, there is no positive message and this is, of course, the declared goal of those to whom the continued existence of the Passion Play is of heartfelt concern. You cannot do it in a single sentence in the prologue."

Mr. Jacobs observed that "there is a very substantial group of the younger generation of Oberammergau villagers with whom AJC has met several times since 1977 who share our convictions and who continue to refuse to act in the revised 1980 Passion Play because of its fundamental anti-Jewish structure and themes. Their convictions are increasingly shared by thousands of German young people, 'the next generation,' who made their views known during their reactions to the recent showing of 'Holocaust' on German educational television. It is likely that in 1984, the 35th anniversary of the Oberammergau Passion Play, there will be a special performance. And it is the hope of the reformers that the younger Oberammergau actors will take that occasion to produce a significantly improved Rosner text. They informed the AJC of their hope that 1980 will be the last time that the anti-Jewish Daisenberger script will be performed."

Mr. Jacobs added, "AJC believes that the Jewish community, and all people of good will who oppose prejudice, have an obligation to support these progressive and democratic elements in Oberammergau and in German society generally, and not to contribute to undermining their struggle to combat the religious sources of anti-Semitism in German society by giving
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our imprimatur to an essentially anti-Jewish play. We are hopeful that our study will constitute a vital contribution to that worthy objective."

Rabbi Tanenbaum announced that the AJC study was being published in German by the Bavarian Catholic Academy in Munich and would be distributed to the German and international press as well as to tourists who will be attending the 1980 performance.

"Through the wide dissemination of our Oberammergau study," he said, "it is our hope to raise the consciousness of the many people who will view the play and thereby hopefully immunize them against the bacillus of anti-Semitism which still lurks in this unfortunate production."

The AJC delegation to Oberammergau consisted of: Miles Jaffe, then national chairman of the Interreligious Affairs Commission; Richard Weiss, chairman of the AJC Chapter in Los Angeles and a leader in interreligious affairs; William Trosten, director of AJC Development who is fluent in German and who spent years in Bavaria with the American Military Government; Zachariah Shuster, of Paris, consultant in interreligious affairs in Europe; and Rabbi Tanenbaum.

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10/19/79
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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOM: State Room

FOR RELEASE AFTER 10:30 A.M.
Thursday, October 25, 1979

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25...A leading Sovietologist warned today that the fight to determine a successor to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev could result in a heightened media campaign portraying Soviet Jews as a "fifth column" in Soviet society.

Speaking at a news conference of the American Jewish Committee, whose National Executive Council holds its annual meeting through Sunday here at the Fairmont Hotel, Dr. Alexander Yanov, Fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities and Soviet specialist at the Berkeley Institute of International Studies, noted that Soviet leaders in the 1980s face a "biological crisis" because of their advanced age.

"The crisis to determine a new leadership will develop in two stages," he predicted. "First, competing leaders will present their ideological strategies for the Soviet Union, over a period of four to five years, and only then will a successor be named." During this period, he said, the entire current leadership, from Brezhnev, Soviet President, on down will be replaced.

"The fate of millions among the ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union, Jew and non-Jew will, be decided during this period," Dr. Yanov added. "Soviet Jews have traditionally been viewed as a 'fifth column' in Soviet society, and one may expect inflammatory media campaigns that are reminiscent of the anti-Jewish campaigns in Germany prior to the Holocaust, which are clearly aimed to the basest instincts of the population."

The news conference served as a report of an all-day consultation yesterday (Wednesday, Oct. 24), sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and coordinated by David Geller, its Director of European Affairs, at the University of California at Berkeley.

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Richard Maass, President; Waynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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This conference discussed the current political situation in the Soviet Union, and offered a projection of Soviet policy after Brezhnev and the impact of such policy on Soviet Jews.

Participating in the news conference with Dr. Yanov were Dr. Philip Siegelman, Chairman of AJC's Bay Area International Affairs Committee and Chairman of San Francisco State University's Political Science Department, and Rita Hauser, attorney, former U.S. Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission, and Chairman of AJC's Foreign Affairs Department.

Participants at the consultation included Professors Morris Pripstein and Andrew M. Sessler, representing Scientists for Orlov and Shcharansky, (SOS), discussing the role US-USSR scholarly exchanges play as a pressure point or lever in influencing Soviet behavior; Professor Paul Seabury, University of California, Berkeley, who discussed the international context of the Soviet Jewry issue; Dr. Vladimir Shlyapentoch, a newly arrived Soviet emigre, who analyzed the Soviet public opinion on the Jewish question and the conversions of Jewish intellectuals to Russian orthodoxy; as well as comments by noted Sovietologists, Professors Gregory Grossman, Reginald Zelnick, Maurice Friedberg, former AJC consultant on Soviet Jewish affairs, Dr. Abraham Becker and Leonid Khotin.

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10/15/79
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NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

October 25-28, 1979
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, Ca. 94106

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOM: State Room

FOR RELEASE: Friday October 26, 1979
10:30 A.M.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 26...The "not welcome" sign has been dropped at Reform Jewish congregations across the United States and Canada to non-Jewish partners of intermarried couples and those seeking information on the conversion process to Judaism, according to Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, central body of Reform Judaism in the United States and Canada.

At a news conference here today, in advance of his address tomorrow before a plenary session of the American Jewish Committee's top policy-making National Executive Council, meeting here through Sunday, Rabbi Schindler pointed out that since his call last year for an outreach program to seek converts to the Jewish faith, congregations have developed and initiated programs that reach out to those drawn to Judaism.

"In many congregations, converts to Judaism are teaching classes, and discussion groups geared to the specific needs of converts and their families have been implemented to discuss problems they have encountered within their families and from friends," Rabbi Schindler said. "We may reject intermarriage, but we cannot turn away the intermarried."

"Since my original proposal," he added, "I have received thousands of letters from non-Jews who are glad we have dropped our 'exclusivity status' and wish information on programs in their area in which they can be involved."

While Rabbi Schindler noted that the message of Judaism in today's "market place of ideas" was one that has attracted men and women from every walk of life, one must be mindful of the needs and rights of all faiths in a pluralistic society, he added.

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"I would not support any proselyzation program that is accomplished through coercion, that is based on brainwashing rather than education, that denigrates another faith or guarantees an individual's salvation," he explained. "An outreach program cannot be conducted as a religious circus."

Two staff directors of the American Jewish Committee appeared with Rabbi Schindler.

Yehuda Rosenman, Director of the Jewish Communal Affairs Department, suggested that it was "far more imperative to direct resources and concentrate efforts toward making Jewishness more meaningful to 'unsynagogued' Jews to retain them within the Jewish community."

"Clearly synagogues and Jewish communal agencies should improve their efforts to welcome converts, make them feel more comfortable, and integrate them within the Jewish community," Mr. Rosenman declared.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director of AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department, pointed out that in the United States today, "a deeply felt, unarticulated need exists for moral and spiritual orientation that gives meaning and depth to the human existence." He added:

"When the unchurched seek conversion to Judaism, we should seek to assure that they come to the Jewish faith because they seek to commit themselves to its affirmations, not simply because they reject their parents' religion. In addition, hand in hand, we must continue to build within the Jewish people, among all branches of Judaism, while sharing our mutual respect with others who freely determine to share the fate and destiny of the Jewish people."

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

10/11/79
79-960-169
A, EJP, REL, CP. PP

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

October 25-28, 1979

Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, Ca. 94106
415-772-5000

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

FOR RELEASE AFTER 1 P.M.
FRIDAY, OCT. 26, 1979

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 26....Yitzhak Rabin, former Prime Minister of Israel and former Israeli Ambassador to the United States, declared today that:

- * Israel's partner for the peacemaking process should be King Hussein's Jordan;
- * The basis for the negotiations should be the Camp David agreement;
- * Instead of autonomy on the West Bank during the transitional period, the solution should be Jordanian-Israeli trusteeship for that period.

Mr. Rabin made his statements at a luncheon session of the American Jewish Committee's policy-making National Executive Council, on the opening day of its annual meeting, continuing through Sunday at the Fairmont Hotel here.

"The permanent settlement," Mr. Rabin continued, "should be in the context of having a Jordanian-Palestinian state east of Israel that will include the densely Arab-populated areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while Israel retains the security zones along the Jordan Valley, greater Jerusalem, Gush Etzion and the southern part of the Gaza Strip."

Assessing the role of the Camp David accord in leading to peace in the Middle East, Mr. Rabin stated that its primary value was in helping Egypt and Israel "reach an agreement on what should be the basis of the peace-making process."

He pointed out, however, that it had not made any significant progress in settling the "total disagreement that exists between Israel and Egypt on every key issue." He cited these as "the question of sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip; the specific boundary lines; the fate of Jerusalem; the future of the settlements; and the future of the military deployment of the Israeli defense forces in the West Bank." -more-

Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 41 rue Paul Doumer, 75016, Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel
Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. E. National 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

"What Camp David did accomplish," he said, "was to help us recognize these differences and agree to tackle them five to seven years in the future."

Mr. Rabin stressed his belief in the importance of the transitional five-to-seven-year period, pointing out that it should be utilized for an attempt to cooperate with Jordan concerning governance of the West Bank.

He declared his conviction that King Hussein would eventually be willing to cooperate in this plan because he believes that the Jordanian ruler would not welcome the possible alternative of a Palestinian state on his border.

Concerning the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Rabin stated that he saw no value in trying to engage in conversations with its members since their sole agenda was the establishment of a Palestinian state, to which Israel is firmly opposed.

The Israeli Labor party statesman, who was Commander of the Israel Defense Forces in the 1967 Six-Day War, and succeeded Golda Meir as Prime Minister, maintained that, regardless of other differences, there was a national consensus among Israel's major political parties in regard to four issues involved in the peace making process. He listed them as follows:

- * "No withdrawal to the pre-Six-Day War lines;"
- * "Total opposition to a Palestinian state;"
- * "No negotiations with the P.L.O.;"
- * "No division of Jerusalem."

Mr. Rabin is the author of a newly published book titled "The Rabin Memoirs," issued by Little, Brown and Company, in which he traces the course of his life from his early years as a commander in the Palmach during the British Mandate period until today.

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10/17/79
79-960-175

A, COL, EJP, FOR

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

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October 25-28, 1979
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San Francisco, Ca. 94106
415-772-5000

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

FOR RELEASE AFTER 11 A.M.
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1979

PRESS ROOM: State Room

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 26...The executive head of the American Jewish Committee, looking ahead to the 1980's, today expressed guarded optimism about the current situation in the Middle East for the short run, saying that the Israeli-Egyptian peace process is taken so much for granted that "it is hard to realize the enormity of this development."

Speaking at the opening session of the annual meeting of the AJC's National Executive Council, continuing through Sunday at the Fairmont Hotel here, Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President, reminded his 500 listeners from around the U.S. that:

- * In January 1980, Israel will make another withdrawal from the Sinai;
- * In February, diplomatic relations between Israel and Egypt will begin;
- * "Quietly but effectively," an Israeli-Egyptian infrastructure is being built.

"There is little doubt in my mind," he said, "that for the next two years or so that it will take for the rest of the Sinai to be returned to Egypt, President Sadat will not find it in his country's interest to derail the negotiations."

He added that the United States, "despite its vacillation," seems to be willing to permit the negotiations between Israel and Egypt to proceed "without pushing either of them beyond where they are prepared to go."

In assessing the 1970s, Mr. Gold pointed out that the decade had led to an absorption in self, along with "a greater openness and honesty in inter-personal relations, and a definition of success that involves more than personal wealth and power over the lives of others."

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Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 41 rue Paul Doumer, 75016, Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel
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As for the absorption in self, Mr. Gold stressed that this in turn has led to "a new concentration on group identity, on ethnic assertiveness, the 'roots' phenomenon, the New Pluralism" -- activities in which the American Jewish Committee has played a leading role.

The crisis of identity that the country faced as we entered the 1970s, Mr. Gold added, brought on not only a new ethnic awareness but also "an explosion of new demands" for group rights.

"Today we hear so many claims concerning women's rights, gay rights, consumer rights, environmental rights, aged rights, that the notion of individual rights has almost been lost in the shuffle," Mr. Gold said.

"There is no denying that we have witnessed, out of this movement, a sharp increase in divisiveness, fragmentation, and single-issue politics. That is why our emphasis in recent years has been on the fact that while we are many we must also be one; that the pluralism which permits us the full exercise of our own religions and cultural heritage must not obscure the need for a common culture that gives unity to our diversity."

This search for identity, he went on, has had an important impact on Jewish attitudes and behavior, as shown by these phenomena:

- * A burgeoning of Jewish studies programs in universities all over the country, and a marked increase in scholarly Jewish publications.

- * A marked increase in synagogue and temple membership, and, "even more significantly, a clear reaching out for spiritual values."

- * An increase in the intensity of Jewish education, as seen by the growth of Jewish day schools.

- * A proliferation of Jewish religious fellowships -- the havurot -- both inside and out of the synagogues. "This movement has involved young singles and young married families seeking to rediscover their Jewishness, to study the Jewish heritage, to celebrate Jewish holidays together and to create small, intimate Jewish communities."

Turning to the Black community, likewise affected by the new ethnicity, Mr. Gold acknowledged that recent differences between Blacks and Jews following the resignation of Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, has had an impact on the situation in the Middle East.

"The most serious consequence of these sad events," he said, "has been a renewed internationalization of political anti-Semitism, moving it out of the domestic area into the Third World and the Middle East."

He pointed to "the intensity and the pervasiveness of the anger expressed by Blacks" over that resignation because he was "the one Black figure who most eloquently symbolised Black achievement of status in the U.S."

"Nevertheless," he added, "the anti-Semitism through which that rage was expressed has appalled us."

But even in this area Mr. Gold found some hope for optimism. "In many communities, long-standing Black-Jewish relationships have been maintained and even strengthened in the face of this crisis," he said.

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10/12/79
79-960-170
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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

October 25-28
Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco, California 94106
415-772-5000

CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOM: State Room

FOR RELEASE AFTER 7 P.M.
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1979

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 27 ... Richard Maass, President of the American Jewish Committee, tonight welcomed the entry of American black leaders and their organizations into the realm of international rights, but he noted that some who have recently become leading advocates of the Palestine Liberation Organization "have been conspicuously absent in word and deed" from the ranks of those protesting violations of human rights and human life perpetrated against blacks and Asians throughout the world.

"It is this selective response to the grossest violations of human decency which is so disturbing," he told the annual dinner of the Committee's National Executive Council, whose annual meeting closes tomorrow at the Fairmont Hotel here.

"The life of a black African Christian, a Cambodian refugee, a Vietnamese boat person, a Lebanese Christian must be as dear to the human family as the Israeli school-child who is murdered by a P.L.O. terrorist," he went on. "Those who embrace the P.L.O., turning their back to the inhumanity of that group, have rejected the fundamental roots of our Judeo Christian civilization and unleashed the forces of bigotry in this country and abroad."

In reviewing the status of human rights around the world, Mr. Maass said that the situation in the Soviet Union pictures mixed trends. "While Soviet officials have increased the level of Soviet Jews emigrating, recent refusals of exit permits to Ukrainian Jews in recent months may be the harbinger of a broader more restrictive policy," he said.

Mr. Maass also cited the case of Argentinian publisher and editor Jacob Timerman, who attended the Committee's Award Dinner to receive the AJC's Institute of Human Relations Mass Media Award. "His release is one, although a major one, of several recent gestures by Argentinian authorities indicating their desire to steer the country to a more democratic path. But there is still much to be done on behalf of prisoners still in jail and somehow identifying thousands of others who have disappeared."

The American Jewish leader also praised President Carter's offensive for human rights, which has had "an impact on the world and should not be abandoned. If this planet is not to degenerate into a homicidal orgy of self-destruction, the democratic leaders of this and other nations, whose respect for human rights is deeply ingrained in the political and social fabric of their systems, must continue to speak out and to point the finger of accusation and act as the conscience of humanity," he said.

However, Mr. Maass chided the United States Senate for its failure to ratify the conventions on genocide and racial discrimination, and the covenants on civil and political rights and on economic and social rights.

"Even recognizing that many of the nations which have signed these agreements are in daily, hypocritical violation of them does not excuse our country's failure to ratify them," he said, adding that "we must use all our influence to convince the Senate to ratify them."

Mr. Maass' address followed the presentation of the AJC's Distinguished Leadership Award to San Francisco philanthropist Benjamin H. Swig and preceded an address by nationally syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft.

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CONTACT: Natalie Flatow, Press
Frances Rosenberg, TV-Radio

PRESS ROOM: State Room

FOR RELEASE AFTER 10:30 A.M.
SATURDAY, OCT. 27, 1979

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 27....Jacob Timerman, the Argentine publisher and editor who was recently expelled from his country after spending a year in prison and a year and a half in house arrest, today urged the American Jewish Committee to continue its world-wide work in human rights and to expand its activities in that area to those countries it might not yet have reached.

Mr. Timerman asserted that organizations like the American Jewish Committee "had more influence than governments" and that they could "save more lives, establish bases for co-existence better than any of the decisions of the innumerable political organizations that exist and reproduce themselves ad infinitum."

He made his remarks at a news conference held in connection with the annual meeting of the AJC's National Executive Council, which continues through tomorrow at the Fairmont Hotel here.

Mr. Timerman's comments at the news conference were a preview of the response he will make tonight at the National Executive Council's gala dinner, when he will receive the Mass Media Award of AJC's Institute of Human Relations. The award will cite him for "his courageous commitment to the principles of freedom of the press by consistently denouncing, in the face of great personal danger, those factions in Argentina responsible for violations of basic human rights."

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La Opinion, the liberal, intellectual, pro-Zionist, daily newspaper that Mr. Timerman published in Buenos Aires, had criticized openly the corrupt regime of Isabel Peron and the activities of a notorious terrorist group, and had called for a coup. As a result, the paper was shut down by the government for ten days. When President Peron was indeed deposed by a military coup in March 1976, La Opinion supported the military junta, but was critical of some of its internal security methods and acts of terrorism.

A little more than a year later, Timerman was kidnapped from his home, thrown into prison, tortured, subjected to intensive interrogations, and charged with involvement in a notorious Argentinian financial scandal. When a military tribunal declared in October, 1977, that it had no proof of the charges against him, he was removed from prison and placed under house arrest. Argentina's Supreme Court twice ruled that there were no judicial grounds against him, and that he should be set free. When the court announced its second ruling last month, and after many protestations to the junta from international, national and private organizations such as the AJC, Timerman was released from house arrest and summarily expelled from Argentina. He sought and received immediate citizenship in Israel. His former paper is now operated by the military junta.

At his news conference today, Mr. Timerman paid tribute to the role that was played by the intercession of others in his behalf. He stated:

"In recent years, we have found it impossible to predict the future of human rights, the options man may have on this earth, because irrational persecution and intolerance appear suddenly in the most unexpected countries. We have seen the downfall of powerful governments and great institutions, such as the United Nations, in the fight for human rights and against intolerance. For profound political reasons or circumstantial motives, they have often abandoned their obligations and their promises.

"But we have never seen the American Jewish Committee abandon the fight or its basic principles. After the experience I have lived through, I can better understand that the moral courage of this organization has had more influence than governments -- that it can save more lives, establish bases for co-existence better than any of the decisions of the innumerable political organizations that exist and reproduce themselves ad infinitum.

"I call on the AJC to extend its organization to more countries, to assume an even larger responsibility than it now does, because it is the fight for human rights that is able to break the barriers, if we so desire, to build a civilization worthy of man."

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79-760-178
10/18/79
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

OCTOBER 26, 1979

BERTRAM H. GOLD

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MY FIRST ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL -- THEN KNOWN AS THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD -- WAS HERE IN SAN FRANCISCO, TWELVE YEARS AGO, IN THIS VERY HOTEL AND IN THIS APPROPRIATELY NAMED ROOM. I AM GLAD TO SEE THAT TIME HAS NOT TARNISHED ITS LUSTER. I WISH I COULD SAY THE SAME ABOUT A NUMBER OF THE HOPES AND DREAMS WE TALKED ABOUT THAT DAY.

WE WERE MEETING, LET ME REMIND YOU, JUST A FEW MONTHS AFTER THE SIX DAY WAR WHEN WE ALL FELT MUCH TALLER AND MUCH MORE CONFIDENT BECAUSE OF ISRAEL'S GLORIOUS VICTORY. I SAID TO YOU, "IF, IN THE STRAINS OF AMERICAN CULTURAL THOUGHT, THERE HAVE BEEN ALTERNATING 'HERO' AND 'DEVIL' IMAGES OF THE JEW, CERTAINLY THE HERO IMAGE IS TODAY IN THE ASCENDENCY. IN A VERY BRIEF PERIOD OF TIME WE HAVE MOVED FROM BEING MENASHA SKULNIKS TO BEING CHARLTON HESTONS."

YET THE TITLE OF MY ADDRESS WAS NEW DIMENSIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, AND I WARNED THAT "DESPITE THIS OPTIMISM, THERE IS AN UNEASY, PERSISTENTLY NAGGING DOUBT THAT PLAGUES US. THERE IS A WORRISOME APPREHENSION WHICH WE FIND DIFFICULT TO ARTICULATE."

HOW MUCH MORE ~~WE~~ WE HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT TODAY! NOT ONLY ARE ALL THE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES I POINTED TO IN DECEMBER OF 1967 STILL VERY MUCH WITH US, THEY ARE, IN MANY WAYS MORE AGGRAVATED THAN THEY WERE THEN, AND THERE ARE NEW ONES WE NEVER THOUGHT ABOUT TWELVE YEARS AGO. DURING THESE 12 YEARS WE WITNESSED THE MURDER OF THE

NATION'S MOST EFFECTIVE AND MOST CHARISMATIC BLACK LEADER. WE WITNESSED A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, CAUGHT IN A VIETNAM QUAGMIRE LARGELY OF HIS OWN MAKING, LITERALLY FORCED TO WITHDRAW FROM A PRESIDENTIAL RACE, AND WE WITNESSED THE ASSASSINATION IN FULL VIEW OF THE TELEVISION CAMERAS, OF HIS PARTY'S LEADING CONTENDER TO REPLACE HIM IN THAT OFFICE.

WE WITNESSED ANOTHER PRESIDENT TEARFULLY RESIGNING HIS OFFICE AFTER THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED THREE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST HIM.

WE WITNESSED ISRAEL ATTACKED FOR THE FOURTH TIME IN HER SHORT AND PRECARIOUS HISTORY, AND THIS TIME ALMOST BROUGHT TO HER KNEES.

WE WITNESSED THE AWESOME RISE OF ARAB POWER IN THE WORLD, THE OIL AND PETRODOLLAR CRISES, AND THE CONCOMMITANT POLITICAL ISOLATION OF ISRAEL.

WE WITNESSED RISING JEWISH INSECURITY HERE AND ABROAD.

AND WE ARE NOW WITNESSING THE AFTERMATH OF THE ANDREW YOUNG AFFAIR.

A DOZEN YEARS AGO I TALKED OF "NAGGING DOUBTS" AND "APPREHENSIONS DIFFICULT TO ARTICULATE." THERE IS NO DIFFICULTY IN ARTICULATING OUR ANGUISH TODAY.

THE EVENTS THAT I HAVE SO BRIEFLY REVIEWED BROUGHT CHANGES IN AMERICAN AND JEWISH LIFE THAT HAVE HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT ON OUR THINKING AND ON OUR WORK. I WANT TO DISCUSS THESE CHANGES WITH YOU TODAY, BUT FIRST PERMIT ME A FEW CAVEATS.

THE FIRST IS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LONG VIEW. WE TEND TO MEASURE THE FLOW OF EVENTS IN TEN-YEAR PERIODS--THE DECADES OF THE 60s, THE 70s AND NOW THE COMING 80s. BUT BASIC SOCIETAL CHANGES GENERALLY DON'T HAPPEN THAT FAST; MORE OFTEN THEY BECOME CLEAR FROM ONE GENERATION TO ANOTHER. IT TAKES ABOUT 30 YEARS FOR A CHILD TO SUCCEED HIS PARENT, AND I SUSPECT THAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHANGES WHICH BEGAN IN THE MIDDLE SIXTIES WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE THEMSELVES FELT THROUGH THE EIGHTIES AND BEYOND.

MY SECOND CAVEAT IS MORE IN THE NATURE OF A GENTLE WARNING. THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT APPROACHING A NEW DECADE THAT STIMULATES VOICES OF DOOM. I LIKE TO READ COMMENCEMENT ADDRESSES, AND I FIND THIS END-OF-THE-DECADE HANDWRINGING TO BE A RECURRENT THEME IN THE WARNING IMPRECATIONS THAT THE OLD OFFER THE YOUNG GOING OUT INTO THE WORLD. AS WE ENTERED THE 1920s, RAYMOND FOSDICK, THE THEN-PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION TOLD THE GRADUATING CLASS OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE, "WE SEE NOW THE ABYSS UPON THE EDGE OF WHICH THE RACE IS STANDING. WE SEE THE INEVITABLE DOOM THAT LIES AHEAD..."

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1930s, ROBERT HUTCHINS, IN HIS COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DECLARED: "THE WORLD WE HAVE CREATED IS TOO MUCH FOR US...THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE RACE HAS FAILED BEFORE THE PROBLEMS THE RACE HAS RAISED."

AND A DECADE LATER, IN 1940, THE POET W.H. AUDEN CARRIED THIS PESSIMISM A STEP FURTHER. "ALL FREEDOM IMPLIES SUFFERING", HE TOLD THE SPELLBOUND YOUNG GRADUATES OF SMITH COLLEGE. "THE ONLY SUFFERING THAT CAN BE AVOIDED IS THE TERROR OF RUNNING AWAY FROM IT..."

AND SO IT GOES--THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THAT WISE FRENCH PROVERB TELLS US, THE MORE THEY REMAIN THE SAME.

ONE FINAL CAVEAT. THE MORE COMPLEX THE ISSUES OF OUR TIME ARE, THE MORE LIKELY WE ARE TO VIEW THEM IN TERMS OF OUR INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE AND FRAME OF REFERENCE. THUS, ONE NOTED HISTORIAN, ARTHUR SCHLESSINGER, DESCRIBES THE DECADE OF THE 60S AS "THE BIRTH PANGS OF A NEW EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF MAN," WHILE ANOTHER NOTED HISTORIAN, RICHARD HOFSTADTER, CALLS THE SAME PERIOD "THE AGE OF RUBBISH." THE SAME DIFFERENCE IN ASSESSMENT WILL NO DOUBT BE EXPRESSED WHEN ANALYSTS LOOK BACK AT THE 70s. YOU PAYS YOUR MONEY AND YOU TAKES YOUR CHOICE.

MY OWN VIEW IS THAT THE EVENTS OF THE 60S MARKEDLY SHAPED THE VALUES OF THE 70s, AND THE CRISES AS WELL. TRUE, THE FLOWER CHILDREN OF THE 60S ARE NOW WEARING HALSTONS AND BUTTON DOWN COLLARS. TRUE, THE STUDENT REVOLUTION FIZZLED OUT, AND OUTER SEMBLANCES OF THE COUNTERCULTURE--THE LONG HAIR AND DISHEVELED BEARDS, THE KOOKY COMMUNES, THE ABBY HOFFMANS AND THE JERRY RUBINS--HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM THE SCENE. BUT MANY OF THE IDEAS PREVALENT TODAY ARE DIRECTLY TRACEABLE TO THAT COUNTERCULTURE.

THE VALUES OF THE DEPRESSION GENERATION, WHICH DOMINATED OUR THINKING IN THE 40S AND 50S WERE ESSENTIALLY PURITAN ONES--GETTING AHEAD, SELF-DENIAL FOR THE SAKE OF ONE'S FAMILY, A STRONG WORK ETHIC, RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY. THESE HAVE GIVEN WAY TO OTHER VALUES SUCH AS SELF-FULFILLMENT, SELF-GRATIFICATION AND SELF-EXPRESSION.

IN 1970, ACCORDING TO ALMOST A DECADE OF RESEARCH BY YANKELOVICH, SKELLY AND WHITE, LESS THAN HALF OF THE POPULATION HAD INCORPORATED

THESE NEW VALUES. BY THE MID 70s, THE FIGURE HAD GROWN TO 60 PERCENT; AND NOW, AS WE APPROACH THE 80s, THE RESEARCH INDICATES THAT "MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION HAS ACCEPTED THE NEW VALUES TO SOME EXTENT." THESE SHIFTING VALUES ARE RELATED--BOTH AS CAUSE AND AS EFFECT--TO THE MUCH-DISCUSSED LOSS OF AMERICAN POWER AND THE CORRESPONDING LACK OF CONFIDENCE ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN OUR GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS.

A RECENT NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL PUTS THE PROBLEM OF AMERICA'S DECLINING POWER MOST SUCCINCTLY. "A NATION THAT HAS LOST RELATIVE POWER TO OTHER NATIONS (AND NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION)," SAID THE TIMES, "LOST ITS COMPETITIVENESS IN MAJOR AREAS OF WORLD TRADE, LOST ITS ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND ENOUGH WEALTH TO REQUIRE AT LEAST A MODEST DECLINE IN ITS STANDARD OF LIVING, WILL NOT PULL OUT OF THE SLIDE WITHOUT ACKNOWLEDGING IT." THE TIMES EDITORIAL, ACCURATE AS IT IS, DOES NOT, IN MY JUDGMENT, GO FAR ENOUGH. THE PROBLEM LIES BEYOND MERE ACKNOWLEDGMENT. FOR EVEN AS WE RECOGNIZE THE LIMITS OF AMERICAN POWER WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS POWER IS STILL IMMENSE, AND THAT ITS DELIBERATE AND SELECTED USE IS THE KEY TO MAINTAINING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD. A NATION WHICH POSSESSES GREAT POWER AND ACTS AS THOUGH IT DOESN'T, RAISES DOUBTS NOT ONLY ABOUT ITS STRENGTH BUT ALSO ABOUT ITS CHARACTER. AND THOSE DOUBTS WILL BE FELT NOT ONLY BY OTHER NATIONS, BUT ALSO, EVEN IF UNCONSCIOUSLY, BY ITS OWN CITIZENS.

THE MISTRUST AND THE WIDESPREAD QUESTIONING OF AMERICAN POWER AND THE FALTERING CONFIDENCE THAT FOLLOWED VIETNAM AND WATERGATE,

HELPED LEAD TO THE NEW ABSORPTION IN SELF THAT I MENTIONED EARLIER. AND THIS IN TURN WAS FOLLOWED BY A NEW CONCENTRATION ON GROUP IDENTITY, ON ETHNIC ASSERTIVENESS, THE "ROOTS" PHENOMENON, THE NEW PLURALISM.

IN HIS BOOK THE ONE AND THE MANY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HISTORIAN ARTHUR MANN WRITES "THE PRIME MOVER OF THE NEW PLURALIST MOVEMENT WAS THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE...IT WAS THE FIRST OLD-LINE LIBERAL ORGANIZATION TO WARN THAT AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION WAS BUILDING UP IN NORTHERN CITIES BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE ETHNICS. INASMUCH AS THAT SITUATION INVOLVED JEWS, AS THE NEW YORK TEACHERS STRIKE DRAMATIZED, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE RESPONDED TO THE URBAN CRISIS OUT OF SELF INTEREST." "BY THE 1960s" CONTINUES MANN "THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAD OUTGROWN ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE, DATING FROM ITS FOUNDING IN 1906, OF DEFENDING ONLY JEWISH RIGHTS. IT OPERATED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT NO MINORITY WAS SAFE UNLESS ALL WERE...LINKED SINCE WORLD WAR II WITH THE INTER-CONNECTED WORLDS OF THE UNIVERSITIES, PUBLISHING, THE FOUNDATIONS AND GOVERNMENT, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE RANKED AS THE COUNTRY'S MOST INFLUENTIAL VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION IN THE PROMOTION OF INTERGROUP HARMONY..."

PROFESSOR MANN GOES ON TO DESCRIBE IN SOME DETAIL OUR DE-POLARIZATION WORK AND THE PROGRAMS OF OUR NATIONAL PROJECT ON ETHNIC AMERICA, THE PREDECESSOR OF OUR INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY. "FROM THE OUTSET OF ITS DEPOLARIZATION ACTIVITIES" MANN WRITES, "THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE DECLARED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO MOVE FROM 'EPITHETS TO ANALYSIS'. AND HERE IT TURNED TO THE

UNIVERSITIES FOR HELP...THE RESULT WAS A NUMBER OF POSITION PAPERS ON THE MULTI-ETHNIC TEXTURE OF NORTHERN CITIES AND ON SUCH SOURCES OF WHITE-ETHNIC UNHAPPINESS AS ECONOMIC INSECURITY, RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE, FRUSTRATION AND OBSOLETE INSTITUTIONS."

I HAVE QUOTED EXTENSIVELY FROM PROFESSOR MANN BECAUSE I LIKE WHAT HE SAYS ABOUT THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE--AS I HOPE YOU DO. BUT QUITE APART FROM SUCH SELF-GRATIFICATION, I WANT TO IMPRESS UPON YOU THE IMPORTANT ROLE WE HAVE PLAYED IN THIS MOVEMENT EVEN THOUGH IT HAS NOT BEEN AN UNMITIGATED SUCCESS.

THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY WHICH OUR COUNTRY FACED AS WE ENTERED THE 70s, BROUGHT NOT ONLY A NEW ETHNIC AWARENESS, BUT ALSO AN EXPLOSION OF NEW DEMANDS FOR GROUP RIGHTS. TODAY WE HEAR SO MANY CLAIMS CONCERNING WOMEN'S RIGHTS, GAY RIGHTS, CONSUMER RIGHTS, ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS, AGED RIGHTS--THAT THE NOTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS HAS ALMOST BEEN LOST IN THE SHUFFLE. AND GROUP INTERESTS HAVE, AT TIMES, OVERSHADOWED THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

WE, OF COURSE, HAVE SOUGHT TO INFLUENCE AND MOLD THE NEW PLURALISM BY SEARCHING OUT BRIDGE ISSUES AND SEEKING CONSENSUS MODELS INSTEAD OF CONFLICT MODELS. BUT THERE IS NO DENYING THAT IN SPITE OF SOME PROMISING WORK IN BUILDING NEW COALITIONS, THERE HAS BEEN A SHARP INCREASE IN DIVISIVENESS, FRAGMENTATION AND SINGLE ISSUE POLITICS. THAT IS WHY OUR EMPHASIS IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN ON THE FACT THAT WHILE WE ARE MANY WE MUST ALSO BE ONE; THAT THE PLURALISM WHICH PERMITS US THE FULL EXERCISE OF OUR OWN RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE MUST NOT OBSCURE THE NEED FOR A COMMON CULTURE THAT GIVES UNITY TO OUR DIVERSITY.

THE SEARCH FOR IDENTITY AND THE ASSERTIONS OF ETHNIC SELF INTEREST HAVE ALSO HAD AN IMPORTANT IMPACT ON JEWISH ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR. WE, TOO, TURNED INWARD AND BEGAN TO SEARCH MORE INTENSIVELY FOR OUR OWN IDENTITY. TWELVE YEARS AGO, WHEN I LAST SPOKE TO YOU HERE, AMERICAN JEWS WERE STARVED, SPIRITUALLY AND CULTURALLY, AND WHAT IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THIS STARVATION WAS NOT CAUSING MOST OF US MUCH PAIN. IN FACT, WE WERE NOT EVEN AWARE THAT WE WERE HUNGRY. OVER THESE PAST 12 YEARS WE HAVE BECOME AWARE OF JEWISH MALNUTRITION AND WE HAVE BEGUN TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT SATISFYING OUR HUNGER. JUST LOOK AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE 70s:

--THERE HAS BEEN A BURGEONING OF JEWISH STUDIES PROGRAMS IN UNIVERSITIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, AND A MARKED INCREASE IN SCHOLARLY JEWISH PUBLICATIONS.

--SYNAGOGUE AND TEMPLE MEMBERSHIP HAS RISEN MARKEDLY, AND EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE HAS BEEN A CLEAR REACHING OUT FOR SPIRITUAL VALUES. A SOCIETY BEREFT OF CONFIDENCE IN ITS INSTITUTIONS CANNOT ALSO ACCEPT THE DEATH OF GOD WITHOUT BEING LEFT COMPLETELY VULNERABLE. UTTER DISBELIEF IS, FOR MOST PEOPLE, TOO AWESOME TO CONTEMPLATE. THAT IS WHY WE ARE SEEING AN EMERGING, ALBEIT YET SMALL, JEWISH SPIRITUAL RENEWAL;

--WHILE THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN JEWISH SCHOOLS HAS DECREASED--LARGELY BECAUSE THE CHILD POPULATION IS SMALLER ALTOGETHER--THERE HAS BEEN A HEIGHTENED INTENSITY OF JEWISH EDUCATION, AS SEEN BY THE GROWTH OF JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS AND THE

INCREASED ENROLLMENT IN THEM.

--THERE HAS BEEN A PROLIFERATION ACROSS THE COUNTRY OF JEWISH RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIPS--THE HAVUROT--BOTH AS PART OF, AND OUTSIDE, THE SYNAGOGUES. THIS MOVEMENT INVOLVES YOUNG SINGLES AND YOUNG MARRIED FAMILIES SEEKING TO RE-DISCOVER THEIR JEWISHNESS, TO STUDY THE JEWISH HERITAGE, TO CELEBRATE JEWISH HOLIDAYS TOGETHER AND TO CREATE SMALL, INTIMATE JEWISH COMMUNITIES.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S JEWISH COMMUNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, HAS CONTRIBUTED, AND I WOULD LIKE TO THINK CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY, TO THIS REVIVAL. WITH OUR NEWLY CREATED JEWISH FAMILY CENTER AND WITH THE CONTINUATION OF OUR SPECIAL STUDIES SUCH AS THE SOON TO BE RELEASED STUDY OF NEW POCKETS OF JEWISH ENERGY WE HOPE TO INTENSIFY THIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE JEWISH AWAKENING IN THE 1980s.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, WE HAVE BEEN INTENSIFYING OUR INTERRELIGIOUS PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE COME TO UNDERGIRD ALL OF OUR ACTIVITIES--OUR INTERPRETATION OF ISRAEL, OUR FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM, OUR RELATIONS WITH ETHNICS AND BLACKS, PROBLEMS OF WORLD HUNGER, THE BOAT PEOPLE, EVEN IMMIGRATION POLICIES, A SUBJECT WE WILL BE EXAMINING THIS AFTERNOON. WITH THE FORMATION OF OUR NEW NATHAN APPLEMAN INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING I EXPECT TO SEE AN EVEN MORE EXPANDING ROLE FOR OUR INTERRELIGIOUS DEPARTMENT IN THE 80s.

THE FOUR DEVELOPMENTS WHICH I HAVE SO BRIEFLY TOUCHED ON--OUR CHANGING VALUES; THE LOSS OF AMERICAN POWER AND CONFIDENCE; THE GROWING GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS IN AMERICA, AND THE NEW JEWISH AWAKENING--WILL BE EVIDENT IN OUR DISCUSSIONS THIS WEEKEND. AS TO OUR FORMAL AGENDA FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS, WOULD YOU EVER HAVE THOUGHT 12 YEARS AGO THAT THE SUBJECT OF ENERGY WOULD BE HIGH ON OUR PRIORITIES AS WE APPROACH 1980? OR THAT WE WOULD BE DEVOTING A SESSION, AS WE ARE TOMORROW, TO JEWISH PROSELYTIZING?

BUT THE TWO SUBJECTS TO WHICH WE WILL BE DEVOTING THE GREATEST PORTION OF OUR TIME DURING THIS WEEKEND ARE THE MIDDLE EAST AND BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS. I WANT TO TAKE A FEW MOMENTS TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT EACH OF THESE ISSUES.

I AM ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE--UNDOUBTEDLY IN THE MINORITY--WHO, DESPITE OCCASIONAL MISGIVINGS, IS CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO. I DON'T WANT TO MINIMIZE THE PROBLEMS THAT ISRAEL FACES. ARAB OIL HAS SUCCEEDED IN ISOLATING ISRAEL FROM MOST OF THE WORLD, AND, IN OUR OWN COUNTRY THERE IS MOUNTING SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIANS, AND EVEN FOR THE PLO. CERTAINLY THE PLO HAS WON SOME MAJOR DIPLOMATIC VICTORIES; YES, OUR ADMINISTRATION'S COURSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS AT BEST VACILLATING AND AT WORST DANGEROUSLY TILTED TOWARDS THE ARABS; AND YES, THE RESONANCE OF THE ANDY YOUNG AFFAIR IS STILL WITH US ENCOURAGING SOME PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS TO COME FORTH WITH NEW PEACE PROPOSALS THAT WOULD SACRIFICE ISRAEL FOR OIL. DESPITE ALL THIS, I BELIEVE THAT, AT LEAST FOR THE SHORT RUN, THERE IS SOME CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM.

THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE ISRAEL-EGYPTIAN PEACE PROCESS IS PROCEEDING RATHER WELL--AND ALREADY WE TAKE THAT SO MUCH FOR GRANTED THAT IT IS HARD FOR US TO FULLY APPRECIATE THE ENORMITY OF THIS DEVELOPMENT. IN JANUARY OF 1980, ISRAEL WILL MAKE ANOTHER MAJOR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE SINAI. IN FEBRUARY, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL BEGIN. QUIETLY BUT EFFECTIVELY, AN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN INFRASTRUCTURE IS BEING BUILT. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT TWO OR SO YEARS IT WILL TAKE FOR THE REST OF THE SINAI TO BE RETURNED TO EGYPT, PRESIDENT SADAT WILL NOT FIND IT IN HIS COUNTRY'S INTEREST TO DERAIL THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES, DESPITE ITS VACILLATION APPEARS, SINCE THE LAST STRAUSS MISSION, TO BE MORE WILLING TO PERMIT THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO PROCEED WITHOUT PUSHING EITHER OF THEM BEYOND WHERE THEY ARE PREPARED TO GO.

THE REJECTIONIST ARAB FRONT HAS NOT BEEN PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL IN SECURING SANCTIONS AGAINST EGYPT AND HAS HAD ITS OWN INTERNAL PROBLEMS--WITNESS THE GROWING CONFLICT BETWEEN SYRIA AND IRAQ.

WHILE THE PLO HAS MADE IMPORTANT DIPLOMATIC GAINS, IT HAS LOST ITS MILITARY CAPACITY; NOR IS THERE ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE ARAB STATES REALLY WANT AN INDEPENDENT, IRREDENTIST PLO STATE, ON THE WEST BANK, PLAYING A CUBAN ROLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION. AND THOUGH JORDAN AT THE MOMENT REFUSES TO JOIN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, SHE CANNOT BE COUNTED OUT OF THE PICTURE. IF, AS THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT CONTINUE, PROVISION IS MADE FOR JORDAN TO BECOME A FUNCTIONAL PARTNER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND BEYOND--WHETHER SUCH SETTLEMENT INVOLVES AUTONOMY OR TERRITORIAL

COMPROMISE--KING HUSSEIN MIGHT VERY WELL FIND A WAY TO BECOME PART OF THE TALKS.

EVEN IF MY OPTIMISM IS NOT WARRANTED, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S ROLE IN THE PERIOD AHEAD IS QUITE CLEAR. WE MUST CONTINUE TO PRESS UPON THE ADMINISTRATION THE IMPORTANCE OF LETTING THIS ENCOURAGING FIRST STEP WHICH HAS EMERGED FROM THE CAMP DAVID TALKS--AND WHICH WE ALL HOPE WILL END IN A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE--DEVELOP AT A REASONABLE PACE WITHOUT UNDUE PRESSURE. WE MUST URGE CONTINUED AND, IF POSSIBLE, INCREASED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID FOR ISRAEL. WE MUST EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. AND WE MUST CONTINUE OUR EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF ISRAEL AND HER NEEDS.

AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD "TELL IT LIKE IT IS" TO THE ISRAELIS--AND SHARE WITH THEM OUR ASSESSMENT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST, BOTH GENERALLY, AND MORE PARTICULARLY AMONGST THE ELITES AND THE INFLUENTIALS. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE ISRAEL, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ITS BASIC SECURITY NEEDS, TO BE AS GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE IN ITS DEFINITION OF WEST BANK AUTONOMY. ISRAEL HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT WILL HOLD THE MATTER OF WEST BANK SOVEREIGNTY IN ABEYANCE UNTIL AT LEAST THE END OF THE FIVE-YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD PROVIDED IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. ITS WORDS AND ITS ACTIONS IN THE WEST BANK SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THIS COMMITMENT.

ON THE SECOND MAJOR ISSUE WE WILL BE DISCUSSING SHORTLY--

THAT OF BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS--I AM MORE PESSIMISTIC, ALTHOUGH NOT DEVOID OF HOPE. MOST OF US KNEW THAT DURING THIS PAST DECADE THE OLD CIVIL RIGHTS COALITION WAS IN DISARRAY. WE KNEW WE HAD DIFFERENCES WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY OVER QUOTAS. WE KNEW, AS PROFESSOR SCHNEIDER POINTED OUT TO US AT OUR ANNUAL MEETING LAST MAY, THAT THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED INCREASE OF ANTI-SEMITISM AMONG BLACKS, AND PARTICULARLY AMONG EDUCATED BLACKS. AND WE KNEW THAT THIS GROWING ANTI-SEMITISM AMONG BLACKS WAS, IN SCHNEIDER'S WORDS, "NOT THE ANTI-SEMITISM OF IGNORANCE OR RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY.. /BUT/ THE ANTI-SEMITISM OF POLITICAL CONFLICT AND CONFRONTATION."

DESPITE THIS AWARENESS, HOWEVER, WE WERE SHOCKED BY THE INTENSITY AND PERVASIVENESS OF THE ANTI-SEMITISM EXPRESSED BY SOME BLACKS OVER THE RESIGNATION OF ANDY YOUNG. WE UNDERSTAND, OF COURSE, THE FRUSTRATION AND ANGER FELT BY BLACKS AT THE ABRUPT DOWNFALL OF THE ONE BLACK FIGURE WHO MOST ELOQUENTLY SYMBOLIZED THEIR ACHIEVEMENT OF STATUS IN THE U.S. NEVERTHELESS, THE ANTI-SEMITISM THROUGH WHICH THAT RAGE WAS EXPRESSED HAS APPALLED US.

KENNETH CLARK MAY HAVE BEEN USING AESOPEAN LANGUAGE WHEN HE REFERRED TO THE BLACK LEADERSHIP'S STATEMENT ON BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS AS A "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE," BUT THERE IS NO MISTAKING WHAT HE MEANT. HE MEANT INDEPENDENCE FROM THE JEWS. AND THERE IS NO MISTAKING JESSE JACKSON'S INTENT WHEN, ON NATIONAL TELEVISION HE TALKED ABOUT JEWISH SLUMLORDS, OR WHEN, AT A MEETING IN CHICAGO, HE DECLARED THAT ANDREW YOUNG'S RESIGNATION WAS CAUSED BY A "CABAL OF RABBIS."

EQUALLY DISTRESSING ABOUT THE ANDREW YOUNG AFFAIR HAS BEEN THE SLOWNESS OF THE RESPONSE TO THIS OUTBREAK OF ANTI-SEMITISM. IN 1968, WHEN THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE OPENLY VENTED ITS SPLEEN ON JEWS, MODERATE BLACK LEADERS PUBLICLY RESPONDED QUICKLY AND SHARPLY. IN 1979, THOUGH MANY OF US WERE GIVEN PRIVATE EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT BY IMPORTANT BLACK LEADERS, UNTIL RECENTLY THERE WERE VIRTUALLY NO BLACK VOICES COUNTERING THE ANTI-JEWISH DIATRIBES. NOR HAVE WE HEARD MUCH FROM CHRISTIAN OR SECULAR WHITE LEADERSHIP.

THE MOST SERIOUS CONSEQUENCE OF THESE SAD EVENTS HAS BEEN A RENEWED INTERNATIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM, MOVING IT OUT OF THE DOMESTIC AREA INTO THE THIRD WORLD AND THE MIDDLE EAST. FIRST WE HAD THE "ZIONISM-IS-RACISM" RESOLUTION, THEN WE HAD THE "ZIONISM-IS-A-CRIME" DECLARATION AT THE HAVANA CONFERENCE OF NON ALIGNED NATIONS. NOW WE HAVE A NEW MARXIST SYLLOGISM, WHICH STATES THAT THE WORLD IS DIVIDED INTO TWO CAMPS--THE "HAVE-NOT" NATIONS, WHICH INCLUDES BLACK AFRICA, MOST OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE ARAB STATES, AND THE "HAVE" NATIONS, WHICH INCLUDES ISRAEL. THE BLACKS ARE "HAVE-NOTS"; THE JEWS ARE "HAVES." THEREFORE, THE ARGUMENT IS MADE, THE BLACKS MUST SUPPORT THE "HAVE-NOT" NATIONS, INCLUDING THE PLO, AND FIGHT ISRAEL AND THE JEWS. ADMITTEDLY, THIS IS AN EXAGGERATION AND OVER-SIMPLIFICATION OF THAT ARGUMENT. BUT THAT IS THE KIND OF LOGIC THAT IS BEGINNING TO BE HEARD, AND IT IS FRIGHTENING.

IT IS ALSO DISCONCERTING TO HEAR SOME OF THE THINGS THAT ARE BEGINNING TO EMANATE FROM SOME IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. IF THE YOUNG RESIGNATION UNCORKED A GREAT DEAL OF BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM, THE

BLACK REACTION SET LOOSE A DEGREE OF JEWISH RACISM, WHICH WHILE NOT EXPRESSED PUBLICLY, IS NONETHELESS BEING HEARD PRIVATELY.

ARE THERE NO BRIGHT SPOTS IN THIS PICTURE? YES, THERE ARE A FEW. IN MANY COMMUNITIES LONG-STANDING BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED AND EVEN STRENGTHENED IN THE FACE OF THIS CRISIS. THE JOINT STATEMENTS ISSUED BY THE WASHINGTON CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AND THE NAACP, FOR EXAMPLE, IS ONE SUCH CASE. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT MANY OF US IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY HAVE GAINED A HEIGHTENED SENSITIVITY TO THE DEEP FEELINGS OF FRUSTRATION AMONG BLACK AMERICANS, AND I HOPE NOW THAT THE CATHARSIS IS OVER, THAT AN EQUAL NUMBER IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAVE COME TO REALIZE HOW DESTRUCTIVE SOME OF THE RECENT EVENTS HAVE BEEN BOTH TO THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND TO MOST OF THE COUNTRY AT LARGE.

I ALSO HOPE THAT OUT OF WHAT HAS OCCURED THERE WILL COME A RENEWED AND INTENSIFIED DEDICATION ON OUR PART TO OUR DOMESTIC AGENDA--IN CONCERT WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY, IF POSSIBLE, WITH OTHER ALLIES, IF NEED BE; EVEN, IF NECESSARY, ALONE.

IN A VERY FEW MINUTES WE WILL BE DISCUSSING BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS IN GREATER DETAIL, EXCHANGING EXPERIENCES, ASSESSING WHERE WE SHOULD BE GOING FROM HERE, AND DEVELOPING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION. I SUGGEST TO YOU THAT FOUR CONSIDERATIONS MUST UNDERGIRD WHATEVER RECOMMENDATIONS YOU ARRIVE AT:

--WE MUST ALWAYS BE PREPARED TO SPEAK OUT, LOUDLY AND CLEARLY, AGAINST ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, WHETHER THEIR ORIGINS BE WHITE OR BLACK, AND AGAINST ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF RACISM WHETHER THEIR ORIGINS BE CHRISTIAN OR JEWISH.

--WE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE INVOLVED IN MORE CONFLICT SITUATIONS OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, AND WE NEED TO PREPARE OURSELVES MORE ADEQUATELY, ON BOTH THE PROFESSIONAL AND VOLUNTEER LEVEL, IN THE ART OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

--THE RISING ANTI-SEMITISM THAT CONFRONTS US, NOT ONLY IN THE RECENT BLACK OUTBURSTS, BUT ALSO IN THE RESURGENCE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN AND INCREASED NEO-NAZI ACTIVITY, AND THE GROWING INDIFFERENCE AND INSENSITIVITY TO THESE PHENOMENA AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC, MAKES IT ESSENTIAL THAT WE ALLOCATE GREATER RESOURCES TO MONITORING AND COUNTERING ANTI-SEMITISM IN THIS COUNTRY AND ABROAD.

--AND FINALLY, WE MUST ALWAYS BE CAREFUL TO DISTINGUISH WHAT IS ANTI-SEMITISM AND WHAT ARE LEGITIMATE DISAGREEMENTS AND DIFFERENCES OF OPINION OR SIMPLE MISPERCEPTIONS, EVEN ON SUBJECTS THAT ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO US.

ALTHOUGH THE FUTURE OF BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS IS UNCERTAIN, ALTHOUGH WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH MANY SERIOUS ISSUES, AND MUST MAKE CRITICAL CHOICES IN THE FACE OF AMBIGUOUS ALTERNATIVES, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT WE CAN MAKE THE RIGHT CHOICES AND RESOLVE MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS.

IN THE 12 YEARS THAT I HAVE BEEN ADDRESSING THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETINGS, I HAVE TRIED CONSTANTLY IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, BUT ALWAYS WITH AS MUCH EMPHASIS AS I COULD MUSTER, TO ARTICULATE ONE SINGLE THESIS. LET ME REPEAT IT AGAIN THIS MORNING. IN A SOCIETY OF GROWING SCARCITY AND LIMITS EVERYONE MUST ENGAGE IN TRADEOFFS. AND IN SO DOING, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, WHILE ALWAYS MINDFUL OF JEWISH INTERESTS, MUST MAINTAIN A MODERATE CENTRIST POSITION. IT IS DISCOURAGING, OF COURSE, NOT TO HAVE

NOT TO HAVE READY ANSWERS TO THE SERIOUS AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS WE HAVE BEEN GRAPPLING WITH AND WILL CONTINUE TO GRAPPLE WITH IN THE YEARS AHEAD. SOME SEE IN OUR INABILITY TO FIND QUICK AND ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS A SIGN OF AMERICA'S DETERIORATION. I CAN'T SUBSCRIBE TO THIS VIEW. I BELIEVE WE HAVE MADE AND ARE MAKING SLOW BUT STEADY PROGRESS, AND THAT OUR SOCIETY IS MATURING, NOT RETROGRESSING.

AS WE LOOK BACK AT THESE LAST 12 YEARS, WOULDN'T YOU AGREE THAT, WITH ALL THAT NEEDS STILL TO BE DONE, THE STATUS OF MINORITIES IS BETTER NOW THAN IT WAS IN 1967? AREN'T THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN GREATER, AND THEIR ROLE IN SOCIETY MORE JUSTLY DEFINED? ISN'T IT MORE POSSIBLE FOR DIFFERENT GROUPS IN AMERICA TO FULFILL THEMSELVES?

ALL OF THESE AND OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN OUR CONDITION HAVE COME ABOUT BECAUSE MEN AND WOMEN LIKE US HAVE WORKED AT IT, AND BECAUSE AMERICAN SOCIETY HAS BEEN RECEPTIVE TO CHANGE. AND I AM CERTAIN THAT IF WE WILL IT, THIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE TRUE IN THE 80s.

THERE IS A VOGUE TODAY IN WHAT ARE CALLED "LIGHTBULB" STORIES. A FEW YEARS AGO, THERE WAS A WHOLE SPATE OF NASTY, DEROGATORY LIGHTBULB STORIES ABOUT POLES. BUT TODAY, POLISH IS "IN" AND THAT KIND OF ETHNIC HUMOR IS, I AM GLAD TO SAY, OUT. MY FAVORITE LIGHTBULB STORY ASKS "HOW DOES A JEWISH MOTHER CHANGE A LIGHTBULB?" THE ANSWER IS: SHE SITS ON THE SOFA AND SAYS, "DON'T BOTHER, I'LL SIT IN THE DARK."

IT IS THE TASK OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE--YOUR TASK AND MINE--TO SEE TO IT THAT THE LIGHTBULB ALWAYS GLOWS, AND THAT NO ONE--JEWISH MOTHER OR ANY OTHER--NEED EVER SIT IN THE DARK.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 1, 1979
to SEE BELOW
from Ira Silverman
subject Current Propaganda Themes and Counter Themes

I think you will be interested in the enclosed confidential memo, prepared by Sheba and David, which outlines several of the propaganda themes with which we must deal. It spans the related issues under consideration in our energy, Arab influence, and foreign affairs work, and reflects the input as well of George Gruen, Milton Ellerin, Phyllis Sherman and Mort Yarmon.

This is a working paper -- that is, a "work-in-progress" -- and so we would appreciate any recommendations or additions, as well as any creative ideas for strategy in getting some of our messages across.

IS:ls
enc.

SENT TO: Harold Applebaum Abraham Karlikow
 Judith Banki Will Katz
 Hyman Bookbinder Jacobo Kovadloff
 Milton Ellerin Irving Levine
 David Geller Sidney Lifskofsky
 Inge Gibel Yehuda Rosenman
 Bert Gold James Rudin
 George Gruen Phyllis Sherman
 Milton Himmelfarb Marc Tanenbaum ✓
 Selma Hirsh William Trosten

CONFIDENTIAL

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 24, 1979
to Ira Silverman
from Sheba Mittelman and David Harris
subject Current Propaganda Themes and Counter Themes

The following propaganda themes are the most current and most prevalent with regard to Israel, Arab influence and the energy crisis. Some suggestions for counter propaganda themes to be used in addressing these arguments are described below.

A. The gasoline shortage in June was a direct result of U.S. oil going to Israel.

At issue here is the U.S. commitment to supply Israel with oil in case other supplies are cut off. Israel is exempt from regulations restricting export of U.S. domestic oil. This guarantee was recently renewed following the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, because Israel agreed to return to Egypt the Abu Rudeis oil fields which had previously provided a major portion of its supplies.

However, various groups have questioned what appeared to be special treatment for Israel. In speeches on the Senate floor, Senators Goldwater and Helms both linked the gasoline lines and threats of economic dislocation in the U.S. to the U.S. oil commitment to Israel. The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA) pointedly asked why Alaskan oil should go to Israel for nothing; if we swapped with Japan, a U.S. ally, in case of a crisis, at least we would be getting oil in return.

Although the gasoline shortage has now abated, we can anticipate that this argument will be revived if there is a heating oil shortage this winter or a gasoline shortage next summer.

Another related point is the claim that Israel has driven up prices on the petroleum spot market and destabilized it. Only a relatively small group of oil and financial experts are well informed on such matters and therefore the propaganda value of such an argument would seem to be limited. Nevertheless, this point has been made in such an influential journal as The Economist of London; a recent editorial lumped Israel (whose purchases are relatively small) together with South Africa and cited their purchases as the source of turmoil in the market.

Counter Themes:

1. No U.S. oil is now going to Israel. The guarantee is not a new policy but the extension for another ten years of a commitment made in 1975. Israel has thus far never invoked this promise.
2. Israel's energy needs are meager compared to U.S. consumption; America could thus supply Israel without disrupting our economy.
3. Israel has already arranged for alternative suppliers to take the place of Iran (which cut off supplies); it is now negotiating with Egypt to purchase oil. Such arrangements greatly minimize the likelihood that the U.S. will be called on to act.¹

- B. At a time of economic slowdown, why is so much money -- in the form of foreign aid and arms -- going to Israel (and Egypt) instead of into domestic programs?

A common complaint of pro-Arab groups in the U.S. has been to oppose the large amounts of aid which Israel receives annually. Those who see the Egyptian-Israeli treaty as a separate peace which will not lead to a lasting settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict have begun to take issue with the billions now earmarked for Egypt as well. In fact, they argue, why do Israel and Egypt both demand more arms if there is now peace? Most recently, Arab-American and pro-Arab organizations have demanded that the U.S. withhold further arms supplies from Israel on the ground that, in bombing Lebanon, Israel has used U.S.-made weapons illegally.

This same opposition to U.S. aid for Israel has been presented differently, by citing Israel as the source of U.S. inflation. This approach was most recently displayed in a nasty anti-Semitic cartoon published in the Libyan Jamahiriyya Newsletter. Although this last point has not been raised frequently in the U.S., it may be given new credence by minority groups feeling pinched by recession and inflation.

Counter Themes:

1. Aid to Egypt and Israel is "an investment in peace." This U.S. aid is not charity but should be seen as insurance which lessens the risk of renewed warfare

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1. These points are clearly stated in an article by George Gruen, "Is the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty Worth the Cost to the U.S.?" which appeared in USA Today, July 1979.

between these two countries and thus serves the promotion of world peace.²

2. Israel, as the only stable, democratic government in the Middle East, is a strategic asset to the U.S. and so ought to be supported. In a letter to The New York Times,³ former Chief of Naval Operations E.R. Zumwalt, Jr. points out that Israel continues to face a serious threat in the north from Syria and its ally Iraq, and so must remain militarily strong; at the same time Israel serves as a counterweight to Soviet-backed forces in the region.⁴
3. OPEC, which is dominated by the Arab oil-producers, is the chief cause of inflation not only in the U.S. but around the world. The U.S. would have more funds for domestic programs if we did not have to pay so much to foreigners for oil.

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- C. U.S. support for Israel hurts us; Israel is to blame for lack of progress in the peace process, but the Arabs get angry with us because we support this intransigence. The result is economic hardship here in the U.S. as the Arabs cut back on oil production.

This may be the most important of all the arguments; this approach to the problems of the Middle East appears to underlie most, if not all, of the other themes.

Several ideas are operating here:

- the suggestion that "unqualified" U.S. support for Israel is not in America's best interest; that advocates of such a policy (Jews) do not have America's interest at heart but only their own special interest.
- the idea that if the U.S. persists in such a course so obviously antagonistic to its primary interests, it is because our judgment is clouded by "Zionist influence."
- the feeling that we cannot afford to make the Arabs more

2. George Gruen's article, cited above, elaborates on this point.
3. NYT, 10/2/79.
4. This theme can be used effectively only with certain audiences and ought not to be overstressed because it can reinforce the perception in some circles that "Israel is the tool of U.S. imperialism."

angry because they control the oil which we need and vast sums of money we would like to gain access to.

This last point is actually the linchpin for what we have been calling "Arab influence" in the U.S. The perception that the Arabs are powerful, that they have an oil weapon they will not hesitate to use as well as a money weapon which would wreak havoc in the U.S. financial market, has reinforced the attitude among U.S. government officials, business leaders, university professors and administrators and minority groups (all eager for "a piece of the action") that Israel should not be allowed to stand in the way of better U.S.-Arab relations. John Connally's proposal that peace can be achieved in the Middle East through total Israeli withdrawal in exchange for "a clear understanding from Saudi Arabia" on the oil weapon and price is the latest assertion of this position.

Another statement which typifies this thinking is the remark by Walter Fauntroy that "black Americans had a special stake in solving the Middle East problem because any economic disruption caused by higher oil prices would be felt most immediately by the black community."⁵

Counter Themes:

1. The U.S. would have energy problems even if the Arab-Israel conflict did not exist. These problems stem from our continuing consumption of petroleum in large quantities -- half of which is imported. It must be understood that OPEC has raised and continues to raise the price of oil for economic reasons, not necessarily political reasons. For example, the 60 per-cent increase in the price of oil this year was made possible by the revolution in Iran -- the loss of Iranian exports fueled anxiety among buyers and traders in a tight market and set the stage for the OPEC increases of March and June.
2. Israel's so-called "intransigence" is not the major obstacle to peace in the Middle East. The Arabs have not been very conciliatory; even the so-called moderate Arab states of Saudi Arabia and Jordan have condemned the Camp David accords and criticized Egypt for "selling out." The rejectionist front, led by Libya and Iraq, is still committed to dismantling the Jewish state. In addition, inter-Arab squabbles between Syria and Iraq or Lebanon and Syria, complicate the Arab position and hence the possibility of progress toward peace.
3. U.S. support for Israel is not just a one-way street. Israel is a stable, democratic ally and therefore a

5. The New York Times, 8/20/79.

strategic asset in a turbulent area.

4. Israeli-Egyptian cooperation on a variety of issues since the signing of the peace treaty shows that Arabs and Jews can learn to live together if a sincere effort is made. We would hope that Egypt could be an example to the other Arab states.
5. The Arab oil producers -- whose only real resource is their oil -- need the U.S. as much as we need them; they need our expertise, our technology and our goods in order to bring their states into the 20th century. This relationship gives us a counter-lever to Arab "blackmail."⁶
6. The Arabs act in their own interests, which do not always coincide with ours. They raise the price of oil and lower production in order to maintain control of the market and maximize their income, even though high prices cause world-wide inflation. Another example is their recent speculation in the gold market which drove the price up wildly and undermined the value of the dollar.

D. Israel oppresses the Palestinians; Palestinians have human rights too.

This approach stresses the abuses of Israeli rule on the West Bank/Judea and Samaria and generally includes allegations of torture and other mistreatment. Most (though not all) advocates of Palestinian human rights also call for U.S. and Israeli recognition of the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. While the NAAA, for example, acknowledges Israel's right to exist, the position of the other groups (like the Palestine Human Rights Campaign) is not clear.

This idea is calculated to attract the support of liberals and ordinary Americans; how can anyone be opposed to human rights? A sub-theme of this view is the claim that Israel's bombing of South Lebanon is part of a policy of genocide against the Palestinians. Furthermore, Israel's use of U.S.-made planes and bombs not only violates Lebanese sovereignty but also U.S. law. This is intolerable and sanctions ought to be applied. Thus it was reported in the Christian Science Monitor that

6. The idea that the U.S. need not kow-tow to the Arabs or to OPEC has been the basis of AJC's program on Arab influence, which publicizes any blatant examples of Arab pressure. A new study of Middle East Centers at U.S. universities is now in progress.
7. CSM 9/24/79.

a group of Senators, led by Mark Hatfield, were proposing a ten percent cut in U.S. aid to Israel because of its continuing bombing of Southern Lebanon and its policy of constructing settlements (on the West Bank).

Counter Themes:

1. The P.L.O. Covenant, adopted in 1968, which outlines the P.L.O.'s policies and aims, calls for armed struggle to liberate Palestine and eliminate Zionism there. According to the document the Balfour Declaration is "null and void;" "claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history..." and the 1947 partition of Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel are "entirely illegal."

The P.L.O. and its leaders have never amended this charter or publicly acknowledged that they would live in peace with the Jewish state. Israel cannot be expected to negotiate its own suicide with a group that seeks its annihilation.

2. Those who think the P.L.O. is a monolith, controlled by Arafat and therefore susceptible to his "moderation," are oversimplifying the situation. The P.L.O. is a fragmented organization comprised of groups ranging along the ideological spectrum to the far left. Thus, while some officials have hinted recently at opening dialogue with the U.S., others are adamantly opposed to any contact with the U.S. They see themselves as agents of revolution in the area and so will not deal with the arch-imperialist superpower. In this role, many groups are trained, supplied and aided by the Soviet Union.
3. Israel has explained that while instances of mistreatment of West Bank Arabs have occurred, there is no systematic policy of torture or oppression. In fact, Israel's general record on human rights within Israel "proper" (aside from the territories) is excellent, especially when compared to such Arab dictatorships as Syria, Iraq or even the monarchies of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.⁸ For example, Israel is a representative democracy where all citizens -- Arab and Jewish -- exercise the right to vote and belong to political parties (even the Communist part is legal).

Criticism of Israel's human rights policy which ignores current abuses in Arab states (and Iran) is indicative of a double standard of morality.

8. We have a paper by Morton Halperin which elaborates on this point.

4. People forget or ignore the fact that, since 1948, 800,000 Jews were forced to leave their homes and property in Arab countries. Most of these people went to Israel where they were accepted completely and integrated into society.

E. Israel is a racist, imperialist, colonialist state. Zionism is racism.

This theme puts the Palestinian opposition to Israel in the framework of a struggle by an oppressed people against an occupying power. One of the main spokesmen for the view has been Libya's Qaddafi: in his speech on the 10th anniversary of his overthrow of King Idris he said, "The Zionist colonizers will evacuate Palestine as the French colonizers evacuated Algeria and the Italian colonizers evacuated Libya."

Although previously limited to left-wing groups, this idea is spreading through church, black and liberal groups. Some liberals compare Israeli treatment of Palestinians to South Africa's treatment of blacks, thus equating Zionism with apartheid and Jewish "settler-colonizers" in Palestine with the Afrikaaner and British settlers in South Africa and Rhodesia. Continuing the analogy, some groups demand the P.L.O. be brought into the peace talks just as the Zimbabwe guerillas are now participating in the London talks.

Counter Themes:

1. Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Israel is not "the agent of Zionism or world imperialism" but the one homeland of the Jewish people.
2. Israel was established on the very principles of democratic Socialism. This Socialist orientation -- the commitment not to exploit the laborer, to distribute income as fairly as possible, etc. -- continues today in the strong labor movement, the kibbutz movement and social welfare system. Many of these programs have been models for other developing countries.
3. Most recently, in spite of economic difficulties, Israel has accepted a group of Indochinese "boat people" while none of the wealthy Arab oil producers has attempted any such humanitarian action.
4. OPEC pricing policies have in effect turned Third World countries into colonies by siphoning off export earnings and foreign reserves to pay for the ever increasing price of oil.

Writing about African and Latin American developing countries,

Robert Lekachman said "Since 1973, it has not been American or European imperialism that has imperiled their hopes of agricultural and industrial modernization -- it has been the ten-fold price increase of OPEC oil... for millions of African and Latin Americans it is likely to make the difference between life and death."⁹

- F. We cannot break OPEC or even challenge it -- we must cooperate with the OPEC states in order to secure our oil supplies.

This perception that OPEC is invincible practically paralyzes rational consideration of alternative policies. It bolsters the tendency to accept Arab blackmail on Israel and other issues because we have no choice. Various threats by Kuwait, Iraq and Libya to cut back production reinforce anxiety in the U.S. where "the balance between supply and demand is so tight that even a cut of 2 percent could throw domestic supplies out of whack."¹⁰

Counter Themes:

1. There is oil that is accessible, and economically attractive at current prices, outside of OPEC that must now be developed. More wells have been drilled in the state of Kansas than in all of Latin America. We now need to explore all areas which look promising because any increase in oil coming into the market loosens OPEC's control (of the market). This also means using secondary and tertiary recovery techniques to get more oil out of existing wells.
2. A change in the way the U.S. imports its oil would diminish OPEC's power to threaten us. Several measures have been proposed for setting up a foreign oil quota and a sealed bid mechanism to allocate the oil within the quota. Such a measure could also be used to stimulate cooperation between the U.S. and our neighbors, Canada and Mexico, and reduce the importance of African and Persian Gulf suppliers.
3. OPEC is the real cause of U.S. inflation: "Everytime OPEC raises world oil prices by \$1 per barrel, the U.S. loses \$3 billion in direct purchasing power diverted to foreign oil, and probably twice as much again in indirect ripple effects." This drain on the U.S. economy,

9. The New York Times, 10/21/79.
10. Senator J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, The New York Times, 10/9/79.

combined with the loss of U.S. policy independence in foreign affairs, is an unacceptable price to pay OPEC, especially when compared to the cost of developing alternate sources. "The \$8 per barrel increase in OPEC prices this year alone will end up draining the U.S. economy of as much purchasing power as the 10-year investment in the Energy Security Corp."¹¹

4. Dependence on foreign and particularly unstable Persian Gulf sources of oil must be seen as a threat to U.S. national security and nothing less.

G. The Arabs are only anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic.

In numerous statements, Arab leaders and their supporters have insisted that they are not opposed to Jews who are adherents of Judaism, a religion. Rather, they are against Zionism, which they define as a "movement dedicated to territorial expansion and settler-colonialism." According to the P.L.O. covenant, "Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong... Zionism is a political movement... racist and fanatic in its nature,... and fascist in its methods." This thinking underlies the frequent proposal by Qaddafi of Libya and M.T. Mehdi (an Arab propagandist active in the U.S.) to send all Jews who arrived in Israel as part of the "Zionist invasion" back to their country of origin -- Poland, Germany, Russia, etc. The newest exponent of this line is Billy Carter. During a recent trip to Kuwait, two magazines quoted him as saying "I have been accused of anti-Semitism but there is a wide difference between being anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist. Zionist journalists will not succeed in their campaign against me and the President..."¹²

Nevertheless, Arab rhetoric tends to incorporate elements of classic anti-Semitism in its descriptions of Zionism which blur the attempted distinction. In comments on the Andrew Young affair a recent Saudi radio broadcast said, "World Zionism continuously plans campaigns and selects suitable times and other suitable victims to spoil any official U.S. steps in the correct direction for peace."¹³

11. Arnold Safer, Journal of Commerce, 8/6/79. The AJC's energy program has for some time been stressing these themes as well as advocating specific legislative measures to deal with the energy crisis.

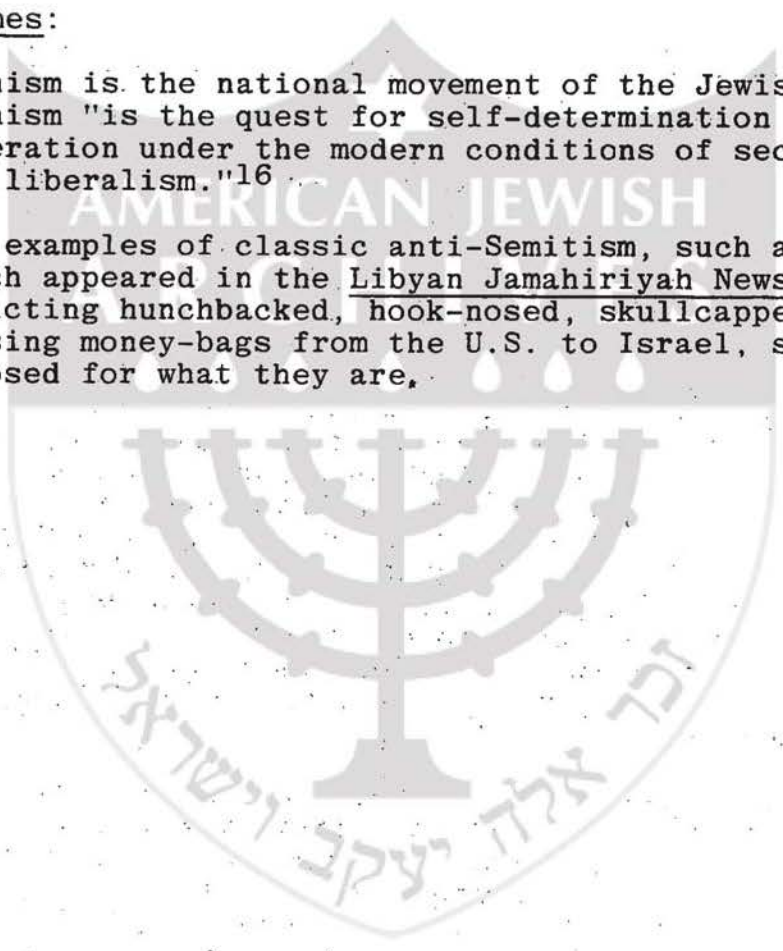
12. The Birmingham News, 9/16/79.

13. Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) 8/20/79.

The Kuwaiti newspapers went even further in their criticism of "Zionist domination over the U.S.": "What the Jews are now doing in America is exactly what they did in Germany before Hitler came to power... the day will come when the American presidency will be occupied by a new Hitler, whom we expect to keep the Jews' hands away from the supreme interests of America..."¹⁴ Saudi information minister, Dr. Muhammad Abduh Yamani, has called on all Arab information ministers to implement plans for countering "malicious propaganda" promoted by "international Zionism."¹⁵

Counter Themes:

1. Zionism is the national movement of the Jewish people. Zionism "is the quest for self-determination and liberation under the modern conditions of secularization and liberalism."¹⁶
2. All examples of classic anti-Semitism, such as the cartoon which appeared in the Libyan Jamahiriya Newsletter, depicting hunchbacked, hook-nosed, skullcapped figures passing money-bags from the U.S. to Israel, should be exposed for what they are.



14. Al-Siyasah quoted in FBIS, 8/20/79.

15. FBIS, 8/7/79; The Minaret, 8/16-9/1/79.

16. Shlomo Avineri, The Jerusalem Quarterly, Winter 1979.

keynote address, pointed to the considerable progress in Israel-Egyptian negotiations as a reason for guarded optimism; but there was general agreement that without solving the issue of autonomy no durable peace was possible. Yitzak Rabin, former Prime Minister of Israel, repeated his nation's determination not to negotiate with the PLO and stressed the need to involve Jordan in the negotiations. Other Israel-related issues commanding our attention included Israel's settlement policy and its impact on the West, the pressures of that country's worsening economic situation and, particularly, the implications of the deepening oil crisis for Israel-U.S. relations.

In a somber discussion of U.S. energy policy, a number of AJCers stressed the ever-increasing linkage of U.S. Middle East policy to the price and availability of oil imports, and underscored the importance of reducing American dependence on Arab oil. AJC must help accomplish this, it was agreed, by promoting support for energy conservation, increased domestic production and the speedy development of alternative energy sources.

We also considered how the U.S. should deal with the growing number of illegal aliens coming into this country. AJC has always supported a liberal U.S. immigration policy, and America's role as a haven is particularly important in light of the political upheavals in many parts of the world, the needs of the boat people, the growing numbers of Soviet Jews electing to come here, as well as the many thousands of Mexicans and other Latin American nationals who enter the U.S. annually. The NEC recognized the oft-conflicting moral, economic and social pressures complicating this issue and urged that the Domestic Affairs Commission bring recommendations for policy and action to the Board of Governors as soon as possible.

A lively session on Jewish continuity heard Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, argue for an outreach program that would seek converts to Judaism among "unchurched" Christians, while AJC's Yehuda Rosenman stressed the need to concentrate on retaining and winning back young Jews to the Jewish fold, and AJC's Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum warned of the danger to interreligious cooperation inherent in "offensive missionary activity." AJC also announced the creation of a National Jewish Family Center to deal with the problems, needs and trends in Jewish family life in the U.S.

The NEC dinner shone with special sparkle as the Committee honored Benjamin H. Swig, prominent San Francisco business and communal leader, and Jacob Timerman, courageous Argentine publisher who was released after being jailed and later kept under house arrest in Argentina for two and a half years. Mr. Timerman's moving response and his tribute to AJC's help in securing his release--has been reprinted and is enclosed. Syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft provided a fascinating appraisal of the interrelationships among Arab nations and the political and economic rivalries in that part of the world.

Finally, it is hard to do justice to the hospitality extended to us by the leaders of the San Francisco Chapter. Their warm welcome helped make the meeting a memorable one for all of us.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 15, 1979

to The National Executive Council

from Richard Maass

subject NEC Meeting, October 25-28, 1979

Only dedicated AJC members, I am convinced, would shut themselves off from the lure of San Francisco to concentrate on the problem-packed agenda that greeted the hundreds of AJCers from around the country who gathered at the Fairmont Hotel for the National Executive Council meetings the last weekend in October. I would like to share something of the spirit and content of those sessions with those of you who were unable to join us.

It seems almost inevitable for AJC national meetings to take place in the midst of crisis, and this weekend was no exception. Black-Jewish relations, oil and energy, and Israel's mounting political and economic problems were perhaps the thorniest issues we confronted. But we also gave rapt attention to Christian-Jewish relations, Jewish proselytizing, needed changes in American immigration policy, the status of Jews in the Soviet Union and Latin America, and other subjects affecting Jews in this country and abroad.

Anger and shock at the undisguised anti-Semitism of certain Black leaders in the wake of Andrew Young's resignation dominated our discussions of that issue. We were unanimous in our view that such attacks must be unequivocally rejected, and that responsible Black leadership must repudiate opportunistic efforts to scapegoat Jews or to curry favor with rich Arab nations through support for the PLO. On the other hand, there was praise for those Black leaders who did condemn bigotry in their own ranks, and understanding of Black anger over this country's failure to deal effectively with the persistent unemployment, inadequate education and related Black frustrations. AJC, it was stressed, must continue to work for a domestic agenda that addresses the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged of all races and backgrounds; and it must maintain its support for affirmative action, without quotas, to help bring Black Americans into the mainstream of national life. It says something, I think, about the sensitivity of our membership, that even while venting their anger at the crass anti-Semitic appeals of Jesse Jackson and his supporters, many of the speakers expressed concern that the Young affair and the recent Black overtures to the PLO might trigger a rise in Jewish racism.

The recent public relations and diplomatic successes of the PLO were much in our minds as we considered the on-going Middle East dilemma. Executive Vice President Bertram H. Gold, in his

(continued on back page)

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, OCT. 27, 1979

Israeli leader here, proposes Palestinians settle in Jordan

By Carol Fogash
Former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday criticized the United States for succumbing to pressure — presumably from Arab oil nations — while growing impatient with its ally, Israel in the peacemaking process.

In San Francisco to speak before the national executive council of the American Jewish Committee, Rabin said "Egypt and Israel tend to adhere much more to the Camp David agreement than the United States."
"We have seen here and there, tendencies to change the basic... adding something..."

Middle East.
He said the problem of 600,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and Syria could be solved "by their being settled in the sovereign state where the most Palestinians live — east of the River Jordan. He said that in Jordan, the 900,000 Palestinians have become "a leading factor in nearly every way of life."
Rabin sharply criticized certain "misinterpretations of some events that lately have taken place" in American immigration.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, OCT. 25, 1979

Relationship between blacks, Jews

By Bertram H. Gold
The so-called Andrew Young Affair, brought on by the resignation of the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, did not create the rift in black-Jewish relations. It exacerbated a condition that has been existing for a long time.
Public opinion polls and public statements by black and Jewish leaders for the past several years confirmed the experience that the American Jewish Committee.

Jews to emerge and to be justified by the statements and actions of some black leaders. In responding to this situation, the following should be noted:
• On anti-Semitism and racism: Leaders of both communities must always be prepared to denounce publicly all manifestations and expressions of anti-Semitism and racism wherever and whenever they occur. At the same time they must be careful to distinguish between what is anti-Semitism or racism or

'MORE INFLUENCE THAN GOVERNMENTS'

Freed Argentine Jewish Editor Hails Work Of The AJ Committee
Jacobo Timerman, the Argentine publisher and editor who was recently expelled from his country after spending a year in prison and...
But we never saw... Jewish Committee... light and their basic... My demand, therefore... ple: after the experience... have lived through, I c... understand that the m... of this institution has had... influence than the governm... courage of the... save m... ions

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, OCT. 26, 1979

Fears of a Jewish Holocaust in Russia

By Ronald D. Moskowitz
The 2.5 million Jews in the Soviet Union face a Russian version of the Holocaust in the 1980s if the anti-semitism now rampant there... building, a leading expert on the politics... Union warned in San Francisco yesterday.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE OCT. 27, 1979

Rabbi Finds Missionary Idea Favored

By Ronald D. Moskowitz
The rabbi who suggested a year ago that Jews reverse the centuries-old tradition against proselytizing told a San Francisco audience yesterday that receiving the idea "has generally proved."

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of Jewish Hebrew Congregations, yesterday presided over the 730 Reform synagogue's annual meeting. Initial reactions were... but "many, on s... have become very... Schindler made... a special news... sored by the Am... mittee, which... firm

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, OCT. 28, 1979

Freed Argentine editor still in shock

By Lynda Goldman
Special to The Examiner
TEL AVIV, Israel — Less than a month ago, Jacobo Timerman was stripped of his Argentinian citizenship and put on a plane out of Argentina. After 29 months of imprisonment, torture and house arrest, the former editor and publisher of La Opinion in Buenos Aires traveled to Israel, was reunited with his wife and three sons who had fled earlier and began his life in exile as a columnist for Israel's largest daily, Maariv.



but a Zionist Jew. Not only a Zionist, but a left-wing Zionist who, through his hatred, has treaded on the very roots of the country that gave him shelter.

The editorial said that "to forgive him of his crimes means to give up our war against the enemies of our country whose purpose is to destroy it."
In October 1977, Argentina's Supreme Court ruled there was no proof that Timerman had any connection with the leftist guerrillas and called for his immediate release. The government refused to free him.

U.S. Secretary of State Vance, congressmen and heads of other governments appealed for Timerman's release.
On April 17, 1978, he was released from prison and put under house arrest because the military regime was investigating his financial dealings, saying it wanted proof that everything he owned was acquired legally.
An armed security force of 40 was placed inside and outside his apartment. He was to receive mail or telephone calls. His apartment was searched. His brother and... Saturdays

Reformed Jewish bodies drop 'not welcome' policy

By Joan McKinney
Staff Writer
San Francisco—Reformed Jewish organizations across the United States and Canada have...

Dwindling U.S. Jewry faces problems of Zionism, race bias

The keynote address was to be given today by a man who was last in San Francisco 12 years ago. At that time, he lectured on "New Dimensions in Anti-Semitism." Today, he's still in San Francisco, but he says everything but the newness has changed.
Bertram Gold, executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee, planned to emphasize in his speech today that while old expressions of anti-Semitism were directed against individuals, today's bigotry is directed against large groups of Jews and larger issues.
He calls it "the internationalization of political anti-Semitism." And he says what used to be "purely a domestic operation" 10 years ago now has seeped far beyond U.S. borders.
Ten years ago, Gold explained in an interview, American Jews worried about polarization and... attitudes...
which has gained popularity in recent years, "anti-Semitism is going beyond the domestic scene."
Now, Gold said, Zionism is equated not only with racism but, in the words of President Fidel Castro of Cuba, "It's a crime."
Gold and other Jewish leaders say repeated by representatives to the United Nations for whom "Israel is a symbol of the anti-American movement."
Gold believes the new anti-Semitism was fostered by "a new Marxist form of thinking which aligns the have-nots in a nation with have-not nations." American Jews he said, are considered members of the "have" society.
He said he worries about the... of Chicago-based... Jackson...

The American Jewish Committee's NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING in the PRESS

THE TRIBUNE (SAN FRANCISCO) OCT. 27, 1979

Rabin: All parties oppose PLO

By Joan McKinney
Staff Writer
San Francisco—All political parties in Israel are united in their opposition to any negotiations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin declared here yesterday.

A member of Israel's Labor Party, Rabin said he prefers to stress the points of consensus rather than difference with Premier Begin's Likud Party.

All parties, he said, agree there should be no total withdrawal to the boundaries that existed prior to the 1967 six-day war.

The Camp David agreement, he told the audience, is the basis for the framework for peace in the Middle East, even though he had not made significant progress in attaining the "total disagreement" between Israel and Egypt on every issue.

At least, he said, the first step in the negotiation of a peace treaty between... all oppose establishment of a Palestini... threat state k...

November 16, 1979

Bertram H. Gold

Judith Bankl

Draft Reply to Alexander Epstein

Attached is a draft letter in reply to Mr. Epstein's complaints about the "pejorative vituperations" concerning Ukrainians in the TV "Holocaust" series. Since this hot potato was bucked to me, it obviously reflects my own reactions and approach to the question. It may not be the most politic of responses, but I have to look at myself in the mirror every morning!

Since this letter has programmatic implications for relating to the American-Ukrainian community, you might want to check it with Irving Levine before it goes out. (I tried to check with Irv before completing this, to see if we could include some report of relations with Ukrainian ethnic leaders, but he was out of town.)

JB/es

Enclosure

cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum ✓

↓
Please return -
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Letter to Alexander Epstein

Dear Mr. Epstein:

Your thoughtful letter of October 3 reflects many of the same concerns that have been expressed to us by some leaders of the Polish-American community. We have responded to these concerns with openness, good will, and an agreement to explore frankly the long historical relationship between Poles and Jews. I assure you we are equally open to frank mutual dialogue with other ethnic communities.

As you observe, it is impossible to do justice to a subject as demonic and overwhelming as the near destruction of European Jewry in the time that was allotted to the "Holocaust" series. There is much missing we ourselves would like to have seen included.

Nevertheless, we and other major Jewish organizations did our best to promote the viewing and serious discussion of the program because we felt that, whatever its shortcomings and weaknesses, it told a story that needed telling, and that an entire generation of Americans knew very little about. During the unspeakable horror of the Hitler era, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles -- indeed, all Eastern Europeans -- suffered terribly under Nazi occupation, and millions were slaughtered mercilessly. One must begin by acknowledging that record of mutual pain and death at the hands of the Nazi murderers. But beyond the history of shared suffering, there is also a separate and unique record of profound anti-Semitism which was rampant in Eastern Europe for centuries before the Nazi tragedy, and which helped pave the way for it.

I think Americans of all backgrounds, Christian and Jews, must look at the

historical record together, with honesty and fairness. It is true that Lithuanian and Ukrainian paramilitary forces voluntarily assisted the Einsatzgruppen in rounding up and shooting helpless Jews. In some Eastern European countries, massacres of Jews preceded Nazi occupation. Even among the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian partisans who fought the Nazis there were some as anti-Semitic as they were anti-German. The chronicler of Jewish resistance, Yehuda Bauer, notes:

...When some 3,000 of Tuczyn's 6,000 Jews fled to the forests nearby, their Ukrainian neighbors turned in between one-third and one-half of them within a few days. Most of the rest were killed by the Ukrainians themselves, and some were caught by the Germans; exactly 15 survived.

It is also true that there were Eastern Europeans who helped and saved Jews, always at great personal peril and sometimes at the cost of their own lives. As you yourself have noted, Jews have honored the righteous of all nations who defended them during the time of the Holocaust. No other people has commemorated its defenders in such a fashion. The Avenue of the Just at Yad Vashem includes Ukrainian and Lithuanian names, as well as Polish. We do not forget the righteous, but neither can we forget how few they were, and how many lent themselves willingly to the slaughter, or stood aside and acquiesced in it.

Whatever the hostilities of the past, to accuse American children of Ukrainian descent of "killing Jews" is as idiotic and senseless as accusing Jewish children of being "Christ-killers." Group vilification and ethnic prejudice are the most inappropriate response to the Holocaust imaginable. On the contrary, we owe its martyred victims above all the determination to transcend the prejudice of the past, to advance intergroup and interreligious understanding, to work for human solidarity and moral responsibility. Please believe that we stand ready to cooperate with any group to advance these ends.

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Dec. 3....Lillian Block, the recently retired Editor of Religious News Service, has been selected by the American Jewish Committee to receive its 1979 National Interreligious Affairs Award.

The award will be presented to Ms. Block by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, at a luncheon on Monday, December 10, at the Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York. Prominent Christian and Jewish leaders have been invited to join in the tribute to Ms. Block.

Announcement of Ms. Block's selection to receive the award was made by Robert S. Jacobs, National Chairman of the American Jewish Committee's Interreligious Affairs Commission.

Among those who have been previously honored similarly by the Committee have been Rev. Edward Flannery, first Executive Secretary of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Secretariat on Christian-Jewish Relations, and Sister Rose Thering, Professor of Education at Seton Hall University and author of a Catholic self-study of religion textbooks.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, noting Ms. Block's contributions to building understanding among people of different religious faiths, pointed out that she had devoted "decades of her life to forging the Religious News Service into one of the major instruments of communication between Christian and Jewish leaders in the United States and in many other parts of the world. Both Ms. Block and the RNS have become the 'secret weapon' of the ecumenical and interreligious movement, providing information and insight about key personalities and events which constitute the substance of this vast movement of mutual respect and cooperation in all areas of religious and social life."

11/30/79

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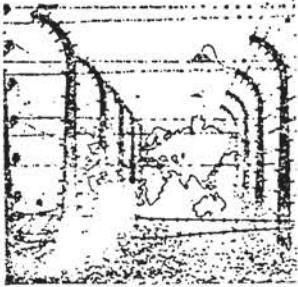
A, REL, CP, PP, EJP

Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING, INTERVENTION AND PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE

INTENSIVE DIALOGUE WORKSHOPS JUNE 17—18, 1982; CONFERENCE JUNE 20—24, 1982 • JERUSALEM

December 6, 1979

CONFERENCE PRESIDENT:
ELIE WIESEL

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
PROF. ISRAEL W. CHARNY

CO-DIRECTORS:
YOCHEVED HOWARD, M.S.
EPHRAIM HOWARD, Ph.D.

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 66th Street
New York 10022
USA

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

The record of your achievements and leadership on behalf of present day victims of destruction is a beautiful one. You therefore come very clearly to mind as a potential key leader in a project that we are now launching that will, I am sure, interest you greatly.

We are organizing an INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE which will take place in Israel in June, 1982. The Theme of the Conference is "Towards Understanding, Intervention and Prevention of Genocide".

To the best of our knowledge, there has never been a Conference that has linked the Holocaust with the genocide of other peoples as a universal problem of human beings everywhere.

The goal of the Conference throughout is to project genocide as a universal problem in the histories and futures of all peoples, to honor the national and historic concerns of each people who have been fated to suffer a tragedy of mass destruction; and at the same time to correlate these concerns with one another so that each event of genocide reflects and articulates a concern for the destruction of other peoples.

The Conference will be organized around the following working tracks:

1. REPORTS OF ONGOING GENOCIDE IN THE WORLD TODAY
2. RESPONSES IN WORLD LAW AND STATESMANSHIP TO GENOCIDE
3. INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND THREATS OF FUTURE GENOCIDE
4. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN INFORMING THE WORLD
5. TEACHING GENOCIDE OF ONE'S OWN PEOPLE AND INTERNATIONALLY.

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6. TREATING SURVIVORS AND THEIR FAMILIES
 7. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF GENOCIDE
 8. THE SOCIOLOGY OF GENOCIDE
 9. ECOCIDE AND OMNICIDE: THE NEW FACES OF GENOCIDE
 10. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY AFTER AUSCHWITZ AND HIROSHIMA.

The Conference will be preceded by a series of Intensive Dialogue Workshops for two days (Thursday and Friday) with twelve outstanding leader/teachers, each of whom will work with a group limited to forty participants.

The Conference itself then will convene for four nights and four days (Sunday-Thursday). In the Conference itself we include morning and evening Plenary Sessions in which the major invited addresses will be heard; late morning and early afternoon thematic groupings of papers and presentations which will emerge from responses to the Call for Papers we will send out internationally; late afternoon Track groups around the key themes listed beforehand, which will convene as thematic working groups on each day of the Congress, and special evening events.

I am writing to invite you to play a very special role in the Conference, and I very much hope that you will be able to accept this invitation despite the objective limitations under which we will operate.

First of all, we would ask you to be one of the twelve leader/teachers who will offer an intensive two day workshop preceding the Conference. These will be serious learning-working sessions for concerned professionals who will pay a special fee to participate.

Second, at the Conference itself, we invite you to present a Major Plenary Address to the full assembly of the Conference.

Finally, at the Conference I would like you to undertake the role of Chairperson for the Track group that is concerned with the theme: THEOLOGY. As Chairperson, you may want personally to invite specific colleagues to present invited papers in these Track sessions or to participate in the round table discussions of these sessions. Our Program Chairperson will also be directing to your Track submissions from the Call of Papers which relate to this theme. The sum and substance will be that over a period of four days these Track groups will convene as a continuous body devoted to this topic under your chairmanship. Sessions will be recorded, and plans are being made for publications as well.

The Conference will be under the auspices of the Henrietta Szold National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Jerusalem, and - most likely, following successful negotiations this summer which now await faculty ratification - Hunter College of the City University of New York.

I am delighted to share with you that we have just had word from Elie Wiesel that he agrees to be the President of the Conference (and have gone to press with this letterhead accordingly). He will also be one of the leaders of the Pre-Conference Workshops, will address the Conference, and will chair special events.

We have begun to form an Organizing Committee: Richard Arens, Editor of the much acclaimed Genocide in Paraguay, will be a member; Shamaï Davidson, an Israeli psychiatrist who is well known for his excellent work in treatment and research of survivors and their families; the Director of the Szold Institute Chanan Rapaport; Professor Salomon Rettig of Hunter College; and so forth. I would also like you to lend your name to the Committee.

The Congress will be organized technically by Kenes, an excellent firm, and travel arrangements will be by Peltours, Tel Aviv, and their world-wide affiliates. I can assure you that the Congress will be conducted in the finest taste. But most of all, I assure you that we intend to do everything for the Congress to become a real event - for all of us who want to learn from one another and be strengthened by one another in our awareness of the epidemic of genocide, and efforts to contain this epidemic.

We will be charging fees for the workshops, and a much lower fee for the Congress itself, but still a sum of money that can add up with a significant number of participants. We are also going to try to get some foundation support.

What we propose to the Pre-Conference Intensive Workshop leaders is an honorarium of \$750. We will also cover hotel and meals for the two days of the workshop, and we also promise that as registration develops for the Conference, we will gather all the credits we can muster from the hotel people to provide leaders with part or all of the hotel and food expenses throughout the Conference. We did something very similar this last year with an international mental health (family therapy) congress -- we paid workshop leaders \$600 and it all worked out beautifully, all twelve of our leaders were housed and fed in addition to the honorarium.

We are very much aware that we are inviting your participation and leadership on financial terms that are far below what you normally and deservedly command. In United States terms, the money and arrangements we offer are not much money at all; but in the Israeli reality, it is an enormous amount of money. We hope that you too will feel that there is a real point to this unique Conference that justifies the considerable sacrifice of time, effort and money that we each will contribute to the success of this Conference.


I must also add that the above commitment for the Pre-Conference honorarium and expense must be made contingent on registration for your workshops. If for some unexpected reason, there are less than thirty registrants for the workshop, the decision to cancel will be negotiated with you. We will, of course, let you know a few months before the actual date of the Conference. Experience with the Family Therapy Congress was that workshops were sold out entirely, thus demonstrating the viability of this approach. Our expectation is that the uniquely powerful meaning of this Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide will generate serious enthusiasm, but it is only right that we define arrangements realistically.

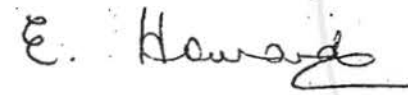
I should note before closing that we also had written Bert Gold and Sid Liskofsky to inquire about the possibility of some modest financial support by the American Jewish Committee, but obviously our invitation to you stands entirely independent of that inquiry. Your leadership, and your representation of American Jewish Committee's historic role on behalf of human rights, will be most warmly welcomed.

We sincerely hope that you will be able to accept this invitation. Please let us hear from you as soon as possible. We would like to make an initial announcement of the Conference some time this winter.

Sincerely,


ISRAEL W. CHARNY, Ph.D.
Executive Director


YOCHEVED HOWARD, M.S.
Co-Chairman, Program


EPHRAIM HOWARD, Ph.D.
Co-Chairman, Organization



NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Dec. 10...The development of Jewish-Christian relationships over the past four decades has been "truly phenomenal," according to Lillian Block, who recently retired as Editor of Religious News Service after 37 years in that position. The RNS is a wire service that disseminates news of a religious nature to news media throughout the country, under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Speaking at a luncheon given in her honor by the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee at AJC national headquarters here, Ms. Block recalled that when she first joined RNS in 1943, "one rarely saw a Jewish story in a Catholic or Protestant paper or vice versa." By contrast, she said, the amount of space given today to Jewish news in the Christian press indicated that "we've made tremendous progress."

Ms. Block credited much of this progress to the work the American Jewish Committee has done over the years in interreligious relations.

"The Interreligious Department of the American Jewish Committee," she said, "has concerned itself with all developments of concern to the total religious community, bringing to bear on these developments the Jewish perspective. By so doing, it has created understanding among the different faith groups even in those instances where a consensus could not be reached. And by creating such understanding, it has found that often a moral consensus could be achieved."

Ms. Block also paid tribute to the AJC's involvement in many domestic and international concerns that involve ethical considerations. She said:

"The American Jewish Committee has spoken out boldly on all major national and international developments with moral or ethical implications. Often it has done so in concert with other religious groups, and on divisive issues it has promoted understanding by encouraging fruitful dialogue."

-more-

Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's National Director of Interreligious Affairs, presented Ms. Block with the organization's National Interreligious Affairs Award. Declaring that she had "forged the Religious News Service into one of the major instruments of communication between Christian and Jewish leaders in the United States and in many other parts of the world," he added:

"Both Ms. Block and the RNS have become 'the secret weapon' of the ecumenical and interreligious movements, providing information and insight about key personalities and events which constitute the substance of this vast movement of mutual respect and cooperation in all areas of religious and social life."

The full text of Ms. Block's acceptance statement follows:

"This is indeed a most meaningful award for me. I've often been asked about RNS 'policy,' and my answer is always the same: 'To disseminate accurate and interesting information about all developments of concern to the total religious constituency, and by so doing, to create understanding of one another even in those instances where a consensus cannot be reached. In creating such understanding, we may be surprised to learn that we often can reach a moral consensus.'

"With this policy as a touchstone for 37 years, you can understand why this award is so gratifying. The Interreligious Department of the American Jewish Committee has certainly concerned itself with all those developments of concern to the total religious community, bringing to bear on these developments the Jewish perspective. And by so doing, it has created understanding among the different faith groups even in those instances where a consensus could not be reached. And by creating such understanding, it has found that often a moral consensus could be achieved.

"The American Jewish Committee has spoken out boldly on all major national and international developments with moral or ethical implications. Often it has done so in concert with other religious groups, and on divisive issues it has promoted understanding by encouraging fruitful dialogue.

"The development of Jewish-Christian relationships during my 37-year tenure, with RNS has been truly phenomenal. And what a volume that would make! But I shall always be grateful that I was around, disseminating religious news on Oct. 28, 1965 at the time of the adoption of the Vatican II Declaration on Non-Christian Religions. That was a decisive turning point in the 1900 years of relationships between Jews and Christians in the Western World. With its clear-cut repudiation of anti-Semitism it marked a growing respect for Judaism as a living religion of permanent value to its adherents. And it was your national interreligious affairs director, Marc Tanenbaum, who was the only rabbi present at the Vatican Council during the deliberations that led to the adoption of this historic Conciliar Declaration.

"I could go on to your liaison work with the World Council of Churches and other international religious bodies. There is much work still to be done. But when I recall that when I first came to RNS in 1943, one rarely saw a Jewish story in a Catholic or Protestant paper or vice versa, and the amount of space given today in the Christian press to Jewish news, views and commentary, I'm here to tell you, that we've made tremendous progress. And I credit this largely to all the work you've done in Jewish-Catholic relations, Jewish-mainline Protestant relations, Jewish-Evangelical relations, and Jewish-Eastern Orthodox relations.

"And because interreligious news has been my life's work, and because you are such a valuable instrument in promoting good interreligious relations, this award means very much to me, and you have my heartfelt thanks."

12/10/79
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A, REL, CP, PP,EJP

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER

FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

503 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312

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news

date December 14, 1979

for release Immediately

contact Steve Klein

KING CENTER ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR 12TH ANNUAL BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION PROGRAM IN HONOR OF DR. KING DRAWS SCORES OF PUBLIC FIGURES

ATLANTA....Mrs. Coretta Scott King, president of The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, and Mr. Jesse Hill, Jr. chairperson of The Center's Board of Directors, today outlined plans for a week-long celebration in honor of Dr. King's 51st birthday anniversary.

"We are planning a unique program featuring many new initiatives to help insure that The King Center will be on correct course as we begin the new decade," Mrs. King and Mr. Hill said. "Many of the traditional events of our January program will be expanded and streamlined, but we are also organizing conferences, workshops and strategy sessions to challenge newly emerging social and economic problems." The theme for the week-long program, which begins on January 10th, is "Creating the Beloved Community: Non-violent Social Change in the Eighties."

Mr. Lloyd Davis, newly appointed Executive Vice President of the King Center, said that, to date, confirmed participants in the 1980 birthday observance program include: U.S. Cabinet Secretaries Patricia R. Harris (HEW), Moon Landrieu (HUD) and Neil Goldschmidt (Transportation); U.S. Representatives John Conyers (D-Mich.), Walter Fauntroy (D-Wash., D.C.) and Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.); Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chairperson of The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission; Governor George Busbee of Georgia; Former Ambassador Andrew Young; Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta; Vernon Jordan, president of The National Urban League; Labor Leaders Murray Finley (President ACTWU), Jerry Wurf (President, AFSCME) and Cleveland Robinson (Vice President, District 65 UAW); Religious leaders Rev. Charles Adams, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum and Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr.; Mrs. Coretta Scott King; entertainer Stephanie Mills; and business leaders Jesse Hill, Jr., president of The Atlanta Life Insurance Company and Coy Eklund, president of The Equitable Assurance Society. Many more public figures are expected to join the program in the next few weeks.

Mrs. King and Mr. Hill said that new workshops and strategy sessions will include: Making The King Center Relevant to the Needs of the Hispanic Community; An Education Forum on Housing and Community

(MORE)

Development Issues (sponsored by The King Center and The Department of Housing and Urban Development); a special meeting and planning session for military chaplains; a major national Workshop on Black-Jewish Reconciliation; and "The U.S. Census: No More Undercount."

The traditional events of Dr. King's birthday observance being organized include: The Benefit Concert; The Labor/Management/Government Social Responsibility Awards Breakfast; The Annual Policy Conference; Cultural Night; The Ecumenical and Interfaith Services; The Martin Luther King, Jr. Nonviolent Peace Prize Awards Ceremony; The Youth Motivation Rally; and The Annual March and Rally.

The King Center has secured the assistance of professional housing and transportation coordinators to serve thousands of participants expected in Atlanta during the celebration. In addition, The Center is actively soliciting volunteers to work in program areas. A final schedule of events will be disseminated in the near future.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

-30-



Catholic Journal

cc: Rabbi James Rudin
Inge L. Gibel
H. Applebaum
B. Newman

Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Long Island Chapter

date December 20, 1979

to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

from Adam Simms

subject Pawlikowski's "Dear Colleague" letter re: National Conference of Catholic Bishops on Israel

This is just an incidental piece of intelligence gleaned from Fr. George Graham, of the Rockville Centre's Catholic-Jewish Relations Committee.

At the committee's monthly meeting earlier this week, Fr. Graham brought to our attention Jim Wall's editorial in Christian Century (Oct. 31, 1979), which cited Fr. Pawlikowski's "Dear Colleague" letter. Fr. Graham stated that upon reading the editorial, he had called Gene Fisher in November to request confirmation and/or clarification as to whether Pawlikowski's comments were an accurate reflection of the NCCB's views. Upon learning that that was not entirely the case, Fr. Graham had urged a clarifying letter be sent to the magazine. As none had appeared in print by the time our meeting (Dec. 18), Fr. Graham was perturbed enough to bring the matter to our attention and solicit our recommendations.

As you can see from the attached, received courtesy of Fr. Graham, the matter is now moot.

I bring this to your attention to provide some balance to a memo I sent earlier this month reporting on Fr. Graham's role at the metropolitan area's Catholic-Jewish colloquium on the Federici paper. At that session, Graham wore a black hat; in this instance, white. Perhaps the common denominator is Graham's theological conservatism and his visceral distrust of liberals, such as John. At any rate, the bottom line seems to be that a decade of involvement in Catholic-Jewish dialogue has had some positive benefits for us in terms of Fr. Graham's sensitization to Jewish concerns regarding Israel. All in all, he remains a fascinating personality for me.

Best regards.

AS:pmc
enc.

Adam Simms

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tion, with which the book begins. Most articles are illustrated with black and white photos or engravings. Ready reference.

THE CELTIC WORLD. By Barry Cunliffe. McGraw-Hill, 224 pp., \$39.95.

You may never have been to Llanfairpwllgwyngyllgogerychwyrndrobwillantysiliogogoch, the Welsh town which boasts the longest name on any railroad station in the world. But it is part of the Celtic heritage which still influences the lives of its sons and daughters and everyone else in western Europe and Anglo-America. The Celts, according to Professor Barry Cunliffe of Oxford, emerged around the eighth century B.C. in central Europe, but today their culture lives on most notably in Ireland, Scotland, Wales.

to and influenced the Celtic world. It tells a suspenseful story of Celtic spread and survival and, with the designing aid of Emil M. Bühler, has produced an informing and delightful book with pictures that flow from the historical text.

THE SHAKER SPIRITUAL. By Daniel W. Patterson. Princeton University Press, 562 pp., \$55.00; \$65.00 after December 31.

The Shakers were a very small sect, but out of their communities came a very large number of original songs, a few of which have entered the hymnals of other traditions. The inclusion of 366 songs in one book may suggest completeness; hardly — since about 8,000 to 10,000 Shaker spirituals survive. Those who know say that Patterson has the

tenor of the one-note exercise can pick out the tunes on the piano. Patterson stays out of the way; his own comments are economical in character, as befits Shaker ways. There are also some helpful and even entertaining photographs in this giant.

THE DISCOVERY OF SOUTH AMERICA. By J. H. Parry. Taplinger, 320 pp., \$25.00.

Professor Parry of Harvard needs no introduction to students of discovery and reconnaissance; he is a master. So it is good news to see him putting on his Samuel Eliot Morison mien and doing something on the grand scale, with illustrations and all. Parry deals with conquest, but is also able to impart the spirit with which European newcomers greeted new shores.

Letters

* Clarification re Israel

† THE editorial "Israel's Friends Display Concern," by James M. Wall, uses as its springboard an unofficial "Dear Colleague" letter sent by John Pawlikowski of our advisory committee. As members of that committee, we feel, in consultation with Father Pawlikowski, that a clarification should be made.

Father Pawlikowski's letter summarizes well the discussion we had at our meeting concerning the current mood of opinion we detect in the Catholic community regarding Israel and the Middle East. But we would wish Christian Century readers to know that we cannot accept Mr. Wall's editorial commentary as accurately reflecting our own views on the complex Middle East equation. These comments, which he has every right to make in his own name, go well beyond what we had in mind.

We would not, to cite but one example, agree in any way with the view that "terrorism has become the only means for public expression of outrage left to the Palestinian community." Given the Palestinians' — and even the PLO's — access to the media and to the U.N. today, this statement is absurd on its face. And we are certain we would have the agreement of the vast majority of American Catholics in condemning terrorism as an inexcusable moral outrage.

The editorial implies support for a sovereign nation state for Palestinians, a position different from that held by the U.S. government. We are aware of other possibilities being proposed for the future of the area, which many hope will accord with Palestinian rights and aspirations.

We would dissociate ourselves entirely from the unfortunate and pejorative nuances that permeate Mr. Wall's editorial. Such terms as "so-called" (with reference to the autonomy plan) or "shallowness" and "token" (with reference to the debate over settlements) are, your readers should be aware, not ours but rather Mr. Wall's editorial additions.

Finally, it must be clear that our own group is not lessening in any way its traditional and strong support for Israel. Our discussion evinced the concerns of a friend. We continue to believe wholeheartedly that the actual needs of the Palestinians can be realized only in the context of a Middle East that includes a healthy and secure Jewish State of Israel.

GEORGE G. HIGGINS,

Chairperson, Advisory Committee.

EUGENE J. FISHER,

Executive Secretary.

Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations,
National Conference of
Catholic Bishops,
Washington, D.C.

Supporting Schools

† MOST of Lyle Schaller's article "Public Versus Private Schools: A Divisive Issue for the 1980s" (Nov. 7) was perceptive and sensitive in portraying difficult choices, with good evidence for different positions. Then his third conclusion was a flat statement:

The preponderance of research suggests that if a denomination is interested in influencing the development of future

adults, the best investment of scarce financial resources is in nursery schools, kindergartens, elementary and high schools — rather than in colleges or universities.

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memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 21, 1979
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Marjorie Klein
subject Oberammergau Tours

Lillian Port, an AJC member, phoned in as a result of reading News & Views, information regarding a group tour sponsored by the Matterhorn Club of New York. She also said the club has many Jewish members who simply might not be aware of the play's history or content. The President of the Matterhorn Club is Nancy Nelson, 486-0505.

Lillian Port would like to know about the steps we take and their result.

Attached is a copy of the letter Judy sent to the New Jersey Education Association.

cc: Judy Banki

December 14, 1979

Mr. Frank Totten, President
New Jersey Education Association
180 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08618

Dear Mr. Totten:

It has come to our attention that the New Jersey Education Association is planning a tour of its members to Oberammergau, including the famous Passion Play. As performed in years past, the Oberammergau pageant was a potent vehicle of anti-Jewish prejudice, reflecting an ingrained negative attitude toward Judaism and Jewry. One of the play's strongest admirers in modern times was Adolf Hitler, who stated at the height of the Second World War: "It is vital that the Passion Play be continued at Oberammergau; for never has the menace of Jewry been so convincingly portrayed." The American Jewish Committee's concern with the anti-Semitic character of the Passion Play goes back to the 1950's, and had been expressed in publications, scholarly symposia, meetings with the officials of the town of Oberammergau, as well as with Vatican, German and American Church officials.

We are aware that the script for the 1980 performance of the Passion Play has been significantly revised. Despite important improvements, however, we believe that the drama retains an anti-Jewish impact.

I have enclosed a copy of our comprehensive study of the revised text for the 1980 production and some other materials bearing on the Passion Play. I urge you to carefully consider these materials, and the possible impact of the Oberammergau drama on Christian-Jewish understanding and mutual cooperation-- goals to which I am sure we are all equally committed. We shall be very interested in your reactions.

Very sincerely yours,

JHB:mk
encls.

Judith Banki
Assistant National Director
Interreligious Affairs

cc: James Connerton, Exec. Dir.
Carey Pittman, Dir. of Travel
Philip Saperia, Dir. AJC New Jersey

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Dec 24....Mrs. Coretta Scott King has invited Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, to deliver the keynote address at an ecumenical service commemorating the life and work of her late husband, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The service, to be held on Tuesday morning, Jan. 15, at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, will be part of a week-long observance of Dr. King's fifty-first birthday. He was born Jan. 15, 1929.

This is believed to be the first time that a national Jewish leader has been invited to keynote the annual service in memory of Dr. King.

In accepting the invitation, Rabbi Tanenbaum called it a "major gesture of friendship and reconciliation between responsible leaders of the Black and Jewish communities." He stated:

"I sincerely hope that this notable event will constitute another contribution to healing some of the strains that have unfortunately developed in recent months between Blacks and Jews. I certainly will do everything in my power to make it serve that vital purpose."

"In a world in which there is so much human suffering and denial of human rights, in which an epidemic of dehumanization and fanaticism has developed, what binds Jews and Blacks together is infinitely greater than what divides them," he added.

Rabbi Tanenbaum who, in a 1978 poll of the nation's religion writers, was named "one of the ten most respected and influential religious leaders in America," had been program chairman of the first National Conference on Religion and Race in 1963. That conference provided the first national

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Richard Maass, President; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, Board of Governors; Morton K. Blaustein, Chairman, National Executive Council; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

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ecumenical platform to be addressed by Dr. King, and has been regarded as a turning point in the forging of the civil rights movement.

In addition to Rabbi Tanenbaum, the week-long celebration of Dr. King's birthday, sponsored by The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, will include among the participants U.S. Cabinet Secretaries Patricia R. Harris (HEW), Moon Landrieu (HUD) and Neil Goldschmidt (Transportation), as well as leading figures in the worlds of labor, industry, state and federal government, entertainment, and the Black and interreligious communities.

12/21/79

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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1979

RELIGIOUS OBSERVERS OFFER ASSESSMENT
OF WHAT'S AHEAD FOR RELIGION IN '80S

By Hiley H. Ward
Religious News Service Correspondent (12-26-79)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- What's ahead for religion in the 1980s"

According to church historian Martin E. Marty of the University of Chicago "there will be a recovery of more of a global sense of religion."

The events of the day, he said, from South Africa to Iran, "have started alerting Americans that they are living in a big world" and not just in a nation. Dr. Marty, who is also associate editor of the Christian Century, Chicago, says the growth of Christianity, for instance, from 25 million persons in Africa to 75 million in 25 years, plus the emergence of Islam as a major international force, helps to shift the focus of religion to a broader arena.

Dr. Marty also sees "religion by TV growing more powerful," as some 1,400 radio stations, 30 TV stations and 66 cable systems in the U.S. were specializing in religious broadcasting at the end of the 70s.

And, Dr. Marty says, there will be "some return of resentment against religion" and some new church-state battles, possibly in areas where the church and synagogues appear to get a "free ride" in tax exemption in an era of tax reform.

Also, Dr. Marty says, "Inflation is pricing many religious things out of the market." These include, he says, the former luxuries of young people being able to take off and "go to Orange County in California and chant OM," the mystical eastern meditative sound. "Now young people have to work and they are getting masters of business degrees."

Soaring costs also will likely curb new church construction, he says.

The head of research for the National Council of Churches, Peggy Shriver, assistant general secretary of the NCC, says: "For everybody, the inflation problem will hit very hard -- especially volunteer and national organizations. People will keep the dollars locally."

(more)

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The expected energy crunch, she says, might encourage joint use of buildings instead of heating a number of buildings.

"We will also have to do some spiritual wrestling as to what life is all about," she said. "We will have to help people to love God and neighbor more than things. We will be called on to help people to be less vindictive to the poor who will be harder and harder to take into account" and harder to aid as money becomes tighter.

The Ayatollah Khomeini is also on her mind: "We may have to wrestle with the idea of networks of Christians facing repressive governments and also with how we learn to co-exist with a militant religion different from our own."

For Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, New York, the Iranian Shi'ite militantism, with support from the Palestine Liberation Organization, may help to clarify allegiances and tell the world "what we are up against."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, says in the 1980s "we're going to see cooperation becoming almost commonplace. There will be less preoccupation with theological subtleties," although how the Vatican's new censuring of theologians, such as the Rev. Hans Kueng, will affect the Vatican's sense of priorities remains to be seen, Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

Religious leaders will become activists to a greater degree, Rabbi Tanenbaum said, because "with the growing feeling that the world is out of control and militarism has gone amuck, survival is going to be the big question."

Appearing on a platform with Billy Graham recently, Rabbi Tanenbaum recalls, "when Billy Graham talked about Armageddon, I didn't smile.

"One of the great shifts (in the 80s) will be to try to preserve human existence, and thus religious leaders will press for ongoing dialogue with decision-makers."

In the Jewish community, Rabbi Tanenbaum sees greater roles for women, with Conservative Judaism settling the debate in its ranks in favor of ordaining women.

But Rabbi Tanenbaum sees the possibility of greater polarization over this issue of the role of women and over other issues, such as whether Judaism should evangelize and the question of defining what is a Jew, a big issue for the nation of Israel.

Rabbi Tanenbaum also sees greater decentralization in Judaism with the continued development of small groups in houses and centers.

Roman Catholic bishops, interviewed at their recent meeting in Washington, D.C., see some of the old debates continuing and new opportunities for developing new programs.

For Bishop Nicholas D'Antonio, of New Orleans, "in the 1980s, there will be a going strong on issues until it is settled what God wants." There will be continued discussion, he says, about celibacy, married priests, and women.

Bishop Joseph Breitenbeck, of Grand Rapids, Mich., sees a continuation in rewriting of the language of the liturgy. He also expects further tightening of the financial belt and more decentralization. Cardinal John Dearden, of Detroit, points out that "we had a strong emphasis on the pattern of living out of the Gospel" in the 70s, and he sees that social concern continuing.

Archbishop John R. Quinn, of San Francisco, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, says in the next decade the church "will have to respond to the needs of the Spanish Americans" and to work toward new efforts in Christian education, "reaching a number of children not being reached."

Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, who was one of the four clergymen to visit the American hostages in Iran at Christmas, predicted that "the 80s will be a stepping up to the moral question of the arms race."

For Roman Catholics, said Bishop Bernard J. Flanagan of Worcester, Mass., "There will be an implementation of a program of evangelization, an emphasis on ministering to the family, and an attempt to renew all of parish life."

Auxiliary Bishop Joseph A. Francis of Newark, N.J., commented that "the economic situation in the United States will be important as will the care of the elderly and the poor -- all of these we will have to deal with."

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MSGR. W.H. PARADIS RESIGNS AS BISHOPS' EDUCATION AIDE

By Religious News Service (12-26-79)

WASHINGTON (RNS) -- Msgr. Wilfrid H. Paradis, secretary for education of the U.S. Catholic Conference since 1977, has resigned effective January 31.

Msgr. Paradis, a priest of the Diocese of Manchester, N.Y., has been commissioned to write a history of the diocese, which celebrates its centennial in 1984.

Bishop Thomas C. Kelly, O.P., USCC general secretary, paid tribute to the New Hampshire priest who has served the conference since 1973. "His most conspicuous achievement," Bishop Kelly said, "was to see the National Catechetical Directory, Sharing the Faith, through to successful completion. Msgr. Paradis made a truly historic contribution to Catholic life by his role in this project."

Following his ordination in 1949, Msgr. Paradis earned doctorates in history from the University of Paris and in canon law from the Catholic University of Paris. He was also a Fulbright scholar. He served in educational and administrative posts in Manchester until his appointment as project manager for the catechetical directory in 1973.



ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

Parish Preparation Committee
for the Papal Visit

Reverend and dear Father,

As the time for the Holy Father's visit nears, we are all too conscious that we are not as prepared as we would like to be. Hopefully, your parish staff can say--as we--that we can rejoice in our own coming together and recognizing the unity that we share in the Church and to pray that "all may be one."

Reconciliation

In our haste, perhaps someone will be slighted and we need to be reconciled. This is especially appropriate during the week prior to the Holy Father's arrival. October 1st, is the day on which the Jewish community celebrates Yom Kippur--the Day of the Atonement. In this packet (cf. Appendix I-Prayer Service for Reconciliation on the Day of Atonement), you will find a para liturgy that can be used or adapted to express this need to seek forgiveness even for the hurts that were not intended and were never brought to our attention. It is also an opportunity to express our unity with the Jewish community.

Reaching Out in the Parish

Perhaps there are persons in your parish who will be left out of the "event" simply because they have not been directly involved and will not have the opportunity to be even on the edge of the crowds. Now is a time for being particularly attentive to them. Because of age and infirmity, some will have to avoid crowds and rely on the media. Perhaps those who are able would welcome a common viewing place like the parish hall for the Papal Mass. They would then "be the Church" together, knowing that Jesus is in their midst because they have come in His name, to gather in prayer.

With conviction, clergy, lay distributors, and ministers to the sick can make this week an occasion to express the Holy Father's care for these persons and to greet them in the Pope's name while they affirm their suffering as having value for the whole Church. (Cf. Appendix II-Prayer Service for the Sick).

Prayer

The time is fast approaching when we will simply have to turn our preparations over to the Lord and particularly concentrate on the prayer dimension in a variety of forms.

The Archdiocese of Chicago is especially gifted by large numbers of local prayer groups. Reverend James J. Jakes, the Cardinal's Liaison to the Charismatic Renewal asks us to assure all the people of the Archdiocese that there will be ten specific prayer meetings of intercession for this occasion. Prayer for the Pope's visit will be carried on by over one hundred fifty prayer groups within the Archdiocese of Chicago.

In this packet, you will find what might be suitable prayers to use as one follows the Holy Father's journey or in whatever way you would like. (Cf. Appendix III-Traveling with the Pope in Prayer). This material may be reproduced and used at any time in the future.

A Pilgrimage of Faith

Many parishes will have groups traveling to the Papal Mass at Grant Park. Included in this packet, too, is a suggested way of praying on the bus, in the parish church before the pilgrimage begins, or to use in the parish in another way. You might even like to make it available to parish groups, families, etc. (Cf. Appendix IV- Pilgrimage Prayer Service)

Liturgical Aids

In addition to the aids provided by the Papal Liturgy Committee, we are including intercessory prayers for parish use and the Byzantine/Ukrainian Intonations (Polycron) that will be used at Grant Park.

Because the work of preparation does not end with the event, this committee intends to send you one last packet for parish follow up. We shall meet on the week following the Pope's departure to reflect on what we have seen, experienced and heard. We are grateful for your contributions to our work through your letters, suggestions, and telephone calls. We also call your attention to the television program "Of Cabbages and Kings" on W-L-S, T.V. Channel 7 on Sunday, September 30, 12:30 P.M. It will feature a discussion by this committee on parish preparation.

We express once more our willingness to serve and be available to you and join in the Church's effort to be united as we journey toward the Kingdom.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Reverend Ronald N. Kalas
Miss Mary Jo Tully
Co-Chairpersons Parish
Preparation Committee

P.S. We include too, a paper prepared by the Catholic School Office and the Archdiocesan Center of CCD for use in their religious education programs entitled "What is a Pope?" Perhaps you will find it helps provide a pastoral context to a question that should be answered pastorally. Additional copies of this paper may be obtained by calling the CCD Center (243-3700) or you may feel free to reproduce it.

PRAYER SERVICE FOR RECONCILIATION ON DAY OF ATONEMENT

Leader: It is Yom Kippur. The Jewish Community all over the world is remembering its failings and fasting. They are ritualizing their sorrow. We pray with them. Together, we recall that there have been times when our goodness did not show. We come from that heritage and are called to ask forgiveness.

Reader: We remember life...
life that never happened because of us,
the smile that someone could not smile,
the prayer that could not be spoken,
the little resentment that grew and grew,
all life that did not happen.

We are sorry...
for the times when we could not give the life for which another called
for the life another offered and we refused
for the times it was easier to live with quiet death and not to live fully.

Most of all...
We are sorry for "missed" opportunities
Will they be sent again?
Will others risk?

The Jews of yore had a scapegoat...
We've had ours...
We will not list them--

You know them well!

The Jews sent their goat to the desert...
United, we send ours!

Leader: Let us silently remember a time when we avoided reconciliation or would not ask forgiveness.

(SILENT TIME)

Reader: Leviticus 16:20-22

Leader: Jesus has come to make us one. He has made us aware of a Father ever willing to accept us into His welcoming arms. We gather there now. We need no scapegoats. We need one another. We need Jesus. We need the Church. We celebrate the future by remembering that we are called to unity. We pray for the Kingdom in the Lord's Prayer.

All: The Lord's Prayer.

Leader: Go forth with the willingness to seek forgiveness from someone on this day and to grant it to yet another in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

All: Amen.