

Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 99, Folder 3, General correspondence, memos & working papers, January-May 1984.

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# AMERICAN JEWISH Original documents faded and/or illegible

54. Jes, 2753

# KWIC, INC.

Ken Whittaker Investigative Consulta

The Whittaker Building 1065 N.E. 125th Street – Suite 300, North Miami, Florida 33161-5833 Phone: 305/895

## January 13, 1984

## INVESTIGATIVE REPORT JAMES HOUGHTON

## PREDICATION:

Income State 1. Commist, A 1157-A

This investigation was based on the request of Louis Jepeway, Jr., Esq., Jepeway & Jepeway, 101 East Flagler Street, Miami, Florida to locate and interview James Houghton of Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Houghton is alleged to be a significant witness in the reopening of a 1975 murder case involving Bill Shapiro who is presently serving a life sentence.

## RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION:

KWIC consultants contacted various state and local sources as to the full identity and/or location of Mr. James Houghton. This inquiry developed negative results.

KWIC consultants researched the records of Dade and Broward counties. Results of these inquiries disclosed that a James A. and Joan Ann Houghton owned Lots #54, 55, 56 and 57 in the Bay Colony Section of The Landings, Fort Lauderdale. This area of Fort Lauderdale includes several streets, drives and points with the main name of "Compass".

Further search developed that a James Arthur Houghton died of lung cancer on July 16, 1981. A certified copy of his death certificate is enclosed with this Report.

This death certificate showed a home residence of 2520 N. Andrews Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida. A check of this residence disclosed that a Steven Houghton acquired a new telephone listing at this address in 1983. A telephone call was made to this residence and an individual by the name of Doug Houghton answered. He stated that his brother, Steven, and his mother, Joan Ann, resided at this address.

Mrs. Joan Ann Houghton was contacted and she stated that her husband was the James Houghton who was involved in the Shapiro murder case. Mrs. Houghton stated that her husband did, in fact, die in July 1981.

Mrs. Houghton recalls the circumstances concerning her husband's involvement with Shapiro. This involvement had to do with her husband's meeting with Shapiro on the date and at the specific time the murder occurred. Mrs. Houghton recalled that her husband called her either that night or the next day from New York. Her husband advised that he, in fact, had had a meeting with Shapiro at the Miami International Airport and her husband said that the meeting had occurred at or around the time the murder was committed. Mrs. Houghton also recalled that she accompanied her husband to the State Attorney's Office in Miami Beach where he gave a deposition concerning this case.

Mrs. Houghton said she could not understand how Shapiro was convicted based on her husband's testimony and she felt that Shapiro was smarter than to be involved in a murder.

Mrs. Houghton stated that she would look through her personal records and also speak to her son, Steven, who is now age 24, and Doug, who is now age 16, for any recollections of Shapiro and/or the events in and around the time of the murder. To date, Mrs. Houghton has not provided any further statements or documents to KWIC.

The foregoing information has been telephonically furnished to the client and, with no further leads to follow, this investigation is closed.

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משרד המשפטיב

Jerusalem, 1st January, 1984

Dr. Charles H. Kremer President Committee to Bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U.S.A., Inc. 135 West 106th Street New York, NY 10025 U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Kremer,

Your letter, dated November 30, 1983, to the Prime Minister has been forwarded to me.

I may assure you on behalf of the Ministry of Justice that no amount of money, time or personnel will deter us from bringing to justice Nazi war criminals.

As you have already heard, we asked the U.S. Government to extradite John Demjanjuk to Israel to be tried for his atrocities in Treblinka.

The question of Trifa, under consideration, is partly legal; whether, according to our law, our courts will have jurisdiction over him for the acts committed in Romania. As long as this is not positively resolved, we cannot ask for his deportation to Israel.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Joseph Ben-Or Senior Assistant State Attorney

Dr. Charles H. Kremer President Committee to Bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U.S.A., Inc. 135 West 106 th Street New York, NY 10025 U.S.A.

> 4531 V? V.a.

רה' צלאה א-דין 29 • ה"ד 1087 • רושלים • מיקוד 1010 • טלפון וווסדב-22



Dr. John A. Kromkowski President

P.O. Box 33279 • Washington, D.C. 20033 • 202/232-3600

TO: National Leadership Conference on Ethnic Affairs

- FROM: John Kromkowski
  - SUBJ: Federal Assistance to Urban Ethnic Neighborhoods
  - DATE: January 5, 1984

I am writing to ask your assistance on a matter which is of great concern to local non-governmental, neighborhood-based, voluntary groups across the country. I am referring to the Neighborhood Development Demonstration Act (NDDA), which was recently authorized in the Housing and Urban-Rural Recovery Act of 1983 signed by President Reagan on November 30, 1983. (Enclosed find a copy of the NDDA legislation).

The prime sponsor in the Senate of the NDDA was Senator John Heinz (R-PA), who introduced this legislation along with other Republican Senators. This program will establish a unique public/private partnership because it requires that private funds be raised from neighborhood residents, local businesses, and religious institutions in order for neighborhood-based organizations to qualify for an NDDA matching grant. This legislation will stimulate and encourage lasting community support and private contributions for needed neighborhoodbased projects.

Both Senator Heinz and Senator Jake Garn (R-UT) are strong proponents of NDDA. As a result of their efforts, NDDA was authorized at the level of \$2 million for Fiscal Year 1984 and \$2 million for FY '85; also, \$2 million was approved in the FY '84 HUD appropriations for "Neighborhood Development Grants." The National Neighborhood Coalition has learned that a technical issue regarding the connection between the appropriation of funds and the authorization of the Neighborhood Demonstration Act may hinder the implementation of this small, but potentially valuable mechanism of support for urban ethnic neighborhoods.

As you well know helping people to help themselves has been an important feature of the neighborhood revitalization movement which has contributed to the regeneration of urban ethnic communities in the older cities of the Midwest and Northeast.

aging / advocacy / arts / commercial revitalization / community / credit unions / crime prevention / development / disinvestment / drug abuse / economics / othnicity / health / housing / humanities / law / neighborhood / organizing / policy / program development / program management / religious institutions / research / resource management / social services / technical assistance / training / transportation / volunteers / affiliated with the U.S. Catholic Conference

Our experiences show that a modest federal investment in a local non-governmental, neighborhood association can go a long way toward stabilizing and invigorating neighborhoods that have been ignored and neglected. Prolonged neglect yields decay and finally complete demolition.

The National Neighborhood Coalition has written to Mr. James A. Baker, III, Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500 in support of the Neighborhood Development Demonstration Act and has requested Mr. Baker to rectify and to resolve whatever may be stifling the implementation of the NDDA. I trust that the executive branch will cut through the bureaucratic snags that threaten this program.

You can help by writing to President Reagan in support of federal self-help assistance to neighborhoods and by asking your Representatives and Senators to insist on the implementation of NDDA legislation.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - SENATE

November 17, 1953

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT DEMONSTRATION SEC. 123. (a) For the purposes of this sec-

tion: (1) The term "eligible neighborhood devel-

opment activity" means-(A) creating permanent job: in the neigh-

borhood; (B) establishing or expandate businesses

within the neishborhood: (C) developing, rehabilitating or manag-ing neighborhood housing stock.

(D) developing delivery mechanisms for

essential services that have lasting benefit to the neighborhood: or

(E) planning, promoting, or financing voluntary neighborhood improvement efforts.

(2) The term "eligible neighborhood development organization" means-

(A) an entity organized as a private, voluntary, nonprofit corporation under the laws of the State in which it operates:

(B) an organization that is responsible to residents of its neighborhood through a governing body, not less than 51 percent of the members of which are residents of the area served:

(C) an organization that has conducted business for at least 3 years prior to the date of application for participation:

(D) an organization that operates within an area that meets the requirements for Pederal assistance under section 119 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974; and

(E) an organization that conducts one or more eligible neighborhood development activities that have as their primary beneficiaries low- and moderate-income persons, as defined in section 102(a×20) of the Housing

and Community Development Act of 1974. (3) The term "Secretary" means the Sec-retary of Housing and Urban Development.

(bx1) The Secretary shall carry out, in accordance with this section, a demonstration program to determine the feasibility of supporting eligible neighborhood development activities by providing Pederal matching funds to eligible neighborhood development. organizations on the basis of the monetary support such organizations have received from individuals, businesses, and ponprofit or other organizations in their neighborhoods prior to receiving assistance under this section.

(2) The Secretary shall accept applications from eligible neighborhood development organizations for participation in the demonstration program. Eligible organizations may participate in more than 1 year of the program, but shall be required to submit a new application and to compete in the selection process for each program year. Not more than 30 percent of the grants may be for multiyear awards.

(3) From the pool of eligible neighborhood development organizations submitting applications for participation in a given program year, the Secretary shall select participating organizations in an appropriate number through a competitive selection process. To be selected, an applicant shall-

have demonstrated measurable achievements in one or more of the activities specified in subsection (a+4);

(B) specify a business plan for accomplishing one or 1 are of the activities specified in subsection (aH4); and

(C) specil, a strategy for schleving greater long term L .vale sector support. (c×1) The Jecretary shall award grants

under this section among the eligible neighborhood development organizations submitting applications for such grants on the basis of-

(A) the degree of economic distress of the neighborhood involved:

(B) the extent to which the proposed activities will benefit persons of low and moderate income:

(C) the extent of neighborhood participation in the proposed artivities, as indicated by the proportion of the households and businesses in the neighborhood involved that are members of the eligible neighborhood development organization involved; and

(D) the extent of voluntary contributions available for the purpose of subsection (e)(4), except that the Secretary shall waive the requirement of this subparagraph in the case of an application submitted by a small eligible neighborhood development organization, an application involving activities in a very low-income neighborhood, or an application that is especially meritorious.

(d) The Secretary shall consult with an informal working group representative of eligible neighborhood organizations with respect to the implementation and evaluation of the program established in this section.

(c)(1) The Secretary shall assign each participating organization a defined program year, during which time voluntary contributions from individuals, businesses, and nonprofit or other organizations in the neighborhood shall be eligible for matching.

(2) Subject to paragraph (3), at the end of each 3-month period occurring during the program year, the Secretary shall pay to each participating neighborhood development organization the product of-

(A) the aggregate amount of voluntary contributions that such organization certi-fies to the satisfaction of the Secretary it received during such 3-month period; and

(B) the matching ratio established for such test neighborhoods under paragraph (4).

(3) The Secretary shall pay not more than \$50,000 under this Act to any participating neighborhood development organisation during a single program year.

(4) For purposes of paragraph (2), the Secretary shall, for each participating organization, determine an appropriate ratio by which monetary contributions made to participaling neighborhood development orga-nizations will be matched by Pederal funds. The highest such ratios shall be established for neighborhoods having the smallest number of households or the greatest degree of economic distress.

(5) The Secretary shall insure that-

(A) grants and other forms of assistance may be made available under this section only if the application contains a certification by the unit of general local government within which the neighborhood to be assisted is located that such assistance is not inconsistent with the housing and community development plans of such unit, except that the failure of a unit of general local government to respond to a request for a certification within 30 days after the request is made shall be deemed to a certification; and (B) eligible neighborhood development ac-

tivities comply with all applicable provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(6) To carry out this section, the Secretary-

(A) may issue regulations as necessary:

(B) shall utilize, to the fullest extent practicable, relevent research previously conducted by Federal agencies. State and local governments, and private organizations and persons;

(C) shall disseminate information about the kinds of activities, forms of organizations, and fund-raising mechanisms associated with successful programs;

(D) shall undertake any other activity the Secretary deems necessary to carry out this section, which shall include an evaluation

and report to Congress on the demonstration and may include the the performance of research, planning, and administration, either directly, or when in the Secretary's judgment such activity will be carried out more effectively, more rapidly, or at less cost. by contract or grant: and

(E) may use not more than 5 percent of the funds appropriated for administrative or other expenses in connection with the demonstration.

(f) The Secretary shall submit to the Congress-

(1) not later than 3 months after the end of each fiscal year in which payments are made under this section, an interim report containing a summary of the activities carried out under this section during such fiscal year and any preliminary findings or conclusions drawn from the demonstration program; and

(2) not later than March 15 of the year after the end of the last fiscal year in which such payments are made, a final report containing a summary of all activities carried out under this section, the evaluation re-quired in subsection (e)(6×D) and any findings. conclusions, or recommendations for legislation drawn from the demonstration Drogram.

(g) For purposes of carrying out this section, there are authorized to be appropriated not to exceed \$2,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1984 and 1985.



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## NGO COMMITTEE ON DEVELOPMENT (NEW YORK)

c/o Non-Governmental Liaison Service Room DC2-1103 United Nations New York, NY 10017 (212) 754-3125

### STEERING COMMITTEE

Chairman Arthur Goldschmidt Society for International Development

> Vice-Chair Hazel Johns Church World Service

#### Working Group Convenors

CONSUMER PROTECTION Esther Peterson International Organization of Consumers Unions

> ENVIRONMENT Patricia Scharlin Sierra Club International

FIELD LEVEL RELATIONS Hazel Johns United Church Board for World Ministries

FOOD AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT Fred Devine Care

> POPULATION David O. Poindexter Population Institute

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY Karim Ahmed Natural Resources Defense Council

> Mildred Robbins Leet International Society for Community Development

> > TRADE AND FINANCE Barbara Adams Quaker UN Office

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS Helena Stalson Council on Foreign Relations

> WATER AND SANITATION Jean Gartlan Catholic Relief Services

#### At-Large and Ex Officio

Wallace Campbell International Cooperative Alliance

Kay Fraleigh Chair, NGO Committee on Women's Decade

Rosalind Harris President, NGO Committee on UNICEF

James Olsen Chairman, NGO Committee on Disarmament

> William Stibravy International Chamber of Commerce

> > Alba Zizzamia President CONGO

Dear Friends:

As you can see from the attached summary of the proceeding of the World Food Conference in 1974, almost ten years have passed since the stated goal "that within a decade no child will go to the bed hungry, no family will fear for its next day's bread, and no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition".

The World Food Council, which was created by that Conference ten years ago, has been given the responsibility of assessing the progress (or lack thereof) over the past ten years. That assessment will set much of the groundwork for an international food policy for the 1980s and 1990s. It is essential therefore, that the private agencies experienced in either delivery of food development policy or public policy analysis, participate in and monitor the process envisioned by the World Food Council as they prepare their Tenth Anniversary Assessment.

To facilitate the participation of the private voluntary agencies, the Working Group on Food and Rural Development of the Development Committee of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with with the U.N./ECOSOC (C.O.N.G.O. has developed a fourfold approach. The establishment of a functional clearinghouse, the organization of a preparatory meeting prior to the annual meeting of the Council, the attendance of a three member delegation at the meeting of the Council in Addis Ababa, and the production of a post-Council report.

A Standing Committee of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (CONGO).

9 January 1984

Our non-governmental participation is crucial to the validity of any assessment. Our experience is unique. More importantly, our input is the most objective that the World Food Council will receive, especially regarding the role of government on every level.

If you are interested in participating in the clearinghouse, and I strongly urge you to do so, please send in the enclosed form.

This is an important opportunity for us to influence world food policy and the Working Group looks forward to assisting in that effort.

Sincerely,

Convenor

enclosed: 1.

Quotes from the 1974 World Food Conference reports and from the 1983 World Food Council Session.

2. List of members of the Working Group on Food and Rural Development Committee of C.O.N.G.O.

3. Reply form. To The Editor:

In a letter to the editor on January 6, a Mr. Shannon Z. Taylor, national chairman of the <u>Jews Against Jackson</u> group, attempts to discredit me as a Jew based on a review of a church-made movie on thel life of Pope John Paul II.

Perhaps I should thank Mr. Taylor for at least momentarily altering my position in the newspaper from the back social section and placing me front and center amidst newsmakers. In all sincerity however, I do not appreciate it.

My <u>TV Preview</u> column is intended as a public service, not a political forum, on order to encourage and interest other Jews to listen and watch programs of a Jewish nature. Occasionally I find it worthwhile recommending something other t than a strictly Jewish product, because it is important that we know as much as we can about what is occurring in our environment that will impact on us at one time or another.

The review merely comments on one aspect of the film and the affect it was hoped to have on the Christian community who would eventually be seeing it. Is Mr. Taylor recommending that we watch <u>only</u> Jewish or "neutral" programs? To take that one step further, is he in favor of non-Jews not cormitting the sin of watching Jewish oriented programs? I guess then that we don't want to educate the Christian world to the horrors of our holocausts in our desire to prevent future ones.

Mr. Taylor gives me credit for writing "movingly" where in actuality the words are those of Rabbi Narc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee. In fact the editors of the Jewish Standard on December 9, 1983, in a different section of the paper, quoted from the same AJC release. Since the review and comments are those of Rabbi Tanenbaum, I shall forward him a copy of Mr. Taylor's letter and my response.

Regarding Mr. Taylor's numerous descriptions of the Fope's and Jesse Jackson's anti-Israeli activity, he is <u>assuming</u>, a dengerous premise in any arena of thought, that I am pro-papal anti-semetic activity, that I am pro-Jesse Jackson and furthermore that I am a supporter of Mr. Tom Dine and his AIPAC organization. How Mr. Taylor drew parallels between Mr. Dine who is a spokesman for a political body and myself based on a review of a movie is beyond me and perhaps typical of the purely emotional, illogical thinking and actions of Mr. Taylor and his organization.

For the record, no, Mr. Taylor, I am not pro-Jesse Jackson and hopefully neither is any other Jew; neither am I endorsing or condoning the many acts of Pope John Paul II which are against the best interests of klay yisroel. Then again, neither am I standing on soapboxes which a chip on my shoulder associating myself with activist groups and demeaning, insulting and alienating myself from my fellow Jews.

One of Judaism's great stengths has always been its ability to study, analyze, rationalize and respond. As a natural result of this we seem to be constantly battling each other <u>within</u> our own framework. However, Mr. Taylor, when this battling begins to dismantle the framework, and we no longer represent a united front of Jews for Jews and for Israel, then we are not only counterproductive to our mutual aims but in fact are in league with those who wish to destroy us and that is what I feel you are about.

I admire people who like yourself devote their lives selflessly to a cause which they passionately believe in. What I do not admire, however, are the causes which oftentimes lose sight of the goal and they are best achieved.

CAN JEWISH

C HITVE

Irving Gerber

January 16, 1984

Rabbi James Rudin

Jacobo Kovadloff

Father Mullins' trip/to Tsrael

As I had told you, Father Carlos Mullins is going on a trip to Israel from January 30th to February 8th as a part of a group of religious media professionals sponsored by Rev. Dick Duncan.

Please find enclosed a xerox copy of the program that Mullins was kind enough to send me.

My suggestion is that we should invite Father Mullins to stay in Israel for 5 extra days more with special program that we may arrange for him, mainly to be in touch with Latin American Spanish speaking groups.

In case that you approve of this suggestion, I will give you more details later on.

I will have lunch with Father Mullins next Friday, the 27th as a farewell. Would you like to join us? Please let me know. In the meanwhile I have sent him many materials on Israel both in Spanish & English. Awaiting your reply. Best regards.

JK/iof Enc.

cc: Bill Trosten Marc Tanenbaum / Bernie Resnikoff

## Rev. Carlos Mullins

#### Nov. 25, 1983

## Apreciado Jacobo:

Le adjunto el itinerario de la visita a Israel del 30 de enero al 8 de febrero de 1984 para que me de su autorizado parecer.

Creo que, a pesar de la brevedad, cubre bastante bien los sitios de interés de un país tan tico en tradiciones religiosas y culturales.

Estoy muy contento de hacer esta "peregrinación a las fuentes".

Espero poder cambiar la guardia (on duty) del jueves 1 de diciembre para celebrar juntos la fiesta de Hanuka.

Ese día, a las 5:55 AM saldrá por Radio WADO un breve mensaje sobre el significado de de la festividad.

Celli

Como siempre, un cordial abrazo.

CENTRO CATOLICO DE PASTORAL PARA HISPANOS DEL NORDESTE, INC. NORTHEAST CATHOLIC PASTORAL CENTER FOR HISPANICS, INC. 1011 FIRST AVENUE · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 · (212) 751-7045

Religious R	Tedia Minist	Γ.
	λ. ·	
		RELIGIOUS MEDIA CONSULTANT
		September 1, 1983
TO: Religious FROM: Rev. Dick Religious	Media Professionals Media Professionals Duncan Media Ministry-San Dieg mally flows through each th can be of great value, ent!" I'm excited, becc ing you to participate i January of 1984. cause for those who qual is tailor-made for Clerg ege, because we'll be ho ism,we'll meet many r leaders,and we'll tr oughout the 10 day trip.	<sup>2</sup> VISH
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## ISRAEL RELIGIOUS MEDIA STUDY TOUR

Jan. 30 - Feb. 8, 1984

Escorted by Rev. Dick Duncan...Religious Media Ministry (San Diego)

Jan. 30 Monday U.S.A./ISRAEL

Depart hometown to New York. Journalism briefing at Airport Press Room by NCC Media person. Connect with flight to Jel Aviv. Meals and overnight on Plane

Jan. 31 . Tuesday Iel Aviv

Arrival at airport. Transfer to Tel Aviv Hotel. Light meal then tour orientation/briefing by Tour Guide and Media Technical Assistant.

Feb. 01 . Vednesday Caesarea/Haifa/Acre/Kibbutz

Caesarea (Hippodrome)/Haifa(Mt. Carmel-Carmelite Monastery -Bahai World Center)/Acre (Crusader Fortress-St. John's Crypt-Jezar Pasha Mosque)/Drive across Galilee to Kibbutz Guesthouse for dinner and overnight. Media conference with Kibbutz leaders. (Optional visit with Kibbutz families).

feb. 02	Mt. of Beatitudes/Ein Tabgha/
Thursday	Capernaum/Sea of Galilee/
	Tiberias/Golan Heights

Video tour of Kibbutz/Mt. of Beatitudes/Ein Tabgha (traditional site of multiplication of fishes & loaves) /Capernaum (St. Peter's home)/Cruise across Sea of Galilee to Tiberias for lunch/media conference with Mayor of Tiberias. Drive around tip of Sea of Galilee and up through Golan Heights. Return to Kibbutz for dinner and media conference with Gabriel Habeeb (Middle East council of Churches) or Major Hadad (Lebanese Military leader).

Feb. 03	1	-	1	Razareth/Mt. Tabor/ Jezreel
Friday		3	1	Valley/Mcggido/Jerusalem/
	2	1		Mt. of Olives

Leave Kibbutz and proceed to Church of Annunciation in Nazareth (boyhood home of Jesus)/Visit Mt. Tabor (site of iransfiguration)/Tour Jezreel Valley (Armageddon) and visit excavations at Meggido (inspiration for James Michener's "The Source " / on to Jerusalem, arriving at Mt. of Olives at Sunset. Dinner. Walk to the Western Wall to see the welcome of the Sabbath.

Feb. 04 Saturday Jerusalem/Old City/Western Wall/Temple Mount/Dome of the Rock/Upper Room/Via Dolorosa/ Church of Holy Sepulchre/ Garden of Gethsemane/Church of All Nations/Garden Tomb

Visit Model of Jerusalem, then tour Old City. Examine Western Wall of Temple, then walk up adjacent Temple Mount and visit Dome of the Rock. Travel to Upper Room site for media conference with key religious leaders (Heads of Franciscans/Anglicans/Greek Orthodox/Ecumenical Institute). Walk the Via Dolorosa (Way of the Cross) to Church of Holy Sepulchre. Visit Garden of Gethsemane, Church of all Nat-

ions, Garden Tomb, Church of St. Anne (birthplace of Mary). Free evening.

## Feb. 05Bethlehem/Jerico/Doad Sca/SundayQumran/Ein Godi/Massada

Iravel to Bethlehem for morning worship, then to Jerico,... the Dead Sea,...Oumran (where the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered), Ein Gedi (Dasis where David found refuge from Saul)/ and continuing south to the Massada (cable car ride to Harod's palace ruins, where Zealots resisted Roman Legions ca. 70 A.D.). Return to Jerusalem for evening folk Show of Israeli Songs & Dances.

Feb. 06 Knesset/Shrine of Book/ Monday Yad Vashem

Visit Knesset (Israel Parliament) for briefing by Min. of Religious Affairs and Media Conference with available Israeli Knesset members. Visit Shrine of Book (where the Dead Sea Scrolls are on display), tour Yad Vashem (Jewish Holocaust Memorial). Free afternoon for individual video projects, special prearranged interviews, etc. Dinner with Ministry of Tourism, followed by question/answer session with panel of experts re: Israel's foreign policy and Interfaith issues.

## Feb. 07 Tuesday

**TV/Radio** Studios

Visit Israeli National IV & Radio Studios and hold Ouestion . and Answer session with members of Israeli communications agencies. Tour private IV and Radio production studios/ companies (Jerusalem Capital Studios and other). Free afternoon for video projects and special/personal agendas Farewell dinner, summary/evaluation of tour, preliminary planning for follow-up tours.

### Feb. 08 Wednesday

Israel/U.S.A.

Transfer to the Airport for departure to U.S. Arrival in Hometown the same day.

## IMPORTANT REMARKS:

 All special events and meeting with different personalities are subject to reconfirmation and some changes may be necessary.

 All efforts will be made to provide the assistance of a qualified local technician.

_ 1			QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
			DOES A "RELIGIOUS MEDIA/ STUDY TOUR" DIFFER FROM A REGULAR CLERGY STUDY TOUR?
			While participating in an Israeli Dept. of Tourism sponsored "Clergy Study Tour" in January of this year, I kept having continual attacks of the "IF ONLYS", ie., IF ONLY I had a portapak instead of this 35 MM camera,IF ONLY I could interview some members of Parliament,IF ONLY I had some extra time to videotape the Western Wall at sunset,etc. So, I made the Israeli Dept. of Tourism and the Friendship Int'l Tour Agency "an offer they couldn't refuse!!" That is, a tour designed for CLERGY with religious media backgrounds and skills, who could take full advantage of "primary site" visitations only (no tourist traps), intense media/press conferences (with key people to interview), and an itinerary which accommodates (lo, even encourages) lugging around video, film and/or audio equipment.
		2)	A professional tour guide will be traveling with us the entire trip, and a Media Technical Assistant will be "on call",to work out lighting, equipment and spare parts problems, interfacing needs, additional equipment rental, etc.
		3)	Arrangements/clearances will be worked out ahead of time, to permit filming/tapings wherever possible, in normally restricted areas/situations.
		4)	For those of you bringing portable video and/or audio equipment, a special information sheet will be mailed to you, upon receipt of deposit,covering special equipment handling, voltage interfacing, special arrangements for renting equipment, various options for live/delayed broadcast (audio and/or video) by Satellite, etc.
			IS THE ISRAELI DEPT. OF TOURISM PROVIDING A TOUR FOR SUCH BARGAIN RATES?
			The Dept. of Tourism has arranged a discount airfare with several international air carriers for CLERGY traveling to Israel. In addition, we will be traveling in the "low season" (midway between Christmas and Easter.) Hotels, transportation and tourist oriented businesses are willing to provide bargain rates to fill their rooms, seats, and streets. Bonus items are: smaller crowds (a more natural atmosphere),better accommodations/meals for your dollar. Possible disadvantages: There will still be snow on Mt. Hermon (skiing, anyone?),and the nights will be "nippy", so bring a warm coat and your vitamin C!
			Not unlike San Diego, one of Israel's top industry/income producers is TOURISM. The Holy Land has a unique experience to offer, and the Dept. of Tourism is willing to invest in the ripple effect, ie by your sharing what you've seen and experienced effectively via the media, then a) your viewers and associates may want to "go and do likewise," and b) they would want YOU to consider designing and leading a tour composed of your own associates and community.
	Q.	15	THE TOUR ITINERARY SLANTED TOWARDS ONLY ONE MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICAL/RELIGIOUS VIEWPOINT?
	Α.	1)	For the most part, you WILL be exposed to the ways various individuals in <u>Israel</u> view things (again, not unlike when you travel to San Diego, or New York, or some foreign country). However, efforts have been made to provide you with as wide a cross section of informed people as possible, throughout the country.
		2)	The "Media Conferences" listed in the itinerary were NOT suggested by the Dept. of Tourism. They were part of MY design in drawing the tour together, because I felt YOU (Religious Media Professionals) would want to do MORE than tape artistically pleasing footage of the Holy Land. I anticipated that you would ALSO want to dig into the issues, problems, visions and lives interwoven within the fabric of this unique country.
		3)	So frankly, this media tour may NOT be for you, if: a) you believe everything you hear b) you can't separate wheat from chaffc) you can't ask confrontive questions of authority figures, and d) you aren't willing to do some preparatory homework, to identify and clarify the major issues surrounding Israel and the Middle East, before coming on the tour.
	Q.,		MANY WILL BE GOING? HOW DO I INSURE THAT A SPACE WILL BE RESERVED FOR ME?
		•	To make sure that a) the tour will be able to accommodate considerable video/ audio/ filming- equipment, and b) provide reasonable opportunity to interact in the media conferencesthe tour will be limited to 25 clergy/ordeined religious modia profacionals (and spouses), who agree to(A) use this opportunity to visually/ aurally capture the Holy Land (with any focus/slant/viewpoint you wish)(B) share your results with your community by appropriate means available to you, and (C) would investigate the possibility of designing your own tour to the Holy Land at a future time (Remember the "ripple effect"!?!).*
	•		A non-refundable deposit** of \$100 will reserve a place on the tour roster, on a first-come, first-served basis (determined by postmark.) Please send only checks or money orders (made out to Friendship International). A refundable deposit of \$100 maintains a place on the waiting list. (**NOTE: Any necessary cancellation by December 15th, which is replaced by someone on the waiting list, will receive their full deposit back.)
2		ноч	CAN I GET MORE DETAILS OR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ANSWERED REGARDING THE TOUR?
	Α.	*	In addition to the forthcoming equipment information sheet mentioned above, you can contact me at (619) 286-8530, or write the Religious Media Ministry, 4778 Soria Drive, San Diego, CA 92115, or contact the Friendship International Tour Agency, 5955 Desoto Ave., Woodland Hills, CA 91355, Attn: Albert Litovskyor call (800) 227-1411.
			A tour agency representative and I will be leading a Special Interest Breakfast, Wednesday morning, November 30th, at NABS-WACC (The Galt Ocean Mile Hotel, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida). It's primarily for those already signed up with deposits,but anyone interested in the tour and hasn't yet made up your mind, is encouraged to attend also.
			** If I've done my homework fully, this is a "Win-Win" scenarioYOU get a tailor-made media tour, at a very reasonable cost, to gather first hand video/audio material about the Holy Land, with your own equipment, and have something significant to share with your media outlets in your own area. YOUR COMMUNITY enjoys the creativity of your expertise via the media, at no cost to them, and learns fresh insights about this pivotal point of the worldand the HOLY LAND receives some visibility with members of your community ANDif you design a tour of your own, you get to go back to Israel a second time (as Tour Director, at no cost), to share your knowledge first hand with your friends and associates.

January 16, 1984

Morton Yarmon

Jacobo Kovadloff

Please find enclosed xerox of a clipping from "Noticias Del Mundo" (front page), referred to the press conference with Congressman Biaggi.

I learned that a cable on it was sent by UPI and Telam Agencies. If further clippings are available I will send them to you. Regards.

JK/iof Enc.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum Joyce Kaplan Irving Levine Joseph Giordano

AÑO NUMERO 117 NUEVA YOR VIERNES 13 DE ENERO DE 198

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## Afirman que la Televisión Discrimina a las Minorías

En una conferencia de prensa ofrecida en la sede del Comité Judio Americano, el director ejecutivo nacional de la Liga de Ciudadanos Latinoamericanos Unidos Arnoldo L. Torres extendió su crítica tambien a la prensa escrita.

Inticias del

Puso como ejemplo que "el New York Times, al preparar sus artículos sobre el informe de la Comisión Kissinger, entrevistó a muchas personas en Estados Unidos, pero ninguna de ellas era de origen hispanoamericano".

Torres dijo que la liga apoyaba el proyecto presentado ante la Cámara de Representantes por el demócrata Mario Biaggi -presente también en la conferencia de prensa- de creación de una oficina de asuntos étnicos en la Comisión Federal de Comunicaciones para tratar los problemas de las minorías.

Reconoció que el gobierno del presidente Ronald Reagan "ha designado un hispano en la Comisión Federal de Comunicaciones, pero no hemos visto muchos cambios".

El Director de Asuntos Nacionales del <u>Comité Judio Americano</u> <u>Irving M. Levine dijo que "en numerosas oportunidades intentamos las</u> discusiones corteses con los directivos de televisión, pero con resultados desalentadores". Admitió que han habido algunos progresos "pero también hay un retroceso constante hacia las costumbres tradicionales del insulto étnico".

Posteriormente, en un aparte con United Press International, Torres dijo que tanto demócratas como republicanos "prestan poca atención a los hispanos. Ahora nos escuchan un poco más, pero puede ser sólo por la campaña electoral".

En la cadena de televisión ABC, dos tercios de los papeles asignados a hispanos correspondieron a personajes de delincuentes. MHIUIINUS

· ---LA TELEVISION ESTADOUNIDENSE DISCRIMINA A MINORIAS Y A

HISPANOAMERICANOS--

POR NORBERTO SVARZMAN

NUEVA YORK, ENERO 12 (UPI) -- UNA COALICION DE GRUPOS REPRESENTATIVOS DE LAS MINORIAS DENUNCIO HOY QUE LA TELEVISION DE ESTADOS UNIDOS PRESENTA UNA IMAGEN DISTORSIONADA DE ESOS GRUPOS MINORITARIOS, ESPECIALMENTE DE LOS HISPANOAMERICANOS.

EN UNA CONFERENCIA DE PRENSA OFRECIDA EN LA SEDE DEL <u>COMITE JUDIO</u> AMERICANO, EL DIRECTOR EJECUTIVO NACIONAL DE LA LIGA DE CIUDADANOS LATINOAMERICANOS UNIDOS, ARNOLDO L. TORRES, EXTENDIO SU CRITICA TANBIEN A LA PRENSA ESCRITA. PUSO COMO EJEMPLO QUE "EL NEW YORK TIMES, AL PREPARAR SUS ARTICULOS SOBRE EL INFORME DE LA COMISION KISSINGER, ENTREVISTO A MUCHAS PERSONAS EN ESTADOS UNIDOS, PERO NINGUNO DE ELLOS ERA DE ORIGEN HISPANOAMERICANO".

TORRES DIJO QUE LA LIGA APOYABA EL PROYECTO PRESENTADO ANTE LA CAMARA DE REPRESENTANTES, POR EL DEMOCRATA MARIO BIAGGI -PRESENTE TAMBIEN EN LA CONFERENCIA DE PRENSA- PARA LA CREACION DE UNA OFICINA DE ASUNTOS ETNICOS EN LA COMISION FEDERAL DE COMUNICACIONES, PARA TRATAR LOS PROBLEMAS DE LAS MINORIAS.

RECONOCIO QUE EL GOBIERNO DEL PRESIDENTE RONALD REAGAN. "HA Designado un hispano en la comision federal de comunicaciones, pero No hemos visto muchos cambios".

EL DIRECTOR DE ASUNTOS NACIONALES DEL <u>COMITE JUDIO AMERICANO, IRVING M LEVINE</u>, DIJO QUE: "EN NUMEROSAS OPORTUNIDADES ENSAYAMOS LAS DISCUSIOINES AMABLES CON LOS DIRECTIVOS DE TELEVISION, CON RESULTADOS DESALENTADORES". ADMITIO QUE HAN HABIDO ALGUNOS PROGRESOS "PERO TAMBIEN HAY UN RETROCESO CONSTANTE HACIA LAS COSTUMBRES TRADICIONALES DEL INSULTO ETNICO".

POSTERIORMENTE, EN UN APARTE CON UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, TORRES DIJO QUE TANTO DEMOCRATAS COMO REPUBLICANOS "PRESTAN POCA ATENCION A LOS HISPANOS. AHORA NOS ESCUCHAN UN POCO MAS, PERO PUEDE SER SOLO POR LA CAMPANA ELECTORAL".

TORRES DIJO QUE EN UN ESTUDIO HECHO POR LA LIGA EN OCTUBRE EN LA TELEVISION DE ESTADOS UNIDOS, SOLO UNA DE LAS FIGURAS PRINCIPALES ERA HISPANO. ADEMAS DE ENTRE 496 FIGURAS CON PAPELES O ACTUACIONES Importantes, solo tres eran de oriogen Hispanoamericano.

DE LOS 866 PERSONAJES O ACTORES QUE HABLARON UNA O MAS LINEAS, Solo lo Eran Hispanoamericanos.

EN LOS PROGRAMAS O SERIES APARECIERON NUEVE HISPANOS, Y NINGUNO DE Ellos presento una imagen posiotiva.

EN LA CADENA DE TELEVISION ABC LOS DOS TERCIOS DE LAS PARTES.

EN LA COALICION HAY REPRESENTANTES DE LA LIGA URBANA, UNA ORGANIZACION NEGRA, Y DE ORGANIZACIONES CUBANAS, JAPONESAS ITALO, GRECO Y POLACO ESTADOUNIDENSES, ADEMAS DEL COMITE JUDIO AMERICANO. UPI 01-12-84 03:24 PES January 16, 1984

Morton Yarmon

Jacobo Kovadloff

El Diario La Prensa

I have found out that many changes have taken place among the staff of <u>El Diario La Prensa</u>. Officially Manuel A. Sustelo remains as the editor-in-chief, but Reginaldo Atanay was appointed for Associate Director and Manuel de Dios Unanue as Deputy Director.

I sent congratulations from the AJC with the hope that they will pay more attention to our Spanish releases, which they have neglected in the last months.

JR/10f

cc: Marc Tanenbaum V Joyce Kaplan Haskell Lazere



## 

Manuel de Dios Unanue Reginaldo Atanay

## Nuevos nombramientos en El Diario-La Prensa

Los nombramientos de Reginaldo Atanay y Manuel de Dios Unanue para los cargos de Director Asociado y Subdirector de El Diario-La Prensa, respectivamente, fueron anunciados en la tarde de ayer por el licenciado Manuel A. Bustelo, presidente de este periódico.

El señor Reginaldo Atanay desempeñó el cargo de Subdirector durante los últimos cuatro años. Ha desempeñado varias funciones en este periódico por más de 15 años.

El señor Manuel de Dios Unanue había sido nombrado recientemente como Jefe de Redactores. El señor De Dios ha trabajado con el periódico por los últimos siete años, desempeñándose como redactor con énfasis en reportajes investigativos.

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## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date

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from

subject

January 30, 1984 Marc Tanenbaum Neil Sandberg CONFIDENTIAL

cc: David Geller Bill Trosten Harold Applebaum Debbi Hirsch Harry Guberman

As you know, Debbi Hirsch and I talked on the phone with David Geller today regarding Soviet Jewry activities during the forthcoming Olympics Games in L.A. A number of meetings have been held where plans are being set and we in AJC will have to determine how we fit into all of this. Please note copies of Debbi Hirsch's memo to David Geller as well as the memo from Beth Hersh to Jerry Goodman (Beth is the CRC staff person on Soviet Jewry).

As background for a discussion among us which should take place very soon, we point up the following:

- CRC and Federation are attempting to forstall public demonstrations by Jewish activist groups because of the dangers noted in the attached memos. The alternative of a concert has emerged as an effort to get the demonstrations off the streets during a very volatile period.
- 2. The non-Jewish establishment in L.A. is firmly committed to the Olympics and is very concerned about various public "statements" that are likely to be made during the games. AJC was centrally involved in bringing the Olympics leadership together with leaders of the various faith communities who wanted to participate in the process. One of the understandings that came out of this process was that the religious communities would avoid a major public event (it might have focused on world peace, nuclear disarmament, etc.). Instead, there will be smaller regional activities and the faith groups are trying to avoid "provocative statements."
- 3. AJC has asked Peter Ueberroth, President of the L.A. Olympics Committee, to be guest of honor at a fundraising event this Fall. He has tentatively agreed. The Chairman of the Olympics is Paul Ziffren, former President of the L.A. Chapter of AJC.

 National ADL has pledged \$10,000 toward Soviet Jewry activities in L.A. this summer.

We in AJC have to determine an appro priate role for ourselves in the various Soviet Jewry activities under consideration. Given our moral commitment to the cause of Soviet Jewry, we will want to do everything possible to advance the cause. We will also want to conduct whatever activities are indicated in ways that will be productive.

Beyond this, there are institutional concerns. If ADL is very visible and we are less visible, there may be some implications for us. If we are too visible, we might conceivably lose a fundraising event. It is clear that we must be involved in every way that is constructive and helpful to the cause of Soviet Jewry, but we want to do it in a way that does not produce unintended consequences to the cause.

Debbi and I are looking forward to a conference call with all or some of you as quickly as possible so that we can benefit from your advice.

Regards.

NS/klg

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date 1/20/84 10 David Geller

from Debbi Hirsch

subject Soviet Jewry and the Olympics

See attached articles as per our phone coversation.

On Wednesday evening, January 18, I attended a meeting of what is being called the Summer '84 Committee. The purpose of the Committee, which is being coordinated through the Community Relations Committee in Los Angeles, is to develop a program for dealing with the Soviet Jewry issue around the time of the Olympics. There was representation from a number of organizations in the Jewish community at the meeting and the chairpeople would like the working committee to be even broader-based.

The initial focus of discussion was on the possibility of putting together a demonstration /march a week or so prior to the Olympics. A proposal for such a march was brought to the meeting by the director of the Southern California Council on Soviet Jewry (affiliated with the Union of Councils of Soviet Jewry) and the leader of an ad hoc group that for two years has sponsored a Dance for Freedom for Soviet Jewry. The general sense of the group was not to hold a demonstration for the following reasons:

- security risks;
- the risk of a demonstration being seen as an anti-Olympics event;
- risk of getting few people to participate because of both the security problems and the fact that many people will try to leave L.A. during the Olympics;
- 4) the risk of getting only little media coverage. This would be due to many other events occurring during this period taking the focus of the media. The other problem would be that, as reported at the meeting, one street, Vermont Avenue (towards downtown L.A.), has been designated by the L.A.P.D. as the street for demonstrations; thus, a Soviet Jewry demonstration would be competing with many others.

There was still agreement, however, that a public event be scheduled. The idea that received the most support was to sponsor a concert with (a) performer(s) such as: Itzchak Perlman, Zubin Mehta with the Israeli Philharmonic, Jane Fonda, Barbra Streisand, etc. It was suggested that the concert be held at an auditorium outside of the jurisdiction of the L.A.P.D. (which will have enough problems at that time). One possibility for a program item would be for (one of) the star(s)to have a telephone hook-up with Ida Nudel, Avital Scharansky, etc. This would be more positive, eliminate some of the security problems, and with major stars - be sure to draw the community as well as being a larger media event. Even the representatives who brought in the idea for the demonstration agreed the concert was a good idea.

Other suggestions made for activities at this time included:

- Putting "Save Soviet Jewry" (or some such slogan) banners around the city on churches and synagogues. Perhaps each congregation could adopt a city in the Soviet Union where there are Jews. The AJC could be helpful in this area through the Interreligious Council of L.A. which, with some difficulty, was designated the "official religious resource" for the Olympics through AJC's intervention.
- Getting a TV spot with (a) Jewish athlete(s) from previous Olympics such as Mark Spitz.
- 3) Send informational mailings on Soviet Jewry to American athletes participating in the Olympics so that, should the occasion arise, "something spontaneous might occur" in support of Soviet Jewry in the course of the games.
- Rent an Amtrak train to be called the "Freedom Train" with people such as Avital Scharansky on it.
- 5) Go to Robert Schuller's Crystal Cathedral with a "message" and speaker on Soviet Jewry. Schuller's program has the most viewers of any religious broadcasting program in the country and it is thought that he'd be receptive to such an idea;
- 6) Put up a "monument" to Soviet Jewry somewhere in the city;
- Do some kind of media campaign including renting or getting donated billboards.
- Capitalizing on the "Olympics business" and having buttons, T-shirts, and other look-alikes made with a Soviet Jewry message.
- Getting support from U.S., state, and local officals who we know are strong advocates of the Soviet Jewry movement.

The next meeting of the Committee will be Tuesday, January 31. I would like to have some lay people from AJC involved in the planning process in addition to myself as staff person to offer both expertise and knowledge of the city and the Olympic process as well as create an "AJC presence".

I am not certain where the National organizations will be able to contribute to developing a program because a lot of the coordinating will involve being in touch with the Olympics Committee, L.A. officials, etc. Nevertheless, I will keep you updated and be glad to take your suggestions to our Committee meetings.

Warm regards.

Vitto

CONTINISSION ON SOUTH JEWRY COMMUSSION ON 65355 WILLIN PELATSONIET JEN 100 AND THE ACTORNAL OF CANDAR CANDAR COMM Participant act 14. Wednesday, December 28, 1983 \* Ilos Angeles Times Part 1,

## Emigration of Soviet Jews Drops Sharply

## By CATHLEEN DECKER, Times Staff Writer

The Soviet Union has allowed only about 1,300 Jews to emigrate in 1983, the lowest annual total in 20 years, and has virtually forbidden Jewish residents of Moscow to leave, according to a survey released Tuesday by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

It was the fourth consecutive year that the number of Soviet citizens successfully petitioning to leave the country has dropped sharply. The 1983 figure is only half the 2,688 emigrants who left the Soviet Union in 1982, according to statistics compiled by the Soviet Jewry Research Bureau, the conference's research arm.

The drop coincides with an intensifying crackdown on the rights of Jews who stay in the Soviet Union and a policy of retribution toward. those-seeking to leave, according to spokesmen for the organization.

The Soviet Union contends that emigration has declined because fewer Jews want to leave but Tuesday Elliott Abrams. assistant secretary of state for human rights, branded that contention "a lie."

#### Increased Until 1979

"The drop clearly represents a deliberate government policy and is not the result of a decline in applicants," Abrams said at a New York press conference. The survey was released here and in New York.

Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union steadily increased from 1970 to 1979, when 51,320 Jews left the country-most of them bound for Israel. However, restrictions put into effect in 1980 and tightened early this year sharply limited the number of Jews able to apply for emigration:

. Where once virtually all Soviet. Jews with distant relatives in Israel could apply to emigrate, now only

the small minority with parents or children there are eligible to apply.

Also. Soviet leaders this year decreed that applications for exit visas will remain valid for only for six months. The Soviet bureaucracy usually fails to respond to applications within that time, forcing applicants to repeat the process. according to Jerry Goodman, executive director of the conference.

"What you have today is a handful of people being allowed to leave," said Goodman, interviewed in Los Angeles. "It's not emigration."

The survey found that the new restrictions were feit most sharply ... in Moscow, home to a quarter of the Soviet Union's 1.8 million Jews. For the first 11 months of the year. fewer than 50 Jews received visas in Moscow, approximately 10% the city's 1982 total, the survey found.

Also is it virtually impossible for . prospective Jewish emigrants to leave other cities with substantial Jewish populations, such as Minsk and Kharkov.

Soviet Jews who attempt to emigrate are increasingly subject to being fired from their jobs and refused employment elsewhere, leaving them open to prosecution and possible prison terms for being so-called "parasites." The children of applicants are also barred from better universities, leaving them without the education needed for good jobs.

"For many, it becomes so cumbersome that they give up," said Goodman, who this summer traveled to the Soviet Union with a group of American congressmen. "When hope is removed, everything flows from that."



## FOR YOUS INFORMATION

## **COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE**

Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles

6505 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD . LOS ANGELES, CA 90048-9961 . 852-1234

January 20, 1984

## TO: JERRY/MYRNA

FROM: BETH HERSH

RE: Notes from Summer '84 Committee meeting 1/18/84

## Attendance

Ozzie Goren, President, Jewish Federation Council Helene Greenfield, Chair, Comm. on Soviet Jewry Dr. Fran Pincus, Chair, Concerned Physicians for S.J./35's Harry Kotler, Founder, Dance for Freedom Esther Krisman, Founder, Dance for Freedom Joe Ribacoff, Director, So. Calif. Council for S.J. – Larry Dressler, Assistant Regional Director, ADL Dr. Myra Rosenberg, Chair., ADL Exec. Committee Yoram Oren, Counsel, Israeli Consulate Jim Doherty, Jewish Labor Committee Neil Kramer, Exec. Director, American Jewish Congress Marshall Grossman, Chair, Concerned Attorneys for S.J. Marcia Volpert, Vice Chair, CRC Debbi Hirsch, Assistant Director, American Jewish Committee Murray Wood, Executive Director, CRC Beth Hersh, Director, Commission on Soviet Jewry

## Excused

Ed Robin, NCSJ Rep. Richard Giesberg, Vice Chair, CRC

The Dance for Freedom and Southern California Council for Soviet Jewry presented their proposal for a massive public demonstration Once the concerns of public relations and security were discussed, alternative ideas were raised including;

Daies G. Goron Executivo Vice President Ted Kanner Executive Director

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d J. Zrvetz

Max W. Bay

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Mory Lommerman Executive Director of Compoion and Developer

> REGIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEES: Eastern Region • Metro Region • San Fernando Valley Region • Southern Region • Western Region COMMISSIONS: Education • Law & Legislation • Middle East • Soviet Jewry • Urban Atlairs • World Jewry

Member National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council 
PECIDIENT OF UNITED JEWISH FUND

1. Freedom Concert - to be held at either Santa Monica Civic Auditorium or Wadsworth Theatre on the grounds of the Veteran's Administration.

Santa Monica Civic Auditorium holds 3,000 people, is available 7/22/84, costs \$650 deposit to hold date. \$6,000-8,000 rental including minimal security, box office, ushers, stage crew, equipment.

Has.large lobby available for displays.

Wadsworth Theatre - being checked out. (May need assistance from congressmen to waive use.)

Possible performers - Streisand, Jane Fonda, Peter, Paul and Mary. I. Perlman, Z. Mehta.

2. Major media campaign - including newspaper adds, press conferences, information in press packets.

3. Displaying of banners - using the Summer '84 slogan/logo to be displayed in front of synagogues/churches on major streets.

4. Direct mail campaign to educate athletes on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

5. Production and distribution of bumper stickers, t-shirts and buttons with Summer '84 logo/slogan.

None of the above suggestions are mutually exclusive.

At the meeting, we were informed by Ozzie that the Federation will probably have one billboard in town (which might be used for Soviet Jewry). We were also told that a monument is being built to honor the memories of the Israeli athletes that died in Munich.

Suggested timetable:

1/31/84 - Second meeting of Summer '84 Committee - discuss auditoriums for concert - information on police security

2/15/84 - hire one additional staff person

2/20/84 - finish preliminary inquiries and begin implementing various plans.

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 31, 1984

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Eugene DuBow

subject GERMAN MAILING LIST

It occurs to me that perhaps you are unaware of the fact that the Leadership & Community Services Department maintains a "friends" mailing list for our contacts in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The idea of establishing the mailing list developed after we decided to do a newsletter two or three times a year to the German participants of the Konrad Adenauer - American Jewish Committee Exchange Program.

We started the list with the exchange participants and then added other contacts that were made by the American participants during their stay in Germany. I also added the names of people who we met during the Chapter Leadership Mission to Germany. All in all there are about 200 or so names and we send them, among other things, <u>The Idea Exchange</u> which Susie Schub puts together. A copy of the latest edition is attached. After reading the material that has come out of the International Relations Department on the proposed sale of arms by the Federal Republic of Germany to Saudi Arabia, I decided to send copies to our friends in Germany. You were in Central America and, therefore, I cleared the mailing with Bill Trosten.

A copy of all the material we sent is attached.

In the future we will touch base with you before sending any other material.

Regards.

ED/br Attachments cc: David Geller Bill Trosten Susie Schub Shula Bahat Harold Applebaum
CHICAGO **SUNDAY** EVENING CLUB

332 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604 312/427-4483

Date: February 5, 1984 Broadcast: February 19, 1984

J. S. Bach

"An Hour of Good News"

ANTHEM

WELCOME

"Honor and Glory" Glenbard West High School Choir Glen Elly, Illinois Richard A. Whitecotton, Director

David K. Hardin President of the Club

Led by the Chorale

Marc H. Tanenbaum

The Presider

The Presider

Morris A. Kaplan

Northbrook, Illinois

Janet Hughes Malone

Chicago, Illinois

"I've Been 'Buked"

The Guest Choir

The Guest Choir

The Presider

The Presider

The Presider

"The Lord Is My Shepherd"

Sunday Evening Club Chorale

Julia Parks and Robert Black, soloists

Chairman, Sealy Mattress Company

Executive Director, TRUST, Inc.

"God Hath Provided The Lamb"

THE LORD'S PRAYER

PRAYER

HYMN ARRANGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

SCRIPTURE READING

INTRODUCTION

"LIVING PHILOSOPHY"

INTRODUCTION

SPIRITUAL

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SONG

INTRODUCTION

SERMON

HYMN

BENEDICTION

CHORAL RESPONSE

CLOSING REMARKS

The Chorale

Mr. Hardin

Koschat

Isaiah 58

arr: Hall Johnson

Linda Almond

MORAL CHALLENGES TO JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN THE 1980'S Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Director, International Relations Department The American Jewish Committee, New York, N.Y.

"Faith of our Fathers"

Rabbi Tanenbaum

# Faith of Our Fathers!

Henri F. Hemy. 1818-1888 Alt. by James G. Walton, 1821-1905 Frederick W. Faber, 1814-1863 £ Faith of our fa - thers! liv - ing still In spite of dun-geon, fire and sword:
 Our fa-thers, chained in pris - ons dark, Were still in heart and conscience free:
 Faith of our fa - thers! we will strive To win all na - tions un - to thee,
 Faith of our fa - thers! we will love Both friend and foe in all our strife: 0- 8-0 0 ..... O how our hearts beat high with joy When-e'er we hear that glo - rious word! How sweet would be their chil-dren's fate. If they, like them, could die for thee! And through the truth that comes from God Mankind shall then be tru - ly free. And preach thee, too, as love knows how, By kind - ly words and vir - tuous life: 0 - 2--0 Faith of our fa-thers, ho - ly faith! We will be true to thee Faith of our fa-thers, ho - ly faith! We will be true to thee Faith of our fa-thers, ho - ly faith! We will be true to thee Faith of our fa-thers, ho - ly faith! We will be true to thee till death! till death! till death! till death! A-MEN.

# COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A., INC.

135 West 106th Street, New York, NY 10025

(212) 866-0692

# 18th Feb. '84

Dear Friends,

We feel that the enclosed deeply concerns and interests you,

It is a matter of record that your Archbishop Valerin Trifa's Iron Guardists slaughtered, in January 1941, 6,000 Christians and 2,000 Jews in Bucharest alone.

Many of your fellow congregants originate from Romania and their relatives and friends unquestionably are amongst those who were Trifa's Iron Guard's victims. They may have been members of the Romanian military who were doused with gasoline and torched on the streets of Bucharest -- perhaps simply shot. Your Jewish friends were butchered.

Surely, whether you are Christian or not, of Romanian stock or not, as civilized people you must be revulsed over the knowledge that those who committed these henious acts who today are the very same people who are amongst the leaders of your church -- guides for your moral development and the moral development of your children.

We are certain you feel it appropriate that Trifa be defrocked and excommunicated promptly, prior to the anticipated announcement of his retirement this coming July in Detroit.

Please contact his Beatitude Theodosius to effect Trifa's defrocking immediately.

Sincerely,

COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U. S. A., INC.

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Dr. Charles H. Kremer CHK-MB/ni

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UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST

February 24, 1984

His Beatitude Metropolitan Theodosius c/o Orthodox Church in America P.O. Box 675 Route 25A Syosset, New York 11791

Your Eminence:

Dr. Charles H. Kremer of the Committee to Bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U.S.A., Inc. has informed us that Archbishop Valerian D. Trifa, who is subject to deportation from your country for crimes committed during World War II, still holds a position of prominence within the Orthodox Church of America. If this is so, it is certainly a matter of great concern. Though Dr. Kremer asks that we encourage you to see to the defrocking of Archbishop Trifa, we would like first to receive your response to Dr. Kremer's charges. Please forward to me any information or response which you may wish us to see in this regard.

I look forward to hearing from you.

WFS/mlp

Sincere good wishes,

William F. Schulz Executive Vice President

cc: Charles Kremer, President Committee to Bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U.S.A.

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 9, 1984

to Marc Tanenbaum, David Geller, Allan Kagedan

from David A. Harris

subject Export Administration Act (EAA)

In discussions today with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, AJCongress and ADL, a common position on EAA and, specifically, the House vs. Senate language on "contract sanctity," was formulated, namely: We endorse the principle that the President must retain some residual power to impose foreign policy controls to halt contracted exports during emergency cirumstances. We will not specifically endorse the four cirmcumstances listed in the House version. (though we will not oppose them either,) but, rather, we will press for the principle that the President must retain some power in this area, power that would otherwise be denied him in the Senate language.

A review of the legislative history indicates that the House version is primarily directed at gross violations of human rights, acts of military aggression, etc. committed by the U.S.S.R. While the matter is still under review by the experts, it does not appear that the language can in any way be applied to Israel and other U.S. allies.

Note: I consulted with Leo Nevas prior to talking with Jerry Goodman. Leo favored the thrust of the House text, that is, to permit the President to order a halt in exports to a particular country under certain circumstances.

DAH: RPR

MAR 1 2 1984

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 17, 1984

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Jacobo Kovadloff

subject Timmerman Again!!

Please find enclosed a translation into English on an interview to Timmerman which appeared in the Argentinian Jewish weekly "Nueva Presencia" in Buenos Aires last January 27th. memorandun

I reserve the right to write my comments about this article at any precise and opportune moment. If I do not do it now, is because Timmerman is looking for publicity in Argentina and I do not want to contribute to it. The atmosphere is not favorable to President Alfonsin now and he needs all our efforts to help him to consolidate democracy right at this time, without any polemics and confrontations.

But I feel that meanwhile is you should know about these statements unjustly offensive to the American Jewish Committee.

JK/iof Encl. cc: Bill Trosten Morton Yarmon Norman Podhoretz

## NUEVA PRESENCIA

#### DETAINED-DISAPPEARED

Timerman posits that the postponement of the Israeli legislators' arrival is "outrageous."

"Nueva Presencia" had an exclusive interview with the former director of "La Opinion." In it Timerman, in his habitual corrosive and admonitory style, severely criticized the Israeli "Establishment" and the Jewish community leadership.

## ASTOUNDED AND AGHAST

For the eleventh time the arrival of the Israeli parliamentarians arrival was postponed. They were due in our country to examine the situation of the detained-disappeared of Jewish extraction. There were two officially stated reasons for this suspension: One, Israel's internal political difficulties, and the other, Alfonsin's trip to Venezuela. However, it also went round that a "black hand" from the Argentine-Jewish community spheres might have pressed to have the trip cancelled at this time ("when most of the leadership members are away on vacation"). In this respect, a conspicuous relief was detected in certain leading circles of the local Jewish community. At the same time, a press organ of the ultra-orthodox right, "La Voz Judia," referred to the parliamentarians' visit as "most inappropriate." The same publication used derogatory terms to refer to the legislators' visit, and called it a "strange mission." At the same time, it praised the "work of the DAIA." Meanwhile, in the next few hours, two members of the "Human Rights Jewish Movement," Mr. Tamar and Mr. Fernando Sokilowicz, will leave for Israel, and their first mission will be to acquaint the legislators with the position of their organization on this dramatic issue.

IN JACOBO TIMERMAN'S OPINION, THE REPEATED POSTPONEMENT OF THE ISRAELIS' ARRIVAL IS "OUTRAGEOUS"

Jacobo Timerman agreed to a dialogue with the director of "Nueva Presencia," shortly after he had identified the place where he had been held prisoner -- at 14.237 Avenida Libertabor, in Martinez, between 1977 and 1979. The interview did not encompass every topic because Timerman has a contract with the "New York Times," which inhibits him to release information on the issues he exclusively deals with in his reports. However, some itchy matters were discussed, particularly those related to Jewish life in our days.

-- When you arrived in Buenos Aires, you were attacked by two right-wing publications, a non-Jewish ("Cabildo") and a Jewish one, (the press organ of the orthodox organization, Agudat Israel). No doubt this attack was grounded on very different reasons but if you were to take into account the similarities they claimed, how can you explain the coincidence?

-- Jewish right-wing is not anti-Semitic, of course, whereas non-Jewish right-wing is. They do not go along in that matter, but they can tread the same path in other issues, for example, in their objection to the Jews' involvement in the defense of human rights. This is habitual in the United States, where the Jewish right supported Latin-American dictatorships and ignored the condition of the Jews living in this part of the world. Moreover, anxious to favor the foreign policy of the present administration -- partial to Pinochet and to the Argentine and Uruguayan military -- they overlooked the situation of the Jews. Consequently, they did not approach those democratic centers of Jewish life who never gave up the fight for the defense of human rights. Therefore. that coincidence you mention is very real and tangible, though sometimes expressed in different words. To give you an example, during the hardest years, it was impossible that "Commentary," the American Jewish Committee magazine, would issue any report or research paper related to the condition of Jewish prisoners in Argentine jails. Instead, it did show its approval of Reagan's geopolitics and his support of the military dictatorship in our country.

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-- You must be aware that the local policy of the community was very much alike. A good number of the Jewish institutional leaders vehemently attacked those of us who were in the human rights front. The would tell us that "that" was not a Jewish problem, and that we should concentrate on "specific" problems, such as that of Zionism and "aliyah" (emigration to Israel). They went as far as to tell me: "Stop speaking so much of the Plaza de Mayo Mothers. When will you bring up the issue of the Kiryat Shmona mothers?" So, I ask you, Jacob, isn't the fight for human rights -- including non-Jews' human rights -- a "specifically Jewish" matter?

There is no doubt that the Jewish human rights issue affects the Jews specifically, and there is a millenary history and a long humanistic tradition behind it. Yet, it seems we haven't been able to prevent certain leaders from being more partial to one group in detriment of others whose ideas they do not share. We have seen this happen in Europe and also in the United States. In order to protect the groups closer to the community leadership, they neglect the rest and do nothing to relieve their suffering. This is an extremely dangerous anomaly because these leaders want to create a "ghetto" community life. They do not want to participate actively in the struggle for democracy in the countries where they live. They are not interested, either, in strengthening their ties with Israel. They prefer to live in the haziness of the "ghetto" to accommodate to each situation, to each king, and to each new power. This is a deplorable but constant trait in contemporary Jewish community life.

-- Those of us who, during these tragic years, would criticize the consenting silence of quite a number of the community groups would get as a response an argument which is still being used today. "We conducted secret negotiations and we were able to achieve more in that way than through loud confrontation." Jacob, do you think that secret negotiations can achieve more than public demonstration and open denunciation?

-- Isn't it suspicious that the so called "secret diplomacy" should be encouraged and accepted by military dictatorships? Why do they accept these kinds of secret dealings? Because they do not commit themselves and they do not have to grant anything. It's a lie that secret negotiations were conducted. All that was seized from the military -- and it was not much -- was the result of insistence and public demand. When the repression against the Jews was raging in the prisons, the president of DAIA, Dr. Gorenstein summoned a press conference in the United States. I saw and suffered this personally because at that time, I was already there denouncing the atrocities of the military

dictatorship. This conference was held in the Latin-American Department of the American Jewish Committee to inform that "the situation of the Jews had never been better." On that occasion, Gorenstein said that except for some normal anti-Semitic incidents -- as if anti-Semitism were something normal -- there were no serious objections to be made to the de facto regime. In fact, the New York Times picked up both versions, the DAIA's and mine, which showed that we were speaking completely different languages. That was an embarrassing situation because each time the Jewish leaders went abroad, they tried to praise the military government. In addition, they asked the Jewish institutions of the countries they visited to abstain from acting against it. My wife had an argument over the assertions made by Dr. Warszawski, from the Latin-American Jewish Congress. He sustained in a report that my arrest, though unjust, was legal. The report reached Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, at the Anti-Defamation League, in the United States. He told my family he would have trouble defending my case if Dr. Warszawski, legal counselor for the World Jewish Congress in Argentina, asserted that my detention was legal. Fortunately, at that time Dr. Genaro Carrio, present President of the Supreme Court of Justice, was in the United States. Acting as my lawyer, he explained to Rabbi Rosenthal in detail that Mr. Warszawski was utterly confused, and that he was not familiar with the Argentine Constitution or with the Argentine laws. Due to Dr. Carrio's mediation, Rabbi Rosenthal could convince the Anti-Defamation League and the B'nai B'rith authorities to let him litigate for my freedom. Had it been for the Latin-American Jewish Congress, based in Buenos Aires, my case would have been dropped, since my arrest was considered legal by that organization.

-- I ignored these facts you have just mentioned. But coming back to Gorenstein, I would like to add some personal information. He publicly stated that the fight put up by my weekly against the military dictatorship was endangering the security of the community, and this was back in 1981.

-- Well, that was the usual argument wielded by those who objected to the community's involvement. The "risk" argument easily grasps people who have been subjected to persecution and annihilation, and the community leaders took advantage of this sensitivity. A similar thing happens in Israel. Every time a voice rises to criticize the bellicose policy of the present Israeli administration, there is an official spokes-person who claims that it is against the security of Israel. The truth is that security is engdangered by the political parties. We have noticed this lately with Begin's and Shamir's administrations. They are responsible for the wreckage of Israel's economy and for the war with Lebanon, which has already brought a death toll of 600, including Israeli dead, wounded and mutilated -- not to mention the casualties on the other side, which are frightening. Yet, they had asserted that the figures would not rise above twenty or thirty. This practice scores unbelievably high in Jewish community life because, theoretically, it should show tolerance towards its members. This fosters a non-democratic attitude in Jewish internal life, and the isolation of those who wish to bring about changes within and beyond their own structures. Thus, it is greatly injuring the Jewish life of our time. In addition, some of the leaders manipulate the fear and panic of the Jewish masses to paralyze them. I am sure you must be quite expert in this.

-- Precisely, on the occasion of the Lebanon war, our weekly published a paid advertisement subscribed to by 150 people, mostly intellectuals and professionals, which criticized the official position of Israel concerning this war. The immediate response of Dr. B. Schmorak, Israel's Ambassador in Argentina, was an offensive charge against the signers of this publication and against our weekly, on the grounds that diaspora Jews did not have any right to formulate criticisms of Israel from abroad. How do you feel about this matter?

-3-

-- Israeli politicians have enjoyed great impunity in their relationship with the diaspora. They demand everything but deny rights. This impunity ended when it became clear that the Lebanon war was a fallacy. When the United Jewish Appeal goes out to collect money, it predicates that we are all one people, but when we want to exercise our right of belonging, giving our opinion on the part of the people who live in Israel, they tell us that we cannot do it because we are not Israeli. This attitude has been denounced by all the democratic sectors of Jewish life, both in the diaspora and in Israel. The great leader, Philip Klutznick, (former Chairman of the World Jewish Congress, who -- with Nahum Goldman and Pierre Mendes-France -- signed that June 1982 famous declaration against Israel's invasion of Lebanon) told the Israeli representatives at the Knesset: "If you deny us the right to speak, forget about us. We suffer for the State of Israel, we support the State of Israel, we are dedicated to the State of Israel, and we express our opinion on the State of Israel. If you deny us the right of opinion, you deny us the right of participation, and if you deny us the right to participate, the Jewish people will end up dispersing." Albert Vorspan, a California rabbi, recently opposed this attempt of certain Jewish circles to assign diaspora Jews a second-rate status. Most of the Jews are still living in the diaspora and wish to continue to belong to the Jewish people. However, some Israelis deny them this right.

-- Precisely. The mothers of the detained and disappeared of Jewish extraction were anxiously expecting the arrival of the Israeli legislators, but only a few hours ago, we learned that, for the eleventh time, this visit had been postponed. It goes without saying that this caused disappointment and bitterness.

-- Living in Israel, one can notice a lot of things that cannot be perceived from abroad. I have been a Zionist all my life. My newspaper "La Opinion" always supported Israel. I even had a foreign correspondent there because I believed in people being informed directly from the original source. During the Yom Kippur War, in October 1973, I had two correspondents, Mario Diament and Leiser Madanes, to cover the different sides of the war. and always examined with interest the documentation sent to me by the different Israeli bodies. Yet, it was only when I moved to Israel that I because aware of things I hadn't understood before. They were things I didn't inquire about, and that was my sin because now I have learned that one must always ask. I am referring to the Israelis indifference towards the diaspora Jews. They aren't in the least concerned or worried about them. I talked about this with Shalom Rosenfeld, a great Jew and a great Israeli, former editor of the evening newspaper, "Ma'ariv" for many years. He had waged a long war to bring the Israeli press to cover the issue of the condition of the Soviet Jews, but had always met with the military censorship. That was the time when Israel and the USSR were on good diplomatic terms, so Rosenfeld had a hard time in releasing information on the matter. He described this struggle later in a booklet entitled, "What is Censorship in Israel." It was only when both countries broke relations that the Israeli government authorized the press to delve into the problem of the Jews in the USSR. This is further evidence that Israel has always regarded diaspora Jews as pawns in its strategic and geopolitical game. And when I say Israel, I mean "the establishment," i.e. its political, economic and military leadership, since the people remain deluded in that respect. In addition, the democratic and pacifist leaders have, so far, been a minority. The same applies to the issue of the detained-disappeared in Argentina. When I arrived in Israel, I wanted to publish a few articles on the subject, but I was deterred by Foreign Office misinformation. It was terrible. At that time I was working at Ma'ariv, and asked Rosenfeld, the director, for advice. He told me: "I don't know what to

-4-

misinformation. It was terrible. At that time I was working at <u>Ma'ariv</u>, and asked Rosenfeld, the director, for advice. He told me: "I don't know what to tell you. I went through the same pressures with the Russian Jews." "You must make your own decisions."

-- What kind of false information did the Israel Foreign Office give you?

-- That there were going to be reprisals against the incarcerated Jews if I wrote those articles. Of course, it was too heavy a responsibility to bear on my own shoulders. I asked the Foreign Office to make the denunciation public, so that we jointly faced the danger. But they left me alone, and, in doubt, I chose not to publish that work. As long as Israel understates the importance of the diaspora Jews in shaping the future of the Jewish people unless they settle in Israel, the Jewish people will have to take a strong stand against the Israeli "establishment" line. It is for this reason that I feel it is outrageous that the Knesset Commission should have failed to come after so many months of parliamentary debates.

-- All the liberated non-Jews and all the human rights organizations agree in stressing the discriminatory treatment given to Jewish prisoners during the military dictatorship. There are numerous testimonies that attest to this --that Jews suffered more than their non-Jewish comrades for being Jews. Also, there is evidence that the percentage of the detained-disappeared of Jewish extraction is really high: between three and four percent of the total number of the detained-disappeared. This is particularly notorious if we consider that the percentage of Jews is barely one percent of the total Argentine population. My concrete question is the following: "Why do de facto regimes abuse the Jews so mercilessly?" I ask you this question because you have lived through a dramatically visceral experience.

-- If one analyzed the repressor's ideology; if one is acquainted with their favorite readings and with the interrogations they subjected the Jews to, one has to admit that the Argentine military have an anti-Semitic, Nazi ideology -- and I am not overstating. This anti-Semitic ideology motivated many of the detentions for many of the Jews rather than to others. The Nazi symbols were permanently exhibited in the Argentine prisons. The case I am most familiar with is that of Escribano Luis Jaimovich, former DAIA president in Cordoba. His daughter, a seventeen-year-old, was abducted together with two other non-Jewish women. None of the three ever had a police record. However, the non-Jews were released whereas the Jews were not. There were many such cases, of people who had never been involved in political activities, and were assassinated only because they were Jews. It is outrageous that the Jewish leaders should deny this fact. The silence of certain Jewish leaders is one of the contributing factors to anti-Semitism.

-- Is it true that you identified yourself as a left-wing Zionist in the interrogation you were given?

-- I defined myself as a Jew and a Zionist. The experts in action and intelligence that were interrogating me thought that I also had to add that I was left-wing. And it was very natural to admit that I was a left-wing Zionist because I had been that all my life.

-- My question points to the following: When the 1976 coup occurred, a very important left-wing Zionist movement was thriving. I can mention the "Zionist Socialist Youth" (JSS), which played a very important role. There was also the newspaper "Nueva Sion." Due to the ongoing events, by decision of the DAIA, and

-5-

on advice of the Israeli Embassy, both publications were discontinued. In fact, it was self-proscription. The case of "Nueva Sion" was really deplorable because it stopped its publication on its own decision, after thirty years of uninterrupted appearance. (By the way, it is worth remembering that you were one of its founders.) Well, now, both "Zionist Socialist Youth" and "Nueva Sion" are starting to show signs of life after eight years of silence. I was very depressed, though, to find out that such an important sector as left-wing Zionism had been so submissive to right-wing demands. -- Look here, I had no idea of what you are telling me. I feel very sorry that left-wing Zionism should have accepted the dictatorship of the Israeli Embassy, of the DAIA. Socialist Zionism has a very clearly-defined ideology. It analyzes historical reality with a view to progress and change. I do not understand how people who have made a symbol of Mardajai Anilevich, the commander of the Warsaw Ghetto rebellion, could have accepted this line.

## -- Would you like to add anything in this brief interview?

-- I wish to congratulate "Nueva Presencia" because it has set an example in the fight for democratic life in the Jewish world, and it is doing it very well. There are many prominent figures in other parts of the world who are in the same plight. Shortly before he died, I had a long talk with Nahum Goldman on this subject - the need to democratize Jewish life in the diaspora. I also discussed this problem with Klutznick in Chicago and with Edgar Bronfman in New York. The latter sent me a beautiful letter upon the publication of my book on the Lebanon war. I believe he is truly democratic and fully aware of what is going on between the diaspora and Israel. All of these personalities have agreed in underlining the evil influence of Begin's policy on diaspora Judaism. Begin's influence over the diaspora has inflicted great damage to the Jewish people in that it has turned away a great number of Jewish youth groups. Both Klutznick and Bronfman are very concerned about this matter, and so was Goldman. "Nueva Presencia" has had a relevant role in the fight for human rights all along these hectic years, as well as in its endeavor to lead Jewish life to internal democracy. I have come across similar publications in other parts of the world -- all of which pursue the same praiseworthy commitments. They, including "Nueva Presencia," represent our only hope for a democratization of Jewish life.

W079-IRD-SA (Nueva Presencia)

/s.mo



# The American Jewish Committee

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

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 12, 1984

Messrs. Arthur and Ray Cohn 69-23 223rd Street Bayside, NY 11364

Dear Sirs:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 17 referring to the interview with Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, which appeared in the Jewish World of February 17, 1984.

You inquire as to whether or not "the AJC is rallying support for mass murderers" by virtue of Rabbi Tanenbaum's comments on the very complex situation in Central America.

I must confess that I do not understand how Rabbi Tanenbaum's comments could yield such an inference. He and we have made it clear that we in no way condone violations of human rights in any of those countries, by either the left or the right. At the same time, Rabbi Tanenbaum's comments reflect the reality that the collapse of governments in the area has already resulted, and may in the future result, in ever greater human rights offenses by the successors; hence one must be concerned about the net balance of human rights concerns and not be guided exclusively by a selective approach to that subject. This is particularly the case in the Jewish communities remaining in those countries, as Rabbi Tanenbaum explained. Their future is grim indeed under Sandinista-style regimes.

Sincerely yours,

I. Friedman Howard

HIF: jq Sec: Marc Tanensaum

HOWARD J. FRIEDMAN, President

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# COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A., INC.

135 West 106th Street, New York, NY 10025

(212) 866-0692

12 March 1984

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Chairman, Subcommittee Against Naziem Marc A. Lewitinn Dear Friends,

We enclose herewith three letters that comprise the latest efforts concerning the criminal Valerin Trifa by the Committee to Bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U. S. A., Inc.

The letter of the 12th October to His Eminence Dinitri, Bishop of Dallas, Orthodox Church in America, is the most recent direct effort to have the imposter defrocked.

The letter of the 8th December addressed to Dear Friends, is being sent together with the letter of the 12th of October to Christian Leaders of all denominations in an effort to have them pressure for the defrocking of the scoundrel Trifa.

The third letter enclosed, dated the 18th of February is being sent together with the letters of the 8th December and the 12th October to the priests of the churches within Trifa's juristiction, within the Orthodox Church in America.

It is hoped that you will find the enclosed appropriate. Please participate in this effort. Please write or phone His Beatitude Theodosius to have Trifa defrocked immediately.

Any suggestions of a positive nature that could be helpful will be graciously received and certainly considered.

We feel that appraising the Christian communities of the obscenity within their church is appropriate and appreciated by them. The matter concerns them vitally as it does all civilized people. It is our purpose to pressure Theodosius, have them pressure Theodosius, and have you pressure Theodosius to have Trifa defrocked and excommunicated. Please participate in this effort.

Very Truly Yours,

COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U. S. A., INC.

Dr. Charles H. Kremer

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# CONSEIL REPRÉSENTATIF DES INSTITUTIONS JUIVES DE FRANCE Direction Générale : 19, rue de Téhéran • 75008 Paris • Téléphone : 561.00.70 • C. C. P. 2053-34 Paris

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# CONTRIBUTION A LA RECHERCHE

# D'UNE POLITIQUE FRANCAISE EQUILIBREE

.

# DANS LE CONFLIT ISRAELO-PALESTINIEN

Les développements de la politique française au Proché-Orient tels qu'ils peuvent apparaître ou tels qu'ils peuvent être supposés à travers les déclarations, les gestes, les initiatives et les abstentions, nous conduisent à préciser notre point de vue afin de mieux faire comprendre les préoccupations de la Communauté juive s'exprimant à travers les principales institutions qui la représentent.

Nous voudrions aussi souligner que notre réflexion se déroule en dehors des débats qui traversent la démocratie israélienne, mais que nous entendons, par contre, prendre en compte, comme chacun devrait le faire s'il se déclare ami d'Israël, les éléments de consensus qui se dégagent de ces débats, notamment en ce qui concerne 140.L.P. et le terrorisme.

# I – LE CONTEXTE

La France, confrontée à des problèmes économiques et de restructuration importants, se doit de concentrer ses efforts sur les initiatives et dans les domaines où elle peut rassembler ses citoyens et mobiliser leur volonté. Elle doit renforcer sa présence sur les marchés étrangers et donc veiller à ce que ses relations internationales soient ouvertes vers les pays et les agents économiques qui acceptent de commercer avec elle et en ont la capacité, comme aussi vers ceux qui peuvent profiter de son acquis technologique et asseoir ou conforter leur existence par une coopération avec elle.

Ceci nécessite des prises de position politiques internationales qui ne soulèvent pas d'emblée l'opposition d'un pays pour plaire politiquement à d'autres ou encore pour satisfaire certaines tentations idéologiques sauf le cas, bien sûr, où seraient en jeu les grands principes auxquels la France est attachée, notamment la défense des Droits de l'Homme.

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C'est dans le cadre de cette réflexion d'ensemble que nous voudrions situer notre propos, sur le pari de la France en faveur de M. ARAFAT et de la partie dite "loyaliste" de son organisation (ce terme de "loyaliste" indiquant clairement qu'aux yeux de la France, la légitimité résiderait tout entière en la personne de M. ARAFAT, promu, par la vertu du verbe, homme d'Etat modéré).

## II - LE ROLE DE LA FRANCE : PRINCIPES ET PRATIQUES

Quel rôle pourrait et devrait donc, selon nous, jouer la France au Proche-Orient, et notamment dans le conflit israélo-arabe, c'est-à-dire dans le conflit né des divers partages du territoire de la Palestine confiée, sous l'égide de la Société des Nations et avec l'accord des Français (accord SYKES-PICOT) à la garde des Anglais: établissement d'un royaume de Transjordanie sur une partie de ce territoire en I922, partage de I947 permettant la renaissance de l'Etat d'Israël, mais conduisant à l'annexion par la Transjordanie de la Cisjordanie et par l'Egypte du territoire de Gaza, dans l'indifférence de l'O.N.U. et avec l'approbation des pays arabes et des représentants des arabes palestiniens réunis le Ier Décembre I948 à Jéricho. Et, enfin, naissance des mouvements palestiniens regroupés au sein de l'O.L.P.

La France a eu dans cette région du monde, des intérêts nés dans la période où l'Europe y exerçait une influence significative.

Cette influence de la France s'est aussi traduite par une présence culturelle non négligeable. Enfin, la France, héritière des principes de sa Révolution, se doit d'y être porteuse de l'idéal des Droits de l'Homme et de la démocratie et, à ce titre, entend assurer sa présence et donner son avis, mais dans des limites que le Président François MITTERRAND avait clairement tracées; en ce qui concerne, en particulier, le conflit israélo-arabe dans son discours du 4 Mars 1982 devant la Knesseth :

> ... Il appartient à ceux qui vivent dans cette région du monde de débattre et, si possible, de régler les affaires qui les concernent. La France le pourraitelle qu'elle ne chercherait pas à se substituer aux peuples intéressés...

> ... Il appartient, je le redis aux Palestiniens comme aux autres, de quelque origine qu'ils soient, de décider eux-mêmes de leur sort. A l'unique condition qu'ils inscrivent leur droit dans le respect du droit des autres, dans le respect de la loi internationale et dans le dialogue substitué à la violence. Je n'ai pas plus à trancher qui représente ce peuple et qui ne le représente pas...

## Et dans ce contexte, le Président MITTERRAND s'interrogeait:

. .

... Comment l'O.L.P., par exemple, qui parle au nom des combattants peut-elle espérer s'asseoir à la table des négociations, tant qu'elle déniera le principal à Israël qui est le droit d'exister et les moyens de sa sécurité ? ...

5.1

Ce discours posait les principes et définissait les éléments d'une politique de neutralité, active et bienveillante, ouverte vers toutes les parties au conflit, dès lors qu'elles agissaient ou qu'elles agiraient dans le respect du droit des autres, de la loi internationale et dans l'esprit du dialogue.

On pouvait contester ou partager les vues du Président MITTERRAND en ce qui concernait, par exemple "les combattants" au nom desquels l'O.L.P. était censée, à ses yeux parler. On pouvait également s'interroger sur sa reconnaissance du droit des Palestiniens à former éventuellement un Etat. L'essentiel cependant demeurait dans la formulation que rien d'utile ne pourrait s'accomplir sans le dialogue, c'est-à-dire sans une négociation permettant aux parties intéressées de faire valoir leurs droits et leur point de vue.

Or, c'est de cette neutralité, active et bienveillante, que le Gouvernement français nous semble s'éloigner dangereusement. Autant la politique française nous paraît utile et conforme à sa vocation lorsqu'elle cherche à encourager tout ce qui rapproche, autant nous croyons devoir attirer l'attention sur le danger de toutes prises de position et, a fortiori, de toutes initiatives - comme, par exemple, un appui de plus en plus affirmé à M. ARAFAT - pour lesquelles ne serait pas acquis le consentement des principales parties en cause. De telles initiatives risquent d'engager la France dans un processus sans lendemain et de la priver d'utiles amitiés.

#### III - LES VOIES DE LA PAIX

Notre préoccupation majeure reste la paix dans cette partie du monde qui a vu naître notre civilisation : ce qui nous importe, c'est que chaque étape d'un processus vers le dialogue et la paix puisse être franchie dans la libre adhésion des parties, juive et arabe, concernées.

A cet égard, l'approbation de Camp David aurait dû entraîner celle des accords libano-israéliens, car des progrès ne seront acquis que par étapes successives dont aucune ne peut être, à elle seule, décisive ni réunir tous les Etats et toutes les forces antagonistes de la région. Car s'il existe un conflit israélo-arabe, celui-ci est très largement compliqué par les conflits internes au monde arabe, au monde islamique et aujourd'hui au mouvement palestinien lui-même.

Même si, en effet, M. ARAFAT, l'O.L.P., les Palestiniens en général, bénéficient de la parole emphatique arabe, il est évident que dans la réalité, aucun des Etats voisins d'Israël ne désire voir se créer un Etat palestinien qui ne leur soit, d'une manière ou d'une autre, soumis.

On peut donc légitimement se demander si les droits et les intérêts des Arabes de Palestine ne pourraient pas trouver, au moins dans un premier temps, une meilleure expression dans une forme mouvelle de cohabitation et de respect mutuel. Cette forme nouvelle, proche de l'autonomie, ne pourrait sans doute se négocier qu'au niveau des deux Etats palestiniens que sont Israël et la Jordanie. estres de Camp David qu'il faut agir plutôt que de parier sur une évolution de M. ARAFAT et de ses partisans, alors que la structure même de

rend cette évolution très hypothétique.

trabladit Ne convient-il pas, aussi de mesurer son intervention à un "ausauréelle capacité d'intervenir sur le terrain, capacité bien aléatoire d'ausecomme on le voit au Liban.

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Tant que les barrières et les chicanes n'auront pas disparu de nos rues, que nos aéroports resteront hérissés de postes de contrôle des passagers et des bagages et que les agents de la force publique seront mobilisés par des tâches de surveillance extradise ordinaire, c'est-à-dire tant que le terrorisme dans sa forme inventée par 1'O.L.P. n'aura pas été vaincu ou réellement abandonné et condamné très clairement par ses promoteurs, M. ARAFAT ou ses successeurs demeureront inaptes au dialogue évoqué naguère par le Président MITTERRAND et souhaité par tous les hommes de bonne volonté.

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Paris, le I2 Mars 1984

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THE DIRECTOR GENERAL MINISTRY OF JUSTICE המנהל הכללי, משרד המשפטים

Jerusalem, March 15, 1984

Dr. Charles H. Kremer 135 West 106th Street New York, NY 10025 U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Kremer,

# Re: Trifa

We have received your letter dated January 12th. Thank you for the informative articles you enclosed.

Since your visit with us we have continued our high-level consultations with the U.S. Justice Department. In addition, we have discussed the Trifa matter with Mr. Gideon Hausner.

Your offer to assist our efforts with statements from witnesses is well taken. Their value, for our purposes, will depend on the amount of specificity and detail that they contain. Please forward to us copies of any transcripts, other documents, or any evidentiary matters which you may have. These will be considered along with the other evidence we have gathered thus far.

Wishing you the best of health, I am,

Yours truly,

MAYER GABAY

Director General

135 West 106th Street New York, NY, 10025 U.S.A.

Dr. Charles H. Kremer 1

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LANCOUD

STATE OF ISRAEL

29 SALAH-A DIN STREET, POLSON 1087, IERLISATINA SOLO

# COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A., INC.

135 West 106th Street, New York, NY 10025

(212) 866-0692

March 30, 1984

Dr. Simon Wiesenthal Honorary President

Dr. Charles H. Kremer President

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Rabbi Marc Angel Pat Barbarito George Beza Edmond Barshak Lilly Barshak Nina Dayan Ralph Dayan Anthony DeVito Sam Gotheb Dina Lewitum Warren Moscowitz Rose Shei Elliot Welles Governing Board

Marc A. Lewitinn Chairman. Subcommittee Against Nazism Dear Friend,

We all believe in one and the same God. Our ways are different but our ethics are the same. For years we have had a problem which concerns not only us but all human beings who believe in God and in an ethical life.

We are now in a position, through the enclosures, to share this problem with you. It concerns a man who committed such unspeakable crimes during the Nazi era that the United States had no alternative but to strip him of his fraudulently acquired citizenship and to order his deportation. Nevertheless, this man, Archbishop Valerian Trifa, remains in a high position in a Christian church. And this situation cannot be understood by ordinary Christians and Jews because it is an assault on all human beings who believe in God. We feel certain that such a person could never remain in such a position in your church.

Please give us your opinion in this matter. We deeply appreciate your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Charles Kremer, President

enclosures

CONSEIL REPRÉSENTATIF DES INSTITUTIONS JUIVES DE FRANCE Direction Générale : 19, rue de Téhéran @ 75008 Paris @ Téléphone : 561.00.70 @ C. C. P. 2053-34 Paris

Paris, le 22 Mars 1984

# OBJET : 40 ème Anniversaire du C.R.I.F.

Cher Monsieur,

Le C.R.I.F. fête cette année son 40ème Anniversaire.

Etant né à Lyon, en pleine occupation, il nous a semblé légitime de laisser à la section régionale "Rhône-Alpes" du C.R.I.F., dont le Président est le Dr Marc ARON, le soin d'organiser les cérémonies commémoratives.

C'est donc le <u>DIMANCHE 8 Avril</u> prochain, à LYON que cette journée anniversaire aura lieu. Elle unira dans le même hommage le souvenir des 43 enfants juifs d'Izieu arrêtés et déportés sur l'ordre de Klaus BARBIE.

Nous espérons que vous comprendrez l'intérêt de cette journée et que vous voudrez bien couvrir cet événement. Ce pourrait être également l'occasion de rappeler l'évolution et le rôle du C.R.I.F. actuel.

Nous sommes à votre entière disposition pour tous renseignements dont vous pourriez avoir besoin.

En vous remerciant par avance, nous vous prions de croire à l'assurance de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

6 June

Sabine ROITMAN Directrice Adjointe Chargée des Relations Extérieures

\* Une brochure éditée à cette occasion, actuellement sous presse, vous sera envoyée dès sa parution. Ci-joint, d'ores et déjà, un extrait d'un historique publié en 1970.

# DIMANCHE 8 AVRIL à LYON

## PROGRAMME DES CEREMONIES DU 40ème ANNIVERSAIRE DU C.R.I.F.

9 h 30 Apposition d'une plaque au 6, rue Malesherbes à VILLEURBANNE, où vécut M. Léon MEISS, Ier Président du C.R.I.F. Allocutions de MM. Charles HERNU, Ministre de la Défense, Maire de VILLEURBANNE, Claude KELMAN, Théo KLEIN, Cérémonie à IZIEU devant la Mairie et la maison d'où furent déportés II h les 43 enfants juifs Allocutions de Me Serge KLARSFELD, du Grand Rabbin de Lyon, Richard WERTENSCHLAG, du Maire d'IZIEU I5 h 30 Rassemblement au Carré des Fusillés juifs, Cimetière de La Mouche, en présence de représentants de la Municipalité, résistants et personnalités. Discours de M. Jacques LAZARUS, ancien résistant, membre du Comité Directeur du C.R.I.F. I6 h I5 Conférence de Presse du Président du C.R.I.F., Me Théo KLEIN, au. 146, rue de la Grande Guillotière. I7 h 30. Séance solennelle, Salle Rameau, rue de la Martinière, placée sous la Présidence du Sénateur-Maire de LYON, M. Francisque COLLOMB. Y prendront également la parole le Dr Marc ARON, le Grand Rabbin Jacob KAPLAN, M.Henry BULAWKO (Président de la Commission du Souvenir du C.R.I.F.) et Me Théo KLEIN.

#### I. La création du C.R.I.F. - Adoption de la charte

Déjà fin 1942 et au courant de 1943, M. Jacques HELBRONNER, Président du Consistoire Central, Président de Section au Conseil d'Etat, avail eu des contacts avec les dirigeants d'organisations juives de diverses tendances, en vue de l'adoption d'un programme d'action commun. Après la dissolution du - Comité de Coordination des Œuvres Sociales - et la création, imposée par le Gouvernement de Vichy, de l'U.G.I.F., l'idée était dans l'air, d'autant plus que l'occupant nazi, lorsqu'il pourchassait les Juifs, ne faisalt aucune distinction entre autochtones et Juifs Immigrés ; Il était normal dans ces conditions que, cimentée dans les combats de la Résistance, l'union se fit entre les Juifs, quelles que fussent leur origine et leurs tendances.

Précisément, un fort courant en ce sens se manifestait parmi les Julfs immigrés qui, durant des années, avaient souvent vécu repliés sur eux-mêmes. Mais le 23 octobre 1943, le Président HELBRONNER fut arrêté à Lyon, à son domicile, ainsi que son épouse. Tous deux furent déportés et assassinés, dès leur arrivée au camp d'Auschwitz.

L'un de ses proches collaborateurs au sein du Consistoire, M. Léon MEISS, fut désigné pour le remplacer et il sut maner à bonne fin l'œuvre ainsi ébauchée. Dans les négociations qui s'onsuivirent, un rôle de premier plan fut joué par M. Joseph FISHER, à l'époque membre du Comité central de la Fédération des Sociétés juives de France et Secrétaire général de l'Organisation sioniste uniflée. On peut dire que M. Joseph FISHER représentait à l'époque l'ensemble du secteur = uniflé =.

En effet, depuis le début de la guerre avait été créé auprès de la Fédération des Sociétés juives de France un Comité de Coordination de toutes les Organisations non communistes, groupant, en particulier, lo Comité directeur des Organisations sionistes, le BUND et le POALE ZION, les représentants des jeunes et, à un stade plus avancé, l'ensemble de leurs œuvres clandestines. A la suite de négociations avec l'U.J.R.E. (Union des Juils pour la Résistance et l'Entraide) de tendance communiste et de son adhésion à ce Comité de Coordination, ce dernier, en julitet 1943, devint le Comité Général de Défense juive.

Joseph FISHER ayant élaboré un projet de création de la représentation juive de France le fil approuver par le Comité directeur de l'Organisation Sioniste et la Fédération des Sociétés juives de France.

Ce projet fut ensuite présenté au Consistoire Central qui, de son côté, avait préparé un texte. Le Consistoire nomma une Commission spéclale présidée, par le Grand Rabbin LIBER et , proposa des modifications assez importantes. De ces discussions et délibérations qui se prolongèrent pendant des mois est finalement sortie la CHARTE du C.R.I.F. dont les divers articles furent arrêtés en Janvier 1944. 1.54

.....

Joseph FISHER note à ce propos :

Pendant ces débats et les pourpariers qui ont eu lleu en marge des séances, M. MEISS a usé de toute son autorité et de toute la force de sa conviction et de la chaleur de sa personnalité pour détondre et appuyor l'idée de la création d'un organisme représentatif des Julfs de France.

Sans cet appul, et sans nul doute sans ses suggestions, le projet n'aurait pas vu le jour ».<sup>(1)</sup>

L'organisme qui est sorti de tous ces efforts fut primitivement appelé CONSEIL REPRESEN-TATIF DES ISRAELITES DE FRANCE (C.R.I.F.). Par la suite, il fut décidé de remplacer « ISRAE-LITE «, par « JUIF «, le terme israélite ayant un sens plus restrictif et ne couvrant pas la Communauté dans toute sa diversité. Toutefois, le sigle « C.R.I.F. « est resté.

Au cours du dernier trimestre 1943 et des premiers mois de l'année 1944, les roprésentants du Consistoire Central et des autres groupements se réunirent fréquemment dans des calés, jamais les mêmes - pour des raisons évidentes, entre Vaux-en-Velin, alors résidence de M. MEISS, et Lyon. Auprès de M. MEISS assistatent notamment à ces réunions : MM. J. KAPLAN, Adjoint au Grand Rabbin de France, FISHER, ADAM, FRIDMAN, GRINBERG, LEWIN, SCHRA-GER, le D' BERNHEIM, André WEIL, membres du Consistoire Gentral, ainsi que M. MANUEL, Secrétaire général du Consistoire Central.

C'est M. FISHER qui a assumé les fonctions de Secrétaire du C.R.I.F., lors des premières séances.

M. RAYSKI, qui assistait à certaines de ces réunions, les a évoquées dans un article <sup>(2)</sup> qui donne d'intéressantes précisions sur la question.

C'est au cours de ces rencontres, auxquelles prenait également part Léon GLAESER, Secrétaire général du Comité de Défense, fusillé par la Gestapo, que furent abordées les questions cruciales, et notamment :

 a) La définition de l'attitude de la représentativité du judaisme français, face au problème des droits du peuple jutf à son établissement en Palestine.

On se mit d'accord sur une conclusion commune qui a trouvé sa place par la suite dans la

(1) Lettre & M. Meurice MOCH, Secrétaire général administratif du C.R.I.F. Jérusalem 33/1/1953.

(7) - Une grande date dans l'histoire de la Résistance juive - la Fondation du Conseil Représentatif des Juils de France - : In - Revue du Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine - - Paris, juillet-septembre 1998.

Charte du C.R.I.F. De là découlait l'exigence de la suppression du - Livre Blanc -, de mai 1939, - imposant des restrictions draconlennes à l'émigration julve - édicté par le Gouvernement britannique, ainsi que de la liberté d'immigration et de la colonisation julves en Palestine, étant entendu que le statut national des Juils de Palestine n'affectera d'aucune manière celui des Juils des autres pays et les liens qui les atlachent à leur Patrie.

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b) Le nombre des membres du Consell tut Ilxé à 13, désignés par les groupement suivants : 6 membres présentés par le Consistoire Central Israélile de France : 5 par le Comité général de Défense : 1 par l'Organisation Sioniste de France et 1 par le Comité d'Action de la Jeunesse Juivo.

Il a été convenu que « le Président du C.R.I.F. sorait do droit le Président de l'Union des Associations cultuelles israélites de France et d'Algérie ou son délégué «, disposition reproduite dans les statuts actuels, en sorte que le Consistoire Central se trouvait majoritaire.

c) Los articles de la Charte visânt les garânlles constitutionnelles contre toute atteinte aux principes d'égalité de race ou de religion, la reconnaissance de l'égalité des juits avec leura concitoyens, la restitution des drolls civiques et politiques par l'abrogation de loutes les lois d'exception ne soulevérent pas de divergences importantes.

 d) Il en lui de même pour les dispositions qui définissaient les attributions du Consell, représentant l'ensemble des éléments du judaisme en France ;

 Seul qualifié pour être l'interprète du judaisme en France, tant devant les pouvoirs publics et l'opinion que devant les Organisations juives des autres pays et devant les instances internationales ».

e) La Charte contenait également un certain nombre de dispositions sur les réparations à accorder aux Jults, en raison des dommages subis du fait de la persécution nazie (v. infra : Annexe 1 reproduction de la Charte, adoptée en janvier 1944 et légérement remaniée, lorsque, après la Libération, le C.R.I.F. fonctionna au grand jour).

 f) Les futurs rapports du Conseil avec les instances mondiales se trouvaient précisées par ce texte :

« Le Consell se propose de participer, dès que les circonstances le permettront, à une représentation juive internationalo, qui, par sa composition et sa structure sera qualifiée pour représenter les Julis de leurs pays respectifs ».

A l'origine, le C.R.I.F. ne comprenait que le Consistoire Central, la Fédération des Sociétés juives, le BUND et l'Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entr'aide (U.J.R.E.). A la suite d'adhésions successives, il n'y a, pour ainsi dire, à l'heure présente, aucune Organisation importante qui ne soit groupée au sein du C.R.I.F.

#### Rôle du C.R.I.F.

Le C.R.I.F. est ainsi à môme, conformément à ses statuis, d'apporter une réponse, sinon une solution valable, à l'égard des problèmes spéciliques juils, compte tenu de l'ensemble des intérêts dont il est chargé. Sans se substituer aux Organisations déjà existantes, le C.R.I.F. fournit les occasions de rencontre et d'échange d'iddes entre ses membres. Il est un instrument de coordination et, pour cette raison, il permet d'augmenter l'efficacité de l'action entreprise, ce qui suppose de la part des dirigeants dea Organisations membres, une certaine discipline et un minimum de bonne volonté.

Comme le prévoit d'ailleurs le règlement, les démarches à entreprendre pourront l'être à la demande du C.R.I.F. par telle ou telle Organisation, dans les formes qui paraîtront les mieux appropriées. Une telle ligne de conduite qui la été appliquée en diverses circonstances a permis de réserver l'intervention officielle du C.R.I.F. aux quostions où les intéréts généraux du judaisme de France se trouvaient en cause.

Ces principes, dans l'espril de la Charte, ont élé appliqués à maintes reprises, par la - père spirituel - du C.R.I.F., le Président Léon MEISS et par le D' V. MODIANO, qui succèda au président Léon MEISS, en 1950.

Un gentlemen's agrocment existe ontre le C.R.I.F., d'une part, et l'Alliance Isradiite Universelle et la Section française du Congrès Juit Mondial, d'autre part, suivant lequel le C.R.I.F.va seul qualité pour détendre les Juits de France et faire toutes démarches à leur sujet auprès des Autorités françaises, cependant que pour toutes les questions sortant du cadre national français, il ne peut agir qu'en accord avec l'A.I.U. et le C.J.M.

Le C.R.I.F. s'est réuni, au grand jour, pour la première fois à Lyon, quelques jours après la libération de la ville, le 5 septembre 1944, sous la présidence de M. Léon MEISS, en présence de MM. ADAM, FRIDMAN, E. GRINBERG, SCHRAGER.

Les statuts du C.R.I.F. ont été déposés à la Préfecture de la Seine, le 11 octobre 1944, par son Secrétaire, M. Joseph FISHER, en même temps que l'on faisait conneitre les noms des membres du Bureau, à savoir :

M. Léon MEISS, Président, Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel; MM. R. GRINBERG, Vice-Président; Joseph FISHER, Secrétaire; Samy LAT-TES, Trésorier.; M' Charles LEDERMAN, Trésorier adjoint.

# **RABBI JAMES R. MICHAELS**

WHITESTONE HEBREW CENTRE 12-45 CLINTONVILLE STREET WHITESTONE, NEW YORK 11357

(212) 767-1500

March 19, 1984

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Dear Colleague:

Since my last letter to the RA membership, I have received many letters, comments, and reactions about the up-coming RA convention. I want to thank you for them; we have been able to act on and implement several of the suggestions. I would encourage you to continue sending your comments. After all, we are planning YOUR convention. If we can't act on your ideas this year, we would hope to do so at the 1985 convention in Miami Beach.

We have enclosed in this mailing some detailed descriptions of various aspects of the convention. We do so in hopes of whetting your appetite and giving you some more ideas about the program. You will see that you will be given considerable choice of programs and activities. Next month you will have an opportunity to make that choice in advance.

SOME PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

Allow me to give some more details about our major programs. This will supplement what you have already read.

Monday afternoon will feature the symposium, "Is there Unity in our Diversity". Participants will include Rabbis Harold Kushner, Gil Rosenthal, and Harold Stern.

On Tuesday evening, we will hold a tribute to the memory of Dr. Mordecai Kaplan z"l. Speakers will be Rabbis Ira Eisenstein, Ludwig Nadelman, and Neil Gillman.

Business and resolutions sessions will be held on Monday morning and Wednesday afternoon. Several key matters and resolutions will be brought up and will deserve your attention. In addition, on Monday afternoon, there will be a forum for all candidates for RA national offices.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, we will offer a veritable "shmorgasbord" of programs and ideas. On Tuesday, we will have several sessions on the topic of reducing rabbinic stress; this will include programs from the new Family Task Force. The selections for Wednesday are attached.

These days will also feature concurrent Torah seminars, taught by Drs. Jeff Tigay (Bible), Neil Gillman (Jewish Thought), Shaye Cohen (conferritioned issue"), and Dov Zlotnick (on Dr. Lieberman's view of Tosefta). We know we're offering a lot for you to choose from, but after all, we are meeting at the Concord! On Thursday morning we will have a "Spotlight on the World." Max Kampelman, former head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will address us on the current state of Soviet-American relations, and how they affect Soviet Jews. This major program is designed to entice you to remain for the entire convention.

### SOME ITEMS OF INTEREST

We hope to honor our members who are on active or reserve duty as military chaplains at dinner on Tuesday evening. Please bring your uniforms and plan to wear them to dinner that night.

Limousine service to and from the three airports in New York City is available from Howard Mountain Transport. Service to the Concord is available at 8-9 A.M., 1-2 P.M., and 6-7 P.M. daily from each airport. If sufficient numbers of our membership request, however, they will make additional cars available at convenient times. Call them at 212-424-3600 or 914-482-5574, or write them at P.O. Box 75, North Branch, N. Y. 12766, before May 10. The fair is \$30.00 per person, one-way.

We have received some interest in holding Kumsitz sessions late in the evenings. Is anyone willing to bring a guitar to lead this? Please let me know.

I am scheduling meetings of our regions at various breakfasts and lunches throughout the convention. They will be held in areas that are not in the middle of the dining room, and therefore quieter and more conducive to discussion. The regional presidents will be notified of the time and location of these meetings; they will also be listed in the convention program.

THAT'S ALL FOR NOW ....

If you have not already made your reservation for the convention, you can do so now with the enclosed reservation form. Watch for the mailing in April in which you will be able to make your selection of day-time activities. And by all means plan to attend the entire convention.

I look forward to seeing you at the Concord on May 13-17. Until then, I remain,

In friendship, 13-3-2

JRM:hm Enc.

Rabbi James R. Michaels ABNED

First Annual Women's Convention of the Rabbinical Assembly of America

1611 2 4 1

Chairpersons: Bobbie Winter Ruby Creditor

# Monday, May 14th

10:00 - 11:30 a.m.

Sharing Session #1 Chelly Goldberg, Facilitator

An opportunity for Rabbinical spouses to share common concerns. This is an open, "high touch" forum with a peer facilitator. Women of all ages are invited to participate. Each session is independent of the others.

11:30 a.m.- 1:00 p.m. Women's Torah Study Session #1 Dr. Anne Lapidys lerner Department of Hebrew Literature Jewish Theological Seminary of America Women's Scholar-in-Residence.

> S. Y. Agnon This session is focused for those with little or no prior background in the study of Hebrew Literature. The material will be taught in English with the original Hebrew available. All members of the Rabbinical Assembly are invited to attend this unique "entry-level" session on Israel's Nobel laureate, S.Y. Agnon.

2:00-3:30 p.m.

#### Sharing Session #2 Bobbie Winter, Facilitator

# Wednesday, May 16th

10:00-11:30 a.m.

Sharing Session #3

Dvora Rosenberg Chelly Goldberg Facilitators

11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

Women's Torah Study Session #2 Dr. Anne Lapides Lerner Women's Scholar-in-Residence

Chaim Nachman Bialek

This session is focused for those with little or no prior knowledge of Hebrew Literature. The material will be taught in English with the original Hebrew available. All members of the Rabbinical Assembly are invited to attend this second "entrylevel" session on the founder of Modern Hebrew Literature, Chaim Nachman Bialek

2:00 - 3:30 p.m.

Summary Sharing Session Chelly Goldberg, Dvora Rosenberg, Bobbie Winter, Facilitators

An opportunity to identify common concerns and develop program ideas for the year.



# WEST END SYNAGOGUE

KHAL KODESH ADATH ISRAEL

3814 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37205 • (615) 269-4592

RABBI MELVIN J. GLAZER CANTOR ELIHU J. FLAX MIRIAM HALACHMI RELIGIOUS SCHOOL DIRECTOR JOSEPH L. COHEN EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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# CONVENTION ENTERTAINMENT

This year's entertainment promises to be an excellent potpourri of the best in Jewish cultural arts.

(Sunday Evening - Entertainment provided by the Concord Hotel)

Monday Evening - SAFAM

This is truly one of the best contemporary Jewish musical groups around. Their renditions of traditional liturgy are upbeat and joyful. Prepare to join in with them. You won't be able to sit still. They are superb.

#### Tuesday Evening - MOSHE WALDOKS

Jewish humor is his specialty, as witnessed by <u>The Big Book</u> of Jewish Humor, which he co-edited. The title of his "lecture" -"Messianists, Medicine Men and Movable Furniture" promises us much laughter as we examine how our people's humor has kept us sane throughout the ages.

### Wednesday Evening - GALGALIM

You and I have seen and heard many "Israeli" acts, most of which have found to be repetitious and condescending. This year we're in for a treat. This 2 - person group is the most sophisticated Israeli entertainment I have ever seen. With music, slides and costumes, they solidify the commitment we have to Israel, and leave us proud of our Jewish identity.

I am excited about this year's entertainment, and I think it will contribute much to relieving whatever convention "stresses" we might have. I look forward to seeing you at the Concord.

> Rabbi Melvin J. Glazer Entertainment Chairman

# Concurrent Sessions On Stress

and the second

## Chairpersons:

# Rabbi Richard Yellin Rabbi Barry Rosen

Three different times on Tuesday, numerous simultaneous sessions will take place regarding various causes and effects of stress. Some of them will deal with stress in areas regarding the Rabbi as a human being, with all the implications. These will include stressful situations that many people potentially encounter, but they have their own unique expression for Rabbis.

An additional set of sessions will be held on various situations which are unique to the stresses of the rabbinate. Our professional and religious lives often bring unique situations that find it difficult for coping. The facilitators at all of these sessions will not attempt to present solutions, but rather we will attempt to reinforce each other and to respond to stresses in our daily lives as human beings and as rabbis.

These sessions will not be taped, neither professionally nor privately, so that the maximum expression and sharing from colleagues can be elicited, without fear of publicity. Prior to the Convention, we will have a chance to select our choices of sessions.

In addition, the Family Life Committee of the RA, as well as a series of professionally-directed psycho-dramas, will be offered among our choices of additional Tuesday's potpourri.

# CONGREGATION B'NAI SHOLOM

213 LENOX AVENUE . WEST END, NEW JERSEY 07740



March 11, 1984

7 II Adar 5744

RABBI JONATHAN WAXMAN

287 Fairfield Avenue Elberon, N.J. 07740

PRESIDENT ROBERT W. LIEBERMAN

295 Fairfield Avenue Elberon, N.J. 07740

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Memo

To: Members of the Rabbinical Assembly From: Rabbi Jonathan Waxman Re: R.A. Convention's "Day of Discovery" Program

More than a sedate version of "Shuk Beineinu" and more than the "Lunch and learn" sessions of past conventions, Wednesday's "Day of Discovery" will offer a wide range of presentation, which we hope will a) be responsive to your diverse interests and b) tap the creative talents of many of our men.

Specifically, we shall offer 3 (possibly 4) sessions with 10-12 CORRESPONDING SECRETARY programs presented simultaneously. The programs will explore a multitude of areas of interest. They will include such familiar topics as negotiations and placement. They will also venture into new terrain and include such sessions as computer technology and the rabbi, Jewish Family Education and The Relationship of Assistants to their Seniors. Also new will be at least one session overviewing rabbinic possibilities outside the pulpit.

> Additionally, we shall offer a number of workshops in which several colleagues will share center stage and offer their insights into programming in different areas. Hence, we plan on offering workshops on Adult Education, Seniors in the Congregation, Reviving Declining Congregations, and the Synagogue as Caring Community, to name only a few.

As you can see (and there are well over another dozen sessions and workshops planned), the "Day of Discovery" will try to offer some-thing for everyone. We are endeavouring to involve as many people as possible. If you have more or less unique program or have insight into a specific situation, such as small isolated congregations or urban congregations, or lifecycle events or a specific group within the congregation, please be in touch. To paraphrase the Marines, we are looking for a few good men with the willingness to share with their colleagues. As the deadline for making up the convention program is rapidly approaching, I urge you, if you have an interest in participating, to be in touch with me immediate ly.

EVICE The train

"The well-being of the soul can only be obtained after that of the body has been secured."

a share of

Maimonides, Guide to the Perplexed

# RABBINICAL RECREATION!!

At this year's convention we have a wide variety of recreational opportunities for rabbis and their wives. With the cooperation of the Concord staff, we are able to offer just about "something for everyone." It would be most helpful if you could let us know in which activities you and your wife will be participating by filling out the form below and sending to:

> Rabbi Carl Astor 660 Ocean Ave. New London, Ct. 06320

Thank you, and have a wonderful convention!						
Name(s)		Address		Pho	Phone#	
(√ if in <u>Husb</u> . <u>Wife</u>	AME	lable" Morning Activ	ities	Day	<u>Tim</u> e	
🗇 🗆 🖾 * <u>Tenn</u>		(approx. 3 mi.) ercise & skill) a practical program starting your day)	LO	M.T.Thurs. M,T,Wed. M,T,Wed.	7:00	a.m.
n k z		Afternoon Aerobics	1	9 <i>8</i>		
	<u>li</u> Dancing (Bobbi <u>-Aerobic</u> s" with S	le Silverman) Shimon (vigorous exe in the pool)	rcises	M,T,Wed. M,T,Wed.		
28 18	1	Fournaments	" a /	a ;		n <sup>a</sup> s
		use Rabbis' Run (5k) sm is not a race!)	DI.	Wed.	7:00	a.m.
• 3	shirt size (S,	M, L, XL)	. /			
8 8	best time -3.1 mil	les (be accur	ate - this race)		<u>handic</u>	
Tennis Tournament ("Serving in the courts of our Lord!")						
· · · ·	Mens' singles		1	Mon.	3:30	p.m.
	Womens' single	25		Mon.	3:30	p.m.
·	Mens' doubles	(ž.		Tues.	3:30	p.m.
	Womens' double	25		Tues.	3:30	p.m.
	Mixed doubles		2	Tues.	3:30	p.m.
$\square$ $\square$ *Tennis clinics available for beginners at these times as well						
Golf Golf	Fournament (Bring	( clubs)	. (	Tues.	3-6:30	p.m.
2	(Joseph's brother	s had a hole-in-one	!) ('	Wed.	3-5:30	p.m.

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

163 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 18922 - PLaza 1-4809, Ent. 268

DATE: March 22, 1984

TO: Marc H. Tanenbaum

# At the IRD staff meeting on the 20th there was some discussion of a possible backgrounder regarding the double standard used by the United Nations. I have put some notes together for such a backgrounder and if the plans are to produce one, you might find these notes useful.

DAVID GELLER

Secretary General Perez de Guellar's description of a recent UN report on the media as "unfortunate and ill-considered" is a description that can be used for a great many other reports and resolutions which have come from the United Nations. Indeed, the Secretary General's recent criticism added to his forthright statement deploring the growing weakness of the Security Council are hopeful signs that at last the organization itself is beginning to realize the destructiveness of the politicization, double standards, and outright flaunting of the UN Charter which has characterized so much of the work of the UN, especially concerning Israel and the Middle East.

But perhaps the clearest way to describe the unfulfilled promise of the idea of the UN is not only in describing errors of commission but in delineating errors of omission.

In the past two decades the world has experienced many wars between states, civil wars, instances of mass murder including the murder of civilians by their own government as well as a precipitous rise in murderous attacks by terrorists against civilian targets. In the overwhelming majority of cases the UN did nothing and in most cases remained silent.

Examples of this silence include:

\* Over 60,000 people killed and hundreds of thousands left homeless in the civil war in Lebanon, especially in 1975 after the attempted assassination of Pierre Gemayel, the Phalangist leader. Syria moved into Lebanon and massacred thousands of Palestinian men, women and children, most notably in the assault on the Palestinian refugee camp Tel El Zatar. In April 1981 thousands were killed again by the Syrians during their attacks on the Christian town of Zahle.

- From September 1962 until March 1970 a civil war raged in Yemen which claimed the lives of some 200,000 Yemenis and an estimated 30,000 Egyptian troops. Indeed, it was during this struggle that Egypt was accused of using poison gas.
- In the Sudan in 19 in the civil war in which Moslems fought against black non-Moslems in the south, it is estimated that as many as 800,000 southern Sudanese civilians died.
- The Iraqi-Kurdish war in 19 25,000 lives.
- In Indonesia from October 1965 almost 750,000 people were killed. In December of 1975 the government of President Suharto attacked East Timor. It is estimated that that Indonesian campaign resulted in the death of 200,000 East Timorese.
- In Lebanon in 1976 PLO terrorists destroyed the city of Damour killing hundreds of its Christian inhabitants.

-2-

- In 1965 the Hutus of Burundi attempted a coup which failed and resulted in a mass execution of Hutus. In 1970 thousands of Hutus were massacred.
- In Nigeria in 1966 thousands of Ibos were massacred by the Moslem Hausas and Fulani.
- In 1970 civil war broke out between Palestinian terrorists and the troops of the government of Jordan. Thousands of Palestinians were killed.
- \* In Uganda after the fall of Idi Amin it was estimated that during his rule 750,000 people had died. An Amnesty International report of June 15, 1978 documented murders of up to 300,000 people including judges, religious leaders, teachers, students and many other innocent civilians.
- Reliable reports indicate that three million Cambodians have died under the regime of Pol Pot.
- In Ethiopia, according to UN Ambassador Kirkpatrick, it is estimated that some 30,000 persons were summarily executed for political reasons between 1974-78, 10,000 in 1977 alone.
- In Guatemala an Amnesty International report dated February 18,
   1981 indicated that 3000 people had been found murdered after
   being seized by the Government in the first ten months of 1980.

In October of 1982 Amnesty International reported that 2600 Indians and peasants of Guatemala had been massacred since the new government took over in March of that year.

In May of 1982 the Syrian government in a show of force against dissidents in its own population surrounded, shelled and flattened the city of Hama, causing up to 10,000 residents to die according to diplomatic sources.

In 1978 the government-ordered massacre of hundreds of children
 in the Central African Republic.

 The expulsion of Shiites of Persian descent from Iraq resulted in thousands of deaths.

1975 - 1977: Iran against the Kurds
1981 - 1982: Nicaragua against Miskitoes
1971: Pakistan against the Bengalis
Turkey against the Kurds

1965: Soviet invasion of Hungary
1968: Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia
1979: Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

## Poland

 According to the <u>UN Chronicle</u> (September 1982, page 47), there are now ten million refugees and DPs in the world, almost 50% in Africa ... compare the focus of world attention and resources on Palestinaisn with these other groups.

18

David Geller

December 1983
# COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A., INC.

135 West 106th Street, New York, NY 10025

(212) 866-0692

March 27, 1984

Dr. Simon Wiesenthal Honorary President

Dr. Charles H. Kremer President

Irwin Nelson Dan Wiko Herman Ziering Vice-Presidents

Jacob Zonis Treasurer

Martin Fialkoff Corresponding Secretary

Magda Spiegel Recording Secretary

Robert R. Persky Legal Counsel

Rabbi Marc Angel Pat Barbarito George Beza Edmond Barshak Lilly Barshak Nina Dayan Ralph Dayan Anthonv DeVito Sam Gotlieb Dina Lewitinn Warren Moscowitz Rose Sher Elliot Welles Governing Board

Marc A. Lewitinn Chairman, Subcommittee Against Nazism Letter to the Editor New York Times 229 West 43 Street New York, NY

I am the President of the Rumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc., and the Committee to bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U.S.A., Inc.

For the last 35 years I have been the leader of the fight to bring to justice Archbishop Valerian D. Trifa of the Rumanian OCA, the butcher of Bucharest, who ordered under the guise of a coup d'etat the killing of Jews by instituting pogroms against the Rumanian Jews during 1940 and especially during January 21-24, 1941, when Jews were butchered in the Bucharest slaughterhouses--killed more cruelly than Hitler had killed. He has been ordered denaturalized and deported as a result of the OSI trial, which took place in October, 1982.

Instead of trying to find an asylum outside the U.S.A., he is planning to create an international Rumanian organization called The World Congress of Free Rumanians, which is to meet on May 19 and 20 in Geneva, Switzerland. This organization is to speak on behalf of all Rumanians, since it does not enclose the Horia Sima group (Madrid). It plans to protest against anybody who considers Trifa a former Nazi war criminal.

They will also endeavor to work for reinstating Trifa's citizenship, thereby through various trials succeed in keeping Trifa here indefinitely in the U.S.A. In order to succeed in his plan, besides the fact that he has spent thousands of dollars to organize this Congress, he has so manipulated the organizing of it that neither he nor any of his worldwide collaborators and organizers appear on the list of the committee who prepared the calling of this Congress.

Trifa and his followers have tried a few times to create this organization in the U.S.A., but have failed, because when some of the American Rumanians saw the names of the well-known legionnaires on the list of organizers, they did not join. Therefore, this time he used a trick and decided to have the reunion called in Geneva. I am confident that after they create a permanent committee, they will move to New York. This creates a great danger for our American democracy because all legionnaires are terrorists. According to President Reagan, Americans cannot tolerate their presence and activities. He pledged that he will fight against terrorism.

They also misled many Jews by not mentioning Trifa's name and his clique. Some Jewish names are mentioned like Alexandru Loceanu (Israel), Margaret Kirschen (England), Dr. Johann Rosenfeld (Germany). I am sure that they are not aware of the purpose of this Congress. There are also mentioned among others two dangerous Rumanian Nazis, Ioan Smultea, the former chief of "Brothers of the Cross," a Nazi-type organization, and Ioan Crishan Dacicus, former Iron Guard Governor in 1940, both still alive in the U.S.A.

Please publish the above to alert the American public and authorities of the danger of creating sucn an international Nazi and terrorist organization.

Thanking you, I remain,

Stharle Akrener

Dr. Charles Kremer President Rumanian Jewish Federation of America, Inc., and the Committee to Bring Nazi War Criminals to Justice in the U.S.A.

135 W. 106th Street New York, NY 10025

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Marc A. Lewitinn Chairman, Subcommittee Against Nazism Dear Mr. Wiesenthal,

Thank you for your interest in my work and especially for the \$1,000 check in connection with delivering my archives.

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. George Beza, a World War II veteran and the only one of thirty men to escape being killed by Trifa and his gang in the Death Squad--a newspaperman who infiltrated the Targul Muresh Congress (1936) in Rumania. He escaped before Trifa came to power in September 4, 1940 when he left for Palestine where he joined the Allied forces and served with distinction throughout the war. He is a Gentile. He offered to be a witness at Trifa's trials, but was never called all these years. He lives in Paris with his family. He sent me the enclosed letter and the invitation to the World Congress of Rumanians in Exile, plus a list of names. I suggest that you search your files, for these names are outstanding Iron Guardists. There are a few Jews whose names I underlined with red ink. I am also enclosing my answer and a translation of a letter which I received from Mr. Leon I suspect that he is the son of the famous Bercovici. Rumanian writer, Conrad Bercovici, who wrote "The Gypsy Story."

"Dear Mr. Leon Bercovici,

Thank you very much for your letter of 8 Adar, and especially for the information that there are a few Jews who will be present or are interested in this Congress. I have received from Mr. George Beza an invitation which I am enclosing. Though Trifa and his American Iron Guardists are not mentioned, they are the main supporters. Ratiu is a very rich London Rumanian and Brutus Costea, former Rumanian leader of the Captive Nations and a most militant legionnaire. He did not want to divulge this in order to attract both Jews and Rumanian Christians. The U.S.A. Iron Guardists have called a few times a congress in the U.S.A., but have not succeeded because when the people saw names of American legionnaires, they did not want to associate with them. Therefore they used this trick and are having the reunion in Geneva. I believe that after they create a permanent Committee, they will move to New York. Please contact in London, Paris and Geneva the ADL, B'nai Brith, World Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Masonic organizations (Mr. M. Shapiro, an influential mason, 118-130 Jean Jaurès, Paris, France)

France's chief rabbi, Switzerland's, England's and Rumania's chief rabbis.

Please answer as soon as you can for us to plan what to do.

#### Very truly yours,

5

Charles Kremer

#### cc. George Beza

P.S. I have contacted the following organizations and put them on alert to act before it is too late. I have no hopes. The establishment is usually silent. They feel that if you don't make waves, or keep silent, the problem will be resolved either way. This has been my experience.

I am enclosing letters and newspaper clippings in connection with defrocking Trifa, also the letter you dictated to Professor Korn, a copy of letter I received from Unitarian Church, letter to Archbishop O'Connor and Marc Richards, assistant Attorney General, head of Criminal Division, Washington, D.C."

Sorry to hear that you were operated on. I am happy that you are all right. Look forward to seeing you in June, all recovered and strong.

In expectation of your answer, I remain

With love for Zion and Shalom,

Scleenles Athemer

Charles Kremer

encls.

CK:lr

### 135 West 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025

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Bonorary President Dr. Simon Wiesenthal

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Governing Board Rabbi Marc Angel Pat Barbarito George Beza Edmond Barshak Lilly Barshak Nina Dayan Ralph Dayan Anthony DeVito Sam Gotlieb Dina Lewitinn Warren Moscowitz Rose Sher Elliot Welles

Chairman, Subcommittee Against Nazism Marc A. Lewitinn March 28, 1984

My Dear Mr. Beza,

Thank you for your letter addressed to me plus the Convocarea and the page with the names on one page. Ι read over this list and found a few Jewish names, namely Margaret Kirschen (England), Dr. Johann Rosenfeld (Germany), and Alexadru Loceanu (Israel) who is a reporter for Viata Noastra and other Jewish publications, and who deserves a letter from you and one from me. I intend to write a letter to the editor of the Viata Noastra and ask how can a Jewish writer be allowed to become a member of an Iron Guard organization. I can excuse Dr. Rosenfeld, but Loceanu should know who Brutus Costen is. In New York City, Ion Smultea, when he saw his name on the list, be being a supporter of Horia Sima, felt insulted and put up an opposition. I am trying to arouse interest in the following places: The ADL in New York City and France; B'nai Brith in France, Geneva and England; American Jewish Congress in Paris, Switzerland and England; American Jewish Committee in Paris (Shimon Samuels), England and Switzerland; Masons (Mr. Shapiro, 118-130 Jean Jaures, Paris 75019); Chief rabbi of France, Geneva (Rabbi Dr. Alexandru Shafrau), England and Rumania.

I am enclosing a letter from Leon Bercovici, whom I suspect is the son of Conrad Bercovici who wrote the Gypsy Story. Pelase contact the above. I have contacted all of the above organizations and am trying to arrange a press conference. I am enclosing my letter to Wiesenthal and Leon Bercovici. Please contact him and work with him.

I am enclosing an article of an interview by Howard Blum on Trifa. He is still an Iron Guardist threatening the lives of Jews. Keep up the good work. If not for you, I would have found out after it was all over. Please notice that no American Iron Guardist of any value was included in the list; also no Horia Sima supporters 1) for the novices not to expose Trifa and his gang, and 2) for the active legionnaires not to have included Horia Sima and his clique.

Please let me know what you are doing about the convocare. I hope you, your dear wife and family are in good health. Wishing you all the best, I remain

Sincerely your friend,

encl.

Charles Kremer

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Marc A. Lewitinn Chairman. Subcommittee Against Nazism March 28, 1984

Mr. Abe Bayer President of NICRAC National Jewish Community Relations Council

Dear Mr. Abe Bayer,

Some years ago I contacted you and you called a meeting in which these organizations participated: A.J. Congress, A.J. Committee, ADL, B'nai Brith, and possibly others too. It was a successful experience. I sincerely believe that time has come to have another one.

I would appreciate it if you would call together these and other organizations because I am sick at heart and tired of calling up major Jewish organizations, forever attending meetings, and failing to get my calls returned.

I am deeply involved in a) defrocking Trifa (this must be done before he retires in June, 1984, otherwise though tried in the U.S.A. and ordered deported, he will die here a respected bishop; b)finalizing Trifa's deportation; and c) beginning action which is required to prevent the creation at Geneva, Switzerland of an international Iron Guardist network under the guise of an organization called "World Congress of Free Rumanians."

a) Defrocking - From the enclosures here attached, you will notice that for the last seven years I have been engaged in defrocking Trifa. The enclosed letters were mailed to his four churches and mostly to churchmen of all denominations and Gentile citizens. I am enclosing a copy of these letters.

We are planning in a few cities defrocking ceremonies in synogogues, and we need your help in order to expose a heretic, pogromist, and imposter. Archbishop Trifa's Mother Church, the OCA (Orthodox Church of America), is immoral by allowing a man, who has changed his gun for a cross, a liar, an immoral man, and a murderer, to sanctify new churches as recently as last February.

b) Deportation - I have been last summer purposely in Israel. Believe me, that at 86 years of age it was no easy task, but I had many conferences with officials of the I did it. Department of Justice and Honorable Ghideon Hausner. The letter dated by Hausner and the one dated are here enclosed. This is a very disturbing situation. It can be solved not by one man, Charles Kremer, but by a group of responsible Jewish organizations willing to throw apathy out the window and become involved i It can be done because, according to Ghideon Hausner and myself, if only the Israeli government will ask for Trifa's extradition and since Trifa does not want to live with Jews in a Jewish land, he will find soon enough a country Besides, according to Mr. Hausner, even if we lose, we win by just showing that Israel wants to try him there. Imagine how anxious the U.S.A. is to deport him to Israel. They are willing to allow Israel to try him a la Eichmann, thereby giving Israel sovereignty and the right, even though Israel in 1941 was non existent.

Just as the Jewish establishment has been silent during and after the Holocaust and even now keeps its eyes closed and refuses to acknowledge the danger of anti-Semitism and Naziism in the U.S.A., the same Israel refuses to understand that it is its responsibility to ask the U.S.A. for extradition, not only of Trifa, but of all the Nazis who undermine our democracy and freedom. For once, make it a priority to work for Trifa's extradition, either in Israel or in Rumania, and for the extradition of all Nazis, tried or not so far. Israel claims that it is willing to try Nazis, but this is only talk.

c) Congress of Free Rumanians in Exile - .I.d.

...J. Connittee

Thank you very much for your letter and especially the information that there are a few Jews who will be present or are interested in this Congress. I have received from Mr. George Beza an invitation which I am enclosing. Though Trifa and his American Iron Guardists are not mentioned, they are the main supporters. Ratiu is very rich London Rumanian and Brutus Costea, former Rumanian leader of the Captive Nations and a most militant legionnaire. He did not want to divulge this in order to attract both Jews and Rumanian Christians. The U.S.A. Iron Guardists have called a few times a congress in the U.S.A. but have not succeeded because when the people saw names of American legionnaires, they did not want to associate with them. Therefore they used this trick and are having the reunion in Geneva. I believe that after they create a permanent Committee, they will move to New York. Please contact in London, Paris and Geneva the ADL, B'nai Brith, World Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Masonic organizations (Mr. M. Shapiro, an influential mason, 118-130 Jean Jaures, Paris, France), France's chief rabbi, Switzerland's, England's and Rumania's chief rabbis.

Please answer as soon as you can for us to plan what to do.

Very truly yours, \* Dr. Charles Kremer "

\*(Answer to Mr. Leon Bercovici)

Enclosed please find Mr. Beza's letter, the invitation to the World Congress of Free Rumanians, a letter from Mr. Leon Bercovici and a letter to Mr. Wiesenthal, and my answer to Mr. Bercovici.

I am mailing you these enclosures in order not to spend time explaining why we need your help against creating an international Nazi network. Please do not delay in calling a meeting because time is of the essence. I also believe that you should call a press conference about the above three projects. In doing this we will do our duty to our martyrs and survivors.

Please address the return letter to 30 West 70th Street, New York, NY 10023 or call me at this unlisted phone: 799-0135 between 8:30 - 10 A.M. or 5:30-10 P.M.

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Dr. Charles Kremer

Z to man sime to. 11.1 .. P.S. Please make a special effort to invite the Synagogue Council of America who are most cooperative in my above three efforts. Contact Rabbi Michelman and Rabbi Waxman. the missel of . .. lan :

Julius Berman, President of Conference of Presidents of major Jewish organizations int em:

A.J. Congressi : 113

A.J. Committee A.D.L. - alla

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U.S. B'nai Brith and B'nai Brith International

Synagogue Council of America -12 1

B'nai Zion Rumanian Chapter 104 5.5 1 1

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President Marc Brandman

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# COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN U.S.A., INC.

#### 135 West 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025

Bonorary President Dr. Simon Wiesenthal

President Dr. Charles H. Kremer

Vice-Presidents Irwin Nelson Dan Wiko Herman Ziering

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Recording Secretary Magda Spiegel

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Governing Board Rabbi Marc Angel Pat Barbarito George Beza Edmond Barshak Lilly Barshak Nina Dayan Ralph Dayan Anthony DeVito Sam Gotlieb Dina Lewitinn Warren Moscowitz Rose Sher Elliot Welles

Chairman, Subcommittee Against Nazism Marc A. Lewitinn Rabbi Alexandru Shafra. Chief Rabbi of Switzerland Geneva, Switzerland

#### Dear Rabbi Shafran,

As the former Chief Rabbi of Rumania during the slaughtering of Jews in Bucharest and throughout Rumania, it is important that you are informed of the World Congress of Free Rumanians in Exile, which will hold meetings on the 19th and 20th of May in Geneva in order to form an international network of Iron Guardists. I sincerely believe that it is your responsibility as a Jew who was the Chief Rabbi in Rumania during the slaughtering of Rumanian Jews to expose these murderers by writing articles in the press, calling a press conference, going on radio and television, and giving them no moment of peace. You have no excuse not to do it, because you are not in Rumania to be afraid of the goyim.

March 28, 1984

Please let me know what you are doing to prevent these murderers to organize themselves and plan the destruction of the Jewish people.

I have succeeded singlehandedly to denaturalize and deport Trifa without your help. I sincerely believe that your word as Chief Rabbi in Switzerland carries some weight. Please, again, I appeal to you to do your duty.

Best wishes for your health.

With love for Zion and Shalom,

& Charles Afraune

Dr. Charles Kremer

(212) 866-0692

# COMMITTEE TO BRING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A., INC.

135 West 106th Street, New York, NY 10025

(212) 866-0692

March 30, 1984

Dr. Charles H. Kremer

Irwin Nelson Dan Wiko Herman Ziering Vice-Presidents

Dr. Simon Wiesenthal

Honorary President

President

Jacob Zonis Ticasurer

Martin Fialkoff Corresponding S ...

Magda Spiegel Recording Secretary

Robert R. Persky Legal Counsel

Rabbi Marc Angel Pat Barbarito George Beza Edmond Barshak Lilly Barshak Nina Davan Ralph Davan Anthony DeVito Sam Gother Dina Lewitinn Warren Moscowitz Rose Sher Elliot Welles Governing Board

Marc A. Lewitinn Chairman. Subcommittee Against Nazism

#### Dear Friend,

We all believe in one and the same God. Our ways are different but our ethics are the same. For years we have had a problem which concerns not only us but all human beings who believe in God and in an ethical life.

We are now in a position, through the enclosures, to share this problem with you. It concerns a man who committed such unspeakable crimes during the Nazi era that the United States had no alternative but to strip him of his fraudulently acquired citizenship and to order his deportation. Nevertheless, this man, Archbishop Valerian Trifa, remains in a high position in a Christian church. And this situation cannot be understood by ordinary Christians and Jews because it is an assault on all human beings who believe in God. We feel certain that such a person could never remain in such a position in your church.

Please give us your opinion in this matter. We deeply appreciate your consideration.

Sincerely yours.

Dr. Charles Kremer, President

enclosures

American Planning Association Please reply to:

1776 Massachusetts Ave. NW Washington, DC 20036 Phone 202.872.0611 1313 E. 60th St. Chicago, IL 60637 Phone 312.955.9100

April 3, 1984

The Honorable Geraldine Ferraro Chair of the Democratic Platform Committee Democratic National Committee 1625 Massachusetts Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ms. Ferraro:

We would like to submit the American Planning Association's Planning Platform for 1984 for consideration by the Democratic Party Platform Committee.

The American Planning Association is a non-partisan organization and the only national association which advances planning. Our 21,000 members--public officials, planning practitioners at all levels of government and concerned citizens--are committed to the use of sound planning in the development and conservation of our communities and resources. One of the primary functions of planning officials and professional planners is to assist elected officials in assessing current conditions and analyzing options to meet a community's needs.

We have enclosed 200 copies of the planning platform for distribution to the members of the committee. If you have any questions concerning the platform, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincere

George T. Marcou, AICP Deputy Executive Director

President Robert C. Einsweiler, AICP





American Planning Association 1776 Massachusetts Ave. NW Washington, DC 20036 Phone 202.872.0611

#### THE AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION'S PLANNING PLATFORM FOR 1984

#### APRIL 1984

#### I. Introduction

Planning is necessary for informed decisionmaking at all levels of government. The role of planning is to explore the likely consequences of alternative public policies as they could be expected to play themselves out in the near term and through succeeding years. Direct and indirect consequences alike are explored in the planning process, and a wide range of viewpoints are brought to bear upon the analysis, along with the best available quantitative data and technical analysis.

Effective strategic planning for major national issues—like rebuilding America's public works infrastructure and meeting international economic competition through reindustrialization and post-industrialization—is essential to the nation's continued well being. Developing the nation's human capital—through health, education, jobs, and social service programs—is another crucial resource planning responsibility underlying the nation's future success.

In a federated nation like ours, principal responsibilities for many functions of government reside below the national level. Such functions include housing, community development, and economic development, as well as portions of the national strategic planning program areas referred to above. Firm national policies—directing the nation's massive federal aid system and guiding a coordinated set of responsive planning processes needed at the state, local, and regional levels of government to preserve and advance the nation's economic, environmental, urban, rural, and human health. The national government should use its established urban policy and rural development policy processes more effectively, along with the President's Annual Economic Report and State of the Union Message and the numerous regularly mandated functional policy reports to the Congress, to enunciate and carry through systematically planned and coordinated national policies for meeting the challenges of the future.

#### II. The Federal Role

- 1. Specifically, we contend that the federal role in planning should be:
  - a. To set long-range, interrelated national goals and policies in regard to growth, settlement, land use, energy, environment, transportation, and economic, social, and cultural concerns;
  - To prepare and enact legislation and to promulgate unified planning guidelines including project review processes and planning assistance programs that further national policies;
  - c. To facilitate and stimulate long-range planning by all levels of government and by regional organizations;
  - d. To streamline and coordinate administrative procedures for capital and operating purposes, with appropriate provisions for intergovernmental decision-making authority to allocate and use such funds;
  - e. To coordinate federal fiscal and monetary policy in a way that supports national policy goals; and

- f. To support each state's efforts to coordinate plans and programs through its comprehensive planning process.
- The federal government should translate national policy into consistent programs that pursue the achievement of interrelated national goals and coordinate the management of national programs to the same end.
- National programs should aim to achieve the highest and most imaginative efforts by private enterprise and by government at all levels to promote the common good of society.

#### III. The Role of the Executive Branch

- The President should accept responsibility for developing a framework to manage national growth and change, establish the necessary interdisclinary capability in the Executive Office, and use appropriate government agencies for implementation.
- 2. The President's Biennial Report on National Growth should be expanded in scope to include current social, economic, and ecological data and indices, as well as information regarding the geographical distribution of federal expenditures and the past impacts of major federal policies, programs, and projects. This information may improve development program coordination and assist in the formulation of needed legislation.
- At the federal level, functional policies and plannings by all cabinet departments and executive agencies should support national goals and policies with a framework clearly enunciated by the President and approved by Congress.

#### IV. Federal Planning Requirements

- The federal government should encourage states to charge a single multijurisdictional and multifunctional agency in each substate district with the responsibility for implementing all federally assisted areawide comprehensive general-purpose planning. It would also coordinate all functional planning and satisfy all multijurisdictional federal planning requirements. Where federal planning funds are channeled through the states, federal agencies should work with the states to ensure that areawide planning can be carried out effectively by substate regional agencies.
- Block grants furthering an established national development policy are an appropriate step toward integrated funding and administrative simplification of federal and state programs.
- 3. Guidelines for the use of planning grants should stress:
  - a. Strengthening the recipients' organizational and administrative abilities to develop and implement comprehensive plans, within a framework of open public access to the decision-making process; and
  - Strengthening coordination of functional planning for the delivery of public facilities and services.
- There should be enough funds in local and state planning budgets to allow coordination of planning activities with the executive and legislative branches of government.

For further information, please contact George T. Marcou, AICP, Deputy Executive Director, American Planning Association.

#### TESTIMONY BY BARRY WEISBERG 1984 DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM HEARINGS

April 9, 1984, New York Strategies for Peace and Strength: Building A Secure America

Good Afternoon,

My name is Barry Weisberg. I am a resident of Chicago, Illinois. Recently I was the Illinois Delegate Coordinator for the Jackson for President Campaign.

How do we resolve the challenge of peace and strength in our time? For Americans, for the people of the world, and for generations yet unborn? This is the paramount question of our era. On August 8, 1945, the United States placed this question before the entire world. The destruction of Hiroshima shattered the Yalta agreements, and ushered in a period of strength defined by military superiority and economic hegemony.

Yet such strength has not brought peace. Every escalation of our military strength saw our security evaporate. On several occasions I have had the opportunity to witness first hand this interconnection.

> In South Vietnam, the agonized faces of children testified to the growing global insecurity for America.

In southern Africa, a young freedom fighter fleeing from aparthied, angrily confronted me, "I wish I could drop a big bomb on America, so they would stop supporting aparthied in my country."

And in Germany, a family of farmers explained that they would never purchase American goods again, because American tanks had destroyed their farmlands for two years in a row during Nato exercises.

Ever since World War Two, the accumulation of military strength has steadily resulted in the loss of genuine security.

This direction must be reversed. There exists a direct relationship between injustice at home an insecurity abroad. Since Ronald Reagan became President, the military aid provided by the United States has doubled, as have the number of millionaires. Overconsumption for the few requires under consumption for the many.

Today, our task is to outline strategies for peace and strength. But both peace and strength can only result from consistent democracy at home. Not a "\_\_usade for democracy," as Ronald Reagan advocates, but a new democracy at home. It is the strength of the American people, democracy awakened, which yields genuine security. Therefore, we require a foreign policy which rewards peace, not war. We once had a Department of War, now called the Department of Defense. Changing the name does not change the mission.

When I study the Platform of the Democratic Party, I find no genuine policy for peace. Let us simply compare the number of dollars spent for weapons, the number of young men and women in military uniform, with those engaged in feeding the hungry and healing the sick. The entire apparatus of our foreign policy requires redesign to insure that the "foreigners" are included in its definition and actually receive its benefit.

Today, I will not focus my attention on particular features of our armed forces or the deployment of American soldiers abroad. Instead, I would like to suggest for your consideration a few basic themes required for a new direction for our global policy:

1. First, we must propose an across the board 25% reduction in the budget of the Department of Defense, and all forms of international military aid, and this reduction must increase according to a comprehensive plan for mutual international disarmament. Step by step, every dollar spent for "defense" must be matched with a dollar spent for food and medical care, until a real balance is achieved. For every soldier in uniform, there must be another American engaged in feeding and healing those in need. In this regard, there can be no serious effort to eradicate poverty and disease globally while it exists at home.

2. America must take the initiative to freeze the production of armaments of every kind, both nuclear and non nuclear. If America had the strength to build and utilize the first atomic bomb, it must have the strength to destroy and ban the atom bomb.

3. All aid to reactionary regimes such as South Africa, Turkey and El Salvador must stop. The security of such undemocratic regimes insures the insecurity of America.

4. The United States must institutionalize exchange and dialogue with the Soviet Union, all nuclear powers, and countries both large and small. The United States must seek regular diplomatic relations with countries with different social systems.

5. The international policy of the United States in regard to aid, immigration and other issues, must reflect genuine equality. Whether from Canada or Mexico, Europe or Africa, American policy must adopt a stance which is fair and just.

The future of America, and of the Democratic Party, depends upon our search for a new direction for democracy at home. This will be the strength we require to wage a successful struggle for peace.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE 165 E. 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022 20/84 DATE: FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM Daniel Gellen TO: Please circulate to: For approval For your information Please handle Read and return Returned as requested Please telephone me Your comments, please

David, If space allows, we Shined wichde terms of local chapters' proframes in foreign offician Auch as there are -Remarks:

#### PHILADELPHIA ISRAEL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

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Yaron Eitan Executive Director The Philadelphia Israel Economic Development Program

PIEDP

1411 Walnut Street, Suite 1004 Philadelphia PA 19102 (215) 564-2460

#### WHY WAS PIEDP ESTABLISHED?

Philadelphia has a long history of successful and productive ties between local industries and Israeli businesses. A few local corporations like AEL, Kulick & Sofa, and Vishy have subsidiaries located in Israel and the network of business connections is constantly growing. In addition, Philadelphia has branches of the two major Israeli banks which are, in fact, the only foreign banks in this city.

#### П.

I.

#### WHAT IS PIEDP?

The business community in Philadelphia has an interest in creating strong business ties between Philadelphia and Israel. Following consultation among leaders of the Urban Affairs Partnership, the Philadelphia First Corporation, representatives for Israel Economic Affairs, the Wharton Entrepreneurial Center, and the local chapter of the American Jewish Committee, it was decided to form the Philadelphia Israel Economic Development Program.

#### PURPOSE

The goals of **PIEDP** are to encourage, discover, and support new business contacts between Philadelphia and the State of Israel. PIEDP recognizes the opportunity for mutually beneficient business relationships, and is designed to match the needs of both Philadelphia and Israeli concerns.

#### STRUCTURE

The Board of Directors of PIEDP are businessmen from the local business community who guide PIEDP efforts. In addition, PIEDP utilizes area resources such as the Wharton School, and the Philadelphia Export Newtork, and Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC).

# Ш.

#### HOW CAN WE HELP THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN?

In recent years, the Philadelphia business community has put a great deal of effort into strengthening the local economy, in part by supporting various international business relationships. PIEDP has been established specifically to assist these efforts with respect to Israeli business.

# AMERICAN IEWISH PIEDP

- Introducing state of the art technology, new business ideas and opportunities with Israeli companies.
- · Guide and advise you on how to do business with Israeli companies
- Provide you with opportunities to produce or to market Israeli products
- Help you' to select the proper way to export to Israel
- · Find you an agent who will represent you and make contacts for you in Israel
- Expose you to new ideas on reasearch and development projects from Israeli research centers.

#### IV.

#### ... AND FOR THE ISRAELI BUSINESSMAN?

A small to medium-sized Israeli company faces many difficulties in trying to enter the U.S. Market. These problems are mainly due to a lack of familiarity with local markets. The directors of PIEDP have experience and contacts in the areas of licensing, joint ventures, marketing and transfer of technology. PIEDP will examine your needs and advise you on entry strategy. We can locate business contacts, consultants, and potential partners for you in the Philadelphia business and industrial community. In addition, we can help you devise marketing and advertising campaigns in the Philadelphia market.

Remember, our main strength is our knowledge of the local markets and our contacts in the Greater Philadelphia area.

#### HOW TO CONTACT US IN THE U.S.:

Philadelphia Israel Economic Development Program 1411 Walnut Street, Phila., Pa 19102 Phone: 215-564-2460 Telex: 834247-Quickshare-PHA

#### IN ISRAEL:

Eli Avigusch, CPA 25 Jerusalem Street Haifa, Israel 33131 Phone: 04-667275 Telex: 46400-BXHA-IL 8085

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Suite 1004 • 1411 Walnut Street

Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 • 564-2460

## RABBI MARC TANENBAUM

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Murray Friedman

Regional Director



The American Jewish Committee

Philadelphia Chapter • 1411 Walnut St., Suite 1004 • Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 • (215) 564-2460

April 11, 1984

Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff 9 Ethiopia Street Jerusalem, Israel 95149

Dear Bernie:

I have written you previously about the Philadelphia Israel Economic Development Program and the new director for this, Yaron Eitan. To quickly summarize, this is a venture initiated and sponsored by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee with significant funding from the Christian business leadership in Philadelphia. To refresh your memory further, I am enclosing a copy of a story on the project in the Jewish Exponent. We are very excited about this program since it offers the possibility of developing close ties between Philadelphia business and Israeli business and win friends and influence people through the development of business or economic development programs.

The reason for this letter is that Yaron is arranging a trip of Philadelphia business leaders to Israel from June 20-28. He has developed ties in Haifa with a Mr. Eli Avigusch - telephone: 04-667275 -- whose office is at 25 Jerusalem Street, Haifa 33131. While I am not at all familiar with the arrangements here, apparently Mr. Avigusch is closely connected with Yaron Eitan and represents, to some degree, an expression of Yaron's work in Israel. I told Yaron about the existence of our Jerusalem office and the good work that it does. Yaron has asked me to familiarize you with this trip. It may be that you will want to be in touch with Mr. Avigusch and to apprise him of our existence in Israel and offer to be of whatever help we can to him.

With further reference to the trip and Inge Gibel, this is not a regular Christian visitors to Israel program but a business kind of visit and, hence, Yaron will be working out his own arrangements with contracts in mind. Even so, however, I am hoping that Bernie will learn as much as he possibly can about what we are attempting to do here and it may be that as this program continues further, AJC can tie in much more fully in Israel to what we are attempting to do here. If all this works, I think we shall have an extraordinarily interesting new kind of program for AJC that will go far beyond Philadelphia possibilities.

Cordially,

Murray Friedman Regional Director

MF:r

encls.

#### cc: David Harris, Adam Simms

GEORGE M. ROSS, Chairman of Board .

. RICHARD L BERKMAN, President of Chapter

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# Business seeks ties with Israel

#### By IAN BLYNN Of the Exponent Staff

An ambitious project to expand the economies of Israel and Philadelphia is in the hands of a 27-year-old former Israeli army major and current Wharton School graduate student.

Yaron Eitan is executive director of the Philadelphia Israel Economic Development Program, created this year to explore opportunities for Israeli and Philadelphia-area businesses to link their research, development and marketing efforts.

Working with \$20,000 in seed money from the Philadelphia First Corp. and the American Jewish Committee, which is also donating office space, Eitan is seeking primarily "to locate companies from both sides who have mutual interests and to make them aware of opportunities in joint ventures, transfer of technology, licensing rights for exclusive distributorships and other variations."

The Philadelphia First Corp. is the coordinating agency for business organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia and the Urban Affairs Partnership.

Eitan said the lack of an adequate distribution system in the United States has proved fatal in the past to Israeli marketing ventures here.

"Israeli companies understand now that they need contact with American' corporations" to get a foothold in the American market, Eitan said. With exclusive distribution or licensing rights, American firms will have an incentive to "push the product," he said.

"The goal is not to sell Israeli products here," said Robert A. Fox,

president of RAF Industries and chairman of the new project. "The idea is to set up relations to license Israeli ventures here." Conversely, Fox said, American businesses working through Israel obtain a valued duty-free entrance to the European Economic Community, the "Common Market." James F. Bodine of the Urban Affairs Partnership gave the project its initial impetus. Aware of the business community's increasing desire for local economic expansion and of the longstanding Philadelphia-Tel Aviv sistercity relationship, Bodine approached the American Jewish Committee, known for its links with the Jewish business community, for help in setting up a project to explore joint business ventures.

"We did play Cupid a little bit to get this off the ground," he said. "We're going into our eighth year with our international city project to get Philadelphians to realize we're living in a global economy, and that we want to get our share of it.

"We've had some experience elsewhere using the leverage of leaders of this community who have ties in the 'home country,' " Bodine said, citing newly forged links with the People's Republic of China through the Chinese community, with West African nations through the black community and with Korea through the burgeoning Korean community.

"It just became obvious to us that we ought to make something of this sister-city relationship, which was just a piece of paper." Bodine said.

Fred Heldring, deputy chairman of the Philadelphia National Bank and chairman of the International Cities Steering Committee of the Urban Af-



#### YARON EITAN . . . finding opportunities

fairs Partnership, hosted an opening meeting, said Bodine, "and we all agreed to do it. The AJCommittee allowed as how they thought they could provide a home for this.

"But all along, we had said this shouldn't just be a Jewish project. So Philadelphia First came up with half the seed money to get this thing started.

"It's been getting good reception," Bodine said. "There's something to it. There's a lot of research coming out of Israel, and some of it has got to strike the fancy of some businesses here in the Philadelphia area.

"No one thing is going to make us an international city. There are a lot of bits of pieces — and this is one of those pieces." Bodine said.

Eitan, recently returned from an exploratory trip to Israel on behalf of the new project, has targeted the high technology and medical industries as (Continued on Page 87)

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# Project seeks Israel-American business ties

(Continued from Page 5)

fertile ground for joint development.

"Philadelphia is strong in the medical devices industry and in marketing," he said. "This matches Israel's strong medical research industry."

Though the program is just taking off, said Fox, there are "specific Israeli high-tech capabilities being put together with Philadelphia companies that might make a good match."

There are already organizations in Philadelphia to promote international trade with Israel, including the Philadelphia Chapter of the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce, Israeli banks Leumi and Hapoalim, the Israeli consulate and the Philadelphia office of the Israel Investment and Export Authority.

"This is another vehicle to help business and international trade, not an organization to compete with the chamber or the Israeli government or the banks," said Zvi Muscal, senior vice president of Bank Hapoalim in Philadelphia and a board member of the Philadelphia-Israel Economic Development Program.

Dr. Edward Shils, a professor at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania and director of the Wharton-Israel Bi-National Marketing Program, termed the new project "pragmatic."

"They have the cooperation of the downtown business community," said Shils, also a board member of the program.

One of the major efforts to highlight Israel's numerous financial incentives for foreign investment and at the same time showcase the country's pioneering research and development efforts is the upcoming Isratech '84 exhibit slated May 21 to 24 in Tel Aviv.

At a luncheon co-sponsored by Bank Hapoalim and the Israeli consulate, Joshua Forer, director general of the Israeli Ministry of Industry and Trade, Isratech sponsor, termed the exhibit "very important for our economy. It gives us the opportunity to give people from all over the world a chance to meet Israel's high-tech industry and business opportunities."

Dr. Dan Bar-Lev, Israeli economic consul in Philadelphia, said foreign corporations have been attracted to Israel by government cash grants and low-interest loans, significant long-term tax concessions and Israel's strong infrastructure.

Another link in the Philadelphia-to-Israel business chain is the involvement of the law firm of Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen and the accounting firm of Laventhol and Horwath in a cooperative venture to provide binational services. David Gitlin of the law firm's international department spent six weeks in Israel last fall establishing contacts.

"Our Israeli practice is becoming quite substantial," said Gitlin, who lived in Israel for eight years and is a member of both the Israeli and American bars.

"The economy of Israel being what it is, Israeli corporations have to export to the United States if they really want to grow," Gitlin said.

Gitlin said some American corporations are reluctant to invest in Israel, "although Israel can provide them with very attractive [financial] packages." The reasons for this reluctance, he said, are twofold: Israel's "internal recession" and what he called "the psychological impact of the political situation, especially Lebanon."

He discounted Israel's economic condition as a negative factor. "That shouldn't keep U.S. companies out. They use Israel as an entry to the EEC, and Israel's internal recession doesn't really affect the prospects of a foreign company."

More than 100 American firms have manufacturing facilities in Israel, including 28 members of the Fortune 500, according to the Israeli Investment and Export Authority. In 1983, trade between the two countries amounted to \$1.317 billion from Israel to the United States, and \$1.629 billion from the United States to Israel, not including military expenditures.

# The Philadelphia Israel Economic Development Program

1411 Walnut Street, 1004 • Philadelphia, Pa 19102 • (215) 564-2460 March 30, 1984

PIEDP TRIP TO ISRAEL ISRAEL-PHILADELPHIA DEVELOP A JOINT BUSINESS VENTURE

Philadelphia-Israel Economic Development Program together with Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation are putting together a trip of business people from the Philadelphia area to Israel.

The purpose of this trip is to introduce local "health care" and electronic industry companies to new opportunities with Israeli companies and research centers through a professional tour of Israel. The tour will include visits to research institutes such as the Weitzman Institute and the Technion, as well as, meeting Israeli business people and others who have shown interest in American firms. We will attempt to make specific contacts which can be beneficial to each visitor. The trip will also include meeting high level Israeli officials and visiting some of the interesting historical sites.

We all know that Philadelphia has a highly advanced health care industry, many hospitals and medical schools. However, very few of the professionals involved have been exposed to opportunities with Israeli companies. At the same time, Israel has very advanced technology and world reknowned achievements in medical equipment, medical devices and electronic products and technology and in many other areas.

We believe that by bringing Israeli-American firms together, we can create successful business opportunities for both.

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#### THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA

212 RIVERSIDE 9-8000

3080 BROADWAY . NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

April 27, 1984

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum Director, International Affairs Department American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th Street New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc;

I am happy to enclose a copy of the paper which I gave at the recent meeting of the IJCIC - Vatican Liaison Committee in Amsterdam. Transcription of the tape I made, and some subsequent editing took a bit longer than I had hoped.

It was a pleasure seeing you again and participating in the meeting with you. Many aspects of those few days, not the least of which was the number of wonderful people in attendance, were and remain quite memorable.

Very best regards.

Sincerely.

Gordon Tucker

GT:rdlb Encl.

#### YOUTH AND FAITH

Speaking of youth and faith from the perspective of the Jewish tradition, naturally leads one to recall some well-known biblical verses, from the book of Isaiah, chapter 40 (30-31): "Youths may grow faint and weary, and young men stumble and fall; but they who trust in the Lord shall renew their strength as eagles grow new plumes; they shall run and not grow weary, they shall march and not grow faint." (Translation of the Jewish Publication Society, 1978) The message here seems to be clear. Real youth is not to be found in tenderness of years but rather in the confidence and fortitude which is born of trust and faith. The prophet speaking in this chapter does here for youth what the Rabbis some centuries later did for old age: "An elder is one who has acquired wisdom." Ever after, youth and eldership were redefined in non-chronological ways. Even a young man like Elazar ben Azaria could be an elder if his wisdom reflected such seniority (see the Passover Haggadah, where Elazar describes himself as being "seventy years old, as it were"). And, according to the prophet, and later Jewish understanding, even a person in the latter part of life could be called youthful and vigorous if his faith and his confidence in the meaningfulness of life reflected a youthful courage and a religious naivete.

Now although this could be said to be a normative Jewish view, and I might add, one which played no small role in the maintenance of Jewish vitality in the long centuries during which Judaism's trials, suffering, and persecutions could have made it feeble and decrepit, nevertheless it will not do by itself for the topic at hand. We should bear it always in mind in considering the Jewish experience, but we must look beyond it to answer the question implicit in the topic that we are considering here. Although the Jewish tradition says that real youth is identical with faith, we cannot obviously offer such a tautology as a solution to the problem of youth and faith today, for it is precisely the chronologically young that are our concern. What about the faiths that they have? Do they match the faiths that we think they ought to have, (if we in fact have a right to define what is a proper faith for a generation that will ultimately come into its own)? So in the spirit of Isaiah, chapter 40, we might characterize our inquiry as one into whether the chronologically young today are really young. Do they have the kind of faith and trust, the religious naivete as I've called it, that make people of all ages young, or are they already weary and cynical? And if the latter, why?

One more introductory note: Whatever the general felicity of the kinds of Jewish classical texts I've quoted, there is a particular difficulty in getting specific about youth and faith from a Jewish perspective. That is the fact that our classical texts, particularly the Bible, but also the Talmud insofar as it is a book of law, dwell very little on children and adolescents. We are, for example, given no real role models by the biblical heroes in their formative years, for those years are quickly glossed over. One of the few exceptions to that rule is the very terse, and to my mind rather disquieting acquiecence of Isaac, who is actually of unspecified age, to the plan to slaughter him. Generally speaking, the Bible does not talk about persons who are young and immature; rather a concise and abrupt phrase like "the lads grew up," or some similar phrase is used to dispose of 1 1/2 - 2 decades, and to introduce the biblical figure's adult, i.e. real, life story. As for Rabbinic literature, the youth is not considered to be of full legal status, and the special problems we today associate with childhood and adolescence receive treatments which are scanty, if they exist at all. So much for youth. Faith, moreover, does little better, for again we find that faith as

a category of human cognition and emotion does not receive reflective treatment in the classical sources. Individuals may exhibit faith, Abraham for example, but it is telling that Abraham is not venerated by the Jewish tradition as a Kierkegaardian Knight of Faith, but rather as one who obeyed God, and who was above all careful to train his son to do likewise, as we are told in Gen. 18. Incidentally, that very chapter introduces, a mere handful of verses later, another side of Abraham also much celebrated in the Jewish tradition, and that is his role as the challenger of God in the name of the moral law. The juxtaposition of God's commendation of Abraham's obedience and Abraham's unwillingness to settle for a divine fiat which would seal the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah is significant, and will be powerfully suggestive to us in explicating the concept of faith in Judaism later on in this paper. To return to our present point, faith is not analyzed, dwelt on as a predominant religious imperative or otherwise made the object of reflection in our classical texts. So here I am, ready to speak about youth and faith as a Jew, as a Rabbi, knowing that consulting my sources, which is what my teachers trained me to do, will not help me a whit. Quite an enviable position.

Nevertheless, we must go forward with the consideration, for we do do know with some immediacy that the faith, or lack thereof, of today's youth is a serious problem, and if the most readily consulted sources do not do the trick, we shall have to do our best with what we have, and our own constructions, to come up with some guidance on how to deal with our situation today.

So we proceed to ask ourselves about the youth of today. Do they have faith? The question, needless to say, is incomplete and incomprehensible as it stands. We must ask, more fully, "faith in what?" "in whom?" And how is whatever faith today's youth has manifested? Could other sorts of faith be cultivated, in our youth, and in our societies at large?

If we are going to get any persuasive answers, even partial answers, to these questions, we had better bite the bullet at the outset and attempt, however imperfectly, to form for ourselves some conception of what might count as faith, whether faith in something or faith in someone.

We are, as I've already noted, fairly well stymied if we turn to our traditional Jewish sources for some such conception that could enlighten us in our present contexts. Indeed, one of the most telling texts in this regard comes from Rabbinic literature (Talmud, Shabbat 31a) where we are given a list of questions that a person is to be asked in the hereafter. "Did you have faith in salvation?" is only fourth in the list after "Did you conduct your business dealings honestly?, Did you set aside fixed time for study?, and Did you raise a family?" And even consulting a concordance for occurences in the whole sea of the Talmud of the nominalized form <u>emunah</u> yields surprisingly little to help us. Nearly all tamudic uses of the various forms of the root 'mn has to do with human interactions.

If we, however, persist in our search for an adequate Jewish conception of faith for our time and our context, one that explicates with some precision the common usage we make of the word "faith", we are not, fortunately, left only to our own devices. Because, we are, after all, not the first to consider this matter, and indeed, we have before us now a full-blown theory of what faith is and how it develops, one that even makes explicit reference to the common forms of faith found in youths of various ages. I refer to the theory propounded in the last five years or so by James Fowler, and which is set forth in his book <u>Stages of Faith</u> (Harper & Row, 1981). The details of Fowler's theory need not detain us too much here; in any event, as a <u>theory</u>, it is subject to testing, to development, charges of mind, revision, and so on, all of which Fowler freely, and somewhat ironically, acknowledges. (As he pithily puts it, the developmentalist was hoist with his own petard when, at age 35, Fowler was asked by a rabbi whether he thought he could still have faith in his theory at age 40: (pg. 269) On the other hand, some of the underpinnings, the methodological presuppositions, of Fowler's construct are worth considering briefly.

First, the subtitle of Fowler's book. It is captioned "The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning." This tips us off right away that what the author has in mind by "faith" is a search for meaning in life. And a search for meaning generally is an enterprise essentially similar, though on a grander scale, to what Fowler himself is doing in trying to explicate the stages of human development. It is, namely, the process of formulating, and being guided by, a theory which purports to explain, and lend meaning to human experience in general. Having faith, then, means having a theory of life in some sense, and we call it "faith" rather than "knowledge" in the same sense that a scientist can know certain singular facts and pnenomena that he observes, but can only have faith, a provisional and developing faith, in a comprehensive theory, such as general relativity, which attempts to unify it all into a comprehensible package. As it is possible, though highly inelegant, to do science without such theories, and hence with a minimum of faith, it is also possible to "do life" and observe life's vicissitudes without a comprehensive grid of meaning, i.e. without faith. For some reason, in life, we consider it less inelegant and less cumbersome to do so than we do in the case of the laboratory. (Indeed, life without faith, or at least the pretense that one lives without faith, has in certain circles and in certain contexts been seen as downright fashionable.) So this is observation number one about faith. It in some sense inheres in the process of formulating, and possibly refining, a theory of life's experience, a theory which explains life's events, and which may even attempt to predict some of them. Indeed, we can and should take this observation back one additional step. Faith, we could say, is the conviction that the process we've described is worthwhile, i.e. that the very search for meaning makes sense, that this recalcitrant world which does not conform to our specifications, can nevertheless be brought progressively, through human intelligence, under the yoke of a theory of meaning. That is the prior act of faith without which Fowler et. al. would have little to write about, but which there is no reason to suppose that everyone must exhibit.

This now brings us to the second observation about faith which flows from Fowler's work, and this one is a bit more controversial. And here I quote from his introduction: "I believe that faith is a human universal. We are endowed at birth with nascent capacities for faith. How these capacities are activated and grow depends to a large extent on how we are welcomed into the world and what kinds of environments we grow in. Faith is interactive and social; it requires community, language, ritual and nurture." Ignoring for our purposes the highly speculative idea of an innate disposition to faith, the claim here really is this: while it seems entirely possible for a person to live life like our hypothetical scientist who conducts experiments solely for observation, without any unifying theory, in fact no such person does exist (so goes Fowler's claim), since we all share in the universal habit or trait of having some kind of faith. I am willing to accept this claim provisionally, that is, without its radical implication of universality, which I rather doubt. It is, however, sufficient for us to assume, and I do assume, that the vast majority of us, youth and adult alike, exhibit faith in the sense with which we have endowed it. Most of us are in quest of meaning. So this weak claim of "universality" is our second observation about faith. And I couple it here with what I deliberately included in my quote a moment ago from Fowler's introduction: that faith is interactive and social. This is another crucial point to which we shall advert a bit later.

These two observations have now gotten us off the starting block to thinking about youth and faith, in that we've gotten some initial grasp of what sort of theory faith is and how we might recognize it. But it is now time for us to leave the lofty peaks of theory and general reflections, and to descend onto the more recognizable plateau of facts and observations about youth today.

We know what it is that has put this subject on the agenda today. We look at youth worldwide, and in the broad sweep, in the most general terms, we are uncomfortable. That discomfort may range from perplexity or bewilderment, a mild unease born of a failure of empathy and identification, to more poignant reactions of alarm, that somehow our youth is being drawn to patterns of life which threaten us and the future we envision. To be more specific, we either express doubts as to whether our youth have any faith at all, or any inclination towards it (that is, whether they are really searching for any kind of meaning), or we worry that they have embraced the wrong faiths, faiths which threaten us in a variety of ways. I suspect, however, that that feeling of threat is one which we at best only dimly understand.

Our doubts about whether today's youth entertain any faith at all, or to use our explication, whether they are engaged in a true search for meaning, are well illustrated by an article which appeared in the <u>New York Times Magazine</u> on Sunday, March 25, 1984. The article, written by Paul Johnson, was entitled "The Lost Ideals of Youth," and chronicled in a broad way how materialism of various degrees of crassness has come to characterize the youth of the '80s world-wide; how idealists of the '60s and '70s appear as quaint relics to today's young men and women, who, in the words of one American student who was interviewed, are interested in jobs and sex, in that order. The one cause that seems to have done something to activate the deactivated is the anti-nuclear movement, particularly in Europe. But even that, the article hints and I suspect, may have been overblown by reporters.

Now it is true that much of this lost idealism of youth is traceable to economic factors and pressure. Some of it may even, to stretch a point, be attributable to nuclear anxiety; nevertheless, it is also true that in the world-wide depression and anxieties about war of the '30s, there was vision, there was idealism, there was a quest for meaning, and hence faith, on the part of youth. Now, in the '80s, one of our concerns is that the engine of faith seems to have stalled for much of our youth, particularly the well-educated, and it is not clear to us when and how that engine can be reignited. This materialism, which is accompanied quite often by a general cynicism, is our evidence that for some of our youth, memory, vision, and faith may all lie uncultivated.

But if that materialism <u>cum</u> complacence perplexes us, a good many other patterns of behavior among our youth do considerably more than that. They frighten us. They have us wondering what insidious forces may be working before our very eyes. It is, after all, not so long ago that scores of young people, and not so young people as well, followed a charismatic leader to another continent, to a life of strict discipline, and finally to the ultimate "act of faith," (I use that term deliberately, with all its valences, ancient and modern), to death by mass poisoning in Jonestown, Guyana. That shocking event remains to be fully assimilated into our day-to-day consciousness; it still cries out for explanation and understanding. It is certainly not an isolated occurence, though it may have ended more tragically and more dramatically. Consider a young 16 year old man, who committed suicide a few years ago in the United States. He left a journal which chronicled his life for a year or two prior to his having blown his brains out. That diary, which was published by New York Times Books as <u>Jay's Journal</u>, made it clear that this young man cannot be explained simply as a depressed loner. He was in fact part of a community, of young men and women like himself; of better than average intelligence, who reacted to a vacuum of values and vision, and to the dizzying pace of social and technological change, not through materialism, but through a community of ritual, of black magic, of belief in forces that terrified even as they beckoned. Here, for example, was a well-educated, affluent adolescent saying the following: "This has been my first encounter with voodoo. Who would ever have dreamed that I, the egghead, would become involved in the primitive, the superstitious,...THE TRUE." He was, at first, well-educated enough to have spoken of doing some critical, scientific reasearch into the bases of these magical rites. But that very soon gave way, and he ultimately described his new system of symbols and rituals this way: "What can I say? We communicate, we express, we interact, we feel, we happen. We happen! We can dig it. It just is there. Good vibrations. We lean on each other... I am joyful!" Note the language of community, of encounter, of the joy of ritual, of some kind of quest for meaning. That's exactly what alarms and terrifies us; because the rhetoric of community and ritual is something of which we would tend to approve. But something was terribly, terribly wrong with this community of ritual. For this youth, and several of his cohorts, did not physi-

<u>cally</u>, let alone spiritually, survive it. Jonestown, and the journal of this "pseudo-Jay", are particularly gruesome. A lower level of alarm, but a level of alarm nonetheless, attends less extreme manifestations of the same phenomena among young people: The attractiveness not only of avowedly religious cults, which may or may not have seen their day, but also of what Rabbi Harold Schulweis has dubbed the "new secular religions" (see Conservative Judaism, Summer 1979, where Schulweis mentions Est, Synanon, and Scientology as just a few examples). These groups claim allegiance, forge communities, and establish a joy of ritual where religious groups fail. The discipline and control can be enormous, as well. It is not only the fact that those groups are new and unfamiliar that alarms us; there is also a nagging feeling we have that they are somehow <u>unwholesome</u>, possibly even dangerous, though we are usually unable to really put our finger on why we have that reaction.

And lest it be imagined that the more familiar religious and faith groups do not inspire such nagging doubts, let me come closer to home. For it is also true, and here I speak of the Jewish community, particularly in the United States, that there are conspicuous ambivalences about the many ba'alei teshuvah, those who are sometimes referred to, with tongue in cheek, as "born-again Jews." Why the ambivalence? I'm not speaking here of Jews who have rediscovered their heritage little by little and have evolved from a state of alienation into a state of commitment, into levels of commitment consistent with their understanding. These found souls, these hardy souls, whatever their mode of religious expression, from Orthodoxy to Reform, are precious to us. Rather, the perceived problem is with those young men and women who have done an abrupt about face, and who have entered communities (they are by no means all Orthodox), which require acceptance of patterns of thought, speech and behavior, and often the glow of a charismatic leader. Never mind the fact that many of these communities are revolving doors, with many new recruits not retaining membership for extended periods. The general phenomenon represented by many of these undeniably Jewish religious communities, despite the "saved Jewish souls" that some may speak of, is profoundly unsettling to many. And when political action is joined to the uncritical acceptance of ritual action, from the relatively mild case of religious ideologues attempting to force state action on the West Bank, to the more extreme cases of the Jewish Defense League and Terrorism against Terror, our anxieties wax still further. And I assume that there must be at this point some knowing nods of the head among Christians and Muslims as well.

You might think of this brief, somewhat selective, but I believe accurate catalogue of trends among our youth in the last 5-10 years as what puts this topic on our agenda. Those who opt for no faith at all, who manifest materialism and cynicism, are a source of concern, but not necessarily alarm. Perhaps they should worry us more. But those who do quest for meaning, and who do it in religious cults, secular religions, and even the highly structured and controlled forms of familiar religions, these do sound the alarm for us.

What are these talented, often well-educated, and clearly spiritually motivated young people manifesting in forming and joining these disquieting authoritarian communities of ritual and faith? It is faith by our own criteria, is it not? They are in a sincere quest for meaning. They are reacting to social sterility, to the impotence of the family, to a widespread collapse of values. There is certainly vitality in many of these faith communities. There is power of action in many. And there is, in addition, the attempt to reject and trascend the cynicism which denies even the possibility of finding meaning. What's wrong then? Do we react badly because the young have not embraced the conventional, received theolo-gies as they've been handled to them? We do not simply embrace the conventional theologies. We've always insisted on putting our own autonomous stamp on what we receive. We cannot seriously deny to the next generation the right of commentary or even occasional refusal that we insisted on for ourselves. And besides, our educational system virtually guarantees doubt about the efficacy of received doctrine. It encourages skepticism and criticism. I know because I teach at such a school. If rabbinical students will not have a conventional, pre-packaged faith formed in the image of established institutions, what shall we expect of youth in general?

No, this is barking up the wrong tree. Our silent complaint is <u>not</u> that these troublesome youth have rejected received religion. The problems we have with the faiths of youth today stem from a wholly different issue. And it is that which needs to be put flatly on the table now that we have described the phenomena.

It is not my impression that the issue of the faiths of the youth was nearly as much on the agenda during the '60s, during those activist and often radical years, as it is today. And that is both curious and significant for understanding what troubles us. To the older generation, my generation in the '60s (when I was without doubt a bona fide youth!) was certainly considerably more trouble. That trouble on occasion brought out the riot police or other agents of force. The politics of the youth then may have seemed threatening and subversive, but unless I am wildly mistaken, I don't believe anyone ever seriously suggested that the kinds of faith reflected in the youth of the '60s, the way in which they searched for meaning, were inherently unwholesome. To the extent that the '60's motto "question authority" was adhered to, the objection was more to the radical implications drawn from it than to the enterprise itself. The youth of the '60s suspected what was received. And even if that didn't endear them to their elders at the time they were striking against the authority of institutions, the program of critique has in retrospect earned respect. I can't tell you how often I've heard authority figures in academic institutions, or psychologists for that matter, say something like "if only the young today were like their counterparts of 15-20 years ago." They actually look back with nostalgia in the universities to the days of radical critique, because what they get now is either acquiescense to the received economic system of individual gain and accomplishment, or faith commitments to new orders that make similar absolutist demands, demands to which today's young people are willing to submit. That is what amazes and alarms today's educators and psychologists. It should be alarming to us as well, as persons concerned with the success and development of religious values. And I suggest, though it may not be a fully

conscious matter, that it is in large measure what impels us to speak to one another about the youth of the '80s and their faiths.

Having made all of these observations, and having looked with concern on what our disjointed societies have done to our youth, can we now say something more definite about what all faiths have in common? I believe so, and here I turn to the words of a contemporary philosopher, Leszek Kolakowski: "Particular components of the language of the Sacred are bound to look incmprehensible or just plain nonsensical outside of the context of worship. In both everyday and scientific discourse the acts of understanding and of believing are clearly separated, yet it is not so in the realm of the Sacred: the understanding of words and the feeling of participation in the reality they refer to merge into one. Jesus said: 'You do not believe because you are not sheep of my flock' (John 10:26). This amounts to saying that "belonging to" precedes all proofs." (Religion, Oxford University Press, 1982, pg. 165) What a powerful insight. This is really the key we have been looking for to get at an explanation for how we deal with our nagging hurts. Community is prior to understanding. That is what Kolakowski is telling us. Community is prior to faith. There is no real faith in solitude. That is what Fowler hinted to us when he said, in words guoted earlier and to which I promised to return, that faith is "social and interactive." It is what Kolakowski himself said somewhat later: "What is real or unreal to us is a matter of practical, rather than philosophical, commitment; the real is what people really crave for." (Religion, p. 227)

In a world in which supports are few, in which our intellectual capacities are now light years ahead of our emotional maturity, in a world that provides little encouragement for the frail and insecure, what we crave is community. That is where our quest for meaning takes us first. And thus it is that our youth, (and not only the youth), seek community in one form or another. But the priority of community means also that community then determines the nature of one's faith. It is right here that our concern about the faiths of today's youth properly enters. For there are two different sorts of communities; and both tend to create their own kinds of faith in their own image. Many of the brightest of the youth of the '60s sought out communities of radical critique, and they articulated a vision and a faith based on that basic value of questioning the received answers. Most of that youthful generation, to borrow a rabbinic phrase, entered and left the "Pardes" in peace. But then there are the monistic communities, those that do not tolerate pluralism, and even further along the spectrum, the authoritarian communities; it is to one or another of these that we perceive the intense and understandable cravings of today's youth leading them. Each kind of community produces a faith, but we are perhaps not so convinced that the monistic communities, the authoritarian communities will ultimately allow their adherents to leave in peace.

Here, finally, I shall exercise my prerogative as a Rabbi to interpret Jewish texts and Jewish history. For it seems to me quite clear that on this issue of the two communities of faith, the Jewish tradition took an unequivocal stand long ago. Judaism radically separated the One God from the world and made it clear that God's realm and the human realm are absolutely discrete. That means, of course, that faith in God could not be conceived of by Judaism in the same way in which we speak of faith in a human being. Faith in a human being entails acceptance. The same must be said for faith in <u>communities</u> of human beings. It entails submission, the kind of submission and submergence of critique that flesh and blood rulers require. It is the kind of submission to a monistic value system that we see around us. It is, indeed, the kind of submission that authoritarian communities demand, be they exotic cults, communities of self-fulfillment and encounter, or the most unflinchingly rigid interpretations of conventional religions that seem to attract more young people than ever before. But if Judaism is serious about the radical otherness of God, then we should expect an authentically Jewish notion of faith in God to display strikingly different characteristics. And so it does. I referred earlier to the juxtaposition of Abraham's obedience, which God liked (Gen. 18), with his criticism of God's plan for Sodom and Gomorrah, a criticism which God also apparently liked. Even to the Bible, obedience to and faith in God was not a forfeiture of moral and intellectual autonomy; on the contrary, faith in <u>God</u> meant the confidence that moral categories <u>matter</u>, that there was, and had to be meaning, that we could begin to discover it, and that therefore it was right and proper to raise those issues with God himself. No wonder God liked it!

By the time we reach the Rabbinic period, this approval of human autonomy is actually institutionalized. For Rabbinic Judaism stood at bottom, for the proposition that we all should strive to be Rabbis, that sanctity did not flow from a priesthood that dictates laws to the uninitiated, that sanctity does not inhere in a prophet speaking directly to God, but rather that sanctity is study, a quest for meaning and truth in God's words, and a faith that it is worthwhile to seek that truth. If we are all bidden to leave the realm of ignorance and passivity, to leave behind the state of being dependent on authority and actively to enter the quest for God's truth, then in accepting that mandate we have rejected both monism and authoritarianism as religiously valid systems. We have here the very foundation of pluralism, which was exemplified in the earliest Rabbinic period by the side-by-side coexistence of the competing dictates of the schools of Shammai and Hillel. That is the remarkable verdict of Rabbinic law itself: although the High Court in Jerusalem was there to provide guidance for the untutored, those who could study the law themselves were forbidden to follow the Forbidden. authority of the Court if they were convinced the Court was in error. (Maimonides, "Laws of Unintentional Trespasses," 13:5) And there is no doubt which kind of person, the untutored or the tutored, was the Rabbinic ideal. Michael Z. Nehorai, a lecturer at Bar Ilan University to whom I an indebted for much of this observation, puts it this way: "Wherever knowledge recedes, faith (in human beings) must fill the vacuum, and with it comes the need for leadership and the guidance of authority. But it is after all, possible to educate for the love of knowledge and thereby to make possible a true emulation of our sages. These rabbinic passages clearly support the idea of education for intellectual and spiritual autonomy. Since God and His Torah are truth, there is no need to fear knowledge; on the contrary, greater knowledge is the vehicle for greater revelation of the truth." ("Knowledge and Faith in Jewish Law", Israel Ministry of Education and Culture, p. 12).

This is no radical speaking, but rather an Orthodox Jew, an interpreter of classical texts in a classical mode. Judaism does not define faith in the sense of monistic systems of meaning, in the sense of authoritarian community, in the sense of faith in persons and their institutions; it does not define faith as "taking it on faith". Rather, as we noted in Fowler earlier, its definition proceeds from the very powerful idea that we have been given the ability to seek truth, and that the truth is worth seeking, as a studying and as a critical community.

From this point of view, and given our observations, much of our youth today could be said to have every kind of faith but the right kind. They are, whatever the faith community they choose, all of the linear, unramified, and uncritical kind. That is well worth lamenting and meeting over. And I have not been speaking exclusively, or even primarily, to my Jewish confreres, because I think the conviction that a community of faith can and must be fashioned without uniform molds and without authoritarianism is important for Christians today as well. Here I draw your attention to what I take to be Professor Tonelli's approving note of environments which have what he calls a "structure of reliability", and "life models incarnated in the norms and the leaders, and through the control over dissent." I suggest that both Jews and Christians lose when we throw our hats into the arena of controlling dissent. As I heard the religion editor of <u>The New York</u> <u>Times</u> state recently in another context, what makes today different from yesterday is that today one has to explain why one goes to Church on Sunday. If we allow received traditions to be accepted and do not actively cultivate autonomy and healthy criticism, we must understand what the received tradition is by and large, today. It is neither Judaism nor Christianity, but the moral nihilism that threatens us all. It is well worth recalling that our common tradition has its deepest roots in social and religious critique.

Significant numbers of our youth today are, of course, perfectly well and adjusted. But perhaps even more are hurting. They are craving, to use Kolakowski's term. Our primary responsibility, in which we have palpably failed, is to create communities for them, to offer them support and encouragement in times when anchors are very dear. But we must remember as we do, that communities create faith in their own image, and our communities must be such that they uphold the reverence that we share for human dignity and for our moral and intellectual autonomy. We must find ways to plant the difficult but critical idea that that the quest for meaning itself has profound religious meaning, and that it requires study and struggle. The easier, and therefore the tempting way, is to respond to the pains and anxieties of the children of society by packaging remedies that they can accept whole. But this constitutes a denial of human dignity, and a sinful waste of the enormous talents of youth. If we choose that course, if we take inspiration from the fact that a vacuum has driven the youth of today to communities of monism and authoritarianism, and if we seek to copy their successes, we will ironically, be imitating the very competitor communities that have given us our concern in the first place. I hope we have learned enough to know that the path of authoritarianism and paternalism is a perversion of faith that teeters on the brink of idolatry. Down that path lurk sterility and danger. The choices, the risks, and the hard work, are now ours.

> Gordon Tucker The Jewish Theological Seminary of America New York

March 27, 1984



# CHICAGO SUNDAY EVENING CLUB

"An Hour of Good News" Sunday, 5 P.M., WTTW Channel 11 / Our 77th Year

April 30, 1984

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Founded in 1907 to maintain a service of Christian inspiration and fellowship and to promote the moral and religious welfare of the city. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum National Inter-Religious Affairs Director American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th Street New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

What a joy it is to know that you are coming to our program. January 13, 1985 is a superb date and I am looking forward to seeing you. As is our custom, we would appreciate your signing and returning the enclosed copy of this letter as a confirmation.

Francis Gregory will be in touch with you with a request for any changes in biographical material and a recent photograph if you happen to have one. Other matters pertaining to the telecast will be reviewed with your approximately sixty days prior to your appearance.

Again, we are so very pleased that you will be with us during our 78th season.

Cordially yours,

David K. Hardin

CONFIRMED January 13, 1985



Dr. John A. Kromkowski President

P.O. Box 33279 • Washington, D.C. 20033 • 202/232-3600

Estimated % of Voting Age

- TO: NCUEA Associates
- FROM: NCUEA Ethnic Affairs Clearinghouse

DATE: April 30, 1984

- The NCUEA Press Briefing "Ethnicity and Politics: 1984 Campaign" appears to have provoked a stream of inquiries on the "ethnic factor" in electoral behavior. The enclosed copies are samples of what will undoubtedly emerge as a crucial feature of the 1984 Campaign.
- US Census has begun to issue its findings on ancestry in America. Two sources which are currently available are Census of Population and Housing - Congressional Districts of the 98th Congress by State and Census of Population -General Social and Economic Characteristics by State.
- The following data indicate the magnitude of the Reagan victory over Carter, estimated percentage of ethnic voter registration and voting in 1980, and exit poll findings for states with large ethnic-American populations. What is your analysis?

	1 m.	Ethnic-Americans				
Reagan Margin	over	205				
Carter 1980	19	Voter Registration	Voted			
Connecticut	136,000	70.2%	54.6%			
Delaware	6,000	65.3%	54.6%			
Illinois	400,000	69.7%	54.2%			
Indiana	60,000	69.2%	54.7%			
Maryland	+	67.5%	49.1%			
Massachusetts	3,000	69.2%	54.9%			
Michigan	230,000	73.1%	54.5%			
Minnesota	+	85.4%	68.2%			
New Jersey	400,000	69.2%	50.5%			
New York	200,000	59.5%	50.9%			
Ohio	465,000	63.7%	50.5%			
Pennsylvania	330,000	61.4%	48.7%			
Rhode Island	+	68.3%	56.2%			
Wisconsin	108,000	82.0%	54.4%			

aging / advocacy / arts / commercial revitalization / community / credit unions / crime prevention / development / disinvestment / drug abuse / economics / othnicity / health / housing / humanities / law / neighborhood / organizing / policy / program development / program management / religious institutions / research / resource management / social services / technical assistance / training / transportation / volunteers / alfiliated with the U.S. Catholic Conference

Page 2

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Voter preferences of various American ethnic groups determined during NBC's and ABC's "Exit Polls" on Election Day, November, 1980.

American Ethnic Groups	Carter		Reagan		Anderson	
	ABC	NBC	ABC	NBC	ABC	NBC
German	32%	31%	57%	61%	9%	9%
British	31%	30%	59%	60%	8%	10%
Irish	39%	39%	52%	53%	7%	8%
Polish	43%	40%	39%	48%	15%	13%
Italian	38%	37%	50%	54%	9%	9%
Hispanic	55%	59%	37%	34%	7%	7%
Black	82%	90%	13%	7%	4%	3%
Scandinavian	32%	33%	53%	56%	12%	11%

NCUEA will disseminate a series of public affairs columns by Dr. Myron Kuropas which will explore the issues and interests of ethnic-Americans in the 1984 Campaign. Ethnic Americans helped elect Ronald Reagan in 1980. Will they support him again in 1984?

Most ethnics are Democrats. Is the Democratic Party losing their support?

How important is the ethnic vote in 1984? Are ethnics organized politically? What are the real ethnic issues in 1984? Will they help determine who our next president will be?

The answers to these and other crucial election questions will be addressed in a series of public affairs columns which will be made available to selected regional newspapers by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs (NCUEA) between May and October. Articles will originate from such multi-ethnic cities as Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago and will be authored by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, a former White House Special Assistant for Ethnic Affairs. A national vice-president of the Ukrainian National Association, Kuropas is also a teacher, author, and Chicago-based columnist.

- An analysis of the opinions of urban ethnics in Greater Cleveland revealed:
  - Cleveland's ethnics felt that the media is portraying them more positively now than five years ago
  - More ethnics feel that the media is more positive towards their groups
  - Ethnic consumers were more loyal to advertisers appearing in ethnic newspapers and over ethnic radio than average consumers

The majority of ethnics voted for winning candidates
#### dear chaver:

We mourn your hectic round which keeps us out of touch but we do love you and Georgegett. but mainly I think we wuld like to get a report on mike's progress, (hopefully)

ben



Revised Version

May 3, 1984

Professor Yehuda Lapidot Ministry of Foreign Affairs 25-A Albert Mandler Street Tel Aviv, Israel 21927

#### Dear Professor Lapidot:

The partnership between Israel and the American Jewish community in our common struggle in behalf of our brethren in the Soviet Union has been a long and fruitful relationship. We sincerely believe it shall continue as long as even a single Jew remains in the U.S.S.R. who seeks to leave or to live as a Jew.

It is in that spirit of partnership that we, representatives of organizations involved in the Soviet Jewry movement write to ask you to reconsider the decision to recall Dr. Baruch Gur, Minister-Counselor at the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C., to Israel this summer.

Dr. Gur has had an extraordinary impact in the United States since his arrival in July 1982, and, for this reason, we were looking forward to at least one more year of his service here. He has brought impressive credentials -- an academic background in Soviet affairs, an excellent grasp of the Soviet Jewry issue, familiarity with the American Jewish community, and an articulate and compassionate manner -- which have permitted him to establish strong ties in the Administration and Congress, in the Jewish and non-Jewish communities, in academic circles, and in other important sectors of American life.

These are critical times for Soviet Jewry. As we seek political remedies to the current situation and, at the same time, attempt to create greater public awareness of the plight of Soviet Jews among both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences, the need for continuity in our collective work, as would be exemplified by an extension of Dr. Gur's assignment here, becomes all the more urgent. Professor Yehuda Lapidot Page 2

We respectfully request, therefore, that consideration be given to authorizing Dr. Gur's stay in the United States for a third year to permit him to continue his fine work as a representative of the Israeli Government and an outstanding specialist on Soviet Jewry. We would regard it as a serious setback in our collaborative advocacy were Dr. Gur to be removed from our midst at this time.

With best wishes.

The text of this letter has been endorsed by:

Theodore R. Mann President American Jewish Congress Howard I. Friedman President American Jewish Committee

Herbert Kronish Chairman Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry Gerald Kraft International President B'nai B'rith

Osias Goren President Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles Richard Maass Honorary President American Jewish Committee; Former Chairman National Conference on Soviet Jewry

Burton S. Levinson Former Chairman National Conference on Soviet Jewry Leo Nevas Chairman American Jewish Committee National Task Force on Soviet Jewry Page 3

Dr. Seymour Lachman Immediate Past Chairman Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry Stanley H. Lowell Former Chairman National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Former Chairman Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry

Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein Immediate Past President American Zionist Federation; Former President Zionist Organization of America Mervin Riseman Former Chairman Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry

Joel J. Sprayregen Chairman Chicago Conference on Soviet Jewry; Chairman Chicago Executive Committee, Anti-Defamation League Rabbi David H. Hill Honorary President National Council of Young Israel; Chairman Commission on Soviet Jewry

Constance Smukler Honorary Co-Chairperson Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia Joseph Smukler Honorary Co-Chairman Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia

Daniel Segal Co-Chairperson Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia Lana Dishler Co-Chairperson Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia Page 4

Sol Goldstein President Baltimore Jewish Council Dr. Judith L. Wolf Co-Chairperson Governing Council American Jewish Congress; Chairperson Soviet Jewry Committee Boston Jewish Community Council

Rabbi David S. Goldstein Chairman Jewish Community Relations Council of New Orleans; Rabbi Touro Synagogue

Marcia Weinberg Chairperson Soviet Jewry Committee Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, D.C.

Margery Kohrman National Vice-President Women's American ORT

Ivan J. Novick Chairman of the Board and Immediate Past President Zionist Organization of America

Dr. Bernard Dishler Honorary Chairman Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia Alan Bernstein President Metrowest (New Jersey) Conference on Soviet Jewry

Edward B. Robin Los Angeles Former Chairman Young Leadership Cabinet of United Jewish Appeal

Daniel Rubin Vice-President United Jewish Community of Bergen County, New Jersey

Marvin Verman Vice-Chairman Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia

cc: Linda Greenman David Marris Irving Levine Marc Tanenbaya

May 9, 1984

Selma Hirsh

Lois Gottesman

Hairobi Subcommittee of the National Homen's Issues Committee

I wanted to bring you up to data on the work of the Hairobi Subcommittee.

Dur first meeting took place during the Annual Meeting. It was intended primarily to introduce the members of the subcommittee to one another, but we also discussed two items of business. The first was whather AJC should accept the invitation of the ADL to participate in a conference they are co-sponsoring with B'hai B'rith Homen in Paris this summer on anti-Semitism and the Nomen's Movement. The conference is to be, I understand, essentially a strategy meeting to bring together American and European Jewish women to plan for the 1985 Nairobi conference. After some discussion, the subcommittee recommended that AJC should have an official presence at this meeting and designated Nives Fox as our representative. (Carolyn Tumarkin will also be attending the meeting in her capacity as our NGO.)

The second item concerned the proposed AJC study on women's rights in the Middle East. The subcommittee members endorsed the idea and have offered to help locate a scholar to author it. But they also felt we should make an effort to seek outside funding and sponsorship for the study, rather than commission it under our own name. Ken Bandler is now writing up the proposal, which will then be circulated for comments to all concerned.

A second and somewhat lengthier meeting of the Nairobi subcommittee is being planned for mid-June. At that time we hope to review the various agency activities and draw up a detailed program plan for the next six months.

It is my opinion that the next subcommittee meeting should mark the end of my involvement in this issue. It would be easier all around to have only one staff member coordinating our preparations for Nairobi and it is most appropriate that that person be part of the International Relations Department staff. I am fully confident that Ken Bandler will do an excellent job of staffing the subcommittee, and I would, of course, be available to help out if the need arose.

LG:ka

The American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th Street New York, N.Y. 10022 PLaza 1-4000

Date May 24, 1984

то: Marc Tanenbaum

FROM: Milton Himmelfarb

\_\_\_\_For approval

X For your information

Please handle

Please talk to me about this

Read and file

\_\_\_\_Returned as requested

\_\_\_\_Your comments please

\_\_\_\_No need to return

Remarks:

#### AMERICANS FOR A SAFE ISRAEL

147 East 76th Street New York, N.Y. 10021 (212) 988-2121

May 7, 1984

#### Dear Editor:

The enclosed exchange of articles and letters from the <u>Jerusalem Post</u> should be of interest to everyone in the Jewish community. A poll commissioned by the American Jewish Committee to discover attitudes of American Jews towards Israel and Israelis concludes that American Jews are highly critical of Israeli policies with regard to Judea and Samaria and the Palestinian Arabs. This outlook parallels the philosophy of the American Jewish Committee.

The questions of a poll can be formulated to produce almost any result the pollster wishes, and an examination of the poll shows that the AJC is guilty of manipulation. In his article in the <u>Jerusalem Post</u>, Israeli columnist Shmuel Katz accuses the Committee and pollster Steven M. Cohen of using loaded and one-sided questions to produce the desired result.

Cohen's response to Katz, also printed in the <u>Post</u>, does not satisfactorily answer Katz's charges. An article by Julius Berman, chairman of the Conference of Presidents, effectively refuted Cohen's findings which were also criticized by Richard Cohen, the spokesman of the Conference.

The history of the American Jewish Committee reflects a certain consistency. From its anti-Zionist origins to its now tepid Zionism, the Committee has always underscored the centrality of the diaspora - and not Israel- to Jewish life.

On many occasions, the AJC has publicly criticized the Israeli government and taken positions on key issues in opposition to Israel and in support of those who seek

#### Executive Committee

-1. - A 1 1 1

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to reduce Israel to or near the pre-Six Day War borders. All too often, Committee statements have implied that Israeland not the Arab states seeking to destroy her - is the obstacle to peace.

These positions are not popular within the American Jewish community. It would, however, serve the interests of the AJC and its ideology to be able to show that the American Jewish community holds views similar to those of the Committee. Since an objective and balanced poll would undoubtedly produce results inimical to the Committee's position, the AJC poll was twisted to produce answers which reflect the AJC's bias.

By doing this, the American Jewish Committee has done a disservice to the entire community as well as to the State of Israel. Israel is engaged in a life and death struggle. The American government, guided by the Reagan Plan, seeks to remove Israel from Judea and Samaria to or near the indefensible pre-1967 lines. The Administration will undoubtedly interpret the AJC poll as an indication of support for its position by American Jews, and harden its policies vis-a-vis Israel. Journalists have already used the poll as proof of American Jewish opposition to Israel, adding more fuel to the propaganda war against the Jewish State.

Further proof of the AJC's intentions can be found by the choice of its pollster, Steven M. Cohen, who was a supporter of the anti-Zionist group, Breira.

We believe it is important that critical commentary about the poll be brought to the attention of your readers.

Sincerely

Herbert Zweibon Chairman

### [start]

### AMERICAN JEWISH Original documents faded and/or illegible

54. Jes, 2753

I HE ARTICLE by Steven Cohen in The Jerusalem Post of February 9 does not refute any of the disturbing facts in my article "Dissent or Deceit" (January 6). They were of course culled from Mr. Cohen's own report of his poll on American Jews. Indeed the explanations he offers of his approach and his method will inevitably deepen the concern evoked by a report which can only mislead public opinion and misdirect those who shape it.

The poll was in two parts, one of Jewish communal leaders, the other of "American Jews" at large. The only collective Jewish leadership in the U.S. is the Presidents' Conference. It is far from being completely representative, but one can accept broadly the statement this week by its current chairman. Julius Berman, that its "37 secular and religious bodies" represent 'every stream in Jewish life' and speak "on behalf of the overwhelming majority of organized Jewry." For his poll of Jewish leaders Cohen excluded the leaders of 32 out of the 37. It was thus a "poll" of less than a handful of leaders picked by Cohen. What more needs to be said?

HOWEVER, IT IS interesting to learn from Mr. Cohen how and why he chose precisely those five. "We drew our sample of leaders," he writes, "from the top ruling bodies of the Jewish communal organizations which serve as the principal interlocutors between Israel and the U.S. Thus, we included the Big Three defence agencies - the AJC (American Jewish Committee), The American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League." Further on he suggests that these are the bodies that "shape Jewish 'foreign policy' in the U.S."

This is pure nonsense. No Jewish body or leader serves as "interlocutor" between Israel and the U.S." except perhaps, at times, AIPAC (American-Israel Public Affairs Committee), the so-called lobby. The Presidents' Conference, recognized by the U.S. administration, and by Israel, as representing the Jewish community, has never appointed the "Big Three"

ant.

(Cohen's appellation) or its leaders as its spokesmen. The glaring untruth in Cohen's statement can be seen from one simple fact. In the last 10 years, of the five men who successively served as chairman of the Presidents' Conference (and each was automatically its chief spokesman on "foreign affairs"), four did not represent any of Cohen's "Big Three." They were Rabbi Miller, Tom Mann, Rabbi Schindler, and now Julius Berman. The only exception was Howard Squadron of the American Jewish Congress.

There is more to come. Cohen has separate criteria for the leaders of the two other organizations he chose. The UJA was picked because it is a "major institution in the Israel Diaspora relationship." But are there no other major institutions in the "Israel Diaspora relationship," such as for example B'nai B'rith?

Ah, yes, the B'nai B'rith leaders were included — but for another reason entirely: the cosy reason, as Cohen explains, that they asked to be included. How wonderful for B'nai B'rith to have some good oldfashioned protektsla with Cohen.

No less illuminating is Cohen's reaction to the reference in my article to Hadassah among the Zionist organizations he had ignored. He taps his forehead and exclaims: "Perhaps in retrospect we should have included Hadassah, the second largest membership organization after B'nai B'rith."

Here then you have the sum total of elements in the scientific method of Cohen's own arrogant selection; a paramountcy (non-existent) in "foreign affairs;" a relationship with Israel; protektsia; and an afterthought on the possible importance of size.

Throughout this farrago of absurdities there is not a word of explanation why, having decided to arrogate to himself the right to make a selection, he excluded the leaders of all three major religious organizations — whose membership surely outnumbers that of the other 34 organizations put together — and of all the Zionist bodies, whose intricate involvement with Israel is hy

## Probing a poll

#### By SHMUEL KATZ

definition the reason for their very existence.

As an appropriate footnote to this analysis, Cohen's report informs us that about half of the leaders who were approached did not respond to the questions.

ON THE "POPULAR" poll Cohen suggests I charged that there was bias in the sample. Of course I did nothing of the sort. How could he influence a sample of names picked from telephone books? By choosing more Levys than Cohens? Indeed, I wrote that the sample may be representative. It also may not. Who knows — when the total number of respondents is 640 (about half the acceptable minimum for a serious poll), when they were chosen by the Jewish sound of their names (excluding Jews with non-

Jewish names) and when half of those approached did not respond even after three or four reminders? Who can know?

Cohen's replies to the charges of bias I did make are mind-boggling. He had asked:

Below are positions often articulated by some of Israel's political leaders and parties. Indicate whether you agree with those Israelis advocating each of the following positions.

He then poses 10 "positions" relevant to the Arab-Israel dispute, Of these, only one is a position one can ascribe to the "Likud" school; nine are adversary to "Likud" positions.

To this criticism Cohen replies: "We did ask more Labour-oriented than Likud-oriented questions." More? Nine to one is just "more" --- or, as it is in fact, a minuscule figleaf to cover his withholding all but one of the Likud-oriented positions ' from the respondents to his poll?

He admits now that his method was deliberate. "We wanted," he pleads, "to gauge the depth of dissent." So, the object of the poll was not, then, as stated in his Report: "To increase understanding of how American Jews feel about Israel and why."

Let us ignore -- for lack of space -- the relevant question of his motive for wanting to gauge and publicize dissent. But if dissent -dissent from what? From positions that Cohen does not even present to the respondent? Is that how one honestly measures dissent? By not stating the positions from which the respondent could dissent?

COHEN REFRAINS from explaining why he did not pose any of the statements I suggested (or similar ones) which would represent at least part of the positions of the present Israeli "Establishment."

To justify the now admitted deliberate bias of his questions he clutches desperately at the excuse

that "the most recent authoritative research has demonstrated that acquiescence effects" — the tendency of people to agree rather than disagree — "are smaller than first supposed and are particularly concentrated among respondents with low education."

Then, presumably realizing the implications even of this authoritative finding, he clutches at the thin air. "Thus," he says, "they are hardly a problem for our respondents, the best-educated group in the U.S."

Cohen ascribes to himsell. 640 names taken from telep. directories and he knows that t are "the best-educated group in U.S."

UNFORTUNATELY for

Cohen, this final twist only help emphasize the fatuity even of his cuses. Let us have a look at the opportunity he provides for judi the validity of his own alle belief.

He exults in the "fact" t "American Jews overwhelmir endorse (48 to 26 per cent) the v

that Palestinians have a right t homeland on the West Bank ' Gaza as long as it does not threa Israel."

Now, if 48 per cent of his resp dents hold this view, they obvio must reject the contrary view "Israel should maintain permain control over Judea and Samaria West Bank)." But when Co posed this position (the only Lik oriented one in the series), only per cent opposed it (against 42 cent supporting it). What happe to the other 19 per cent?

To top it all, Cohen in yesterd Post ("Who speaks for U.S. Jewr challenges Julius Berman's st ment on the consensus in the Pi dents' Conference on the m questions of Israeli policy. Th views contradict absolutely Coh findings. He now has the hutzp declare that it is his poll that re sents "the plurality" of Amer Jews - when what he is in fact t ing about is the plurality of 640 ! whose names were plucked ou telephone books and who were i subjected to a series of tendent questions by clever Mr. Cohen

The Jerusalem Post

February 17, 1984

## Meeting of influential friends

Julius Berman is chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

THE MISSION to Israel this week of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations comes at a crucial moment in the history of the Middle East and of U.S.-Israel relations.

The military and economic agreements reached last November between Prime Minister Shamir and President Reagan have opened a new era that holds the promise of significant future progress. At the same time, Israel faces deteriorating conditions in Lebanon and an economic situation that demands not only great sacrifices at home but a strong effort by Israel's friends to help the Jewish state move toward economic independence.

These are some of the issues that are on our agenda in the face-toface talks we are holding with Israeli government officials, Knesset members, opposition leaders, and leaders of the private sector.

The Presidents Conference, as it is popularly known, traces its origin not to any move toward unity within the organized Jewish community but to a request in 1955 from the U.S. State Department. At that time, Henry Byroade, a top assistant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, let it be known that the secretary would find it more efficient to meet with one representative group that would express the consensus of American Jewish opinion on foreign issues - and particularly Israel - rather than meet separately with representatives of various groups. Byroade indicated that if the Jewish community could not get together in this fashion, the administration would find it very difficult to continue relating to it.

Taking the hint, a group of Jewish

#### By JULIUS BERMAN/Special to The Jerusalem Post

leaders led by Dr. Nahum Goldmann formed an informal "club" of presidents of six or seven large Jewish organizations.

That "club" grew and today the Presidents Conference is composed of 37 secular and religious bodies, representing every stream in Jewish life and speaking on behalf of the overwhelming majority of organized Jewry. There are 72 delegates this week, 23 of whom are presidents of national Jewish organizations.

WE SEEK to articulate the consensus view of American Jews on the great international issues affecting the security and dignity of our fellow-Jews in Israel, Soviet Russia, Arab countries and other lands. Significantly, in order to strengthen our voice on these critical matters, the conference does not address domestic. American issues.

Over the years, the conference's influence as well as its numbers have grown. We are recognized in the American media, in Washington, in Jerusalem, in capitals throughout the world and in the Jewish community, as the voice of American Jewry.

As Jews, all of us hold Israel dear. As Americans, we know the importance of a strong and secure Israel - militarily, economically, and politically - to our country's national interest. As believers in democracy, in liberty and in the survival of the Jewish people, we know how vital it is that America and Israel remain friends and strengthen the alliance that unites them. These are the principles that guide us in shaping our actions.

With 37 organizations as members, it is no easy task to arrive at a consensus on any given issue. Yet we have managed to do it, and I think that this is a tribute to the integrity of the American Jewish community and the nature of its commitment to the Jewish people.

LET ME SPELL out that consensus.

The Jerusalem Post Monday, Feb. 13, 1984

We stand united in support of the people and the State of Israel.

We remain steadfast in our commitment to Israel's security and to its retention of defensible borders. It is our conviction that the government of Israel has the right - indeed, the duty - to protect its people from the terror and hostility that threaten them. And we believe the arrangements for achieving that security must be decided only by the people of Israel, as represented by the democratically-elected government, through direct negotiations with its Arab neighbours.

We oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state on Israel's borders, which would point a dagger at -Israel's heart. We oppose a return to the pre-1967 Arab-Israel borders. And we reject the participation of the PLO in any peace talks other Seviet-supplied area in the hands o negotiation. By its charter, which calls for the destruction of Israel, and by its strategy and tactics, which call for an unremitting war of terrorism against the people of Israel, the PLO has disqualified itself from any participation in the peace process.

We support the Camp David approach as the only proven basis for achieving a comprehensive, just and durable Middle East peace. And we remain committed to a united Jerusalem as the eternal capital of the State of Israel.

We regard the central and over-. riding impediment to peace to bethe Arab world's continuing rejection of the existence of Israel, the Arab denial of the legitimate and: rightful place of Israel in the family of nations, the Arab refusal to recognize and negotiate openly and directly with the Jewish state.

Although there are differences among us with respect to settlement policies in the West Bank, we assert that Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria are not illegal or a violation of the Camp David accords. Rather, they are an expression of the right of Jews to live anywhere.

We are proud that Israel remain a vigorous island of democracy in sea of repression. And we admin the high moral and ethical star dards, the respect for human lif and liberty, that the State of Israi and its defence forces hav demonstrated in war and in peace

We believe these sentiment represent the views of th overwhelming majority of th American Jewish community There is a diversity of views within our community with respect to th details of Israeli policies; indeed, w take pride in the democracy that characterizes American Jewish life However, that diversity has no detracted from the overwhelmin support of the American Jewis community for the principles I hav just enumerated, for they constitut the minimal conditions that woul enable the State of Israel to live i security, dignity and peace.

These are not easy times fo America or for Israel. In Lebanor terrorist forces have killed mor than 250 American military men America's efforts to strengthen the Jemayei government have been me by fierce attacks by Shi'ite and Druse forces. Israeli forces in Southern Lebanon are also unde attack, and casualties mount daily Syria demands the abandonment o the May 17 Lebanon-Israel troop withdrawal agreement while continuing its own military build-up or Lebanese soil

Once again America and Israe find themselves embattled together; against those who refuse to accept the legitimacy of the Jewish state - and now the legitimacy of the Lebanese state Once again the governments of America and Israel face a common enemy.

In the formulation of policies to deal with this threat. American Jew: play a meaningful role. We have access to the corridors of power in our nation's capital. We are heard in the press, on radio and TV. We meet with the leaders of the Government of Israel, and with the opposition as well. In every one of these encounters, we express the commitment each of us hade made - as Jews. as organizational representatives and as Americans - to strengthen the friendship, the common purpose and the shared values that mark the relationship of Israel and the United States.

R. JULIUS BERMAN, chairman the Conference of Presidents of lajor American Jewish Organizaons stated in *The Jerusalem Post* the conference's views on Israeli courity matters ("Meeting of inuential friends," February 13), laiming: "We believe these sentitents represent the views of the verwhelming majority of the merican Jewish community."

Several recent surveys of merican Jewry's attitudes toward srael which 1 have conducted uner American Jewish Committee uspices suggest that the assertion s to the representative and consenual nature of the conference's posiions may be correct only in a very parrow technical sense. In fact, the

### Who speaks for J.S. . ewry?

conference's views, as represented and reported by Mr. Berman, constitute a very "hawkish" version of American Jewish consensus views on Israeli policies. By failing to give voice to the considerable flexibility contained within that consensus, the conference actually misrepresents and distorts the views of the constituency on whose behalf it claims to speak.

We can look at a number of examples. Mr. Berman writes: "We

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#### THE JERUSALEM POST February 16, 1984

#### By STEVEN M. COHEN

oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state on Israel's borders, which would point a dagger at Israel's heart." Fair enough — so do the vast majority of American Jews. But the conference position takes no cognizance of the plurality of American Jews (48 per cent to 26 per cent with 27 per cent undecided) who believe, "Palestinians have a right to a homeland on the West Bank and Gaza so long as it does not threaten Israel" (AJC survey of June-July, 1983).

He writes: "We oppose a return to the pre-1967 Arab-Israel borders." OK. But doesn't this unqualified statement fail to adequately represent the plurality of American Jews who agree (42 per cent to 34 per cent with 23 per cent undecided) that "Israel should offer the Arabs territorial compromise in...the West Bank and Gaza in return for credible guarantees of peace"?

And what of settlements? The conference again expresses the hawkish half of the American Jewish consensus:"Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria are not illegal...Rather, they are an expression of the right of Jews to live anywhere." But what about the ma-" jority of American Jews who believe (as do most Israelis these days according to recent surveys here) that Jews should restrain their exercise of that right in order to avoid foreclosing the possibility of a peaceful arrangement with the Arabs some time in the future? The majority of respondents in this summer's survey (51 per cent to 26 per cent with 21 per cent undecided) agreed that "Israel should suspend the expansion of settlements in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) in order to encourage peace negotiations."

Finally, the presidents' conference takes a very hard-line in rejecting "the participation of the PLO in any peace talks," a stance which, in fact, runs contrary to .. American Jewish popular consensus. Mr. Berman writes: "By its charter, which calls for the destruction of Israel and by its...unremitting war of terrorism against the people of Israel, the PLO has disqualified itself from any participation in the peace process." This view comports with the position of the nearly twothirds of American Jews who, on our 1981, survey also rejected negotiations with the PLO as presently (or then) constituted. But, then again, the conference position does an injustice to the opinions of the vast majority of American Jews whose rejection of the PLO is highly conditional. By 70 per cent to 17 per cent with 13 per cent undecided, the respondents in the 1983 National Survey of American Jews agreed that, "Israel should talk with the PLO if the PLO recognizes Israel and renounces terrorism."

In sum, the presidents' conference has fashioned a position on Israeli security matters which articulates the more hawkish features of American Jewish consensual thinking on the conflict. The conference gives little or no voice to American Jews' willingness to support many Israelis' efforts to articulate policies based on flexibility and compromise. As such, the conference's expressed views stand at the hawkish end of the spectrum of American Jewish diverse opinions and, as a result, they verge on a misrepresentation of American Jewry both to Israel and to important Amerian policymakers.

The writer is a visiting research professor at the Hebrew University's Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora. He is also associate professor of sociology, Queens College. CUNY.

#### READERS' LETTERS

#### TAINTED FINDINGS

- 1 A A .....

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Steven Cohen's methodology in polling American Jews and Jewish leadership was demolished with such devastating. precision by Shmuel Katz in his February 17 article that any further criticism might seem like kicking a man when he's down. Nevertheless, the job must be done .- even assuming (which I do not) that-Cohen's sampling technique is defensible. That is because his assault of February 16 on the representative and consensual nature of the positions expressed by the chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations was so irresponsible that exception must be taken not only to his methods, but to the conclusions he drew.

In asserting that the position expressed in The Jerusalem Post by Julius Berman, Conference chairman, "actually misrepresents and distorts the views of the constituency in whose behalf it claims to speak," Steven Cohen levelled a charge that, if it is to be taken. seriously must be substantiated. How did he do so? By begging the question. Three examples will suffice:

By 48 to 25 per cent, he wrote, American Jews support the statement that "Palestinians have a right to a homeland on the West Bank so long as it does not threaten Israel." (Emphasis added.) By 42 to 34 per cent; he claimed, American Jews support the idea that "Israel should offer the Arabs territorial compromise in the West Bank and Gaza in return for credible guarantees of peace." Finally, by 70 to 17 per cent, he asserted that American Jews agree that "Israel should talk with the PLO if the PLO fecognizes Israel and renounces terrorism." This .. justifies the conclusion; according, to Mr. Cohen, that American Jewish opposition to the PLQ is "highly conditional."

The surrealistic conditions Mr. Cohen attached to these statements speak for themselves. If the PLO recognizes Israel and renounces ter-C1 rorism, it will no longer be the PLO fo and even Shmuel Katz might agree to negotiate with its leaders. Indeed, A the possibilities opened by Steven CO Cohen with his big "if" are 00 fascinating. If the Soviet Union Aı abandoned Communism, the sp American people would quickly SCI lose their distaste for the regime in Isr the Kremlin. If the Ayatollah Khomeini turned his back onab theocratic fanaticism. Americans OVE might well urge reopening the U.S. "fc embassy in Teheran. Does that 100 mean that U.S. opposition to Soviet in Communism and Khomeinism is, lea in Cohen's phrase, "highly conditional?" Jer

Steven Cohen has rendered a disservice to the science of polling not only by his faulty sample, but by the way he posed his statements and the conclusions he drew from the responses to them. And he has done Feb a disservice to the American Jewish IVE P community by attacking the ce legitimacy of the views expressed by tui its most representative organization ve: on the basis of his tainted findings. att RICHARD COHEN SDe Spokesman, Conference of tio Presidents of Major American wi

Jewish organizations Jerusalem (New York)

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OPINION THE JERUSALEM POST INTERNATIONAL EDITION DEPENDENCE JANUARY 8-14, 1984

FOUR YEARS AGO, the American Jewish Committee's board of governors came to Israel "to study the Israel condition in depth." They visited many places and conducted many conversations. At the end of the study, their president, Richard Maass, chose to announce that it would be "hard to 'sell' Hebron settlement in the U.S."

It transpired later that in all their "studies" they had not discussed the subject of Hebron with a single person who might have been expected to express a positive opinion and explain settlement in Hebron (or the general policy of reestablishing the Jewish presence in all of Western Eretz Yisrael).

To epitomize their method of "study" — they did arrange a meeting with Peace Now, but not with Gush Emunim; they talked to Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, but failed to call on Miriam Levinger of Hebron — who could have told them in good American English how it was possible without much difficulty to "sell" the Jewish return to Hebron in the U.S.

NOW THE AJC has produced a new study-in-depth — on "attitudes of American Jews towards Israel and Israelis." Some of its published findings, on crucial political questions, have been widely quoted. It consists of two polls: of American "Jewish leaders," and of the Jewish community.

There are 36 "major Jewish organizations" in the U.S. (not to mention others, presumably not so major). No explanation is offered by the editor of the poll (Dr. Steven M. Cohen) as to why he chose to poll the leaders of only five of these many organizations — American Jewish Congress, A.D.L., Bnai B'rith and U.J.A. Conspicuously unpolled are the leaders of explicitly Zionist bodies — the ZO.A., Zionist Federation, Young Israel and the largest of them all, Hadassah. Religious leaders, Orthodox, Conservative, Reform — all are excluded.

In the results, the "chosen" leaders inevitably appear as very, very "dovish" compared to the community. However, to learn that these "leaders" are not representative of U.S. Jewry (though they are the ones usually quoted in the U.S. media hostile to Israel) we do not need Dr. Cohen's poll.

### American dissent or distortion?

By Shmuel Katz

EVEN MORE significant are the methods adopted by Dr. Cohen in the "popular" poll. The names of the people approached were culled from lists prepared by a professional marketing organization, out of telephone directories. Throughout the U.S., of 1,200 people reached 640 responded. Maybe these 640 are representative.

It is no longer a secret that the results of a poll are weighted not only by the subject of the questions, but by the way they are worded. In this poll a new dimension was added to the slant: the omissions, the essential questions left unasked. Here is an example of this method:

Dr. Cohen asks for a reaction to 12 "positions often articulated by some of Israel's principal political leaders and parties." Two of these positions are not relevant to the debate on the Arab-Israel conflict and we can ignore them here. Of the other ten positions, nine (repeat nine) are hostile to the positions of the government. Thus all but one of the Likud positions are not articulated in this questionnaire at all.

Thus Cohen quotes a position (pages 33-34): "Israel should offer the Arabs territorial compromise on Judea, Samaria and Gaza in return for credible guarantees of peace" (roughly the Labour Party position).

He does not quote the Likud position, which could read: "Surrender of territory will not bring peace but, as in the past, will encourage renewed Arab aggression as dictated by Arab and Moslem religious doctrine."

He quotes: "Israel should suspend the expansion of settlement in order to encourage peace negotiations."

He does not quote: "Israel should continue to settle in Judea and Samaria, which ensure the essential security of the State."

He quotes: "Palestinians have a right to a homeland on the West Bank and Gaza, so long as it does not threaten Israel" But not, for example: "A Palestinian Arab state already exists, occupying three-fourths of the country: Transjordan (now called Jordan), originally given to the Arabs to serve the interests of British imperialism."

And so on, and so on.

THIS distortion of the realities of opinion in Israel did not quite achieve the desired result. On "territorial compromise" in exchange for credible guarantees of peace 45 per cent of those polled resisted the soothing syrup of "compromise" and "peace guarantees." Not unexectedly, when faced with the one position identifiable with the Likud — "Israel should maintain permanent control over Judea and Samaria" — 59 per cent said "Yes," (Of the leaders, so carefully selected, 26 per cent...)

Are the AJC leaders conscious of the bias and consequent falsity of the report?

ON THE STRENGTH of my own observations over many years of study of the attitudes of the U.S. Jews who care about Israel, I venture to predict that a balanced poll of a fair sample of the community (if this is possible) will show that a clean majority of the people - in spite of years of brainwashing by the American media and of misdireo tion by many of their leaders - sup ports ensurance of Israel's security and future, and Jewish nationa rights, by the restoration of the ter ritorial integrity of Western Palestine in a Jewish State with equal civil rights and obligations for all; and the right of Jews to live it every part of the country, provided nobody is thereby displaced. Jew. who remain in the U.S. will, o course, not be able to decide the future of Israel. But they should no be misrepresented by wobbling leaders or by manipulated polls.

A MUCH LESS subtle ploy was

practised recently - by another organization, new-born in the U.S., called Committee of Concerned American Jews (CCAJ). Last April. Prof. Sevmour Martin Lipset, a founder of this body, sent out a circular letter appealing for funds to promote - in effect - a movement in Israel designed to fight the present government. The letter charges that powerful forces" in Israel are working for policies which imperil her security and indeed her democracy; and that "desperately needed and deserved" is "assistance to those Israelis seeking to reclaim for Israel the vision, the idealism and the very values which motivated" the original pioneers.

Lipset's letter also berates those Americans who support the present government of Israel.

In his long screed, peppered with unctuous references to love (of Israel) and truth, he enclosed a letter from Abba Eban. (Presumably his own name and the names of his colleagues were not deemed sufficiently attractive to win support). Recipients were asked to send their messages of support, and their money, to Mr. Eban at the Kn

Lipset's letter was sent (according to an article in *Present Tense* magazine by Wolf Blitzer) to 61,507 people by Lipset's associate Alan Baron, and some \$18,000 had already been collected.

ON MAY 6, The Jerusalem Post published a letter from Mr. Eban accusing the CCAJ of fabricating the letter "from Mr. Eban," as 1. as the letter-head.

"I had no knowledge," he wrote, "of the very existence of this organization and did not and do not endorse its aims."

He had protested vehemently, he wrote, to Prof. Lipset "against this outrageous conduct," and L had sent him a telegraphed apology. Lipset claimed he had no personal k nowledge that "those in Washington" had manufactured the letter, but accepted respc bility for "this outrageous action."

IT MAY be intellectually satisfying to see how one's political opponents find it necesary to call to their aid misinformation and distortion.

This however provides small comfort in the light of the harm brought to the Jewish cause by their activities.

# Case of distortion or disappointment?

#### By STEVEN M. COHEN

SINCE 1981 I have been conducting public opinion surveys of American Jewry for the American Jewish Committee (AJC). The results of the most recent study, which focused on attitudes towards Israel. were released last September. That study made two crucial points. First, American Jews are heavily involved with Israel, much more so than many well-informed observers believed. Secondly, while nearunanimous in their concern for Israel, American Jews have diverse views regarding Israeli foreign policy; and owing to their political liberalism (still quite strong) and their pragmatic approach to resolving international conflicts, they lean towards a dovish (or Labour Party) point of view.

In a recent article in these columns ("Dissent or Deceit?" January 6.) Shmuel Katz attacked the integrity of the study. His critique consisted of four points: The AJC somehow influenced my research to the extent that the findings are fundamentally distorted. The sample might be unrepresentative of American Jewry; I picked the leaders of the "wrong" organizations to comprise the leadership sample. Too many questions voiced Labour Party positions and not enough expressed Likud policies; had there been more balance, the results would have been markedly different.

I should like to answer each point head-on.

MR. KATZ fails to recall that a year earlier, the AJC and I had little difficulty in conducting and publicizing the results of a study he probably liked. Contrary to early media reports, we showed that American Jews massively supported Israel's attack on the PLO in Lebanon.

My experience with the AJC, and that of other university-affiliated researchers, is that the AJC defines a research problem in broad terms, leaves the execution up to the researcher, and then manages the publicity. With regard to the latter, the AJC press release of my study rejected the headline-grabber, "U.S. Jews Oppose Begin's Policies." Instead, the lead paragraph spoke of the deep commitment American Jews have for Israel and the "diversity" of views on Israeli foreign policy.

So much for AJC bias.

D The public sample consisted of households with distinctive Jewish names (e.g., Cohen, Levy) listed in the nation's telephone directories. This is the cheapest way we know of drawing a national sample of American Jews from all sorts of backgrounds: 11 per cent had Christmas trees; 11 per cent had no Passover Seder: 17 per cent of those married were intermarried; 29 per cent were Reform, 44 per cent Conservative, and 15 per cent Orthodox; 59 per cent belonged to a synagogue. All in all, the sample was representative of American Jewry in general. Its small bias, if any, was in the direction of the more "Jewish" Jews. But more to the point, this sample was incredibly involved with Israel. Over a third reported "family" in Israel and an equal number of the same people had "personal friends" there.

So much for sample bias.

WE DREW our sample of leaders from the top ruling bodies of the Jewish communal organizations which serve as the principle interlocutors between Israel and the U.S. Thus, we included the Big Three defence agencies — the AJC, the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League. We also had the participation of the United Jewish Appeal (certainly a major institution in the Israel-Diaspora relationship). We agreed to the request of B'nai B'rith to be included in the study. Other organizations were not included simply owing to our estimation of the limited extent to which they shape Jewish "foreign policy" in the U.S.

Mr. Katz's aspersions against the leaders aside, we found them much more involved with Israel than the public. They were much more likely to have been to Israel twice or more (78 per cent as against 17 per cent of the public), to have personal friends in Israel (69 per cent against 35 per cent), to have recently contributed money to a pro-Israel political candidate (76 per cent against 30 per cent); and on and on.

In short, the organizations these leaders represent are neither inconsequential nor, as Mr. Katz implies, anti-Israel. Perhaps, in retrospect, we should have included Hadassah, the second largest membership organization after B'nai B'rith. But I'm not sure Mr. Katz would have liked Hadassah leaders' opinions any more than those from the other groups. I recall that during the last Zionist Congress, the Hadassah delegation sided with the Labour-led delegates on issues of settlements across the Green Line and expenditures on development towns within Israel proper.

So much for leadership bias.

WE DID ASK more Labouroriented than Likud-oriented questions, for a very simple reason: we wanted to gauge the depth of dissent. But where questions were neutral or expressed a Likud position, the sample had no trouble in rejecting Likud positions or personalities.

Thus, the proportions who had an "unfavourable impression of Israeli leaders" were: Sharon (41 per cent;) Begin (30 per cent); Peres (16 per cent); Rabin (8 per cent); Eban (4 per cent); and Navon (3 per cent). By 57 per cent to 31 per cent, the sample rejected the view that "American Jews should not criticize the government of Israel's policies publicly." By 70 per cent to 17 per cent they rejected the view that "Israelis who strongly criticize some of the government's policies are bad for Israel."

My conclusion that American Jews tilt in a dovish direction, and that they have become more dovish of late, derives from the rich information contained in the 1983 study and the few comparisons we can make with the studies of August 1982 and December 1981. Thus, support for U.S. Jewish criticism of Israeli policies dipped during the height of the Lebanon War and reached its maximum in the most recent study. Support for "territorial compromise" was split 41 per cent to 41 per cent in 1981, declined in 1982 (31 per cent to 52 per cent), and rebounded dramatically in 1983 (42 per cent to 34 per cent).

The problem Mr. Katz alludes to is knonwn in the methodological

literature as "acquiescence" effects - the tendency for people to agree rather than disagree. The most recent authoritative research has demonstrated that acquiescence effects are smaller than first supposed and are particularly concentrated among respondents with low education. Thus, they are hardly a problem for our respondents, the best-educated group in the U.S. In short, Mr. Katz cannot get around the fact that American Jews fundamentally disagree with him when they overwhelmingly endorse (48 per cent to 26 per cent) the view that "Palestinians have a right to a homeland on the West Bank and Gaza, so long as it does not threaten Israel."

So much for question bias.

I'm sorry if Mr. Katz is disappointed in the results. But his disappointment gives him no warrant and no basis to disparage this significant research.

The writer is a visiting research professor at the Hebrew University's Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora.

Thursday, February 9, 1984 The Jerusalem Post

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#### כנסת הרבנים

#### THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

3080 BROADWAY NEW YORK N.Y 10027

NEW TELEPHONE 212 - 678 - 8060 212 RIVERSIDE 9-8000

Cobie Address: RABBISEM, New York

Dear Colleague:

Enclosed are the resolutions to be considered at the forthcoming convention of the Rabbinical Assembly. They are listed in order of their appearance on the agenda.

Through the first day of the convention (Sunday, May 13), resolutions submitted over the signatures of 25 RA members will be added to the end of the agenda. On the second day (Monday the 14th), 50 signatures are required, while on the fourth day (Wednesday the 16th) 100 signatures must appear.

The Resolutions Sessions will be conducted under the following rules of debate:

(1) On some topics, conflicting resolutions have been submitted. In these cases, the plenum will decide which resolution will be considered. There will be initial five-minute statements in support of each resolution, followed by debate of no longer than ten minutes. We will then vote between the resolutions. Debate will continue, alternating between pro and con speakers, until there are no more speakers on one side, or until 20 minutes have elapsed, whichever occurs first. Debate may be extended by appeal from the floor, requiring a 2/3 majority.

(2) On those topics for which a single resolution has been reported, a five minute authorship speech may be offered. In the absence of the author, or should he decline to speak, a five minute statement in favor of the resolution will be recognized. The opposition will be recognized for five minutes. We will then proceed with twenty minutes of debate, alternating between pro and con speakers, or until there are no opposing speakers. Again, debate may be extended as above.

(3) Except for initial statements, all speakers will be limited to two minutes. No speaker will be recognized twice in the same debate unless everyone wishing to speak has been recognized once.

(4) The order of the agenda may be changed by majority vote.

(5) Amendments to resolutions may be submitted before the first business session, if accompanied by the required number of signatures (as above), or may be proposed from the floor. However, amendments which have the effect of changing the intent of the resolutions will be ruled out of order.

(6) A motion to table any resolution will require a two-thirds majority to succeed. Once tabled, the resolution cannot be brought to the floor again at the same session.

Please submit petitioned resolutions and amendments to me in care of Congregation B'nai Israel, 193 Clapboard Ridge Road, Danbury, CT 06811. I look forward to seeing you at the convention.

incerely Jack Moline

Chairman, Resolutions Committee

Committee Members: Rabbis Armond Cohen, Paul Dubin, Edward Feldheim, Baruch Frydman-Kohl, Brad M. Gartenberg, Albert Lewis, Lawrence Troster, Robert Wexler, Simkha Weintraub, Arnold Goodman (ex officio), and James Michaels (ex officio).

#### **RESOLUTIONS / 1984**

#### SOVIET JEWRY (1984-1)

- WHEREAS 1983 was a dismal year for Jewish emigration from the USSR, which declined to 1500 from the 1979 high of 50,000; and
- WHEREAS during that period official Soviet anti-Semitism alarmingly increased through "Anti-Zionist Committees" and fabricated newspaper articles and television documentaries on the "crimes and racism" of Jews and Zionism; and
- WHEREAS the conviction of Yosif Begun for the crime of teaching Hebrew and the neglect of the deteriorating health of Prisoners of Conscience Alexander Paritsky and Anatoly Shcharansky are further evidence of that pattern of Soviet abrogation of the Helsinki Accord and Final Act, which guarantee religious rights and family unification; and
- WHEREAS the North American Jewish community has shown an alarming lack of attention to the anguish of Soviet Jews; and
- WHEREAS the recent change in the Soviet regime presents a unique opportunity to alter this course of events
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly calls on its membership to discuss Soviet Jewry from the pulpit and to vigorously and actively support all efforts on behalf of our brothers and sisters, including:

(1) a call for the Soviet government to grant unconditional amnesty to the 19 Prisoners of Conscience and to eliminate domestic harassment and barriers to emigration; and

(2) a call for the governments of the United States and Canada to link the treatment of Soviet Jews to future agreements with the U.S.S.R..

#### JEWISH YOUTH DIRECTORS' ASSOCIATION (1984-2)

- WHEREAS the relationship between the Rabbi and the Youth Director is of crucial importance; and
- WHEREAS each must be made more cognizant of and appreciate the skills and prerogatives of the other

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that a joint committee of The Rabbinical Assembly and the JYDA be established for the purpose of fostering greater mutual respect and

- 1 -

cooperation between the two professions and increasing lines of communication between our two organizations.

#### A RESOLUTION ON SHEHITA (1984-3)

- WHEREAS the laws of <u>shehita</u> developed in response to the principle of <u>tzaar</u> <u>ballei</u> <u>hayyim</u>; and
- WHEREAS the practice of shackling and hoisting animals for slaughter, though approved for <u>shehita</u>, causes the conscious animal pain and possible injury; and
- WHEREAS the use of restraining pens for <u>shehita</u> eliminates the need for and detrimental effects of shackling and hoisting, and is in accordance with <u>halakhah</u>; and
- WHEREAS, in matters of compassion for God's creations we should always be prepared to act lifnim meshurat hadin
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly call upon <u>kosher</u> slaughterhouses to replace shackling and hoisting of animals with the more humane practice of employing restraining pens for <u>shehita</u>.

RESOLUTION ON CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES (1984-4)

- WHEREAS the <u>Torah</u> commands us not to oppress the stranger since we know what it is like to be a stranger (Exodus 23:9); and
- WHEREAS millions of Jews were murdered by the Nazis because the nations of the world, including the United States, did not open their gates to those fleeing the Nazi onslaught; and
- WHEREAS the murder of innocent men, women, and children is a "hilul HaShem", a desecration of the Name of the Holy One, Blessed Be He; and
- WHEREAS hundreds of thousands of such men, women, and children are fleeing oppression and murder in El Salvador and Guatemala and are seeking temporary sanctuary in the United States; and
- WHEREAS the government of the United States seeks to arrest and deport such refugees to their native country, thereby placing them in the gravest danger; and
- WHEREAS the United States is a signatory to the United Nations 'Convention' relating to the status of refugees which states, "No contracting state shall expel or return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion,

- 2 -

nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion."; and

WHEREAS some 100 churches and a Conservative Synagogue have offered public sanctuary to Central Americans fleeing violence and oppression

#### THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED

(1) that the Rabbinical Assembly endorses the concept of sanctuary as provided by synagogues, churches, and other communities of faith in the United States; and

(2) that the Rabbinical Assembly urges the government of the United States to provide "Extended Voluntary Departure" status for those fleeing the violence in Central America.

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#### RESOLUTION ON U. J.A. (1984-5)

WHEREAS the United Jewish Appeal is the most effective instrument for supporting social and economic programs affecting all Jews in Israel and in the Diaspora; and

WHEREAS the Rabbinical Assembly has always been and continues to be in the forefront of activities in support of the State of Israel and of the U.J.A.; and

WHEREAS the continued growth and support of Mesorati Judaism in Israel is among the highest priorities of the Rabbinical Assembly; and

WHEREAS the Mesorati Movement and its synagogues in Israel are the object of continuing discrimination by the religious establishment in Israel and the target of much painful propaganda; and

WHEREAS due to this discimination, Conservative programs in Israel do not receive their fair share of funds from government sources; and

WHEREAS we feel that the United Jewish Appeal has the ability to help remedy this discriminatory situation

- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly reaffirm its traditional support of the United Jewish Appeal as the major instrument to express the American Jewish community's responsibility towards its fellow Jews in Israel and the Diaspora and urges wholehearted support of the U.J.A. Campaign in all our congregations; and
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the officers of the Rabbinical Assembly both in the United States and in Israel continue to meet with the leaders of the U.J.A. to / enlist their support so that the Mesorati Movement in Israel not be discriminated against in the allocation of funds.

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#### THE NUCLEAR DILEMMA (1984-6)

WHEREAS no current issue has such far-reaching implications as the deployment and use of nuclear weapons; and

- WHEREAS rabbis, as teachers and leaders in our communities, have a role to play in educating Jews concerning the issues regarding the nuclear dilemma; and
- WHEREAS the wealth of discussions in traditional texts has a direct bearing on a Jew's attitudes and actions on the proper pursuit of peace and security
- THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly calls upon its professional staff to develop and disseminate to the membership materials relating to the interaction of Jewish traditional sources and the modern dilemma of how to achieve nuclear disarmament, and also calls upon its membership to assert their leadership in this educational process.

#### DISARMAMENT (1984-7A)

- WHEREAS the Jewish people have been tormented and controlled throughout history by forces boasting superior military strength; and
- WHEREAS we have come to realize that only Israel's superior military strength has enabled her to resist the murderous designs of her enemies; and
- WHEREAS the government of the Soviet Union is an evil entity interested in the demise of Jews and freedom loving people everywhere; and
- WHEREAS we recognize that substantive bilateral reductions in Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons stockpiles will occur only when the Soviet Union is convinced that the West will not unilaterally disarm and, in fact, without parallel Soviet reductions, will increase its nuclear arsenal
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly supports all U.S. government defense expenditures as necessary to continue our military build-up until such time as the Soviet Union and the United States ratify a bilateral arms reduction treaty.

- 4 -

#### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT (1984-73)

WHEREAS a central mandate of Judaism is the pursuit of peace; and

- WHEREAS by rapidly increasing their military budgets the United States and the Soviet Union seem to be pursuing an inevitable nuclear catastrophe; and
- WHEREAS the breakdown of bilateral arms reduction talks has increased the dangers of nuclear proliferation; and
- WHEREAS previous Rabbinical Assembly resolutions have affirmed the priority of nuclear disarmament on the agenda of the Jewish people and the entire human family
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly calls on the national leaders of the United States and the U.S.S.R. to explore all possible diplomatic channels for the full resumption of bilateral negotiations to effectuate nuclear arms reductions as soon as possible, and also calls for a bipartisan effort in the United States to achieve disarmament as rapidly as possible.

#### PUBLIC DISSENT ON ISRAEL (1984-8)

- WHEREAS it has become clear that the public dissent by North American Jews concerning Israeli policies has no impact on Israeli policies; and
- WHEREAS the enemies of the Jewish people and the State of Israel utilize the statements of public dissent by North American Jews to press for changes in United States and Canadian policies with regard to the Middle East which are detrimental to the security of the State of Israel; and
- WHEREAS North American Jews who wish to discuss Israeli policy have forums within the Jewish community available to them in which they can do so
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly discourages American Jews from publicly criticizing policies of the Israeli government.

- 5 -

#### WELFARE POLICY (1984-9)

WHEREAS Judaism believes that the most important objective of any welfare policy is an increase of independence of the poor from public support; and

- WHEREAS since the early 1960's there has been a rapid and undiminished growth of permanent poor in the United States; and
- WHEREAS this growth correlates exactly with rapid increases in social welfare spending originally designed to help the poor; and
- WHEREAS these programs have resulted in the disintegration of the nuclear family among the poor in this country and an increase in dependence on, rather than independence from public welfare
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly advocates a welfare program designed to restablize the nuclear family, including incentives to reduce individual dependence on public funds.

#### CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (1984-10)

- WHEREAS the Soviet Union and its proxies are seeking to destablize South and Central American governments; and
- WHEREAS the geographical proximity of South and Central America to Mexican oil fields and the sovereign territory of the United States makes these Soviet efforts a direct threat to the security of the United States
- THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Rabbinical Assembly support efforts by the government of the United States to insure that the governments of South and Central America not be threatened by groups in any way supported by the Soviet Union or her proxies.

6

UNIVERS SUNNY AND ISADORE FA milian Campus es, California 90077 • (213) 879-4114 / 476-9777 15600 Mulholland Drive, Los Angele

May 16, 1984

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

Dear Marc:

I heard that your visit here was a bit difficult due to your exhaustion and committment conflicts. You are a busy man, indeed, and I remain one of your fans.

Enclosed is a check in the amount of \$1,000.00 for one lecture. The enclosed letter confirms the fact that we agreed on the sum of \$2,000.00 for two lectures, and not \$2,500.00 as you indicated in your letter to Alex Graubart. The travel expense amount represents one-half of the total travel expense you asked for in your letter to Alex (\$779.00 Air, plus \$52.00 airport transport). The point of this amount is that the fare we agreed to cover was designed to take care of two appearances by you rather than one. The budget was designed accordingly.

So, Marc, this represents the fee aspect of our arrangement. If there are any questions, please contact me.

With every good wish, and kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

-Jack

Rabbi Jack Shechter

encl.

### [start]

### AMERICAN JEWISH Original documents faded and/or illegible

54. Jes, 2753

#### GEORGES BEZA St 1939-46

ANCIEN DES FORCES SPÉCIALES ALLIÉES AUPRÈS DU GRAND QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL - FORCES DU PROCHE ORIENT SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL DE LA PÉDÉRATION DES COMBATTANTS ALLIÉS EN EUROPE ÉDITEUR DU PÉRIODIQUE " EUROPA " MEMBRE DE L'ASSOCIATION DES ÉCRIVAINS COMBATTANTS

Dear Mr. Krewer,

Here in you will find a <u>Convo</u>-<u>cation</u> issued by Ion Ratice, Deutis Coste and many other Rumanians who intend to meet in Swiss on 19-20 May 1984 in order to found a "Roumanian Cryanisation in Exile" (called "Roumanian Congress"). The true intention of this "<u>Congress</u>" is to set up a Committe to speak on the behalf of <u>all the Roumanian</u>", and as such, to protest against everybody who denonces Veorel Triefa as former navi war criminal.

or's far as I was informed, Trifa spent thousands and thousands of dollars to stipend this propaganda. and the organication of this Congress.

By the way of such a self-slipe Roumanian organisation, Trifa tries to exape punishment and even to get back USA Elycenship, es recently his americano "converde: claimed during a so-called reli gious and rectnien. means to counter such Rind of plots. If, by chance, you are better. endowed, do have it in view. And if, also, you have some bolly in France, able to get in touch with me ( but not of the Knid of Lestimich and the other of the same Ridney), maile the to contact me useful. (Herein the Respective Convocation in two copies). Truly 200000, Bego

### [end]

# Original documents faded and/or illegible



GRUPUL DE PREGATIRE AL CONGRESULUI ROMANILOR LIBERI Secretariatul: 54-62, Regent Street, London, W1R 5PJ tel: 01-437 0015

## CONVOCARE

ROMANI și ROMANCE aflați liberi în afara hotarelor țării, vă chemăm să participați la primul

#### CONGRES MONDIAL AL ROMANILOR LIBERI

care va avea loc la 19 și 20 Mai 1984, la GENEVA, în Elveția, cu următoarea

#### ORDINE DE ZI

- 1. Proclamarea hotărârii noastre nestrămutate de a lupta neîncetat pentru eliberarea țării de sub comunism.
- 2. Crearea ORGANIZAȚIEI ROMÂNILOR LIBERI și alegerea în mod democratic a organelor ei de conducere și coordonare.

Convocarea acestui prim CONGRES MONDIAL a fost hotărâtă de marea majoritate a celor prezenți la CONSFĂTUIREA ROMANILOR din 12-13 Noembrie 1983, la PARIS și are sprijinul a sute de alți compatrioți.

Inițiativa convocării unui CONGRES AL ROMANILOR DE PRETUTINDENI a avut un ecou favorabil în toate colturile lumii, precum și în țară.

In vederea organizării CONGRESULUI, sunteți rugați să ne trimiteți <u>individual</u> adeziunea scrisă (formularul anexat), care să ne parvină până la <u>1 Martie 1984</u>.

După primirea adeziunilor, vă vom trimite:

- INVITAȚII nominale, care vor fi singurul document acordând dreptul de intrare și participare la CONGRES,
- TEXTUL PROECTULUI DE STATUT al ORGANIZAȚIEI ROMÂNILOR LIBERI, redactat de grupul de pregătire, pentru a fi studiat și eventul modificat. Propunerile de modificare urmează să ne parvină până la 15 Aprilie 1984.

ROMANI și ROMANCE aflați liberi în afara hotarelor țării, vă chemăm să participați la primul

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ROMANI și ROMANCE

NOTATI și memorați aceste date.

TRIMITETI adeziunile Dvs. pe adresa de pe formular.

FACETI propunerile pe care le socotiți necesare.

CONGRESUL este sustinut, până în prezent, de: ACADEMIA ROMÂNO-AMERICANA de ȘTIINȚE și ARTE (Berkeley, California), ADEVÂRUL DESPRE ROMÂNIA (New York), ASOCIAȚIA CETAȚENILOR ORIGINARI DIN ROMÂNIA (Stuttgart), ASOCIAȚIA CULTURALĂ A ROMÂNILOR DIN ANGLIA ("ACARDA"), ASOCIAȚIA REFUGIAȚILOR ROMÂNI DIN ELVEȚIA (Lausanne), ASOCIAȚIA ROMÂNILOR DIN AUSTRALIA (Melbourne) CASA ROMANA și CAPELA (Oakland, California), CERCUL SINDICAL FRANCO-ROMÂN (Paris), COMUNI-TATEA ROMÂNILOR DIN NORDUL ITALIEI (Milano), GRUPUL ROMÂNESC DIN VENEZUELA (Maracaibo), SIN-DICATUL LIBER AL OAMENILOR MUNCII DIN ROMÂNIA și SOCIETATEA ROMÂNILOR DIN VICTORIA (Melbourne, Australia).

Constantin ALEXANDRESCU (Franta), Vlad ANGELESCU (SUA), George ASTALOS (Franta), Radu BALESCU (Belgia), Jean BALOG (Franța), Ioan Bals (Elveția), Alexandru BANU (Franța), Nicolae BEDIVAN (Grecia), PeterBELKER (Germania), Aristia BENCHE-MELCHERT (Elvetia), Gheorghe BENTZ (Germania), George BEREA (SUA), Ion BERECHET (Australia), Sora Stanislao BISOG (Franta), Lionel BLOCH (Anglia), Antoinette BODISCO (Germania), E. S. BOTEZ-BART (Franța), Dr. Coriolan BRAD (Germania), Dr. G. BRAICU (Germania), Ion I. BRĂTIANU (Franța), Alexandru BURZ (SUA), Miron BUTARIU (SUA), Toma CAMPEANU (Franța), Zeno CAMPEANU (Canada), Dr. Liciniu CANDEA (Germania), Dr. Lucia CANDEA (Germania), Matei CANTACUZINO (Belgia), Ion CARAION (Elveția), Eugenia Ana CARANFIL (Franța), George CARANFIL (Franța), Mihai CARCIOG (Anglia), Sanda CARCIOG (Anglia), Petre CÂRJEU (Franța), Sora CAROLINA (Anglia), Mircea CATANĂ (Franța), Rodica CATANĂ (Franța), Stefan CATONA (Franța), Constantin CERNAIANU (Germania), Dan CERNOVODEANU (Franța), Monica CESIANU (Franta), Dr. Pavel CHIHAIA (Germania), Constantin CHIRITA (Australia), Emil CICA (Australia), Adrian CISMIGIU (Germania), Edmond CIUNTU (Pelgia), Mircea CLINET (Italia), Stan CODRESCU (Elveția), Mircea CONSTANTI-NESCU (Germania), Silvia CONSTANTINESCU (Suedia), Victor COROIANU (Germania), A.L. COSMA (Venezuela), Juan COSMA (Venezuela), Brutus COSTE (SUA), Constanța COSTE (SUA), James CRACIUN (SUA), Sanda CRACIUNAS (Spania), Silviu CRACIUNAS (Spania), Ioan CRISAN-DACICUS (SUA), Nicolae DANILA (Franța), Vasile DAMIAN (Franta), Ecaterina DAVIES (Anglia), Nicolae DIMA (SUA), Magda DOGRAMALE (Anglia), Paula DOGRAMALE (Anglia), Andrei DOICIN (Anglia), Berta DOICIN (Anglia), Dariu DOICIN (Anglia), Tatiana DOICIN (Anglia), Camelia DOMIDE (Franța), Michel DOULAMA (Franța), Jean DRĂCȘĂNEANU (Franța), Vlad DRAGOESCU (Elveția), George DUCA (SUA), Cornel DUMITRESCU (SUA), Ioan DUMITRESCU (Germania), Maria DUMITRESCU (Germania), Nicolae DUMITRESCU (Anglia), Victoria DUMITRESCU (Anglia), Claudia DUMITRIU (Franța), Ion DUMITRU (Germania), Sora Maria Elenuța (Anglia), N. FARCA (Germania), Radu FLORESCU (Anglia), Sylvia FLORESCU (Anglia), Nicolae Vladimir FULGER (Germania), Ion GANEA (Elveția), E.GEORGESCU (Australia), Horia GEORGESCU (Anglia), Patricia GEORGESCU (Anglia), Vlad GEORGESCU (Germania), Ion-Alexandru GHIKA (Franța), K a r l GOLDNER (Germania), Lucian GRIGOROVICI (Germania), Vasile HATEGAN (SUA), Vintilă HORIA (Spania), Neagu IARCA (Elvetia), Liliana ILICA (Canada), Petruca ILICA (Canada), Ecaterina ILIESCU (Anglia), Dr.Stelian ILIESCU (Germania), Petru IOANIS (Venezuela), Mihai IONESCU (Germania), Monica IONESCU (Anglia), Serban IONESCU (Anglia), Dr. Viorel IONESCU (Germania), Sora IOSIF (Franța), Dr. Stefan ISSARESCU (SUA), Cazimir IVANITSCHI (SUA), Liesl JOHNSON (Anglia), Margaret KIRSCHEN (Anglia), Vladimir KRASNOSELSKI (Elvetia), Aureliu LAPADATU (Germania), Paul LAPTEV (Anglia), Sora Anica LETAI (Franța), Alexandru LOCEANU (Israel) M.D. LOTREAN (Franța), Mihai LUCA (Franța), Marie-Jeanne MACDONALD (Anglia), Andrei MAKAROW (Germania), Alexandru MANAILA (SUA), Radu MANAILA (Elveția), Ion MANEA (SUA), Maria MANOLIU-MANEA (SUA), Şerban MANU (Franta), Mihai MARCULESCU (Franta), Zetta MARCULESCU (Franta), Dr. Florin MATRESCU (Germania), Gheorghe MAZILU (Elveția), Tudor METZULESCU (Elveția), Dr. Alexandru MICLE (Germania), Costică MUGUR (Anglia), Mariana NASTA (Anglia), M.V.NASTA (Anglia), Virgiliu NECULA (SUA), Ion NELEANU (Australia), Dr.Ana NICOLAU (Australia), M.NICOLAU (Australia), Marin NICOLAU-GOLFIN (Elveția), Gina NICULESCU (Italia), Dan-Lucian NOVACOVICI (SUA), Doru NOVACOVICI (Franța), Rodica NOVACOVICI (Franța), Anca OLSUFIEV (Franța), Andrei OLSUFIEV (Franța), Georgeta PAEȘANU-APARASCHIVEI (Austria), Octavian PAEȘANU-APARASCHIVEI (Austria), Ana PANTEA (Australia), Maria PANTEA (Australia), Stefania PANTEA (Australia), Nicolae PATACÉANU (Canada), Sora Anicetta PATRAS (Franța), Mihai PATRIKI (SUA), Nicolae PETRA (Mexico), Dr.Vera PETROVA CIROVIC (Suedia), Sora Maria PICCIU (Anglia), Maria POBEREZNIC (Anglia), Sandu POBEREZNIC (Anglia), Ana POP (Australia), Nicolae POP (Olanda), V. POPA (Olanda), Cornelia POPESCO (Franta), Trajan POPESCO (Franta), Gheorghe POPVICI (Germania), Caius PRIA (Venezuela), Dumitru RACOVIȚĂ (Elveția), Mihail RACOVIȚĂ (Elvetia), Stefah RACOVITA (Elvetia), Alexandru B.RATIU (Franta), Elisabeth RATIU (Anglia), Indrei RATIU (Franța), Ion M. RATIU (SUA), Ion RATIU (Anglia), Mircea RATIU (SUA), Rodica RATIU (SUA), Tudor RATIU (SUA), Dr.Marius RIMBAŞIU (Germania), Anca ROIU (Anglia), Alexandru ROMANESCU (Elveția), S. RONEA (Australia), Radu ROȘEANU (Germania), Dr. Johann ROSENFELD (Germania), George ROSS (Anglia), Dr.Cornel ROTARU (Franța), Maria ROUSSEAU (Franța), Ion RUSU (Franța), Nicole RUSU (Franța), Mathilde SANDOVICI (Italia), Doina SANDI (Franta), Vasile SANDU (Franta), Horațiu SARBULESCU (Franța), Ovidiu ȘARPE (Anglia), Despina

\* .. -

(Translation of the Rumanian text of an invitation to a congress to be held in Geneva)

GROUP FOR PREPARING THE CONGRESS OF FREE RUMANIANS Secretariat: 54-62 Regent Street, London W1R 5PJ tel: 01-437-0015

C O N V O C A TION

1.

Rumanian men and women presently free beyond the borders of our country, we call on you to participate in the

WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE RUMANIANS

which will take place on the 19th & 20th of May, 1984 in Geneva, Switzerland with the following

#### DAILY AGENDA

- 1. Proclamation of our determined decision to fight continuously for the liberation of our country from communism.
- Creation of an organization of free Rumanians, and the democratic election
  of its organs of operation and coordination.

The convocation of this first world congress was decided by a large majority of those present at a meeting held on November 12th & 13th in Paris with the help of hundreds of other compatriots.

The initiative to call this Congress of Rumanians of the World had a favorable reception (echo) in all corners of the world, as well as in our own country.

In order to organize the congress it will be necessary to have your individual written applications (enclosed) before March 1st, 1984.

Upon receiving your application, we will send you the following:

- An INVITATION in your name, which will be the only document according you the right to enter and to participate in the Congress.
- The text of the proposed rules of the organization of FREE RUMANIANS, approved by the steering committee, for study and eventual modification. Suggestions for modification must arrive before 15 April, 1984

Howard A. Gilbert 841 West Cermak Road Chicago, Illinois 60608

May 22, 1984

Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum American Jewish Committee 165 E. 56th Street New York, N.Y 10022

Dear Mark:

141 25 198

I tried to reach you by phone today without success. I am leaving town and am forwarding to you a letter and other material from Andy Kopan.

I have discussed the letter with Irving and Johnathan and although I recognize we are unable to provide the resolution Andy requested I do feel a response is necessary.

This is a dilemma but I do look forward to hearing from you as to a suggested course of action.

Sincerely

Howard A. Gilbert

HAG/ba

cc: David Harris Irving Levine Johnathan Levine





Mr. Howard Gilbert National Vice President The American Jewish Committee 1245 Fairfield Road Glencoe, Illinois 60022

Dear Howard:

As a follow-up to your participation in the Multiethnic Forum on Cyprus sponsored by the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education at Chicago on January 13, 1984, we are once again seeking your cooperation and support. As you may know, in our continued efforts to restore human rights and justice in Cyprus and end the violation of international law there, we have been successful in persuading both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee to substantially reduce the amount of financial and military aid to be given to Turkey in fiscal 1985 by Congress, conditioned upon certain concessions to be made by Turkey (see enclosed literature for details). Once these concessions are made, indicating Turkey's willingness to work a compromise to the Cyprus tragedy now in its tenth year, the full cuts will be restored.

The reduced aid to Turkey is reflected in the omnibus 1985 Foreign Assistance Act which will be voted upon by the full Congress during the first weeks of June, following its return from the Memorial Day recess. The Administration and the State Department are opposed to these cuts and seek to restore them. We are confident, however, that the Congress will prevail against this pressure and maintain the cuts. It is essential, however, that the Congress be apprised of the broad support for the reduced aid to Turkey as provided in the revised foreign aid bill, from every segment of the American community.

In this respect, we are requesting that your organization adopt a resolution in support of these cuts and that a copy be sent immediately on organizational letterhead to members of Congress, the White House and State Department as well as your own respective ethnic/religious and human rights representatives and advocates in the Congress. A sample copy of such a resolution to be adopted is enclosed. It may be revised accordingly. It would be appreciated if a copy were sent to me at the address indicated. We have won a battle in our fight for justice, but the war still remains to be won. Your support of our efforts in this respect is most crucial. Can we count on your help? Thank you for your past cooperation.

Sincerely,

Andrew T. Kopan, Ph.D.

Ethnic Liaison Director

Andrew A. Athens National Chairman

ATK:ek

151 North Michigan Avenue, Suite 2804, Chicago, Illinois 60601/312-565-0111

#### RESOLUTION RECOMMENDED FOR ADOPTION

WHEREAS the nation of Turkey has refused to respond to the encouragement of the Congress of the United States regarding restoration of justice to the Republic of Cyprus, and WHEREAS the nation of Turkey has refused to adhere to United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Turkish occupying forces from the Republic of Cyprus, and WHEREAS the nation of Turkey continues to utilize American armaments to threaten the sovereign land of the nation of Greece, and WHEREAS the American people cannot support the transference of nearly one billion dollars worth of armaments and military aid to Turkey for the possible aggression against its Greek and Cypriot neighbors, THEREFORE, be it resolved that the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) SUPPORTS Congressional action to substantially reduce American military aid to Turkey, as reflected in the 1985 Foreign Assistance Act now pending in Congress, until that nation reverses its policies of occupation and aggression toward Cyprus and Greece.

NOTE: The 1985 Foreign Assistance Act which includes a substantially lower amount for Turkey than that recommended by the Administration because of reductions imposed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is coming up for a vote by the full Congress during the first week of June, 1984, following its return from the Memorial Day recess. It is essential that this resolution be sent on your organizational letterhead to your congressmen and senators as soon as possible, in time for the vote. Copies of the resolution should also be sent to the White House and State Department as well as to Chairman Charles Percy of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Chairman Dante Fascell of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Washington, D.C. A copy to the United Hellenic American Congress, 151 N. Michigan Avenue, Suite 2804, Chicago, IL 60601, would also be appreciated.

#### May 21, 1984

Andy Kopan Ethnic Liaison Director United Hellenic American Congress 151 North Michigan Avenue Stuie 2804 Chicago, Il. 60601

Dear Andy:

Thank you for your letter of May 18 regarding the 1985 Foreign Assistance Act with special reference to Eurkey.

I cannot, or course, speak for AJC on this issue, but I am moving ahead to discuss the matter with our people. Time is short, and I hope to get back to you soon advisiing you of our action.

Sincerely,

Howard A. Gilbert

HAG/ba
# TH4 GR44K STAP

### The Voice of Chicago's Hellenic Community

SERVING CHICAGOLAND'S QUARTER OF A MILLION GREEK - AMERICANS

THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1984

4731 NORTH WESTERN AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60625

Principal Participants in Cyprus policy conference held with ethnic leaders and human rights officials in Chicago under the auspices of the United Hellenic American Congress and the Illinois Consultation are: left to right Edward Derwinski of the Department of State; Andrew A. Athens, National Chairman of UHAC; George Papoulias, Greek Ambassador to the U. S.; Dr. Andrew T. Kopan, UHAC Ethnic Liaison Director; Peter Voskarides, Minister for Overseas Cypriots; Emmanuel Wlandis, Greek Consul General in Chicago, Rev. Evagoras Constantinides; and George D. Karcazes, Member of the Executive Committee of UHAC.

# Cyprus policy conference

The formation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is a violation of international law and could compromise vital U. S. interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, a group of ethnic leaders and human rights officials was told at a recent luncheon meeting in Chicago called to organize a national coalition on American policy toward Cyprus. The meeting was held as a result of the action taken by the Turkish Cypriots on November 15, 1983 declaring the formation of the independent republic on the northern half of the partitioned island occupied by Turkey. The 80 percent of the Cypriot population with Greek ethnic roots has been confined to the southern half of the island since the Turkish invasion of 1974.

### Illinois Ethnic Coalition

#### Continued from page 1

In an opening statement, Edwin Cudecki, speaking for the Illinois Consultation, said that ethnic groups must take the lead in seeking a national consensus to guide the development of American foreign policy. "The Greek American community has discovered what Black Americans learned on apartheid. what Polish Americans learned at the time of the marshall law crackdown in Poland, and what Jewish Americans know about events in the Middle East: that ethnic groups must take the lead in seeking a consensus to guide the development of American foreign policy."

Cudecki, who is chairman of the Illinois Consultation, compared ethnic leaders to diplomats whose role is to "bridge the gap between nations and to convey information to their people which enable them to act responsibly."

The meeting was convened at the request of the United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC), a national federation of 240 Greek American organizations headquartered in Chicago, that has fought for the reunification of Cyprus since the Turkish invasion in 1974. UHAC is affiliated with the Illinois Consultation and is represented by Dr. Andrew T. Kopan, UHAC Ethnic Liaison Director and a founding member of the Consultation. The meeting which was chaired by Dr. Kopan was organized through his efforts with David G. Roth of the American Jewish Committee who is the Consultation Coordinator:

"We expect American ethnic and human rights groups to give Turkey's lawless action on Cyprus the attention it deserves," said Chicago industrialist Andrew A. Athens, National Chairman of UHAC. "By building a national coalition around the call for a unified Cyprus. we hope to keep the issue alive and send clear signals to the U.S. and Turkish governments that the American people object to Turkey's intervention on the island." Other speakers at the event were: George D. Karcazes. member of the Executive Committee of UHAC, who presented a historical overview of the Cyprus tragedy; and Rev. Evagoras Constantinides, an ardent worker in the Cypriot cause who gave a personal testimony of the tragedy in the land of his birth.

In November, reaction to the declaration of the "Republic of Northern Cyprus" was swift: President Reagan and the Secretary of State denounced the action; both houses of Congress passed resolutions calling for opposition to the partition; Pope John Paul II called for a peaceful solution to the problem; and the American media roundly condemned Turkish Cypriots and Turkey for their actions. But Greek American leaders feel that a "shift in public attention to other international incidents could have the unfortunate effect of reducing pressure on Turkey to withdraw from Cyprus.'

In response to UHAC's request for aid, the ethnic leaders assembled at the meeting announced their intention to initiate discussions on a national level between UHAC and other ethnic organizations. These discussions will pave the way for these groups to join with UHAC in bringing an end to the Cyprus crisis by:

-urging opposition in Congress to all American aid to Turkey:

-broadening public understanding of the conditions on Cyprus, and the threat that Turkey's intervention represents to America's interest in the Eastern Mediterranean;

-urging international organizations that monitor compliance with human rights accords and conduct comparative surveys of political and civil freedom to lower their judgment on the status of freedom in Cyprus, and not to accept the illegal attempt to permanently divide the island.

#### **GREEK PRESS**

#### **FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1984**



#### illinois consultation on ethnicity in education

55 East Jackson Boulevard, Suite 1880, Chicago, Illinois 60604

(312) 663-5400

January 13, 1984

### STATEMENT OF EDWIN CUDECKI AT THE MULTIETHNIC FORUM ON CYPRUS,

Good morning ladies and gentlemen and thank you for coming. We are meeting in the familiar setting of The American Jewish Committee's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity. We gather here today, as we have in the past, to act upon an issue that deeply concerns one ethnic group and which should concern us all.

One of the Illinois Consultation's most enduring traditions is the multiethnic forum. In these forums, an affiliated organization has the opportunity to present its case to the leadership of other communities.

Today's meeting was convened at the request of the United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC). UHAC leaders have brought with them three distinguished international diplomats who will discuss the situation on Cyprus with the Consultation's network of domestic diplomats.

Diplomats serve as bridges between nations, returning home with information on the basis of which policies are forged.

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Edwin Cudecki **Copernicus** Foundation VICE-CHAIR for PROGRAMMING Joseph Frattaroli Urban and Ethnic Education Section, Illinois State Board of Education VICE-CHAIR for MEMBERSHIP and COMMUNITY RELATIONS Gwendoline Fortune Oakton Community College VICE-CHAIR for FUNDRAISING Connie Seals Peer Culture Development, Inc. SECRETARY Muria Medina Seidner Bilingual Education Section. Illinois State Board of Education TREASURER Dr. Isidro Lucas United States Commission on Civil Rights ANNUAL MEETING CHAIRS Paul R. Gibson Special Assistant to the Governor for Minority Atfairs Luba V. Toloczko-Markewycz Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art Patricia Egan Turner Illinois Foreign Language Teachers Association ARTS & HUMANITIES CHAIRS Linda Andelman Acamedia Murgy McClain Urban Traditions LANGUAGE CHAIRS Mathilda Jakubowski Special Assistant to the Governor for Ethnic Affairs Durid Oliver Chicago Public Schools Noriko Ioan Takada Asian American Educators Association MEDIA CHAIRS Eileen Machevich Women's Forum Lucina Migala WCEV Radio TEACHER TRAINING. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CHAIRS Sumuel Betances Northeastern Illinois University Shinae Chun Chicago Consortium/Multiethnic Training. Assistance and Dissemination Project HERITAGE EDITORIAL BOARD CHAIR Dr Bubette Inglebart Chicago State University HONORARY CHAIRS Paul I. Asciolla Paul R. Gibson Luba V. Toloczko-Markewscz

CHAIR

CONSULTATION COORDINATOR David G. Rath The American lewish Committee's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity EDITOR. HERITAGE James Ylisela, Jr. EDITOR. HERITAGE NEWS SERVICE Philip C. Franchine Page 2

Our role today, as diplomats representing ethnic and human rights groups, is to listen, to learn, and to convey to our people information that will enable them to act responsibly.

Expertise flows from American ethnicity. It is made in equal parts of compassion and experience, and it qualifies ethnics to participate in the shaping of foreign and domestic policy.

Our friends in the Greek American community have discovered what Black Americans learned on apartheid, what Polish Americans learned at the time of the martial law crackdown in Poland, and what American Jews know about events in the Middle East; that is, ethnic groups must take the lead in seeking a national consensus to guide the development of American foreign policy.

Human rights and American laws were violated when Turkey invaded and partitioned Cyprus in 1974, and international law was violated in November with the declaration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

As ethnic diplomats, we are prepared to offer UHAC forums in our communities that will open the door to the formation of a firm, principaled national consensus on American policy toward Cyprus and the rebuilding of an independent, united, Cypriot state.

### Congress committees cut aid to Turks

Whittling down the Reagan administration's proposed military aid package for Turkey, the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee each have approved amendments to the foreign aid bill restoring the 7:10 ratio of U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey.

Both committees cut \$39 million from the administration's proposal, reducing the amount of U.S. military aid available to Turkey to \$716 million. The \$500 million package proposed for Greece was approved.

The Senate committee's aid package is the tougher of the two plans, tying \$216 million in grants to the withdrawal of Turkish troops from the occupied Famagusta-Varosha region and the return of refugees to the area under U.N. supervision. If Turkey does not return Famagusta to the Republic of Cyprus, Ankara's military aid could be reduced to \$500 million, with most of

### Letters to the Editor

### Greeks plan to face congressional battle

he American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee (AHIPAC) calls on American Hellenes to prepare for the upcoming battles on the House and Senate floors following the important victory in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee conditioning \$215 million in grant military aid to Turkey until Famagusta/Varosha is returned to the government of Cyprus under the auspices of the U.N. for the immediate resettlement of refugees.

AHIPAC warmly congratulates all 11 members of the committee who voted to condition the aid to Turkey, and especially Senator Joseph R. Biden of Delaware, who authored the amendment, and Senator Larry Pressler of South Dakota, who introduced it.

April and May will be crucial. The Administration will pull out all stops to torpedo this great beginning in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There will be tremendous pressure in both the House and the Senate. It is, therefore, essential that all communities maintain close contact with AHIPAC in Washington (toll-free call 800/424-9607) and with their local Ahepa chapters in order to insure that their congressmen and senators are kept currently informed.

Dr. Dean Lomis, AHIPAC chairman, is available to come to any community across the country to speak to groups regarding this issue and what to do in the course of the next several weeks. To secure his visit please call AHIPAC in Washington.

> American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee Washington, D.C.

this money in the form of loans rather than grants.

The House committee's version of the aid bill also aims at changing Turkey's support for the Turkish-Cypriot declaration of an independent state in northern Cyprus. Supporting the reduction in aid, Representatives Edward Feighan, Olympia Snowe, and Gus Yatron argued that Turkey should not be encouraged to continue its intransigent stand on the Cyprus situation and that developments on the island should determine the final level of aid to Turkey.

The House committee adopted Congressman Robert Toricelli's proviso, which was included in last year's legislation, outlining the requirements for Presidential certification of aid levels: aid to Greece and Turkey is for NATO purposes and will not upset the balance of power; both countries must support the intercommunal talks on Cyprus and agree to withdraw their troops; and Turkey must continue to develop democratic governance and respect for human rights.

Additionally, the committees voted to increase the allotment of aid for to Cyprus from the proposed \$3 million to \$15 million.

The two committees will hold joint meetings to discuss the differences in their amendments before the final voting on the foreign aid bill.

Lobbying to maintain the administration's proposed levels of aid, Ser tary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger sent warnings to the committees on what the administration saw as the consequences of their votes, and State Department officials testified at the hearings.

State department Special Advisor Richard Haas told the Senate committee that its amendment overlooked recent progress toward democratization in Turkey and took lightly Ankara's strategic importance to NATO. He warned that the amendments might stiffen the Turkish Cypriot resolve and undermine current talks between Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash and U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The Greek government welcomed the amendments, particularly that of the Senate committee. Greek government spokesman Dimitri Maroudas said the decision "is clearly a political message to Turkey," and its "significance should not be overlooked."

Briefing the Greek cabinet on the Senate committee vote, Foreign Undersecretary Yannis Kapsis said the efforts of the Greek-American community played a significant role in influencing the voting.



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#### THE HELLENIC JOURNAL . APRIL 12, 1984

### Turks Want t Their Own Way

ISMIR, Turkey — Turkey let Caspar Weinberger, US defense secretary, on a visit here this week, know that it will not accept US military aid under conditions which the Senate has imposed.

Weinberger was informed of that position by his counterpart, Zeki Yavuzturk. Also sitting in on the conference was a representative of the Foreign Ministry.

Weinberger and Yavuzturk were in this coastal Asia Minor city to attend a meeting of NATO defense ministers.

The conditions to which the Turks are objecting came in a vote early last week by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to approve \$215 million in military assistance in grants to Turkey provided the Turkish-controlled area of Cyprus is turned over to the Cyprus government. The area, which the Turks have occupied for nearly ten years following an invasion, lies in northern Cyprus and constitutes two-fifths of the island republic's territory. The area now comprises the self-proclaimed Northern Cyprus Turkish state, which only Turkey has recognized since its declaration last Nov. 15.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Yalim Eralp said that Yavuzturk had informed the US defense secretary that "Turkey will not accept any conditional aid." Yavuzturk added that under such circumstances, no movement could be expected on the Cyprus issue, Eralp said.

In response, Weinberger pointed out that Congress has not yet decided the question and added that the Reagan Administration is opposed to the Senate committee decision, Eralp said. Weinberger said the administration realizes Turkey cannot be forced to act on Cyprus "under pressure," Eralp said.

In a related development, Cypriot Foreign Minister George Iacovou said Monday that Egypt and Cyprus have agreed "in principle" to resume diplomatic relations following a six-year rupture.

He announced the agreement following a meeting in Cairo with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Weinberger on Sunday had met with Greek military officers concerning Greek demands of NATO, including a proposal that the US supply Greece with 10 Phantom jet fighters to counterbalance 13 such planes supplied to Turkey. The defense secretary also held discussions on the status of US military bases with senior Greek military officers.

Weinberger had arrived in Athens on Friday. While he and Greek leaders conferred, thousands protested his visit. His discussions with Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, Greek defense minister, were said to have covered a wide range of subjects.

Prior to the defense minister's meeting with Weinberger in Izmir, the Turkish foreign minister, Yahit Halefoglu, had spoken out against the US Senate committee action.

"It is very difficult," he said. "to understand how they made such a calculation that the Turkish side should bow to such a blackmail in order to obtain a \$200 million aid. The decision is a discouraging one."

In another attack concerning Greeks and Turks, the Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal announced that restrictions on visas for Greeks would be discounted as a sign of good will.

In Washington, proponents of the stipulations on Turkish grants in aid indicated their contention that leverage was necessary to control the arms race and to force Turkey to settle its dispute with Greece in Cyprus.

The Reagan Administration opposes the conditions, which carry a proviso that President Reagan certify that Turkey and Pakistan are in compliance before aid is forwarded.

The restriction on aid to Pakistan was passed last week by voice vote, with less resistance from the Administration than in the case of the Turkish restriction. The Leading Greek-American Newspaper

GREEK PRESS

FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1984

### Congress Strongly On Cyprus' Side

WASHINGTON — Strong adverse Turkish reaction greeted the 11-7 bipartisan decision of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to reduce U.S. military aid to Turkey for fiscal year 1985 and to make the payment of the free grant portion of \$215 million conditional on the return to the Cyprus government of the Turk is h - occupied area of Famagusta/Varosha, under U.N. auspices, for the resettlement there of the Greek-Cypriot refugees forced out by the Turkish invasion of 1974.

In Turkey, where he attended the recent meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was in sympathy with Turkey's critical response to the Senate Committee's vote. He made it clear that the decision was taken against the strong opposition of the Administration and that every effort would be made to have it changed during the remaining stages of the passage of the Foreign Assistance Act by both Houses of Congress. So far, however, the mark-up process has continued without any modification of the Senate Committee's vote.

Meanwhile, in its report to the House of Representatives on various foreign assistance programs for 1985, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs says that its reduction of military aid to Turkey is recommended for several reasons: it "signals congressional frustration with the lack of progress toward a resolution of the Cyprus problem, particularly after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Turkish Cypriot community in November 1983, and subsequent Turkish recognition of their so-called 'government':" further "the committee endorses the principle of balance between Greek and Turkish military assistance levels which has been recognized over several years by the Congress:" and finally, "the committee continues to be troubled by the large Turkish troop presence on Cyprus which it feels is far beyond levels needed to protect the Turkish community at this time."

The Committee also expresses its "deep appreciation for the assistance the Government of Cyprus has provided to the United States during the crisis in Lebanon," and concludes that "the United States is indebted to the Government of Cyprus for its humanitarian and logistic support over many months."



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THE HELLENIC JOURNAL . APRIL 26, 1984

# Papandreou lashes out at U.N. failures for Cyprus settlement

Frustrated by the impasse in Cyprus, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreau called on U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to take a stronger public stance in his efforts to secure a negotiated settlement to reunite the island.

"The time has come for your words to become deeds," Mr. Papandreou said, asking the Secretary General to "give an answer to the Greek and Cypriot peoples" about "who is torpedoing the worldwide effort for peace, unity and independence in Cyprus" and to "terminate the background diplomacy" which encourages "Turkey's instability and aggressiveness."

The Prime Minister made his remarks during a rally in Missolonghi.

Referring to the United Nations as "this institution of the utmost importance for peace and the future of humanity," Mr. Papandreou said its leader should explain publicly why the first U.N. initiative had failed and disclose "who is pressuring him not to speak."

The Greek leader also criticized the U.S. and West German governments for their positions on Cyprus, which do not put pressure on Turkey. "You cannot reward and condemn at the same time." he said.

Reviewing the recent course of the Cyprus issue, Mr. Papandreou denied allegations that he and Cypriot President Spyros Kiprianou had undermined Mr. de Cuellar's initiative.

"This is a lie," he said. "We, as a government, offered something which a poor country does not easily offer: to pay the U.N. bill for sending additional peacekeeping forces" to the island.

"Cyprus is an independent country, a U.N. member," he said, and Mr. Kyprianou "naturally" had recourse to the organization, which passed the "astonishingly correct" Resolution 541 condemning the Turkish-Cypriot declaration of independence.

With this resolution, and assurances from countries throughout the world that they would not recognize the Turkish-Cypriot government, Mr. Papandreou said, the Cypriot people expected some action to be taken.

Instead of forthright measures, the Greek leader said, Mr. de Cuellar embarked on his initiative to "convince the Cypriot government and (Rauf) Denktash" (the Turkish-Cypriot leader) to pursue a dialogue, a negotiated settlement.

The Secretary General's plan, according to Mr. Papandreou, called for a "gesture," the turning over of the Turkish-occupied Famagusta region to the U.N. to allow Greek-Cypriot refugees to return to their homes followed by a "freeze" of the Turkish-Cypriot state.

Calling Mr. Kyprianou's acceptance of this gesture "a great concession," Mr. Papandreou said it was Mr. Denktash who "indirectly but clearly" rejected it with his talk of "a referendum, a constitution, and all those details connected with state authority."

The Greek and Cypriot governments have cooperated, the Prime Minister noted, but the basic problem, the Turkish military occupation of the northern portion of the island has not begun to be resolved.

"Turkey has no reason to withdraw its troops," Mr. Papandreou said, "unless failure to do so would cost it dearly." He added, "Only the U.S. and West Germany could have imposed this cost" by witholding their money and support.

Mr. Papandreou concluded his remarks by praising the U.S. Senate for recognizing that "a country which has violated all the rules of international law" should not receive "scandalous military aid" while it defies world opinion.

### TURKS ESTABLISH TIES WITH NICOSIA

Ankara Trades Ambassadors With the Self-Proclaimed Turkish Cypriot Nation

# The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18, 1984

AMERIC

NICOSIA, Cyprus, April 17 (UPI) — Turkey exchanged envoys today with the self-proclaimed Turkish Cypriot Government on Cyprus. The action drew angry reactions from Greece and the Cyprus Government. The United Nations Secretary Gen-

The United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, expressed regret and called his special envoy on Cyprus, Hugo Gobbi, to London for urgent talks Wednesday.

The Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, who declared an independent government on the northern part of the island in November, dispatched Peker Turgut as Ambassador to Ankara.

The Government of President Kenan Evren of Turkey, the only one that has recognized the self-proclaimed nation, sent Inal Batu to present his credentials to the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, in Nicosia. Mr. Batu said he was "happy and proud to be Ankara's first Ambassador to northern Cyprus."

A spokesman for the Cyprus Government denounced the moves, saying "There is no recognized state in the north, only a breakaway seccessionist regime."

Cyprus became independent Aug. 16, 1960, under agreements that forbade its partition or union with Greece. It has been divided since the summer of 1964, when United Nations troops arrived to stop riots.

In Athens, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece warned that Greece would not accept the exchange of ambassadors. "The United States and our other NATO partners have to understand that Greece will not tolerate these arbitrary acts in Cyprus," he said in a statement quoted by Greek television. "We shall wait for their reaction."

A Government spokesman also said Foreign Minister Yannis Haralambopoulos summoned NATO ambassadors to a meeting Wednesday.

#### **U.N. Chief Concerned**

UNITED NATIONS, April 17 (UPI) — Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, in London for the semiannual meeting of the heads of United Nations specialized agencies, said through his spokesman here that he "deeply regrets the ceremonies which took place today in northern Cyprus and Ankara respectively."

"The Secretary General has instructed his special representative, Hugo Gobbi, to transmit immediately to those involved his great concern over these developments, which have placed in jeopardy his current efforts" to find a solution to the conflict, the spokesman said. THE HELLENIC CHBONICLE, Thursday, April 19, 1984

# Turkey, UDI exchange ambassadors

NICOSIA— In an action which brought expressions of regret from United Nations officials, Turkey exchanged ambassadors Tuesday with the self-proclaimed Turkish Cypriot Government on Cyprus.

Angry protests came also from the heads of the governments of Greece and Cyprus. In Athens, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou warned that Greece would not accept the exchange of envoys. "The United States and our other NATO allies have to understand that Greece will not tolerate these arbitrary acts in Cyprus," he insisted in a statement quoted by Greek television. "We shall wait for their reaction."

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A spokesman for the Cyprus government denounced the moves, saying, "There is no recognized state in the north, only a breakaway seccessionist regime."

# House hour on Cyprus

WASHINGTON — Congressman Edward Feighan, D-Ohio, one of those congressmen who is championing the cause of Cyprus in the lower chamber, is seeing to it that his colleagues have all the facts on the Cyprus matter before they are called upon to vote on the Fiscal '85 foreign assistance bill.

The congressman is filing a special order on April 25, thereby requesting the speaker for 60 minutes for a statement on only a single subject. In this case it will be Cyprus. He will be able to tap a number of colleagues to speak on the issue as well.

This means that the attention of the House will be on the Cyprus issue for a full hour without interruption. Feighan will manage the time of colleagues who wish to speak on the subject. The objective is to galvanize the attention of all congressmen on Cyprus before the bill goes to the floor for action.

The foreign aid bill will be going to the Senate for action in a couple of weeks. On March 28, in a surprise action, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted, 11-7, to restrict military aid to Turkey to \$500 million, unless the President can certify to Congress that the city of Famagusta and its suburb, Varosha, will be reopened for settlement to Greek Cypriots, most of whom fled the area after the invasion by Turks in 1974.

The action of the committee was first to reduce the \$755 million proposed Turkish aid by \$40 million and to make the free grant portion of \$215 million additional contingent on the Famagusta-Varosha resettlement.

Not surprisingly, Turkey has responded critically and strongly. Caspar Weinberger, secretary of Defense, sought to placate the Turkey by noting that the Senate vote was taken against strong administration opposition and that every effort would be made to change it before the Foreign Assistance Act is adopted.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee had recommended only a reduction of \$39 million from the proposed \$755 million.



229 Eighth Avenue New York, New York 10011-1679

May 4, 1984

# Papandreou charges "Unbearable Pressure" on UN Secretary in favor of Turkey

ATHENS, April 28 - Premier Andreas Papandreou charged yesterday that the Greek government had "sound information" that the countries which decisively influenced Turkey were also exerting "unbearable pressure" on U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez De Cuellar not to speak the full truth about what was happening in Cyprus.

Greece's EEC partners and NATO and they should bear in mind that allies that the Government's future Greece's policy will be decisively policy would be decisively affected affected by their stance on this crucial by their stance on the crucial Cyprus Hellenic issue". issue.

Addressing Journalists after a Marathon meeting with Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou and the leaders, rights" and to proclaim that it would of the major Cypriot political parties, Mr. Papandreou said that the fact that such a meeting had taken place "underlines the gravity of the circumstances "it also underlines the major turning point in the Cyprus problem, following the new coup by Rauf Denktash and Turkey-mainly Turkey, because Denktash is nothing but an extension of Ankara- in exchanging 'Ambassadors', the Premier said, adding that, "in this way they were stressing their decision to continue violating U.N. Security Council Resolution 541", and "create a pseudostate in Northern Cyprus through violence and arms".

At the same time, he said, "I would like to stress that we have sound information - not rumours -that the countries which decisively influence Turkey's stance are exerting unbearable pressure on the U.N. Secretary General not to speak the full truth about what is happening in Cyprus."

Mr. Papandreou added: "We would like to convey two messages: one to the U.N. General Secretariat: It is gambling on the authority and institution of the U.N. if it bows to the pressures of the well-known major powers".

At the same time he added, "We would like to remind our partners and allies that at this moment we are At the same time, he warned counting our friends and our foes

> The Premier stressed that Hellenism would go, united to the U.N. to defend its "imprescriptible never accept faits accomplis.

Mr. Kyprianou, on his part, said that despite the "goodwill and conciliatory attitude" demonstrated by his Government, Turkey's stance was "continuously toughening" in a determined effort to create a separatist state in the occupied part of Cyprus. "But we shall not accept such faits accomplis, nor co-sign any solution whatsoever which would be nationally unacceptable" he added.

The Cypriot leader, who leaves for New York today, said he was going to the U.N. Security Council to "denounce the continuous violations of all declarations of Freedom and Human rights, U.N. resolutions and particularly the Council's Resolution 541". He said his government would vehemently insist on the implementation of this resolution.

Mr. Kyprianou charged that Turkey and Denktash were not the only ones responsible for the present situation, but "also those who had allowed the creation of such a situation and the continuity of a crime against Cyprus".

He said that the theoretical support being expressed by everyone "is not enough".

"We've had enough of being told by everyone in the world that we are right, but this is not sufficient" he added and called on the world community and "particularly those powers on which Turkey depends" to "fulfill their obligations towards a small state which is the victim of a terrible crime committed in 1974 (the Turkish invasion) and this criminal policy which has been continuing for the past decade".

Mr. Kyprianou stressed, "we will speak at the U.N. with the voice of truth and set before everyone their responsibilities". He added that it was not an issue of Cyprus' survival alone, nor solely a threat against all of Hellenism, but an issue of endangering the human values for which the U.N. was established.

Mr. Kyprianou also briefed President Constantine Karamanlis yesterday on developments in and prospects for the Cyprus issue.

## **Reagan proposes Cyprus peace fund**

WASHINGTON [Reuters]—President Reagan on Tuesday proposed a \$250 million peace and reconstruction fund for Cyprus to encourage the Greek and Turkish communities on the eastern Mediterranean island to end their feud.

Reagan said in a statement he was trying "a new and more positive approach" to the dispute, and he called for the abandonment of what he described as punitive action by Congress against Turkey.

His remark referred to the arms embargo imposed by Congress against Turkey between 1975 and 1978 and to the recent vote by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to make security assistance to Turkey next year dependent on progress in resolving the Cyprus dispute. REAGAN, WHO has asked for \$930

REAGAN, WHO has asked for \$930 million in security assistance and economic support for Turkey in the 1985 fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, said: "We ask the Congress to work with us by supporting my request ... and by removing punitive conditions on that assistance.

"In return, I am prepared to work with the Congress in committing now to a special Cyprus peace and recon-

struction fund of up to \$250 million."

He said money from the fund, if approved by Congress, would be requested by the White House "at such time as a fair and equitable solution acceptable to both parties in Cyprus is reached, or substantial progress is made to that end.

Reagan said, "Peace (in Cyprus) cannot be bought, but peacemakers should know that the United States is prepared to go to great lengths to ensure that their labors are transformed into an enduring achievement."

Section 1 Chicago Tribune, Thursday, May 10, 1984

#### World report

10

### Cyprus chief rejects Reagan offer of aid

From Chicago Tribune wires

NEW YORK—President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus said Wednesday that President Reagan has shown a "magnitude of misconception" in offering \$250 million in aid if Cyprus' Greek and Turkish communities would settle their differences through negotiation. Kyprianou, at the United Nations, said: "Any assumption that the Cyprus problem could be steered toward a just solution by an amount of money or a fund, whatever its size, rather than by political pressure directed toward Turkey, is disheartening." In Washington, the House voted 376-27 to approve the Cyprus aid and also to cut Reagan's request for 1985 military aid to Turkey by \$85 million, to \$670 million.

## THE HELLENIC CHRONICLE

Thursday, May 10, 1984

# House votes cut in Turkish aid

WASHINGTON — Two meaningful amendments to the Foreign Aid Bill were passed Wednesday on the floor of the House of Representatives, giving pro-Greek forces a double victory.

An appendage offered by Cong. William S. Broomfield of Michigan, ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, calling for similar concessional rates of credit being offered to Greece as those to Turkey was passed unopposed by voice vote on the House floor Wednesday.

Another amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill, offered by Cong. Edward F. Feighan (D-OH) and passed by the full House provides for a cut in military aid to Turkey from the \$755 million proposed by the Reagan administration down to \$670 million, a reduction of \$85 million. The Feighan proposal was co-sponsored by Cong. Dante Fascell of Florida, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Cong. Lee Hamilton Jr. (D-Ind.), chairman of the subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

Another development Wednesday was the establishment of a Fund for Peace and Reconstruction for Cyprus, authorizing \$250 million to be distributed to Greece, Turkey and Cyprus when the President determines that Greek and Turkish Cypriots reach agreement on a Cyprus settlement with the endorsement of both Greece and Turkey. This measure passed by a 376-27 vote.

# **Ress** Release

Office of Press and Information Order of Ahepa 1422 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 628-4974

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PR #66

For Immediate Release May 10, 1984

#### AHEPA Hails House Action on Turkish Aid

AHEPA Supreme President Peter H. Cardiges has hailed the May 9 action of the House of Representatives cutting the Administration's foreign aid request to Turkey by \$85 million.

"We are pleased that the House action sends a clear message that we cannot have 'business as usual' with Turkey until there is progress on Cyprus," Cardiges said. The AHEPA's efforts, he continued, "had again placed the Cyprus situation--which is slowing deteriorating as a result of recent Turkish and Turkish Cypriot actions--in the forefront of American concerns in the area." Cardiges added that he was pleased that the AHEPA's efforts this year "were joined by many other groups and individuals."

The amendment passed yesterday was a \$50 million decrease in the foreign aid bill reported out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which had already cut the Administrations request of \$755 million in military aid. "There were many Congressmen who aided in this battle," Cardiges noted, "with Congressmen Gus Yatron playing a central role in its successful conclusion."

Concerning the Cyprus Peace and Reconstruction Fund, Cardiges said that: "The cause of the Cyprus problem is not money; it is the continued occupation of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey," and stressed that

(over)

#### American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association

the U.S. must make it clear "that aid to Turkey will be reduced or conditioned until Turkey begins to negotiate a Cyprus settlement in good faith." Since the fund was part of a bill that also made cuts in the Turkish foreign aid request, it may function "as part of a total package that both cuts aid to Turkey if progress is not achieved, and also provides for an incentive if it is.

Cardiges noted that the passage of \$250 million in concessional terms for Greece "was not the AHEPA's goal," but that it "may help to maintain the military balance in the area so essential to discouraging Turkish aggression in the Aegean."

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### **Hellenic Times**

May 11, 1984

# Papandreou: Either Peace Or New, Tougher Defense

SPECIAL (Athens News Agency)—Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou called on Turkey, for specific peaceful actions and not for what he termed false peaceful words offered with an armed hand and provocative actions, adding that if this is not achieved, Greece will be "compelled" to bolster the country's defenses.

Addressing an open air rally, he said that "we are a country with no claims on anyone, but we will not give away anything that the Greek people fortified with sacrifices and blood in the difficult course of their national fulfillment."

The continuation of the presence of the U.N. Peacekeepng Force in Cyprus is also of major importance because it links the Cyprus problem with the responsibilities of the United Nations, he said.

Referring to the subject of the reinforcement of Greece's defense and to the claim that the exprenses incurred for this purpose were too high, he said the "threat against Greece in the Aegean and the Cyprus problem is a huge issue, it is for this reason, because the threat exists, because the allies do not seem inclined to curb Turkey's claims at Greece's expense, and I am saying this with a feeling of bitterness, but it is quite true, that the Turks say that the Pentagon is supporting their claims.

"In light of the above, it therefore becomes clear that the people of Greece are compelled to make the Greek armed forces modern and capable of defending the country's territorial integrity, and by extension, of ensuring peace.

"Greece could live peacefully with Turkey and only peace serves the interest of the two peoples."

Papandreou added that "certain of our friends should realize that we will not accept arbitrators who have previously tipped the scale because they have taken the Greeks unconditionally for granted" and added that a peaceful dialogue begin when peaceful actions and gestures are made from the Turkish side."

In reply to a question on the Cyprus problem concerning the recourse to the United Nations Security Council, Papandreou said that "President Kyprianou's speech was of historic importance. It has in fact created a new climate. This is a last chance for the United Nations and the Security Council to safeguard their prestige." In his address to the Security Council, President Kyprianou had warned that unless the Security Council acts quickly and effectively, that he "As President of the Republic of Cyprus, fully aware of my responsibility, see coming, the end of Cyprus as in independent State.

"If this situation is allowed to continue, the very raison d'etre of the United Nations will not only be undermined but will ultimately be destroyed. We have come here because we need the Council's assistance. If we maintain the attitude that still prevails in the world today, I am afraid that solutions will be imposed by force and not arrived at through common sense, logic and principle.

"I admit that we are weak, that we cannot fightat least not without assistance-to restore our rights. On the other hand, we long for a peaceful solution; we do not want further violence and fighting. Whey are we weak? Because we are militarily weak. But are we to be punished for that and to disappear as an independent country? What will be the future of many other countries in the world if the Council supports efforts to dispose of Cyprus? What will happen then?"

#### Anited States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 23, 1984

Dear Friend:

Knowing of your interest in the protection of civil rights, I thought you would like to know that I have joined my colleagues in the Senate in introducing legislation to reaffirm the Federal Government's commitment to the enforcement of civil rights statutes.

The Supreme Court's narrow interpretation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, in <u>Grove City</u> v. <u>Bell</u>, reduced significantly the effectiveness of that statute. The Court ruled that Title IX, which bans discrimination on the basis of sex, applies only to specific programs receiving Federal aid, and not to the entire educational institution.

The <u>Grove City</u> decision also has ominous implications for Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. Together with Title IX, these provisions form the cornerstone of civil rights protections in this Nation. All three statutes -- prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, disability, and age -- contain language describing the scope of their coverage similar to Title IX.

On April 12, I joined with Senator Kennedy and 54 of my Senate colleagues in introducing the Civil Rights Act of 1984, S. 2568. This legislation would clarify and restore the original broad intent of Congress in all four civil rights statutes. You can be certain that I will work for expeditious consideration of this bill in the Senate. The Federal Government has a fundamental responsibility to ensure equal opportunity to all Americans by strictly enforcing laws and statutes that protect civil rights.

I am enclosing a copy of my floor statement upon introduction of the Civil Rights Act of 1984, which I hope you will find of interest.

Sincerely,

Daniel Patrick Moynihan



# Congressional Record

United States of America PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98<sup>th</sup> congress, second session

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WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1984

Senate

No. 48-Part II

#### By Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in introducing the Omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1984.

Twenty years ago. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, protecting the basic rights of minorities in America. Now, two decades later, we find we must clarify once again the enforcement requirements of the 1964 statute, as well as for statutes growing from it to protect women, the disabled, and the elderly from discrimination. In the process, we will reaffirm our commitment to break down further pernicious discrimination in our society, to renew our commitment to the ideals of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This is legislation with the same purposes President Johnson spoke of 20 years ago, when signing the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

Its purpose is not to punish. Its purpose is not to divide, but to end division—divisions which have all lasted too long. Its purpose is national, not regional.

Its purpose is to promote a more abiding commitment to freedom, a more constant pursuit of justice, and a deeper respect for human dignity.

A year earlier, at the commencement address at Howard University, President Johnson described the alliance which helped produce the 1964 legislation:

••• it is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts and the Congress, the President and most of the people, have been the allies of progress.

Mr. President, it is with much regret that I note today that our allies have diminished in number, or at least agreement on the meaning of equal protection has disappeared.

The Supreme Court's recent interpretation of title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, in the case of Grove City College against Bell, is the case in point. The Court adopted the position of the President and his Attorney General, that prohibitions against discrimination under title IX extend only to a specific program discriminating on the basis of sex, and not to the entire educational institution. Does this not demonstrate how truly fragile our legal responses to social ills, though crafted with the best of intentions, can be? The Court's ruling has immediate implications for women throughout our educational institutions—those in athletic programs, those striving for tenure, those seeking protection from sexual harrassment.

The Court's ruling has more subtle, but no less important, implications for minority Americans protected by title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for disabled Americans protected by section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and for senior citizens protected by the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. The provisions of title IX were modeled after title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and form the basis for the similar protections of section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and the Age Discrimination Act. Under these statutes, the Federal Government, may cut Federal funds, or apply injunctive relief, when any institution or recipient discriminates on the basis of race, national origin, disability, or age.

The handwriting is on the wall: These statutes, the cornerstones of civil rights protections in this country. are in danger of being weakened in a similar manner as title IX. Under such an interpretation, if one program administered by a grant recipient practiced discrimination, Federal funds for that program alone could be withheld, but not for other programs administered by the recipient. According to the Washington Post of March 1, 1984, the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, William Bradford Reynolds, in response to questions after the Grove City ruling, as much as embraced this interpretation of antidiscriminating statutes protecting minority and handicapped Americans.

Mr. President, I was not a member of the U.S. Senate when the Education Amendments of 1972, the Rehabilitation Amendments of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975 were enacted. I was, however, a member of the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and I submit to you that it was the intent of the framers of this legislation to compel the most complete compliance.

I would again direct my colleagues' attention to President Johnson's message to the Howard University class of 1965:

**Preedom** is the right to share, share fully and equally in American society, to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to others. But freedom is not enough . . . it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates and this is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights.

We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability. Not just equality as a right and as a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result.

Was it naive in 1964 to believe we had established equality as a right as well as a theory? We did believe we had committed ourselves to equality as a fact. It is painfully clear, today, some 20 years later, that much more remains to be done.

Congress can set the record straight. The Civil Rights Act of 1984 would reaffirm this Nation's commitment to vigorous protection of the civil rights of American women, minorities, elderly, and disabled citizens. It would make clear, in each statute, that no institution or entity receiving Federal funds may practice discrimination.

Government cannot hope to redefine discrimination out of existence. But neither should the Government's role in combating discrimination be so redefined and diminished. I call upon my colleagues to join once again as allies in progress, and approve the Omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1984. We can restore our Government's commitment, and in this way protect the ideals of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: "This Civil Rights Act is a challenge to all of us to go to work in our communities and our States, in our homes, and in our hearts, to eliminate the last vestiges of injustice in our beloved country." It is not too late in 1984.

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 A black and white photo of yourself. (It will be returned if you so indicate).

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We need these materials as soon as possible, but not later than June 30th, please.

Please call on me at any time if I can be of any help as you consider your date with us.

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#### THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 29, 1984

to Area Directors

from Irving Levine

subject Final Stages of the Democratic Primary Process: Current Implications for Black-Jewish Relations.

As the Democratic Presidential Campaign moves into its final stages, new developments may occur that will give further impetus to the candidacy of Rev. Jesse Jackson. It is therefore necessary to plan now for contingencies and to adopt strategies for handling Black-Jewish relations in the next few months.

If Walter Mondale either loses the California or New Jersey primaries on June 5, or wins by an unimpressive margin, new questions will be raised about his viability as a strong challenger for the Presidency in the general elections. Questions about his front-runner status will enhance the position of his chief rivals, Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson. This will give Jackson an opportunity to further press his positions on the Middle East, quotas, and other issues of concern to the Jewish community.

Even if Mondale were to secure the nomination by a comfortable margin by the time the Convention opens on July 15, Jackson may still arrive with upwards of 300 delegates and an opportunity to articulate his demands before the Platform Committee and on the convention floor.

Jackson's increased prominence over the next few weeks may result in actions that further strain Black-Jewish relations. The attention focused on him has the potential for producing statements or incidents on issues of great concern to the Jewish community. In the current atmosphere, we think it important that AJC continue to play a leadership role in shaping Jewish responses to Jackson and other Black leaders. In particular, we urge a twopronged strategy on both the national and local level.

First, it remains necessary to identify and document the real nature of the Jackson candidacy. As Jackson continues to win huge majorities of the Black vote in primaries across the country, there has been a tendency in some circles to overlook his problematic stands or supporters. It is important to continue to monitor his statements and the actions of his close associates. The enclosed backgrounder by Milton Ellerin on Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam and a key figure in the Jackson campaign, is an excellent example of the type of material we should produce and use to demonstrate our concerns with Jackson and his followers.

Second, we must intensify our efforts not to let the Jackson candidacy poison Black-Jewish relations. One of the most significant reactions across the country to recent intergroup tensions has been a proliferation of meetings between Blacks and Jews who still believe they have much in common, share core values and need each other politically. Enclosed are four examples of initiatives to reestablish ties between the two communities in the face of recent strains. They include:

- \* A joint statement in the <u>Washington Post</u> by Rabbi Andrew Baker, Director of AJC's Washington Chapter and Congressman Walter Fauntroy, the Black District of Columbia Delegate to Congress.
- \* A statement issued by Black and Jewish New York Congressmen affirming the importance of Blacks and Jews to each other and denouncing extremism in both communities.
- \* A draft statement adopted by a group of prominent New York Blacks and Jews on relations between the two communities. (This in not yet public and is included for informational purposes only.)
- \* The recent statement on Jews and Blacks adopted by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

While they differ in emphasis, these and other similar statements stress four basic themes. These include:

\* Jews and Blacks share common human values and a long historic relationship that are still important and worth preserving and emphasizing.

\* Jewish and Black candidates need support from both communities in order to gain election. Mayors such as Wilson Goode and Tom Bradley and Senators such as Carl Levin and Howard Metzenbaum depend for election on the ability to put together a Black-Jewish voting coalition. Each group remains crucial to the other's empowerment.

- \* On a broad range of issues including civil rights, urban vitality, education, economic revival and sexual equality, the two communities share common goals. Blacks and Jews have joined in support of Congressional initiatives on issues such as Israel, Soviet Jewry and domestic social policy.
- \* Both communities have a major stake in opposing recent renewed manifestations of racism and anti-Semitism.

As the Democratic Convention approaches and the potential arises for greater intergroup tension, it is important for AJC to be making as many contacts as possible with receptive Black leaders and developing joint understanding along the lines of the enclosed statements. We cannot simply react to Jackson; we have to take the initative in creating our own outreach strategy. Please keep us informed of your actions. The National Affairs Department will remain available for consultation on any issue you may want to discuss.

IL/sm enclosure

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#### THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mational Affairs

IRVING M. LEVINE Director, National Affairs Department

MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN, LEADER OF THE NATION OF ISLAM

By Milton Ellerin, Director of Trends Analyses

Louis Farrakhan, controversial head of the schismatic Nation of Islam, recently emerged from relative obscurity to national notoriety during Jesse Jackson's primary campaign. Jackson's pursuit of the Democratic party's nomination for the Presidency of the United States motivated Farrakhan and his followers to engage in the political process for the first time in the Nation of Islam's existence. Although his precise status in the Jackson organization is a matter of speculation, press reports suggest that Farrakhan is a close confidant and advisor, and his friendship with Jackson is believed to have existed for more than a decade.

In the early days of Jackson's candidacy, Farrakhan was part of his official entourage on numerous occasions. When Reverend Jackson undertook his highly publicized visit to Syria to secure the release of captured Navy Lieutenant Robert Goodman, Farrakhan was one of several clergymen invited to accompany him. Press reports indicated that Farrakhan led several prayers in Arabic and helped break down some barriers in the negotiations.

Since his return from Syria, Farrakhan has campaigned hard for Jackson in the Black community, and at least one Black columnist reported that Black clergymen who do not support Jackson have been threatened with retribution. Additionally, Farrakhan has on several occasions shared the platform with Jackson.

Farrakhan is married, the father of nine children and several grandchildren. Until he converted to the Muslim faith, he was, according to his own words, "a fallen-away Episcopalian." Born some 51 years ago in the Bronx to a West Indian mother, Farrakhan has also used the names of Abdul Haleem Farrakhan and Louis X. Wolcott. In the 1970s, during the course of a radio interview in Bermuda, Farrakhan stated that he had family on this island. At an early age, Farrakhan moved with his family to Boston, where he became an outstanding athlete at Boston's English High School. He attended Winston-Salem Teacher's College in North Carolina for two years and was awarded a track scholarship.

According to Farrakhan, he received his "best education at being Black" during his college years. "I lived among our people and I made mental notes of the beauty of the Southern Black brothers and sisters." A gifted singer, he left college in his junior year to pursue a career in show business as a calypso singer. Some time in the 1950s, while on tour in Chicago, he was in the audience when Elijah Muhammad, the founder of the Black Muslim movement, was speaking. Farrakhan said subsequently that he became convinced immediately that Muhammad was the leader "I was looking for all my life to help the Black man. I became instantly converted by the logic of his arguments."

Farrakhan's rise to prominence in the Black community was rapid. He is a spellbinding orator with a melodious voice and a flair for the theatrical. Moreover, knowledgeable sources say he has a "nimble disciplined mind," and they are not surprised that he has progressed from convert to national leader in a short period of time. In the early days of his career in the Black Muslim movement, when he was known as Louis X. Wolcott, he gained quick recognition as a writer, director and principal actor in two message-laden plays performed in mosques across the country. The plays were minor successes compared to a song he wrote and recorded -- "A White Man's Heaven is a Black Man's Hell" -- which became a smash hit among Black nationalists. It has since been updated to suit contemporary musical forms and is still a popular tune in Black nationalist circles.

When Malcolm X, perhaps the most charismatic and talented of all Black Muslim ministers, was assigned a mosque in Boston in the late 1950s, Farrakhan became his assistant. There was instant rapport between the two men and they became fast friends. Black Muslim spokesmen have stated that Malcolm X trusted him completely. When Malcolm was rewarded by Elijah Muhammad with leadership of the Black Muslim's largest and most prestigious mosque, Harlem Ministry No. 7, Farrakhan was assigned the ministry of the vacated Boston temple.

In time, bitter internal differences with Elijah Muhammad led to Malcolm X's departure from the Black Muslim movement (loyalists insist he was excommunicated), but Farrakhan remained a loyal and dedicated disciple of Elijah Muhammad. It was his leadership and following that helped restore calm to the Black Muslim movement after the pervasive tension created by Malcolm's departure. Following the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X in New York by loyal followers of Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan was assigned the prestigious Harlem Mosque No. 7, where he soon became one of the best-known and influential members of New York's Black community. Polished in his oratorical skills, he became a much sought-after and crowd-pleasing speaker who invariably was on the platform at major Black community functions. Black Muslim rallies at which Farrakhan was the principal speaker reportedly drew "tens of thousands." His Sunday sermons from Harlem Mosque No. 7 were carried live over New York City's largest Black-oriented radio station.

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By 1975, Farrakhan had achieved considerable popularity and a large following within the Black Muslim movement. In an article redundant with hyperbole, which appeared in the May, 1975 <u>Sepia Magazine</u>, Black Muslim writer Sterling X. Hobbs wrote: "He is a better orator than the late Doctor Martin Luther King. He sings better than Marvin Gaye. He is a better writer than Norman Mailer. He dresses better than Walt Frazier. He is more of a diplomat than Henry Kissinger, and he is prettier than Muhammad Ali."

After the death of Elijah Muhammad, who was succeeded by his son Warid D. (Wallace) Muhammad, Farrakhan's charisma and ability increased his already sizable following in the Black Muslim community. Summoned in 1975 to the national headquarters in Chicago, ostensibly to serve as an assistant to the new leader, informed sources speculated that the real reason was to enable Wallace to keep a watchful eye on Farrakhan and to brake his growing popularity.

Under Wallace Muhammad's leadership, radical doctrinal and procedural changes took place. The prevailing nationalistseparatist stance was abandoned; pledges of allegiance at Black Muslim meetings became required procedure, and the faithful were urged to actively support the American system. Caucasians, previously vilified and barred from membership, were invited to join, and Elijah Muhammad's claim to be a "Divine Messenger who had met God" was abandoned.

In 1978, Farrakhan left the Black Muslim movement, then known as the American Muslim Mission, in strong opposition to the drastic changes instituted by Wallace Muhammad. He then formed his own independent movement -- Nation of Islam -- announcing that he would reinstitute the separatist policies abandoned by the current Black Muslim leadership. His movement opposed integration and advocated a return to the separatist, self-help policy advocated by Elijah Muhammad. Farrakhan reinstituted rigid dress codes and revived the paramilitary disciplining unit, the "Fruit of Islam." In his sermons, he stridently called for the liberation of Black people throughout the world and renewed Elijah Muhammad's call for violent retribution against whites: "The white man is our mortal enemy."

Wallace Muhammad, quoted in the <u>Washington Post</u> of March 24, 1978, asserted that Farrakhan's defection came about because of "the Black-white issue"; that Farrakhan believed that a "Black Nationalist movement is needed and desirable" and that his feelings about Black separateness were based mostly on political rather than on religious grounds.

In April, 1978, shortly after his break with the established Black Muslim community, Farrakhan told an audience of some 400 young people at New York City's Baruch College that integrationist policies were depriving Blacks of the social and economic gains of the 50s. As a remedy, he urged a return to the separatist self-help philosophy of the past. From the beginning, Farrakhan was against the Black establishment, and in November 1980, he harshly accused America's major civil rights organizations -- The NAACP, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE -- of selling the birthright of Black people so that their leaders might be considered part of the "so-called white man's society."

Farrakhan's recent anti-Semitic tirades and his frequent threats of violence, which became the subject of widespread media comments as a result of his prominent role in the Jackson campaign, are neither isolated nor recent phenomena. Indeed, before his recently acquired national notoriety, Farrakhan showed no reluctance or hesitancy about castigating whites, advocating violence or attacking Jews for their purported control over the media and the political process.

During an April 22, 1972 telecast over Station WABC-TV, Farrakhan charged that during a recent American Jewish Committee meeting in Miami, "a Jew by the name of Milton Ellerin said that the Black Muslims...are a source of anti-Semitism that is infecting the Black community. So I knew from reading that report that this Jew was in control of the media. This man was telling the Jewish community and the white American community that we got to do something about these Black Muslims." He repeated the same charge the following day on an NBC telecast, altering his text only to the extent that he charged that these "concerned Jews [the American Jewish Committee]," rather than Milton Ellerin, were in control of the media."

Responding to an expose of the Black Muslim movement by <u>New York Times</u> reporter Paul Delaney, the Muslims contrived a rebuttal which took the form of a lengthy interview of Farrakhan by Joe Walker, New York editor of the official Black Muslim publication, <u>Muhammad Speaks</u>. The rebuttal appeared in six different issues during 1974. In it, Farrakhan complained about "the Jewish-controlled mass media" and insisted that Black politicians "should not bow to Jewish pressure to attack the Honorable Elijah Muhammad...nor by the way, should they lean to an unjust position with respect to the Arabs in the Middle East." Farrakhan castigated as "hypocrites" those Black politicians "who derived support from the Black Muslims and then denied the justice of the Arab cause." In urging that Black politicians who support Israel be defeated at the polls, he warned that if those politicians were to become "a pawn of Zionism and Jews in America against the just cause of the Arabs today," they would also become pawns in the hands of those he insisted were preparing "Black politicians, Black clergymen, and Black intellectuals for an all-out attack on the Nation of Islam.

In a signed article in the January 19, 1980 <u>Tri-State</u> <u>Defender</u>, Farrakhan lashed out at "Jewish liberals" for financing and directing Black organizations. "We must remember the old saying,'he who pays the piper calls the tune'....No wonder what we have now is a fading illusion." He defended Jesse Jackson's and Joseph Lowery's "right to speak to the PLO," and insisted that it was "hurtful to hear so-called Black leaders say that they refused to offend Jewish people because their money comes from Jews. We ask you: Would you rather offend Truth, Justice and the God of Truth?"

Speaking at a forum sponsored by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington on March 17, 1984, Farrakhan suggested that violence was "a legitimate response to the injustice inflicted upon Palestinians and American Blacks." He stated that many Blacks and Arab leaders "could not come to this kind of meeting today, not because they don't sympathize with the legitimate concerns of Arab people, but they are afraid of the kind of Jewish pressure" that is brought to bear on "any Black man or woman or other kind of man or woman who will stand up for justice and will not bow to the forces of Zionism and imperialism." Before this audience of Arabs and Arab sympathizers, Farrakhan defended Jesse Jackson's pejorative reference to Jews as "Hymies" and New York City as "Hymietown." In a bit of specious reasoning, he asserted that these references were not demeaning, since "Hyman comes from a Hebrew word, chaim.... It means life," and "New York City is a city where the vital instruments of life are controlled by the Jewish people."

Village Voice columnist, Julius Berman, writing in the magazine Nation on April 7, asserted that when Farrakhan was head of Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, "it was one of the few places in the city where one could purchase copies of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion." In addition, Berman characterized Farrakhan's Nation of Islam as a movement that has "an aura of military violence, which Farrakhan cultivates by threatening armed rebellions."

Farrakhan has threatened or advocated violence continously since heading the Nation of Islam. Recently, during the course of a March 11 radio broadcast, he threatened a Black reporter, Milton Coleman, who was responsible for the Washington Post "scoop" that Jesse Jackson, in unguarded moments, referred to Jews as "Hymies" and New York City as "Hymietown." Farrakhan called reporter Coleman "a traitor," "Judas," and "an Uncle Tom." He subsequently denied any intent to inflict bodily harm on the Post reporter, but a Chicago Tribune recording of the radio broadcast reveals that Farrakhan threatened: "One day soon we will punish you with death. You say when is that? In sufficient time, we will come to power right inside this country--one day soon." Subsequently, in an effort to mitigate the hostile, nationwide reaction against himself for having uttered these remarks, he placed a telephone call to reporter Coleman. The Washington Post reported on April 6 that Farrakhan assured Coleman that he had never threatened his life. Said Farrakhan, "There have never been threats to your life, brother, or your family. That will go on the record."

It should be noted that prior to the reported threats against Coleman, Farrakhan threatened American Jews. Although accounts differ as to precisely what Farrakhan said, the following appears to be beyond dispute. On Saturday, February 26, Jesse Jackson delivered the keynote address at the Nation of Islam's Savior's Day Convention in Chicago. There is a consensus that, in his introduction of Jackson, Farrakhan made it a point to note that Jackson was the first Presidential candidate ever to reach out to Arab Americans, that this gesture had created trouble for him with the Jews and that Jews should attempt to resolve their differences According to the New York Times of February 27, Farrakhan with him. said that Jackson had received more than 100 death threats, implying that they had all come from Jews. Furthermore, according to the Times, Farrakhan charged that Jewish groups, out to disrupt the Jackson campaign, had caused tensions that approximated the climate of hatred that led to the assassinations of the Kennedys, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. Then, after introducing Jackson as "our champion," he threatened Jews by declaring: "If you harm this brother, what do you think we shall do? If you harm Jesse Jackson, in the name of Allah, that will be the last one you will harm. Leave him alone."

New York Daily News columnist, Earl Caldwell, a Black, reported that Farrakhan, sometime during the stream of threats toward Jews, said: "I say to the Jewish people, you might not like our brother, but it's not just Jesse Jackson you're attacking....You are not attacking an individual....When you attack him, you attack the millions who are lining up with him. You are attacking all of us. That's not an intelligent thing to do. That's not wise."

The day following Farrakhan's threats against reporter Coleman, Farrakhan was reported as having threatened "Anglos." Speaking on March 12, 1984 in Miami, Florida, he said: "Let me tell Anglo-America something. If Jesse Jackson is killed, he will be the last Black man Anglo folks will kill. I love my brother and I don't want nobody messing with him. If they do, they will have lots of trouble."

Another storm of controversy broke when the April 11 <u>Chicago Tribune</u> published a hitherto unreported remark taken from the March 11 broadcast, during which threats were made against reporter Coleman. According to the <u>Tribune</u> report, Farrakhan also said: "Here the Jews don't like Farrakhan, so they call him Hitler. Well, that's a good man. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn't great for me as a Black person, but he was a great German..."

The universal criticism of Farrakhan's threats against reporter Coleman and his praise of Hitler had a negative impact on the Nation of Islam and the Jesse Jackson candidacy, and forced Farrakhan to call his first news conference in 12 years. Held in Washington on April 11, the news conference attracted some 200 people, many of whom were supportive of Farrakhan. Farrakhan used the occasion to charge the media with "wicked and malicious tampering with my words" and insisted that his March 11 remarks were not intended as a threat to anyone. As to his comments on Hitler, Farrakhan reasserted that Hitler "was indeed a great man," adding, however, that he was also "wickedly great."

During his address at the forum sponsored by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee on March 17, after asserting that the Palestinians and Black people in America were "oppressed" and alleging that neither the United States nor any "court of appeals hears the cry of the oppressed for justice," he said it was necessary that these peoples take matters into their own hands. "At some point in time you force the oppressed to speak the only language that the beast can understand, and that is the language of violence...we are living in the time of the fulfillment of the scriptures of the prophets of the Bible and the holy Quran, and the earth is to be bathed in blood, because the governments of the nations of the earth are like beasts and they refuse to listen to the legitimate and just demands of the people...."

As previously indicated, Farrakhan's penchant for violence goes back a long time. Writing in the Black Muslim publication

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Muhammad Speaks, shortly after Malcolm X had left the Black Muslim movement, Farrakhan warned, "The die is set and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk [about Elijah Muhammad]...such a man is worthy of death." (Although there is no suggestion that Farrakhan himself was personally involved, Malcolm X was assassinated in a Harlem ballroom by Black Muslim members from Newark, New Jersey on February 21, 1965.) In the midst of a 1974 murder trial in Washington, in which five Black Muslims stood accused, a sixth, who was scheduled to testify for the prosecution, was warned against doing so by Farrakhan. In a taped radio message broadcast in Washington and in cities all over the country, Farrakhan threatened: "Let this be a warning to the opponents of Muhammad. Let this be a warning to those of you who would be used as an instrument of a wicked government .... When the government is tired of using you... they are going to dump you.... And though Elijah Muhammad is merciful and will forgive you, yet in the ranks of Black people today, there are younger people and women rising up who have no forgiveness in them for traitors and stool pigeons."

Insofar as Farrakhan's statements are a matter of public record, he has been consistently anti-white. In the fall of 1968, speaking at the Consultation of the Black Church, attended by some 200 Black seminarians, he accused white America of robbing the Black man of "the spiritual garden of the self-knowledge he once had before he was brought to these shores." And, "America has robbed the Black man of his country, his history, his God...."

A <u>New York Times</u> reporter noted in a March 3, 1978 article that Farrakhan had severed his ties with his religion because he would not embrace its new philosophy. The <u>Times</u> article noted that Farrakhan opposed the concept of working with whites to solve the problem of Blacks. In a speech in mid-February 1980, in conjunction with the celebration of Black Culture Week, Farrakhan charged that American whites were "worshippers of filth, worshippers of sex and worshippers of pleasure." In a May 1980 speech at a New York City College, Farrakhan warned his audience to "be aware of the Caucasian enemy outside of, and the non-Caucasian enemy within Black organizations."

Whether by accident or by design, Farrakhan has been catapulted from relative obscurity, as the leader of an austere, purist segment of the Black Muslim movement that endorses separatism and violence to achieve objectives, to national notoriety. He has emerged from a self-imposed isolation from the political process to play an important role in the Reverend Jesse Jackson's quest for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency of the United States. He has encouraged Blacks to register and vote, and he has cajoled Christian Black ministers to publicly endorse and work for Jackson, a friend of longstanding.

84-600-11

He has appeared at many political rallies on Jackson's behalf, and frequently has "warmed up" the audience on these occasions. It would appear that he is deeply committed to the Jackson cause.

It is, of course, impossible to predict Farrakhan's future role on either the national stage or in the total Black community. Having tasted national publicity, will he be willing to return to the limited platform of his Nation of Islam? Having demonstrated his appeal before Black audiences, will he use his newly acquired prominence to lead a newer, larger, militant Black Muslim movement? Should Jackson attempt to lead a new Black or a new populist movement after the 1984 Presidential elections, will Farrakhan once again ally himself with and lend his considerable talents to his long-time friend?

Of more immediate concern, however, is how much weight should be given to Farrakhan's threats against Jews, other whites, and indeed Blacks with whom he disagrees? According to the April 23, 1984 U. S. News and World Report, one answer comes from Harvard psychiatrist, Dr. Alvin Poussaint, who says that the rhetoric shouldn't be taken literally--that Farrakhan indulges in the inner city practice of "talking bad." But, reports the magazine, "another answer comes from [Wallace] Muhammad, who says that Farrakhan is not a threat himself, but it is dangerous to talk when people listening are zealots."

Experience with demagogues and inflammatory, hate-generating movements suggests that Wallace Muhammad's observation should not be taken lightly.

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#### Blacks and Jews Aren't Always Feuding

The thestington tost

We are not in agreement over support for Jesse Jackson's candidacy for president, but we do agree that the substance and prominence of Rick Atkinson's article ["Peace With American Jews Eludes Jackson," front page, Feb. 13] distort the current state of black-Jewish relations and leave the render with the misleading and even dangerous impression that the "follen" state of that relationship would have challenged the bid of any black presidential candidate.

To suggest there are no differences between blacks and Jews would be naive. In fact, we are part of a group of blacks and Jews in Washington who have been meeting regularly for the past two years in order to discuss those differences. But while divisions are surely present—over the methods used to pursue affirmative action and the menns to achieve a solution to the Middle East conflict, to name but two—they are certainly not characterized by the poisonous descriptions that often appear in the press and the media.

More important, along with the differences there is also agreement on a host of issues that concern us. Blacks and Jews have consistently supported many of the same programs, policies and political candidates. They have done so in large numbers and are likely to continue to do so.

In recent mayoral elections in Chicago and l'hiladelphia, Jews voted for the black candidate in proportions three times greater than the remaining white voters. In

the House of Representatives, the Congressional Black Caucus has demonstrated etrong support for the State of Israel's security and survival and has championed with others the cause of Soviet Jewry. The voting records of black and Jewish congressmen evidence a greater unity on social and reconomic issues than can be found between any other two discernible ethnic groups. These are simple facts, not personal opinions or anecdotal evidence.

The candidacy of Jesse Jackson will be judged on its merits. It has stirred the interest and aroused the emotions of millions of Americans, and it has produced intense discussion and impassioned debate among all segments of America. While Jackson's visit to Syria and statements on the Middle East have certainly generated much of that debate, it is unfortunate that The Post has seen fit to focus its coverage as though this were simply a matter between blacks and Jews or for blacks and Jews alone. This negative and distorted picture can only serve to inflame prejudices rather than build greater understanding and mutual respect

#### -Rabbi Andrew Baker

and Walter E. Fauntroy Rubbi Baker is the Washington area director of The American Jewish Committee. Walter Fountroy is the Distict of Columbia's delegate to the House of Representatives. A 1 7

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WARP JEP. REL 4.17 W By NILES LATHEM Post Bureau Chiel

AMPAIGN

WASHINGTON - Black and Jewish congressmen here are trying to defuse tensions that crupted in the wake of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's controversial "Hymletown" remark.

On the eve of Passover, 11 New York congressmen issued a joint statement denouncing political "ex-

> tremists" for adding fuel to a fire that began with Jackson's remarks.

The congressmen also moved to cool tempers after threatening statements by Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, a leading Jackson supporter.

Brooklyn Reps. Charles Schumer and Major Owens, who are spearheading the campaign, told The Post Koch has opened up they were deeply concerned that the remarks could lead to increased ethnic confron-' tations in New York an the campaign rhetoric<sup>2</sup> heats up.

"I spoke at Brooklyn College two weeks ago and the tension between black and Jewish students was so thick youd could cut it with a knife," Schumer said. 4

Owens, a Jackson sup-' porter, agreed that the "Hymietown" remark and Farrakhan's subsequent threats against the black reporter who first disclosed them needed to be "counteracted very aggressively."

"These things have been blown out of proportion," Owens said, "but certainly Mayor some old wounds in the black community. "Jesse Jackson didn't help," he added, "and what Farrakhan said -whether taken out of context or not - is outrageous."

, JEWS UNITE TO

E

Owens said he and Schumer believe it important that younger people be reminded that blacks and Jews fought side by side in the civil rights struggles of the 19608.

"We feel it is essential to emphasize that the commonality of our interests outweighs our differences and that the majority of our peoples wish harmony and 6 It's essential to emphasize that the majority of our peoples wish harmony and amity between us - Reps. Major Owens (left) and Charles

QUOTE:

amity - not divisiveness between us," the joint statement said.

Schun.er (right)

In a clear reference to Farrakhan Jackson. and members of the militant Jewish Defense League who have disrupted Jackson campaign rallies, the statement added:

"Certainly we have out differences, which radical individuals seek to exploit."



NSIONS

Also signing the statement were Reps. Gary Ackerman and James Scheuer of Queens; William Green, Charles Rangel and Ted Weiss of Manhattan; Edolphus **Towns and Steven Solarz** of Brooklyn; Benjamin Gilman of Rockland and Richard Ottinger of Westchester.

. How to Handle Jesse Jackson: Joseph Kraft, Page 29

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#### STATEMENT ON BLACK/JEWISH RELATIONS

Adopted as amended by Ad Hoc Coalition on Black/Jewish Relations May 1, 1984

We are a diverse group of Americans -- educators, lawyers and public officials, writers and religious leaders, people from business, politics, labor, media and the arts -- who are drawn together by a shared goal; to revitalize the historic relationship between Blacks and Jews in our city and our nation.

Speaking as individuals, and not as representatives of constituencies or organizations, our aim is to disavow rhetoric that divides the Black and Jewish communities, and to focus on our mutual concerns and emphasize our many experiences of mutual support and assistance.

Over the past 10 years, the supportive relations between Blacks and Jews have suffered grievous strains. While there are some valid reasons for these recent tensions, we believe that the stress on differences between Blacks and Jews, especially amplified by the media, has caused many people to overlook the important factors that bind the two groups together. Blacks and Jews are still victimized by discrimination and bigotry.

Although Blacks experience raw bigotry to a greater extent than Jews do in contemporary America, Jews also continue to encounter barriers to full involvement in American society. We both share a pride in our distinctive cultures and a deep resentment at serving as convenient scapegoats for society's longstanding problems. We are especially alert to recent efforts to exploit the needs and fears of our two peoples. We refuse to let anyone manipulate us for political gain. We refuse to be exploited. We refuse to be polarized. We refuse to be used.

(over)

Our city and nation need no further polarization. We call upon the press and public figures to stop using Blacks and Jews as pawns in the current political campaign. Repeated emphasis on differences between us diverts attention from the important challenges that face our nation today - nuclear war, peace, econmic revival, rebuilding our cities, civil liberties, education, women's equality, and honesty and integrity in government.

We pledge ourseves to help defuse tensions and to take steps in our community to meet the valid concerns of each group. Blacks and Jews should work together to develop constructive solutions to poor education, crime, rebuilding the cities, housing and health care.

We have come together to bring these powerful, coalition-building issues to the attention of the press and public, and to help create a climate in which responsible Black and Jewish leaders can speak out for our common human agenda - a compassionate, economically viable, humane city, state and nation.

Our profound abhorrence of discrimination in any form stems from our combined moral and prophetic tradition which motivate us to fight bigotry.

We urge all citizens of goodwill to join in this effort.

84-800-19 May 1984

### **REFORM JEWS ASK** HEALING OF SPLIT IN TIES TO BLACKS

#### HISTORIC ALLIANCE NOTED

Restoration of Joint Program for Social Justice Is Urged

Despite Recent Strains N/7 5/2/84 A. | By ROBERT D. MCFADDEN

The leaders of Reform Judaism called on American blacks and Jews yesterday to preserve their historic so-cial alliance despite "traumas of the moment" that they said had been engendered by the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Presidential campaign.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which represents 770 Reform synagogues with 1.25 million

Excerpts from resolution, page B10.

members in the United States and Canada, urged restoration of the "coalition of conscience" that has long made blacks and Jews "natural allies in the struggle for social justice in America."

Responding to a growing gulf be-tween the nation's 26 million blacks and 3 million Jews, the union appealed to all Presidential candidates, leaders of public opinion and "responsible groups in American society to repudiate all threats of violence and appeals to prejudice - indeed, all assaults on the democratic process.

#### **Deep Distress Noted**

"We are deeply distressed by the atmosphere of harassment, threats of violence and appeals to prejudice that have been part of the current election campaign," 130 trustees of the union declared in a resolution adopted by a voice vote, with notable dissent, at the end of a three-day meeting in Secaucus, N.J. Some trustees said they opposed reconciliation in the face of what they called black anti-Semitism.

We are troubled that Presidential candidates and other leaders of American public opinion have failed to adequately respond to these assaults on the democratic process," the resolution said. "We condemn as indefensible threats of terrorism and reprisals directed against blacks or Jews, whether emanating from the Jewish Defense League or the Nation of Islam.'

#### 'Commitment to Social Justice'

Nonetheless, the trustees said, "the traumas of the moment must not be used to justify the Jewish community's withdrawal from our historic commitment to social justice and to cooperative efforts for decency."

Concluding their semi-annual meeting, the trustees called for measures to strengthen black-Jewish ties. The suggestions included dialogues in one another's houses of worship and newspapers, new efforts to "assert our common concerns" in political forums, and new programs to promote understand-

Continued on Page B10, Column 3

#### **Continued From Page A1**

ing, such as one to send black students to Israel.

The Reform movement is the most liberal within Judaism and has long been closest to the aspirations of American blacks. While the voice of Reform is not strong among Conservative and Orthodox Jews, conference partici-pants said the message was likely to have a positive effect on black and Jewish communities, especially at the grass-roots level. "The stances taken here will per-

meate the movement on a national level — I'm sure other groupings will follow," said Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the union. "There won't be universal acclaim. The attempt at reconciliation doesn't discount the dismay felt by many Jews. But we are not building from scratch."

#### A New Reaching Out

The strategy, the initiatives outlined by the trustees indicated, would be to reach out to black Christians, churches and local leaders to augment the tradi-tional ties with major black organiza-tions, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League.

The trustees urged synagogues across the nation to initiate programs of "dialogue with black churches" and other black organizations, to "invite local black officials to speak in our synagogues" and to have black leaders write articles in Jewish newspapers and vice versa.

It also urged programs in which black students could visit Kibbutz Yahel, Kibbutz Lotan and other Re-form institutions in Israel, "so that they may come to know and appreciate the one democratic country in the Mid-dle East."

The longstanding alliance of Amer-

ican blacks and Jews has undergone severe strains in recent years, with blacks angered by the reluctance of many Jews to support affirmative-ac-tion programs and Jews angered by black antipathy for Israel and support for Arab and Palestinian causes in the Middle East

Recently Jews also have been dis-mayed by Mr. Jackson's use of anti-Semitic language and by his refusal to re-pudiate Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader, who praised Hitler as "a great man" and threatened a reporter for disclosing Mr. Jackson's use of the terms "Hymie" and "Hymietown" in referring to Jews and New York City.

Concern over deteriorating black-Jewish relations dominated the weekend meeting of trustees at the Meadow-lands Hilton in Secaucus. The trustees, who make up the union's policy-making body, heard talks by a number of Jewish and black leaders, including

Benjamin L. Hooks, the executive di-rector of the N.A.A.C.P. "I don't believe Jesse Jackson is anti-Semitic, and I have grown him for 20 years," Mr. Hooks said in an address Control or He coid then Mr. Saturday. He said that Mr. Jackson "does identify with third-world aspirations" but that this should not be con-strued as anti-Semitism.

#### **Hooks Is Optimistic**

Mr. Hooks said "sensationalism" by news media and "harsh and intemperate language" by blacks and Jews had contributed to setbacks in black-Jewish relations. But he said he hoped that Mr. Jackson's apology for the "Hymie" and "Hymietown" remarks would be

and "Hymetown" remarks would be accepted, and he said he was optimistic that the "the gulf can be bridged." As for Mr. Farrakhan, Mr. Hooks said: "He's a Muslim. His beliefs and his tradition are not on all fours with Judeo-Christian heritage. Black folks don't give Farrakhan all that much im-

portance. He's the leader of 10,000 people

Mr. Hooks also said it was vital that Jews recognize the importance that blacks attached to affirmative-action programs, which try to make up for past discrimination by giving minori-ties preference in jobs and school placements without strict regard to qualifications and often by use of quo-

"Affirmative action is to the black community what Israel is to the Jewish community," he declared.

Despite the theme of reconciliation embodied in the resolution, many of the trustees were dismayed at the failure of Mr. Hooks and other black leaders to

of Mr. Hooks and other black leaders to denounce the anti-Semitic statements. "There was obviously some disap-pointment here," Rabbi Schindler said in an interview yesterday in which he estimated that about 80 percent of the trustees had voted for the resolution. "There are some who think we should abandon those who have abandoned

extremism in our ranks, why can't he condemn extremism in their ranks," Rabbi Schindler added, referring to Rabbi Schindler added, referring to Mr. Hooks. "It is not a betrayal of Jew-ish people to say the J.D.L. is wrong, and it is not a betrayal of the black cause to say anti-Semitism is wrong." Though neither Mr. Jackson nor Mr. Farrakhan was mentioned by name in the resolution, trustees and speakers

referred to them repeatedly in ag-grieved tones throughout the weekend of meetings, debates and speeches.

Rabbi Schindler, addressing the trus-tees Saturday, declared: "We are ex-periencing the first Presidential campaign in memory which has been be-fouled by anti-Semitism, and precious little has been done to clean the air.

"The surrogate of a Presidential can-didate praises Hitler and threatens Jewish lives, but the candidate refuses to disavow him. The candidate himself laces his language with ethnic slurs, belatedly apologizes and even then doesn't acknowledge the gravity of his language."

The rabbi cited Mr. Jackson's "freely acknowledged sympathies" for The Palestine Liberation Organization, his "criticisms of Israel" and his "as-sociations with anti-Jewish elements in the black community," and he added: "You begin to take the measure of our distance " distress

"Shall we rebuild those bridges which have been damaged by the Jackson candidacy, or is there no one left to build bridges to?" Rabbi Schindler asked. Then, answering his own question, he said:

Our commonality far outweighs our differences. Our agendas for America, if not identical, are felicitiously congruous. In the final analysis, only our common enemies will benefit if we allow ourselves to be torn apart.

"We must not permit the offensive-ness of Jackson's rhetoric and manner to obscure the moral worth of his do-mestic agenda. We cannot permit the stresses and strains of the hour to divert us from our historic pursuit of so-cial justice and human decency."

FOR YOUR INFORMATION ADAM SIMMS
### Excerpts From the Resolution

Following are excerpts from a resolution concerning the relationship of Jews and blacks that was adopted yesterday by the trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

The pursuit of justice and the enhancement of human dignity have always been among the moral imperatives of the Jewish tradition. For years, Jews and blacks have been natural allies in the struggle for social justice in America, working in coalition for the common cause.

The board of trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations reaffirms these deep commitments.

At the same time, we are deeply distressed by the atmosphere of harassment, threats of violence and appeals to prejudice that have been part of the current election campaign. We are troubled that Presidential candidates and other leaders of American public opinion have failed to adequately respond to these assaults on the democratic process.

the democratic process. We condemn as indefensible threats of terrorism and reprisals directed against blacks or Jews, whether emanating from the Jewish Defense League or the Nation of Islam.

Inflammatory language, slurs and

stereotypes that foster anti-Semitism and racist attitudes are unrepresentative of the views of the overwhelming majority of the black and Jewish communities and are morally offensive to most Americans, regardless of race or creed. They must be condemned, not only by the targets of the bigotry, but by the leaders of all responsible groups and faiths. Only the haters seeking to separate

Unit the naters seeking to separate us from each other and segregate us from the rest of society benefit from the alienation of blacks and Jews, each the victim of prejudice and persecution in different ways over the centuries. It is this shared history that makes us natural allies in the struggle for civil rights and defines us as among the most socially concerned groups in American society. The traumas of the moment must

The traumas of the moment must not be used to justify the Jewish community's withdrawal from our historic commitment to social justice and to cooperative efforts for decency.

Therefore be it resolved that the U.A.H.C., acting through its affiliates, regions, congregations and Commission on Social Action: ¶Calls upon responsible black and Jewish leaders to reconstitute a coali-

Calls upon responsible black and Jewish leaders to reconstitute a coalition of conscience that will be sensitive to each other's concerns and that will provide the framework for building together a justice society responsive to the needs of all minority groups.

groups. ¶Calls upon all Presidential candidates, leaders of public opinion and responsible groups in American society to repudiate all threats of violence and appeals to prejudice — indeed, all assaults on the democratic process.

Calls upon each of our 770 congregations to initiate a program of dialogue with black churches and other representative black organizations; to invite local black officials to speak in our synagogues as part of a continuing effort to establish closer ties with them; and to undertake ongoing programs to assert our common concerns and interpret our differences in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding. One approach which we recommend is to establish programs through which black leaders can place articles in local Jewish newspapers and Jewish leaders can do the same in local black newspapers, thus permitting an exchange of views asimed at learning about each other's aspirations and concerns.

Urges the establishment of programs to bring young minority students to Israel.

Acts to strengthen, in cooperation with the N.A.A.C.P., the Kivie Kaplan Institute, which expresses in institutional form the commitment to civil rights and civil liberties shared by both our groups.

#### JEPEWAY AND JEPEWAY, P.A.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

LOUIS M. JEPEWAY LOUIS M. JEPEWAY JR. 619 DADE SAVINGS BUILDING 101 EAST FLAGLER STREET MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131

TELEPHONE (305) 377-2356

May 4, 1984

Stanley M. Finkel 15 West 37th Street New York, N.Y. 10018

Re: State v. Shapiro Dear Mr. Finkel:

As I told you when we spoke several days ago, Michael Zelman and I are in the process of doing the necessary research and leg work in order to prepare and file the Motion to Vacate on Mr. Shapiro's behalf.

I enclose a copy of an article that was in the Miami News last Saturday, April 28, 1984, dealing with the improper exclusion of jurors who oppose the death penalty and the effect of such exclusion on the determination of guilt or innocence. As you know, that will be one of the issues raised in the Motion to Vacate.

We invite you and/or Mr. Shapiro to call or write if you have any questions or suggestions.

With best wishes,

Louis M. Jepeway, Jr.

LMJ, JR/jd

Enclosure

cc: Michael Zelman, Esq. (with enclosure)
cc: William Shapiro (with enclosure)

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## U-M professor's theory could have far-reaching effect Exclusion of jurors who oppose chair called un

Mani News Reporter

CAREN PAYNE

murder cases because excluding them makes: for juries that are unfairly prone to convict? defendants, according to a University of Miami taw professor.

The theory is presented in an article by professor Bruce Winick, scheduled for publication within the next two weeks by the University of Miami Law Review.

According to Winick, the law has previously given prosecutors an absolute right to strike potential jurors who say they would not vote for the death penalty under any circumstances. 

But in Florida and seven other states the jury can only recommend the death penalty to the judge, who makes the final decision. For that reason, Winick said, potential jurors who say they can be fair about determining guilt or innocence - even though they. wouldn't yote for the death penalty -

them predisposes the jury to be death-prone and conviction-prone," Winick said.

Winick said the strongest part of his argu- ; ment against excluding death penalty opponents is that it violates the U.S. Constitution,

Part of my argument is that excluding them predisposes the cluded from serving on juries in first-degree ury to be death-prone and conviction-profie 11-9 KA 3. ...

which guarantees a fair and impartial trial.

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Winick said numerous social science studles have shown that juries that exclude death penalty opponents are apt to convict unfairly. "These studies give a lot of force to my argument," he said ....

Winick said there is also a constitutional guarantee to a jury that represents a crosssection of the community. "Juries formed by excluding death-penalty opponents violate. this cross-section requirement," he said."

Winick also cited a study showing that exclusion of death-penalty objectors results in disproportionate exclusion of blacks and 

and 17 percent of all potential jurors would "Part of my argument is that excluding ... have scruples about yoing for the death penalty.

Winisk said his theory could have far-reaching effects..."I would guess that in" every capital case from now on, they are going to raise the issue," he said.

- U-M law professor Bruce Winick

TING STATADAG MALAS

According to Winick, perhaps half the 217 prisoners currently on Florida's death row could use the study's findings as a basis for .: appeal. Some 387 defendants - almost onethird the national total - are on death row in the eight states where the judge makes the decision on the death penalty. 

All that would be necessary for appeal is to prove one or more persons opposing the death penalty - who said they could have been fair jurors - was excluded from the jury which decided the case. Winick said.

Winick's argument' that exclusion of death-penalty opponents produces juries blased for conviction, he said, could also affect' a large number of prisoners whose murder trials ended in conviction but were sentenced to jall terms instead of death.

Defense attorneys said they are enthusiastic about Winick's theory and plan to apply it wherever possible.

"It's a brand new concept, and I think It will eventually be proven that it is a sound

social and legal concept," said Miami attor-ney Louis Jepeway Jr, "Elimination of (death penalty opponents) results in a fury that is prone to convict." Jepeway said he will incorporate Winick's theory in a request to set aside the sentence of a client who was convicted in 1975, of murdering his business partnerits Kikk .....

Jepeway said the client whose name he asked to have withheid - was given a life sentence with a mandatory : 25-year prison term without parole. In that case, the victim's body was never found, and Jepeway said no motive was established for his client to commit the murder. "It's a classic case of a jury prone to convict," he said.

Dade County assistant' public. defender Karen Gottlieb said she hopes the study."will make trial judges, as well as all trial lawyers. more sensitive to the fact that we are obtaining prosecution-prone juries because jurors who could fairly resolve the question of guilt or innocence are excluded for cause."

This week in Jacksonville, the circuit court judge presiding in the murder-arson trial of confessed killer Ottis Elwood Toole refused to exclude two potential jurors who said they are opposed to the death penalty. ...

The Florida Supreme Court refused to set aside the judge's decision not to exclude the two jurors - but did not rule on Winick's theory.

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This letter invites you to join AIPAC -an organization working for a close U.S.-Israel relationship. That relationship is being threatened by different forces endangering the interests of both nations. As an American who wants Israel to survive, your support is critical in standing up to these adversaries. Here's why...

May, 1984

Dear Friend of Israel,

BLOCKADE SET UP AT WHITE HOUSE TO GUARD AGAINST ATTACK ...

U.S. EDUCATOR SLAIN IN BEIRUT ...

BOMB IN BUS KILLS CIVILIANS IN JERUSALEM ...

<u>Terrorism</u>. For years, the PLO was the acknowledged master of this hideous form of warfare against innocent victims. But more recently, they have been joined by fanatic Islamic sects which have undertaken this bloody practice. Even The White House has been forced to erect barriers to protect the President from terrorist attacks.

But it's not just unknown fanatics or PLO rebels involved in terrorism. It's also those nations which condone and often lend crucial assistance to the perpetrators of these atrocities.

SYRIA...IRAN...IRAQ...They are all linked to the new wave of Middle East terror, which has taken hundreds of lives over the past few months. Such state-supported terrorism was behind the "Beirut Massacre," in which Syria and Iran assisted the terrorists who murdered 241 Marines. And Syria and Iraq continue to offer support to Abu Nidal, which according to one article in <u>The Washington Post</u> (February 5, 1984), is "a name for both an individual and a movement that even within the ranks of world terrorism represents what is most ruthless and indiscriminate."

While this state-supported terrorism has different objectives, one often admitted goal is to weaken the American and Israeli commitment to a secure Israel living at peace in the Middle East.

> AIPAC -- the American Israel Public Affairs Committee -asks you to join us to make sure these terrorists don't succeed. You're invited to participate in a political movement which will make our voice heard as we fight our adversaries every step of the way.

AIPAC is an American lobbying group based in Washington. Our nearly 50,000 members across the country help us stand up against those who endanger ties with our only reliable ally in the Middle East -- Israel!

But we know that terrorists aren't our only adversaries. There are also Arab nations which claim to be "moderate" even as they refuse to recognize Israel's very existence. And let's not forget those in the United States who use anti-Israel propaganda in an attempt to influence America away from Israel.

In the past, AIPAC has successfully waged many battles to combat these opponents. For example:

GREATER COOPERATION

The recent summit with President Reagan and Prime Minister Shamir in Washington solidified U.S.-Israel relations. Greater political, strategic and military cooperation is expected in the future -- areas in which AIPAC has been deeply involved. As Vice-President Bush stated at AIPAC's 1984 Annual Policy Conference:

"...For the first time the United States has acknowledged what Israel always has been -- our foremost strategic friend in the Middle East."

Congress recently authorized <u>\$2.61 billion</u> in military and economic assistance for Israel in fiscal year 1984. That's \$425 million more in grant assistance than the Administration had requested. Congress also authorized greater U.S. assistance in Israel's development of the Lavi attack aircraft, and strongly supported continued American support for Israel at the United Nations.

On these and other crucial issues debated in Congress, AIPAC has been a <u>respected advocate</u> praised from both sides of the aisle. As two distinguished Senators put it:

"I rely heavily on AIPAC for factual information. I can always be assured of prompt, accurate and highly professional assistance."

The Hon. Edward Kennedy, Democrat, Massachusetts

"AIPAC is one of the most effective political organizations in this country."

The Hon. Paul Laxalt, Republican, Nevada

SPREADING THE WORD

AIPAC continues to mobilize and educate Jews and non-Jews alike to show that America gains the advantage by working with Israel, not against her. We do this through special publications such as Myths and Facts 1984: A Concise Record of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. This book forcefully dispels the distortions used by Arab propagandists to misrepresent Arab-Israeli history. Other AIPAC activities include our community contact campaign, which encourages our members to contact their representatives in Congress about key issues affecting Israel. Further, AIPAC now has college members on more than 350 college campuses in all 50 states! Such support is crucial in countering the efforts of pro-PLO groups working against Israel, as revealed in The AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus.

SUPPORT FROM CONGRESS -2-

We're proud of these accomplishments. But we know we can't let up as long as Israel's enemies continue to threaten her. That's why we need you to join us. Because each person who participates in AIPAC can increase awareness of the real story in the Middle East and become another voice in the crucial battles that lie ahead...

## FIRST, we're going to need your help in ensuring that the President's call for closer ties with Israel is not undermined.

There are strong opponents to such ties in the Administration. Some officials fear that if the U.S. works too closely with Israel, Arab nations will be antagonized. What they fail to realize is that many of these nations actively work <u>against</u> the peace process time after time. Israel, on the other hand, is the only democracy in the region and has great strategic importance to the United States.

#### SECOND, we're going to need your help to keep lobbying hard and strong on Capitol Hill.

We're pleased with the amount of aid we've been able to help procure for Israel. But there are always those in Congress who need to be convinced that <u>aid to Israel is an investment</u> in American interests --- not a form of charity.

Further, we have to remain steadfast in our struggle to stop arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia and the possible sale of advanced weapons to Jordan may be offered under the pretense of helping these nations defend themselves against the Soviet Union. But we all well know that Israel is the main target of these weapons! Remember, it isn't the Soviet Union these nations have rallied against for over thirty-five years.

## THIRD, we're going to need your help to make our impact as great as possible during this election year.

According to Stephen S. Rosenfeld, Deputy Editorial Page Editor of <u>The Washington Post</u>, <u>AIPAC</u> is the "leading Jewish political force in America today." That's why political leaders of both parties know that our voice -- your voice -- cannot be ignored.

AIPAC is <u>not</u> a political action committee. We do not give money to candidates seeking political office. But that doesn't mean we won't have influence in the upcoming elections. Because AIPAC's job is to <u>educate</u> our politicians about what's at stake in the Middle East and the importance of a strong U.S.-Israel relationship.

Often, AIPAC can provide accurate information and arguments which can help shape a candidate's positions. <u>We'll be there</u> at both parties' nominating conventions and throughout the fall election campaign to make sure candidates recognize the value of a continued strong relationship with Israel.

#### KEEPING THE DREAM ALIVE

Let's be realistic. It's not going to be easy meeting the challenges we've just described. But in all our efforts, people like you are our lifeblood. By joining AIPAC, you can give us that much more political firepower when we wage our campaigns on the issues affecting the U.S.-Israel relationship.

## For over a quarter of a century, AIPAC has been your Washington connection!

It's a connection which costs only \$35 a year for basic membership-less than \$1 for each year of Israeli independence. AIPAC is strictly an American organization which receives no contributions from the Israeli government. And because of the tax laws, AIPAC does not receive financial assistance from the many American Jewish organizations with which we work so closely. That's why we depend on you, the individual concerned citizen, to keep our voice in Washington strong.

When you join AIPAC for \$35 or more, you'll not only become part of a vital political force -- you'll also learn more about the events affecting the United States and Israel. That's because you'll receive 52 issues of Near East Report -- the weekly newsletter providing timely features, editorials and analysis of the ever-changing Middle East scene. (Since AIPAC is not a charity, but an American lobby, membership is not tax deductible. But we're sure you'll agree that it's more important that we have the chance to influence legislators on the issues that count to both America and Israel.)

Before ending this letter, we would like you to remember one of the ideals which has characterized the people of both America and Israel -- the commitment to never give up our quest for the dream of peace. Terrorists and some of our other adversaries try to make a mockery of that dream. But with your help, we can keep it alive. Indeed, we <u>must</u> keep it alive. In the words of Senator Christopher Dodd:

"If Israel loses one war, this 35 year old dream, this ideal, and these people that join us together will not re-emerge in our lifetime or for generations to come. Just one war, that's all. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind..."

To keep the dream alive, we invite you to join AIPAC and make your voice heard as an American for Israel! Because if we don't stand up for Israel, who will?

Robert H. Asher

President

Sincerely, A. Dine Thomas Executive Director

- P.S. Few writers have written so eloquently of the Israeli dream as Leon Uris. We hope you'll take a moment to read his accompanying note to you. And remember, <u>AIPAC is the only American organization registered to lobby in support of legis-</u> <u>lation affecting Israel.</u> That's why some of our members contribute \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1000 and more in addition to their regular membership dues -- to make <u>sure we make a difference!</u> (Check the back of the enclosed reply form to see the benefits you'll receive with a larger gift.)
  - Note: We made every effort, but sometimes duplications happen anyway. If you are already a member of AIPAC or if you receive more than one appeal, please accept our apologies and pass the duplicate on to a friend. Thank you.



DR. C. DOUGLAS YOUNG Founder

ADMINISTRATION

GEORGINA YOUNG Honorary Chairperson CLARENCE H. WAGNER, IR

President/Executive Director Editor, "Dispatch from Jerusalem" NINA TRONSTEIN Assistant Director, Israel NORMA NATION Program Director,

Israel ANN BEIN Program Director, North America JACK ANDERSON Representative Coordinator

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#### REPRESENTATIVES

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Midwest Region

RE: Grant for the writing of A Jewish History with Text and Workbook

#### An Outline of the Proposed Curriculum

I. Course Description

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Post-Biblical history of the Jews from the times of the Maccabees to the present, embracing all the lands in which the Jewish people have lived. Gives special attention to the influences and events which have molded Jewish life and the Jewish mind through the centuries, with a view to understanding their attitude toward Christianity.

RESNIKOGA

om Harres

#### B. Teacher's Summary

After a very brief mention of the history of Israel to the close of the Old Testament, the student is introduced to the events which happened to Jewish people to the time of the loss of the temple in 70 A.D. The student continues to observe what happened to Jewish people in the land of Israel until the end of the period of the Jewish Patriarchate in 425. The consideration of Jewish history observes what Jewish people were able to accomplish in their centers of study in Babylon, Spain, France, Egypt, in the Middle Ages, until 1492. The Messiah movement, the development of Eastern European Jewry is briefly mentioned. The modern scene of Jewish movement is closely studied. The student is made aware that Jewish people have accomplished much in literature and thought while suffering persecution from a christedom which did not often reflect the love of Jesus the Messiah as presented in the New Testament.

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- A. To examine some of the history of the Jewish people, in the land of Israel and in the principal lands of their dispersion, from the Babylonian Exile to the present day.
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U.S. OFFICE: P.O. BOX 33145, TULSA, OK 74153, TEL: 918 - 663-8811 ISRAEL: BOX 7304, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

#### III. Course Outline

A. A Review of Israel's History to the Exile

B. The Exile and Reestablishment

1. Babylon and Its Effect

2. Reestablishment of Israel and Persian Influence

C. Period of the Sopherim

1. Further History of the Period of Persia

2. Persian Thought

3. Greek Influence and the Ptalemies

4. Greek Influence and the Selevcids

D. Period of the Maccabees

1. Antiochus Epiphanes

2. Struggle for Independence

3. The Hasidim in the Struggle

4. Judah's Success

5. The Hasmonean Line

6. Intrigue and Internal Conflict

7. Pharisees and Sadducees

8. Other Parties

E. Period of the Romans

1. Jesus and Early Messianic Jews

2. Rebellion Against Rome

3. War for Independence

4. End of the Second Commonwealth

F. The Palestinian Community

1. Yavne and the Schools

2. Rebellion Against Rome

3. Oral Material to Writing

4. Development and Completion of the Mishnah

5. Decline and Evaluation

G. Jewish Life in the East

1. Community and Life in Babylon

2. Judaism and Islam

3. Saadiah

4. Decline in Babylon

5. The Karaites and Revolt Against Mainstream Judaism

#### III. Course Outline (continued)

- H. Jewish Life in the West
  - 1. European Settlements
  - 2. Early Church and Jewish People
  - 3. Spain
  - 4. Eastern Europe
- I. Pertinent Jewish Concerns
  - 1. Crusades
  - 2. Mysticism and False Messiahs
  - 3. The Ghetto
  - 4. Anti-Semitism
  - 5. The Holocaust
- J. Jewish Life in Germany
  - 1. Reform Judaism
  - 2. Emancipation
- K. Jewish Life in America
- L. Zionism and Israel



#### STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

#### DR. G. DOUGLAS YOUNG Founder

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ADMINISTRATION GEORGINA YOUNG Honorary Chairperson CLARENCE H. WAGNER, JR. President/Executive Director Editor "Dispatch from Jerusalem" NINA TRONSTEIN Assistant Director, Israel NORMA NATION Program Director, Israel ANN BEIN Program Director, North America JACK ANDERSON Representative Coordinator

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ROBERT PECK Central Oklahoma Region

LARRY & ROMEY HUBNER Rocky Mountain Region

BARBARA JEAN LARSEN Central California Region

BEA WATSON Pacific Northwest Region

DAVID PULINE

North/Central Minnesota Region

RON & DONNA LOPPNOW Midwest Region BRIDGES FOR PEACE ... a Jerusalem-based, non-profit, Christian organization dedicated to the building of sincere relationships between the Christian and Jewish communities, while encouraging greater concern for the Land of Israel.

#### BRIDGES FOR PEACE

- ... interprets Israel to Christians in the United States and 30 other countries, as well as those visiting the Land, discussing history, current events, and phophecy.
- ... brings Christian concerns to the attention of appropriate Israeli leaders...and to the Jewish community.
- ... gives counsel to pro-Israel individuals and groups abroad in their desire to actively support the People of the Book everywhere, especially in the Land promised to them by God.
- ... helps to counteract anti-Semitism.
- ... teaches others how to work for the betterment of Christian-Jewish understanding.
- ... is fulfilling its purposes through various programs:
  - the DISPATCH FROM JERUSALEM, our publication now reaching over 20,000 readers in the U.S. and over 30 other countries, and its supplement, the DISPATCH UPDATE LETTER.
  - the Bridges for Peace Representative Program which trains our representatives in Israel in order to be more effective teachers and advocates back in their communities in the U.S.
  - the Bridge Building Projects designed to promote better Christian-Jewish understanding and support on the local level.
  - the Study Mission Program designed to bring local groups of Christians to Israel to foster greater understanding and commitment to the cause of Israel.
  - our Radio Program, "Jerusalem Journal," distributed on Christian radio stations to give our perspectives greater circulation (co-sponsored with the ADL).
  - Seminar and lecture tours throughout the U.S.
  - Correspondence and the writing of articles for numerous periodicals.

BRIDGES FOR PEACE is committed to bridging gaps of prejudice, anti-Semitism, and ignorance as we encourage Christians everywhere to be sensitive, positive, and active advocates in their support for Israel and the Jewish community.



DR. G. DOUGLAS YOUNG Founder

ADMINISTRATION

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RON & DONNA LOPPNOW Midwest Region April 30, 1984

Dr. Benard Resnikoff

American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th New York, NY 10021

Dear Bernie,

I am so sorry my letter did not reach you in Israel. However, I understand how long it takes mail to get through during the holidays . . . and with Pesach and Easter together!

First I want to thank you for your continue and sincere interest in the work of Bridges for Peace. As always I value your opinions and guidance vis-a-vis Bridges, our programs, and our vision. I count you in a circle of a few who have contributed to the development of this great effort begun by Douglas.

At your request, I have enclosed several copies of the proposed outline for the curriculum on Jewish History to be taught in Christian private schools.

The initial materials will be presented in workbook form for the student, and a teacher's manual for the teaching of the course work. Eventually, we forsee the publication of a companion text book for use by the students.

Not only will this be used in Christian private schools, it can also be used in churches in their teaching programs.

The uniqueness of this work is that it is being written specifically for the Christian audience, with appropriate emphasis given to areas of particular Christian influences in the historical life of the Jewish people (both the good and the bad).

This type of work has never been done before and we feel the time is right for it publication. There is a great interest in the Christian community for this information. And, to educate young people in the correct manner will have far-reaching and positive affects in the future.

We estimate that the cost of development and publication of this material will be \$50,000. We are planning to submit grant proposals to get the project completely funded. Our initial need to get started with the research, transcription, editing, etc., will be in the area of \$10,000. Once the project is started, we can present it to other organizations for further funding.

We would appreciate anything you could do by way of suggestion or funding from the American Jewish Committee I sincerely thank you for your interest in this project.

> U.S. OFFICE: P.O. BOX 33145, TULSA, OK 74153, TEL: 918 - 663-8811 ISRAEL: BOX 7304, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

Sue Chamberlain tell me that you will be in the Houston area on May 18th and she is meeting with you. You asked me what you can do for her work. Well, I truly feel that a positive word of encouragement from you to the Jewish community leaders about the work of Bridges for Peace in general and Sue Cahmberlain in particular would giver her the credibility she needs to develop programing in that region of Texas. Afterall, if Bridges for Peace endeavors to develop any degree of bridges building or local programming involving both the Jewish and Christian communities, then Sue will need the cooperation that can only come from trust. You know the depth and sincerity of our work and can transmit this trust to others in the area. Then, the door will be open to Bridges for Peace to swing into action.

Other than short trips for speaking, you can reach me at the Tulsa office - 918-663-8811. Should you have any suggestions or any questions, feel free to call me.

Pat is having our baby in late July and I will be sticking closer and closer to home as time progresses. We look forward to our return to Jerusalem and raising our little one there.

Another note of interest! We are presently negotiating the acquisition of a building in Jerusalem as a Center for Christian-Jewish Understanding. We will use this location for our groups and individuals as a meeting place, a place for lectures, films, receptions, a place for a research library with the catalogued manuscripts of Dr. Young, and a place with Christian and Jewish leaders, scholars, to lay-people can come together to build bridges of understanding. Hopefully, the place we have looked at is right around the corner from you . . .that is where we were going the last time we saw you on the corner of Ethiopia Street. Even if this does not work out, the momentum for such a center has already started and the outlines for the fundraising plans underway. I'll keep you up to date.

Hope to hear from you while you are still in the U.S. Take care and don't overwork yourself.

Shalon, shalon,

Clarence H. Wagner, Jr. Executive Director

cc. file Encl. May Update .../2

dispatch

 an interim report of Bridges for Peace May 1984

Dear Bridge-Builder,

In our last DISPATCH UPDATE LETTER, I made several predictions of what would occur if the U.S. withdrew her troops from Lebanon. Unfortunately, all of them proved to be correct. Let us review these observations as we try to understand the current Middle East situation.

If the U.S. withdraws her troops from Lebanon, then ...

1) Arab countries which lean towards the U.S. will feel the U.S. is not trustworthy to keep her word . . .

It was felt that 'moderate' Western-oriented Arab countries would reassess the value of an allegiance with the U.S., if they saw the U.S. 'cut and run' after having made a commitment to Amin Gemayel.

The first to back away from the U.S. was King Hussein of Jordan. At a point when the U.S. felt he was going to accept a U.S.-mediated Middle East settlement and negotiate with Israel, the King gave a flat NO in a interview severely criticizing the U.S., "I now realize that principles mean nothing to the United States!"

Interestingly, King Hussein made his statements one day after President Reagan made an eloquent speech **in favor** of selling Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Jordan. What the King found out was that his timing was unbelievably bad. Not only did the King once again close the door on peace, but as a result of his comments, the Stinger missile sale was off . . . Congress would surely vote it down.

Why did Hussein make such a statement?

Quite simply, he is not ready for peace because he feels insecure to enter into such negotiations. The status quo is safer for the time being. Syria had just scored a big victory in Lebanon and King Hussein is fearful of provoking the Syrians. He has also lost faith in the U.S.'s ability to protect him following the failure of U.S. policy in Lebanon.

So, we have to wait once again for any progress toward peace between Jordan and Israel. This also means that the Palestinians have to wait on the sidelines, unclear about their future.

2) Syria will shine as the 'victor' against Israel and the U.S. and try to exert more radical power in the Middle East.

The first such exercise of this radical power was seen when Syria supported and encouraged the Moslem overthrow of West Beirut from the Lebanese Army shortly after the U.S. withdrew.

Then, on March 5, 1984, an ever more disasterous show of radical power was seen when Syria forced the Lebanese government to abbrogate the May 17 Lebanon-Israel Accord.

Thirdly, Syria's threat caused King Hussein of Jordan to back away from the peace table. Now, President Assad of Syria is in control of what happens politically

. . ./page 2

in Lebanon and has a power-hold over his region of the Arab world.

Currently, Syria is orchestrating a pro-Syrian government in Lebanon.

For once, the Syrian newspaper Ath-Thawrah was right on target. It said that "the fates of the May 17th agreement, which is now dying; the Reagan plan which is frozen; and the Jordanian option, which is dead, are all clear proof that failure will await any political move that does not please Syria." In other words, the extremists have won the day.

3) Islam will score a victory over the 'infidels', i.e. the Christians, Jews, and Multinational Peacekeeping Forces in Lebanon . . .

This Islamic 'victory' can be seen as the Lebanese Christians are now subject to Syrian and Lebanese Moslem control; the May 17 Lebanon-Israel Accord has been abbrogated as of March 5th, 1984; and the last of the multinational forces in Lebanon (the French) left last month.

4) Terrorists movements will feel a new strength that their violent tactics will succeed against the Western governments who will buckle under their attacks.

Yes, violent terrorism has come out of the proverbial woodwork again. In Israel alone, we have seen the bombing of three buses since December, two daring attacks against shoppers in downtown Jerusalem (both within two blocks of our Bridges for Peace offices), a rocket attack against Kibbutz Misgav Am on the Lebanese border, and numerous grenade and sniper attacks against Israeli soldiers in Lebanon. Added to this is a new wave of attacks against Western diplomats and military attaches in Europe, and the most recent bizarre attack against student demonstrators from INSIDE the Libyan Embassy in London, followed by a bomb explosion in London's Heathrow Airport.

It is disturbing that this type of violence is being applauded NOT denounced by Arab leaders! This is the case in "moderate" Jordan, as well as militant Syria.

Regarding the attack in downtown Jerusalem, the Abu Dhabi newspaper Al-Khalj called the attack "the most important military operation in the history of the modern Palestinian struggle. . . " In Cairo, two newspapers, Al-Jumhuriyah and Al Akhbar, both praised the attack; and in Jordan, the newspaper, Ad-Dustur call the attack "a great and daring fedayeen operation. . " Sadly, the Arab world is not applauding a military operation, but a terrorist attack in which 48 civilian shoppers were injured! I happened to be in downtown Jerusalem on this day and saw the results of this 'brave' operation against Israel.

Most disturbing, vis-a-vis U.S. foreign policy, is the fact that the terrorists and fanatics can see that their violence does affect decision making right to the heart of the White House. Commenting as to why the Reagan Administration is against moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, U.S. Secretary of State, George Shultz stated, "a move of our embassy would certainly fan Islamic extremism, possibly inciting a wave of violence against our citizens, diplomats, and installations in the region." He could be right. It takes very little to stir up anti-American passions in the Arab Middle East. Nevertheless, the Shultz position suggests that the U.S. should tailor its foreign policy to avoid offending the sensitivities of fanatics. This type of statement shows the fanatics that their terror has the upper hand and makes the possibility of violent attacks more - rather than less - likely to occur!

Did the U.S. pullout from Lebanon spark a new wave of violence? After the pullout, Muammar Qadaffi of Libya was exultant. In Tripoli on the "Voice of the Greater Arab Homeland" radio, he stated on March 2, 1984, "If America was defeated by the Druze, why can it not be defeated by the entire Libyan people, who are not a faction or a tribe, but a nation?"

Unfortunately, the actions (Syria) and voice (Libya) of the Arab world's

extremist leadership has shown their followers that violence does pay when dealing with the Western world.

#### EGYPT REJOINS GROUP OF ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

On April 3, 1984, Egypt, a founder of the Islamic Conference Organization, formally rejoined the 45-nation body after a 4-year suspension.

The suspension was prompted by Egypt's signing of the Camp David Peace Treaty with Israel. Egypt was voted back into the conference at a meeting of Arab heads of state in Casablanca, Morocco, in January.

The Islamic Conference Organization was formed in 1969 to coordinate the interests of Islamic countries. It is notoriously anti-Israel.

The **good news** is that acceptance of Egypt could show a new tolerance among Islamic countries to accept the fact of Israel and Egypt's peace treaty. The **bad news** is that Egypt's move back into the organization, which is anti-Israel, could influence Egypt to renege on the treaty with Israel.

#### EGYPT WAVERS IN HER COMMITMENT TO PEACE

We hope Egypt can influence other Islamic nations to accept Israel. However, Egypt has shown signs of weakening in her determination to seek peace with Israel. In fact, Israel feels the peace is rather a 'cold peace', since Egypt has frozen all normalization with Israel. Interestingly, the Cairo weekly, Rose el-Yusof on February 6, 1984 said that Mubarak's (President of Egypt) freeze of normalization had been instrumental in winning Egypt re-admission to the Islamic Conference.

Prime Minister Shamir of Israel noted in a speech to the Knesset that until Israel's evacuation of the Sinai in April 1982, over 30 agreements had been signed between the two countries, dealing with communications, police, transport, civil aviation, culture, and agriculture. But, the evacuation was a turning point. Since then, Egypt has been directing its energies towards returning to the bosom of the Arab world.

In late March, Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Boutros Ghali, urged Nigeria not to renew diplomatic links with Israel, saying Palestinian interests were best served by a "carrot-and-stick" policy. Ghali, on a two-day visit to Nigeria, said Egypt had leverage over Israel because it had renewed ties, but said Nigeria also had influence because it had broken ties. "In this way we use the carrot. You (Nigerians) have the stick, use it," he said.

In early April, Israeli Defence Minister, Moshe Arens, reported on Israel Radio that Egypt is violating the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty by building a military infrastructure in the Sinai for an entire field army. The treaty clearly states that Egypt cannot deploy more than one division east of the Suez Canal. A field army consists of four divisions. Arens said Israel is concerned that Egypt will soon have the ability to rapidly deploy a much greater force than agreed. He also said that Israel had not given up Sinai just to have an Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv from 1979 to 1982. He added Israel hopes that "true, stable, long-term relations can be developed with Egypt." (Can you imagine the uproar in the U.N. if it were Israel who was building up her army in defiance of the treaty?)

#### STINGER MISSILES TO JORDAN CANCELLED

After King Hussein of Jordan made his scathing attack against the U.S. in late March, President Reagan's proposal to sell Jordan 315 launchers and 1,613 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles was dead.

The sale of the missiles was to help Jordan defend her eastern border with Iraq and Iran and her northern border with Syria. However, opponents of the sale felt they could also be used against Israel. . . ./page 4

#### The opponents were correct in their judgement.

An article on March 22, 1984 in the Jordanian newspaper, Sawt Ash-Sha'b, confirmed their suspicions, "Yesterday, the U.S. government decided to withdraw a request to supply Jordan with Stinger missiles. Such a decision is detrimental to the capability of defending the nation's security. Jordan does not only defend itself, but also defends the Arab homeland against the expansionist and aggressive Zionist danger. . . How can the Arabs leave Jordan to face the United States and Israel alone?"

The article then calls on influential Arabs in the U.S. to try to influence U.S. policy in a pro-Arab direction. "Many Arabs, especially those who control a great deal of U.S. economic interests, have influence in the White House and its departments. Some Arabs can employ their regional and international positions to show that Jordan is not alone. ...

#### PLO WANTS TO SEND TEAM TO OLYMPICS

According to the Associated Press, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is considering applying for permission to send a team to the 1984 Summer Olympics. This is according to Hasan Rahman, the PLO's official representative in the U.S., who said a formal application would be presented at an International Olympic Committee (IOC) executive board meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland at the end of May.

Rahman said the PLO already has complied with the requirement that it secure the recognition of five international sports federations before submitting its application.

IOC Executive Director, Monique Berlioux, said the IOC hadn't received an application yet, and questioned whether the PLO would qualify for Olympic participation, saying, "As far as the Olympic rules are concerned, there is a question of territory." Further, "The name of the NOC (national Olympic committee) must reflect the territorial extent and tradition of that country and must be approved by the IOC," quoting Rule 24 of the IOC charter.

#### ISRAELI POPULATION REACHES TOTAL OF 4,065,000 - FINALLY

Ever since the 1967 Six-Day War, we have heard about Israel's population being 3,000,000 people. It seemed as though no one ever was born or died, moved in or moved out of Israel. I guess that's because people like to quote round numbers. Now, we have a new round number for all of us to use.

The first results of the 1983 census reveals that Israel's population totals 4,065,000 persons, living in 1,091 communities, according to a report by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Jerusalem. The figures showed that during the last decade, Israel's population rose by 948,000, a 29% increase.

25% of the population lives in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, or Haifa, and 60% reside around those cities. Jerusalem's population increased 37%, while the population growth in the area around Tel Aviv rose by only 11%. Tel Aviv itself suffered a 9% drop in population.

Should you desire further information about any item in this issue, or have a question about Israel and the Middle East, please do not hesitate to contact us: DISPATCH UPDATE LETTER, P.O. Box 33145, Tulsa, OK 74153.

Shalom, shalom, Clarence H. Wagner, J.

Editor





DR. C. DOUGLAS YOUNG Founder

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RON & DONNA LOPPNOV Midwest Region RE: Grant for the writing of A Jewish History with Text and Workbook

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- B. To note the introduction of the Jewish beliefs and practices with those of various ethnic and religious groups in the principal lands of the dispersion.
- C. To note particularly Jewish relationship and attitude towrad the Church and the message of Jesus as the Messiah; this will be done with a view toward undrstanding the Jewish perspective while seeking the sensitivity to live out our Christian lifestyle so as to overcome much of the misunderstanding between the Church and the Jew.

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#### III. Course Outline

A. A Review of Israel's History to the Exile

B. The Exile and Reestablishment

1. Babylon and Its Effect

2. Reestablishment of Israel and Persian Influence

C. Period of the Sopherim

1. Further History of the Period of Persia

2. Persian Thought

Greek Influence and the Ptalemies

4. Greek Influence and the Selevcids

D. Period of the Maccabees

1. Antiochus Epiphanes

2. Struggle for Independence

3. The Hasidim in the Struggle

4. Judah's Success

5. The Hasmonean Line

6. Intrigue and Internal Conflict

7. Pharisees and Sadducees

8. Other Parties

E. Period of the Romans

1. Jesus and Early Messianic Jews

2. Rebellion Against Rome

3. War for Independence

4. End of the Second Commonwealth

F. The Palestinian Community

1. Yavne and the Schools

2. Rebellion Against Rome

3. Oral Material to Writing

4. Development and Completion of the Mishnah

5. Decline and Evaluation

G. Jewish Life in the East

1. Community and Life in Babylon

2. Judaism and Islam

3. Saadiah

4. Decline in Babylon

5. The Karaites and Revolt Against Mainstream Judaism

#### III. Course Outline (continued)

- H. Jewish Life in the West
  - 1. European Settlements
  - 2. Early Church and Jewish People
  - 3. Spain
  - 4. Eastern Europe
- I. Pertinent Jewish Concerns
  - 1. Crusades
  - 2. Mysticism and False Messiahs
  - 3. The Ghetto
  - 4. Anti-Semitism
  - 5. The Holocaust
- J. Jewish Life in Germany
  - 1. Reform Judaism
  - 2. Emancipation
- K. Jewish Life in America
- L. Zionism and Israel